

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

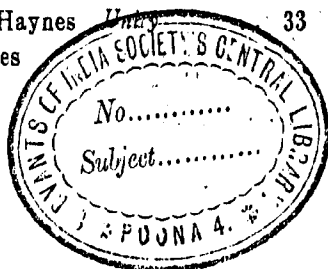
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PREFACE

Never in the history of the world has it happened that a prophet of a new political and spiritual idealism has had during his lifetime such a following as has Mahatma Gandhi of India, to-day. His doctrine has spread to Egypt, Palestine, Ceylon, to South China, even to Haiti and Santo Domingo and the Philippines. These facts force one to give serious consideration to this man.

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was introduced to New York and through New York to the rest of the United States in the early part of April 1921 by John Haynes Holmes of the Community Church, in a sermon entitled "Who is the Greatest Man in the World To-day?" Previous to that time the few scattered articles about this Indian "Saint" had passed almost unnoticed. Basanta Koomar Roy followed

Mr. Holmes's illuminating address with an article which was published in the "Independent", and from that time on interest began to centre around the man who before the year was over was to focus the attention of the entire world.

During the succeeding summer and fall, news of the nationalist uprising that had started in India two years before began to appear in the public prints, together with the echoes of the monster gathering of the previous December when 33,000 delegates, representing more than 300 million people, had pledged the country to the achievement of Swaraj (Self-Government) by "all peaceful and legitimate means". December of that year brought the news that another great Congress had reaffirmed the decision of the previous year and had bestowed upon Gandhi what amounted to absolute powers of leadership. Then March of this year 1922 brought the news of his arrest by order of the British Raj.

In view of the significant character of these events it seems desirable that a compilation should be made from the im-

pressive mass of material, that, in the months since the delivery of Mr. Holmes' first sermon, has appeared in the press of the United States,—mostly, as was to be expected, in the eastern states. Let me say in the beginning that I have chosen from the material at my disposal—much of it, needless to say, antagonistic and inaccurate, not to say wilfully perverted—only such articles and extracts from articles as would present, justly and sympathetically, the case of Gandhi and the movement which is predicated in his doctrines and ideals. Gandhi is a great heretic and therefore subject to misrepresentation, as he himself points out in his letter to the "Survey", but the truth always survives attack, and later on must come the universal understanding and with it the sympathy, of which the articles herein included may be said to be the contemporary forecast. The amazing and gratifying thing is that America has had those who, during the life of the Mahatma, have seen him for what he is and visualized what he yet shall be.

The work of Gandhi and the non-violent resistance programme would not have secured such appreciative and intelligent a response from the American public had not many cultured Indians and liberty-loving Americans prepared the ground by spreading the truth about India and the struggle of its people for their birthright of freedom. (That this response must be described as limited, is regrettable.) Among the Indians who have contributed to our understanding of the Indian situation should be mentioned particularly, Lajpat Rai who did much with tongue and pen to interest Americans in the problems of his country, Taraknath Das, and Syud Hossain whose more intimate personal knowledge of the non-cooperation movement, together with a rare insight into a great man, have served to increase and stabilize our comprehension of what seems to some of us to be the most momentous thing that is going on in the world at the present time. Among Americans should be mentioned Miss Agnes Smedley—a tireless, able, pioneer worker for India, men like Robert Morse-

Lovett, of the *New Republic* whose time and energy are always at the service of that country, Norman Thomas one of the first to open our eyes to the unrest in India, Rev. J. T. Sunderland whose long residence there enabled him to write so vividly of this unrest—in addition to Mr. Holmes who has made Gandhi a living presence to us.

Believing that a compilation (like non-violent resistance itself) requires “exemplary truthfulness” and that it gains nothing by “exaggeration or distortion of facts”—if I may quote from Gandhi himself—I have endeavored in the following pages to give not only the spirit but the letter of the unique movement that is going forward so successfully in India. Certain articles have been cut to prevent duplication of thought, and others have been given only in part, when it seemed desirable to stress some particular phase of the subject. The vital need of a compilation such as this book presents, arises not alone because of the considered, as well as the unintentional misrepresenta-

tion that a movement of this sort must inevitably call forth, but because there is contained in the truth concerning it, an active principle that is greatly needed to-day. Gandhi has said that his message is for humanity. He is looking beyond India to the world, and he is saying "return not evil for evil, but return ye good for evil". The message that was Christ's two thousand years ago is the Mahatma's to-day. Shall we not—must we not give heed to it?

BLANCHE WATSON

38, GRAMERCY PARK, }
NEW YORK CITY, }

“Let us seek the truth everywhere ;
let us cull it wherever we can find its
blossom or seed. Having found the
seed let us scatter it to the winds of
heaven. Whenever it may come,
whithersoever it may blow, it will be
able to germinate.”

From “Tolstoy: the Free Spirit”
“The Forerunners”
Romain Rolland.

AMERICAN OPINION

GANDHI AND NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE

GANDHI

Who is it walks across the world to-day ?
A Christ or Buddha on the common way—
This man of peace through whom all India
draws

Breathlessly near to the eternal will ?
Hush, what if on our earth is born again
A leader who shall conquer by the sign
Of one who went strange ways in
Nazareth ?

Who is it sits within his prison cell
The while his spirit goes astride the world ?
This age-fulfilling one through whom
speak out

The Vedas and Upanishads—who went
Naked and hungry forth to find the place
Where human woe is deepest and to feel
The bitterest grief of India's tragic land ?

2 GANDHI—NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE

Whose is this peace that challenges a
world,

That calls divine resistance to a will

No man upholds ? Whose is this voice

Through whom the Orient comes arti-
culate ?

Whose love is this that is an unsheathed
sword

To pierce the body of hypocrisy ?

Whose silence this that calls across the
world ?

In this strange leader are all races met ;

In his heart East and West are one
immortally ;

Through him Love sounds her clarion
endlessly

To millions prostrate who have lain age-
long

Beneath the oppressor's heel—unwearied
saint

Who gives them back the ancient memory
Of a great dawn, a lost inheritance.

* * * *

In his deep prison there in India

Somehow abreast with sun and sky he
waits.

What if again a Christ is crucified .
By some reluctant Pilate—if again
The blind enact their old Gethsemane?

* * * *

Tread softly, world, perhaps a Christ
leads on
To-day in India.

Mary Siegrist
(From "The Survey" April 1922.)

THE GOSPEL OF GANDHI

NON-VIOLENCE

Non-violence is the first article of my faith. It is the last article of my creed.

Non-violence is the law of our species as violence is the law of the brute. The spirit lies dormant in the brute and he knows no law but that of physical force. The dignity of man requires obedience to a higher law—the strength of the spirit.

Non-violence is a perfect state. It is the goal towards which all mankind moves, naturally though unconsciously.

Non-violence is the way to freedom—not the forced non-violence of the slave, but the willing non-violence of the brave and free.

AHIMSA, in its negative form, means not injuring any living being—whether by body or mind. In its positive form, it means the largest love—the greatest charity...This

active Ahimsa necessarily includes truth and fearlessness.

SOUL FORCE

If the world believes in the existence of a soul, it must be recognized that soul-force is better than body-force: it is the sacred principle of love that moves mountains.

Love is the same as the force of the soul or truth—it is Truth. We have evidence of its working at every step. The universe would disappear without that force.

Truth must always be simple. And nothing that is simple or truthful admits of violence.

God is, even though the world deny Him. Truth stands even though there be no public support. It is self-sustained.

INJUSTICE

No country can afford to build injustice into its walls. Such material is worthless and will bring disaster. Amidst all the conflicting interests of the day, this, at any rate, should be clear: "Righteousness exalteth a nation."

THE CIRCLE OF SIN

Generally we answer abuse with a slap. A slap is returned with a double slap. The latter is followed by a kick, the kick by a bullet, and so the circle of sin widens.

RESTRAINT

Restraint is the law of our being. For highest perfection is unattainable without highest restraint.

CONSCIENCE

There is a higher court than the courts of Justice, and that is the court of the conscience. It supersedes all other courts.

RELIGION

The interests of my country are identical with my religion.

... True religion is not formal religion or customary religion, but that which underlies all religions—a religion which brings man face to face with his Maker.

THE SPIRITUAL SIGNIFICANCE OF
"PASSIVE RESISTANCE"

Passive resistance has come to stay. Thank God for that—it is the herald of peace.

The "passive resistance" movement is in reality not a trade dispute nor a political move. These are incidents of the struggle. It is in reality the sign of the awakening of the Asiatics to a sense of their manhood—the token that they do not mean to play a servile or degraded part in our society. This is the wonderful vision that Government and churches alike have failed to see.

Passive resistance can only be carried on to a successful conclusion if the cause is just. Injustice and passive resistance have no affinity.

Passive resistance is an all-sided sword; it can be used in any way; it blesses him who uses it and him against whom it is used without drawing a drop of blood; it produces far-reaching results. It never rusts and cannot be stolen. Competition between passive resisters does not exhaust

them. The sword of passive resistance does not require a scabbard and one cannot forcibly be dispossessed of it.

NON-CO-OPERATION : THE WEAPON OF NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE

Non-co-operation is a process of evolving strength and self-reliance.

Non-co-operation is a universal doctrine, because it is as applicable to family relations as to any other. It means nothing less than training in self-sacrifice.

Non-co-operation cannot be carried on except in an atmosphere of non-violence. Non-co-operation is non-violence.

REJECTION is as much of an ideal as the acceptance of a thing. It is as necessary to reject untruth as it is to accept truth! All religions teach that two opposite forces act upon us, and that the human endeavor consists in a series of eternal rejections and acceptances. Non-co-operation with evil is as much a duty as co-operation with good.

LOVE

The hardest fibre must melt in the fire of Love. I cannot be dislodged from my position because I know this. When other natures do not respond, the fire is not strong enough—if it is there at all.

From "REALITY"

THE BAHAI MAGAZINE,

August 1922.

LETTER FROM MAHATMA GANDHI

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE SURVEY",

"I am aware that America is at the present moment following the Indian struggle with keen, growing and sympathetic interest, and I am delighted to find that you are doing not a little in educating American opinion about the struggle. In its very nature it has to depend upon a growing world opinion in its favour. When I see so much misrepresentation of things in general in the American and European press I despair of the message of the struggle ever reaching the western world, but my abiding faith in the Unseen keeps my hope forever green. Truth must penetrate the deepest darkness.

"In your last paragraph you expect something from my pen. You will excuse me for the time being, but I would like to give you and your readers just this

ass. a. It our non-co-operation is not
 intent. a. promote isolation or exclusive-
 ness, but it is but a prelude to real co-ope-
 ration with the rest of the world not
 excluding the West. Nor would I have
 your readers to think that in fighting the
 British government I am fighting western
 civilization, but I am endeavoring to fight
 modern civilization as distinguished from
 the ancient which India has not happily
 yet discarded. Modern civilization as
 represented by the West of to-day, in my
 opinion, has given Matter a place which
 by right belongs to Spirit. It has there-
 fore put violence upon the throne of
 triumph and held under bondage Truth
 and Innocence. It is this error which
 enfeebled India is trying to fight, and I
 have no doubt whatsoever that if those
 who are engaged in the fight remain true
 to their pledge God will help them."

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI.

Satyagrahashram, Sabarmati,

5th March 1922.

NOTE

The arrest of Gandhi and his sentence to six years' imprisonment without hard labor is another episode in such a great drama as has not been staged around a single person before a world audience, perhaps ever. It is undoubtedly a high point in the play, but no one suspects that it is the dénouement. Occidentals have watched this greatest pacifist of our time take millions of his fellow orientals under the sway of his idealistic imagination to conceive a way of running the world quite different from the present. His self-effacement, self-denial and inability to compromise have made him a saint in the eyes of his countrymen.

(Editor; The Survey May 1922.)

LEO TOLSTOI TO GANDHI

"I greet you fraternally and am glad to have intercourse with you.

Your activity in the Transvaal, as it seems to us at this end of the world, is the most essential work, the most important of all the work now being done in the world, and in which not only the nations of the Christian but of all the world will unavoidably take part."

LETTER FROM MAHATMA GANDHI

“Bardoli, February 19th, 1922.

Hari G. Govil, Esq.

Dear Mr. Govil,

I have your letter. I am glad you recognize the truth of non-violence. We should deal patiently with those who do not understand it. It is a new experiment and we shall have to be extremely patient if we would make headway. Impatience also is a form of violence...

I have no message for the world till the message I am humbly trying to deliver to India is truly delivered and imbibed. If it is successfully delivered in India, I know that my physical presence will nowhere be necessary to emphasize it, but that it will permeate the whole world without the shadow of a doubt. But every worker abroad who endeavors to study the movement and interpret it correctly helps it.

LETTI

MMA GANDHI 15

We can state ^{ER} frequently nothing by exaggeration (ab)gation of facts. Just as non-violence requires exemplary patience, it requires, also, exemplary truthfulness and a fine appreciation of one's own limitations.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI,"

(From "The Forum," April 1922.)

FREEDOM'S SERVICE

“You may strike down, imprison or place in fetters the leaders of great causes a hundred times, but the cause itself will live; and the banner of freedom, once unfurled, though it may fall in the dust again and again, will always be uplifted afresh, to be borne and carried forward by brave and willing hands.”

B. G. HORNIMAN.

GANDHI

Not with a clamor of golden deeds,
Nor girt with brazen armor, doth he come—
No heralds trumpet him, on royal steeds,
His armies follow not with martial drum.
Nor sword, nor shield, nor helmet hath he
known
Whose sun but now hath risen in its place;
Whose kingdom cometh grandly to its own

'Mid the eternal triumphs of the race.
Have you at times been swept beyond all
creed

By some new-dawning Vision of the right,
Your mind ablaze with thoughts of human
need,

Drawn heavenward within a wakeful
night ?

Have you then said, your faint soul strong
at last :

“ Whatever be the torture of this goal,
Here and here only shall my lot be cast—
This is the plan God fashioned for my
soul ! ”

Then look on Gandhi, Hindu saint and
seer ;

Lo, in the living flesh behold your vow—
The ancient Truth grown intimate and
near,

That God may find His image, here and
now.

Here is the heart that dares defy the strain
And terror of conditions as they are ;

Here is the sturdy will immune to pain,

Here is the soul that dares become a star !

Here is the noble intellect that saw

Beyond the spasm of our human dust
The silent grandeur of Eternal Law
Wheeling its winged way above our dust,
And linked his being with that lofty
 scheme,
And ordered all his ways, that he might
 find
Out of the Infinite a way supreme
To bring immortal justice for his kind.
How like a sun he shines above our dearth!
How like a man he leans unto the earth.
He is the answer to your faith and mine—
Man by his love for man, becomes divine.

Angela Morgan

(King Features Syndicate).

NEW YORK

August 1921.

GANDHI AS I SAW HIM

* * *

THEN the train came in. From a third-class wooden coach a little figure in white—a pathetic little figure—alighted.

With a sense of shock I realized that this insignificant shrunken figure was the man I had heard so much about—the great Gandhi. He was thin, almost emaciated, and backward and there was no look of the leader about him.

But I knew it was Gandhi as quickly as the crowd did. He was pathetic but there was a touch of tremendous spiritual power about him,

* * * * *

HERE was the man who was shaking the world with a new idea. Here was the man who was fighting a new kind of warfare—who was enlisting the souls and hearts of men to break machine guns.

* * * * *

Beyond the spasm of our human just
The silent grandeur of Eternal Law
Wheeling its winged way above our dust,
And linked his being with that lofty
 scheme,
And ordered all his ways, that he might
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Out of the Infinite a way supreme
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* * * * *

HERE was the man who was shaking the world with a new idea. Here was the man who was fighting a new kind of warfare—who was enlisting the souls and hearts of men to break machine guns.

* * * * *

The thin, half-broken figure worming his way gently through the crowd now was the torch-bearer of all this. It was his weak, thin voice that was calling India out of the past.

Men fought to kiss his hands and to touch his skirt with their lips. One old patriarch with a great white beard clutched his hands and buried his face in them and sobbed in them. He was a Messiah to them all.

Two hours later Gandhi was talking to me in his soft, low voice. It was in a great, bare room without furniture. There was no one in the room when I entered, but presently a door opened and Gandhi stepped forward with his hand outstretched.

He had eyes that were deep with pity and love and burning bright with a great purpose. You forgot that he was a frail, little man with a funny shaven head and hollow shallow cheeks, with most of his teeth gone, and that he wore coarse homespun clothes, and that his feet were bare. It was his eyes that held you.

He was almost backward and shy. Some one brought a single chair and he insisted that I sit on it while he squatted cross-legged on the floor beside me. Possibly twenty of his local disciples came in noiselessly and seated themselves on the floor in a semicircle about us. Certainly not half of them could understand English, but they could look at Gandhi.

From "The Rising Temper of the East."

By FRAZIER HUNT.

GANDHI THE MAN¹

(By Myrtle and Gordon Law)

Gandhi, it seems to me, has got down to the bone and is finding life good. He has never been known to "knock". Quoting Thoreau, Gandhi seems to be "keeping step with a different drummer" than do most men.

Six of us in the summer of 1920 reached the little Ladakhi town of Dras, three hundred miles from a railway and as isolated, primitive, and forsaken a place as one could well desire. Here in a rocky valley connected with Kashmir and India only by a dangerous 11,500-foot pass the people knew all about Gandhi and his movement.

For at least three years he has been the

¹ While this article is written in the first person singular, the authors collaborated in its preparation.—The Editors.

chief topic of conversation in all four classes of Indian railway travel. I have talked to the most divergent types of people about him—in Kashmir, in India, in Ladakh, in Baluchistan, and in Ceylon, with roadside fakirs and their *chelas*, with English military officers, with Indian barristers, with coolies carrying my luggage at railway stations, with fat Indian *bunias* or money-lenders, with sympathizers and non-sympathizers, and have yet to meet the first man to doubt his sincerity and purity. He seems to be known and respected by both the masses and the classes of India. Certainly he has caught the imagination of the people of India as no other leader in the history of that country. And when a leader catches the imagination and holds the regard of the Indian people as long as Gandhi has done he will bear watching. Some one has said that Gandhi will have a unique place in history for no other reason than his fine part in bringing about at least a temporary unity of the Mohammedans and the Hindus.

Educated in England at London University, he has all of the polish and uses the pure English of the better-educated Englishman. Hearing him speak in an adjoining room, one would never suspect him of being an Indian. One notices his wonderful composure. He seems more completely master of himself than any man I have met. He speaks in a low, pleasant tone, has a keen sense of humor, is extremely modest and sincere, and there was no suggestion of his being a "great-man-being-interviewed." He is simplicity and charm itself, and I had not been with him ten minutes before I liked him immensely. One does not get the impression of power so much as of wholesomeness and mental alertness and unusual idealism and conviction. I would imagine him to be a remarkably thoughtful and kind father. Since meeting him I have often wondered how he organizes his thousands of volunteers—there is nothing about him suggestive of executive ability. I once showed a clear photograph of Gandhi to a psychologist who did not know him, and he read

the face, diagnosing "weakness of will" as one of the characteristics. Gandhi most certainly has a weak chin. But the psychologist and external evidence are wrong for once.

Gandhi told me that he has been a celibate for twelve or fifteen years. We discussed the sex education of Indian boys, a subject of deep interest to him: When he was in South Africa, he permitted his girl of twelve to play with the *badmashes* (literally, bad flesh-hoodlums) of Natal without restraint and his four boys were permitted to associate with the roughest characters of the Transvaal. His theory is that if one obtains the whole-hearted confidence of a boy or girl and talks matters over with them frankly one may trust them anywhere, with any one, under all circumstances. He claimed this trust and comradeship method successful in his own experience with his children. He does not believe in classroom instruction in sex hygiene, thinking it too special and sacred a subject for this type of handling.

My work for two years was with Indian boys, and I have had scores of interesting talks with Indian lads regarding their National leaders. Gandhi of course is their ideal, and I believe he has had a wonderful influence upon their personal lives and habits. The night before I met him I rode in a taxi (Gandhi uses taxis on occasion, and has been known to charter a special train to enable him to keep an important appointment) with his young secretary, a youth of twenty-two. It was interesting to notice the impression Gandhi had made upon this lad who had an opportunity to study him closely. The boy literally worshiped him, and almost broke down when he tried to tell me about the goodness of his employer. Very much a part of the Indian world and a successful politician and diplomat, the unusual thing about Gandhi is the way his contacts have left him untrammelled and unspotted. The word wholesome is much the better word to use in describing him than saintly. The latter makes one think of him as being apart, and this is untrue of Gandhi.

He told me that some one had sent him a copy of Thoreau's essay on "Civil Disobedience," and that it had arrived when he was in jail in South Africa on a day when he was discouraged. This essay, he said, put new life into him. He is a great admirer of the New England philosopher and naturalist and laughed heartily when I told him the well-known anecdote of Emerson coming to visit him in jail with the exclamation, "Why, Henry, what are you doing here?" and Thoreau's fine scornful reply, "What are you doing outside?" He had not heard this, nor the reputed deathbed reply of Thoreau when some one asked him if he did not want to make his "peace with God" and Thoreau replied, "No, we have never quarreled." In another paragraph of this sketch it will be noted that he admires other American writers. He told me that he had been reading Moffett's translation of the New Testament with much enjoyment, but that the person from whom he had borrowed it had taken it back. He wanted to know where he could buy a

copy. I sent him my copy when I returned to my bungalow, and the same day had a delightful letter of thanks from him. His favorite hymn is "In the Cross of Christ I Glory," and he is more Christian than Hindu. He says that when he read the Sermon on the Mount it came to him as a direct revelation and inspiration.

He smiled when I asked him if America had any contribution to make India, and said that Indians could use what he termed our "pushfulness," and he liked our attention to detail and general efficiency, but that spiritually we had nothing to give India. He was more positive just there than at any time during my talk with him. His eyes gleamed when he talked about the spirituality of India, and he thought India had much to contribute to America. He likes Americans and admired a certain American who had come to take charge of a great Indian steel mill and who from his first day had made himself accessible to his humble Indian workmen. There was no hint of "fine speech" about Gandhi as he talked, and, his enunciation is better

than that of the average American university man.

He told me how the *Satyagrah* (insistence on truth) ideal came to him. As a boy of twelve his elder brother contracted a small debt and suggested that they chip a little of the gold from the under side of a bracelet he was wearing. Gandhi agreed that this was a clever idea, and the two boys carried out the scheme, selling the bit of gold to a money-lender in the bazaar for a few rupees. The following day Gandhi's conscience hurt him and he went to his father and made a clean breast of the whole affair. His father was heart-broken and wept. Taking his son into an inner room, he had a heart-to-heart talk with him, and Gandhi was much affected. Finally, his father told him he wanted him to take a solemn oath that he would never in his life stray from the truth again. Gandhi gave his word, and has kept it since that day. It is the outstanding characteristic of the man, the thing that makes him powerful. "His search for truth is the one passion of his life. He

will not hesitate to retract anything that he has said when it is proved false to his own satisfaction. All of his political opponents admit that every action of his is prompted by the most conscientious and impersonal motives. In his legal practice, which he long ago definitely abjured as an 'unclean thing,' he was highly regarded by his fellow-practitioners as an able lawyer and an honorable colleague or opponent, and magistrates and judges alike paid careful attention to any case that Mr. Gandhi advocated, realizing that it had intrinsic merits or that he sincerely believed that it had. He has been known to retire from a case in open court, and in the middle of the hearing, having realized that his client had deceived him, and he never accepted a case except on the express understanding that he reserved to himself the right to withdraw at any stage if he felt that his client had not dealt honestly with him. "His generosity is proverbial. He never issued a formal demand for payment of a debt due to him, conceiving that his debtor, if an honest

man, would pay when he could, and, if a dishonest man, would not be made the more honest by the use of legal compulsion. Indeed, in his every action he vindicates his hostility to the doctrine of force and his abiding affection for that of love as the rule of life. When he was nearly done to death by a fanatical Pathan, in 1908, he absolutely refused to charge his assailant or to give evidence against him. He preferred to conquer him by love, and succeeded; for early the following year the Pathan, who had been deported to India because he sturdily refused to comply with the Transvaal law, addressed a letter to Mr. Gandhi in which he assured the latter that all his sympathies were with him, and he would do what he could to help the cause."

When Gandhi's biographer asked him how the passive resistance idea originated, Gandhi replied: "It was the New Testament which really awakened me to the rightness and value of passive resistance. When I read in the Sermon on the Mount such passages as 'Resist not him that is

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evil, but whosoever smiteth thee on thy right cheek turn to him the other also,' and 'Love your enemies and pray for them that persecute you, that ye may be sons of your Father which is in heaven,' I was simply overjoyed, and found my opinion confirmed where I least expected it. The Bhagavad Gita deepened the impression, and Tolstoy's 'The Kingdom of God is Within You' gave it permanent form."

* * * * *

[*Extract*]

The Outlook, April 1922.

GANDHI—COMRADE AND BROTHER OF HUMANITY

*(From the sermon by the Rev.
J. H. Holmes)*

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 unbiassed observer that Gandhi's personal following is greater in numbers, and more devoted and disciplined in spirit, than any man history has ever known.

* * * * *

What is it that the Indians see when they look upon this man, and hail him 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 was given the best educational advantages both in his own country and in England. When he returned to Bombay, he began his career as a 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 enjoined 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 loin-cloth, 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.

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 fellow-men. In his personal habits he began and still continues to practise an asceticism that might well be the envy of a medieval 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 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!

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 a 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 straightway one of his most ardent followers.—Equally beautiful is Gandhi's attitude toward General Dyer, the officer responsible for the massacre at Amritsar. I cannot co-operate 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."

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. * * *

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

Extract from Sermon

"The World Significance of Mahatma

Gandhi."

UNITY.

April 1922.

* From the second "Gandhi" sermon, preached by Mr. Holmes on March 12-1922—the day following the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi for sedition.

A GLIMPSE OF GANDHI IN SOUTH AFRICA

[Mrs. Catt the author of the following article is a noted Suffragist of the United States. The article is taken from a diary which she kept while in South Africa just eleven years ago. It is interesting mainly because of the circumstances under which it was written.—THE EDITOR.]

It is possible some readers of the *Citizen* may be interested in what follows. When the press began telling the world about the peaceful Gandhi revolution in India by non-co-operation, I was haunted by the thought that I had seen the man in South Africa, but my memory was confused and I was uncertain. I did not take time to consult the diary I had then kept. Recently, reading of his arrest, I determined to refresh my memory and was a bit surprised at what I read. I quote from my diary:

“September, 1911, Johannesburg: An

English lady insisted upon giving me a letter of introduction to an Indian in Johannesburg, assuring me that I would not regret any trouble taken to make his acquaintance. By the time I arrived here I had forgotten what she had told me about him and I was not particularly interested to meet him, but I sent the letter nevertheless and asked him to call upon me at the hotel if convenient at a stated time. At the hour named a pretty, intelligent young Russian Jewess called and explained that she was Mr. Gandhi's secretary and that no Indian was permitted to enter a hotel to call upon a guest.

“A prominent lawyer to whom I told the tale offered the use of his office for the purpose of an interview, so again I wrote, stating the time and place when I would be glad to receive him. Again the pretty little Jewess came to the lawyer's office to say that Mr. Gandhi had come but the elevator operator refused to take him up and he would not so far demean himself as to walk when the European was carried. This challenged my curiosity and I told

the young girl to tell him to go back to his office and that I would call upon him.

“Directly Miss Cameron and I, escorted by the secretary, were on our way. She took us into quarters apparently occupied exclusively by Indians. We found his office much the same as any of the less prosperous sort. The outer room was filled with Indians awaiting their turn to consult Mr. Gandhi, who was a lawyer. We found the man seated behind an American desk—a small very black man with his head wrapped in a very white turban. He was not particularly prepossessing in appearance, but we soon engaged him in conversation and were amazed at his excellent and correct English; he was a gentleman. He told us that he had been in prison because he had evaded signing a registration paper which is made compulsory for all Indians for police purposes. He then spoke of his hope that India would be independent one day. His eyes lighted with an inner fire and he spoke with such fervour that we recognized that we were in the presence of no ordinary

man. Directly he quoted from the Declaration of Independence, from Emerson and Longfellow. Proud, rebellious, humiliated, he may earn his livelihood by law, but he dreams of naught but India's independence.

"Is the ostracism suffered by the Indians due to the color of their skins, their poverty, the kind of labor they perform, or what? That I cannot answer, but it is clear that the South African world makes no distinction between the educated and the uneducated.

"When a lawyer quoting Emerson is forbidden to call upon a guest at a hotel, to ride in an elevator in a public building, and is compelled to report his movements to the police, there may be reasons for the rules that we do not know; but, said we to each other as we wended our way back to the hotel, we can at least understand that given a proud enough spirit and a long enough treatment of that kind and a revolutionist is created. If we are not greatly mistaken Gandhi is such a man."

I think his theory of non-co-operation

had not yet been developed. At least I remember nothing of it in his conversation. The impression that remained was that I had for the first time in my life seen a genuine fanatic.

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT.

The Woman Citizen.

March 1922.

GANDHI AT FIRST HAND

[The following letter, written by a young American serving as tutor in the family of an Indian nabob, gives a picture of Mahatma Gandhi so familiar and human that readers will like to substitute it for the lay figure of the daily press.—THE EDITOR.]

————, INDIA,
October 7, 1921.

MY DEAR MOTHER,

Well, I have just seen the great Mahatma Gandhi—at last—and herewith send my first impressions. It happened in this wise: I was just coming back from the schoolhouse with Sahrid this afternoon, when we saw the Daimler car waiting outside the front porch.

‘Who’s going out?’ said Sahrid, to one of the perawallas (hall-porters).

‘It’s for Mahatma Gandhi!’ the man replied.

On going into the vestibule, we saw a little flotilla of sandals and slippers—a sure sign of visitors—including some enormous canoe-shaped things. ‘Those are his,’ said Sahrid, with conviction, and certainly they were the most impressive-looking pair. But the perawalla, who had followed us, was careful to correct us on this. Pointing, with reverent mien, as at a thing miraculous, to a pair of small, much-worn sandals, he said, with bated breath, ‘*Those* are the Mahatma’s.’ In one sense, here was a thing of miracles: for wherever the owner of those two little sandals walked, thousands, hundreds of thousands, and perhaps even millions followed in his footsteps. I ran to get my little camera and then followed Sahrid upstairs.

The Mahatma was seated at one end of a long room, on a sofa, which he shared with Bharati and one of her aunts. I could not help experiencing something of a shock on setting eyes on him for the first time. For the moment it was not so

much *him*, as his apparel—again, it was not so much his apparel, as his astonishing lack of it! There he was, the world-famous leader, sitting in a well-furnished drawing-room; his host immaculately dressed in well-cut English clothes, and Gandhi—well, let us say a pair of *very* short ‘running shorts’; that was his whole trousseau! ‘They’ were white and, of course, made of homespun material or ‘khadi.’ Thus arrayed, he wears no more toggery than the poorest native gardener or beggar.

He dresses like this on purpose, as you know, to show that it is not necessary to health, for one thing, to wear a lot of clothes; and further, to demonstrate his contention that India will be able to supply enough material herself to provide all that is necessary for her own people without the aid of foreign cloth.

His bare arms and legs looked very thin and his whole appearance was ascetic to the last degree. (He lives on toast and fruit, and very little at that.) He has the most extraordinary face, I think, that I

have ever seen. For a while I could see only his profile. His head is well-shaped and covered with very close-cropped hair rapidly turning gray. A prominent aquiline nose, a bristly moustache, and a good chin. The lower lip protrudes too much, partly because very few front teeth are left in the lower jaw—a feature by no means ornamental. When he looked around, I found the full-face view even more extraordinary. So void of flesh is his head that it looks like a skull clothed in a mere skin. At first I was reminded of that bust said to represent Julius Cæsar; then he resembled rather Houdin's grinning bust of Voltaire.

When Gandhi laughs, which he does frequently, his face disappears in innumerable wrinkles. His expressions are quite fascinating, but I could not quite decide whether I liked him or not. Sometimes it seemed like the face of a fanatic; sometimes like that of a saint; at one moment he wears an almost Mephistophelean look; again he is like 'the great god Pan.' But never uninteresting or foolish.

A rather pretty impromptu was occasioned by the appearance of the baby of the family, aged five weeks. The ayah brought it in, and offered it to Gandhi. I was curious to see how this almost naked ascetic would manage to hold it—I forgot for the moment that he had children of his own. However, he did very well. Taking it in his bare arms, he made a support for its little head with one of his hands, in cup-and-ball fashion, and held it for quite a while. He seemed very delighted with the little mite; while the baby, for its part, seemed quite contented. It formed a really charming picture, for the Mahatma's face wore a look of beautiful tenderness. Several times the mother made a movement to relieve him of his burden, but he clung to it, talking and laughing to it and to the other kiddies near-by.

* * * * *

Turning to politics, I asked the Mahatma, 'Don't you think the problem is the same in India as in Ireland?' 'No, it is not the same,' he said; 'England does

not want to exploit Ireland. With her it is only a matter of geographical necessity, of strategical considerations. England cannot sanction the idea of a separate country, outside the British Empire, so near her own doors. But with India it is a racial question. It is not so with Ireland. If you meet an Irishman outside his own country, as in South Africa, you make friends with him; at least you treat him with respect, as an equal. But not so with the Indian in South Africa, as I myself have experienced.'

'But,' I said, 'is it not possible to overcome or overlook that feeling of racial distinction? If one has a real sense of the Fatherhood of God, does not that make us all feel we are brothers, irrespective of color or caste?'

'Yes,' said Gandhi, 'it is possible; that is what Christianity can do, and that is where Europe has failed to interpret Christianity. The Quakers have got very near to it, but even they have not got the complete development.'

* * * * *

As the Mahatma was leaving the house, I asked his permission to take a private-snapshot of him. 'No,' he said, 'I am not going to sit for anyone' (I heard afterward that he has practically vowed himself on this point).

'But surely,' I pleaded, 'your Voice-Within ought to persuade you to give me a chance of affording so much pleasure to myself and my friends!' At this he laughed—he has a very hearty laugh—and stood still for a moment, actually taking a step forward to do so, standing out in the full sunshine for my benefit, while I snapped him.

Then this wonderful little man, whom Tagore calls 'the Greatest Man in the World,' this strange, frail figure arrayed in a loin cloth and a pair of old sandals, stepped into his host's ten-thousand-dollar car and vanished in a whirl of dust. Such is India!

E. M. S. in the Atlantic Monthly Boston
[Extract.]

May 1922.

GANDHI—AN APPRECIATION

(By Esther Harlan)

In the early part of 1919 I was in Bombay when Gandhi—now a recognized leader of a fifth of the whole human race, known in practically every corner of the earth, talked of in every tongue—journeyed on foot one day from the city to the nearby district of Kaira, and said to the starving peasants there: "Eat your taxes," (tithes of grain). "I will stay here till the Collector comes." The English papers in Bombay commented briefly on the occurrence in some half dozen lines. He was variously regarded as a negligible nuisance a "sentimentalist," a "fanatic."

Had the monsoon failed in Kaira only, the history of India these past two years might have been very different. But drought reigned over wide areas and many more millions of the peasants than in ordinary years were on the verge of famine, though the usual annual export of food-

stuffs from India is well over two hundred millions of dollars in value. Before foreigners ruled the country, the surplus of plentiful harvests was stored in huge communal granaries against a scant monsoon. Mounting taxes have wiped out all surplus for the peasant in recent years. During the war, trainloads of grain bound for the battlefields of Europe, passed through famine-blighted villages where the few survivors plead piteously for even a handful.

The people of Kaira welcomed Gandhi as a saviour, a saint. To save his dignity, the tax-gatherer, after much bluster and contention, consented to "defer" collection. That was the beginning. From district to district, Gandhi went, saving, encouraging, uniting. Short journeys he makes on foot; if distance necessitates riding, he travels only in the cheapest compartments—those used mainly by the poorest classes. His wide legal knowledge, of which he had made such brilliant and effective use in his fight for just legislation in South Africa, proved of service now also.

Side by side with his insistence on non-violence, he explained to peasants their rights as human beings as well as "English subjects." In early life he had lived as other wealthy Hindus live. He won high honors at Oxford. He has an unusually keen and well-balanced mind, and could easily have been in the forefront not only of his own profession but in the world of politics and diplomacy. During the short time that he practised law for personal gain his income in itself amounted to a small fortune. Realization of the world *as it is* gradually came to him, in such sharp contrast with the ideals of all religions, that he at last gave himself unreservedly, directly, self-forgettingly, to its service—the service of humanity. It is his conviction that no honest, clear-seeing soul can do otherwise, once face to face with the truth.

Gandhi did not simply give away his great wealth, merely divest himself of it "for his own soul's sake," but devoted his inheritance as well as his income to the founding of a school where he now has his

own home, near the city of Ahmedabad. There boys and young men are trained in industries germane to India's welfare, in hygiene, in social service, and in such other knowledge as will best equip them as "servants of India and of the Supreme." Gandhi is intensely aware,—and his awareness amounts to genius—of a truth that is fumblingly apprehended by many others to-day: That the next step in human achievement will be, so to speak, fourth-dimensional—toward the horizon of the immaterial, the spiritual; that power hereafter will be in intensive personal development, not acquisition, and sovereignty will be inherent, not dependent on machine guns. Gandhi is versed in the world knowledge we call science to an extent that would put many of us Westerners to shame, but he holds it as yet immature; his great emphasis is on experience, *spiritual* experience. He thinks and acts in straight lines; compromise for him is impossible. In the sense that all his work is humanly and racially constructive, he is an able and far-seeing statesman,

and he has an extraordinary grasp of international values. With "politics" and "diplomacy" he has absolutely no concern. He scorns all traffic with such hypocrisy as is current under these names. Much of his unique power lies in just this invariable directness, his transparent and unimpeachable sincerity. These are weapons that dumbfound, disarm his opponents; with these they have had no experience, and are all at sea. Realization of their own moral vulnerability fills them with fear. Even Gandhi's bitterest enemies can find no flaw in his sincerity. For something like a quarter of a century, every act, every hour of his daily life has been as open as the sunlight to friend and foe alike.

Here is a man of the highest caste who chooses to eat and live with the lowliest, and even in these few years the force of his example has wiped out caste abuses and united religious and other warring factions, where the *preaching* of centuries had failed. Within the last two years the traffic in liquor and opium (a Government

monopoly) has been so reduced through Gandhi's influence that in Nellore, for instance, where the average revenue to the Government had been some 200,000 rupees, it is now only a little over 200. In another typical district, out of fifty-one "toddy shops," fifty are now closed for lack of custom.

Here is a man who accepts absolutely nothing of all the innumerable gifts pressed upon him wherever he goes, who eats only such frugal fare as all may have access to, who wears only the coarse cloth he himself weaves on the crude looms made by local carpenters, who cleanses the sores of lepers with his own hands, and shares the menial tasks heretofore relegated to pariahs and "untouchables." Yet this is the man whom the All-India Congress (representing all classes and factions) meeting in Ahmedabad last Christmas-week, with one accord asked to assume complete dictatorship over all India. Such is the power of this one half-naked man, small in stature, dark of skin, plain of face—except for the eyes that

burn with unforgettable faith and conviction.

Gandhi believes literally and invincibly that "God and one man may make a majority." Single-handed, so to speak, he has faced one of the greatest among world-powers, arraigned its representatives before the bar of their own pledges, and charged them to keep faith. And it is no exaggeration to say that the foundations of the Empire are shaken. At the same time that he says to his friends and followers, "Let whatever blood stains the soil of India be our own blood only; let no hand among you be lifted against the life of any human being," he says to the Viceroy—and to the world—"If it be sedition to believe that the rule of England over India is injurious and unwelcome, then I am seditious. You know, as I know, that you have not ruled faithfully nor kept faith."

Gandhi grieves profoundly if the atrocities practiced against his people ever provoke them to any form or degree of violence and thus show them "not yet ready for the control of their country, since they

cannot yet completely control themselves." But the infrequency of such lapses is indeed miraculous, the almost superhuman endurance and forbearance of these devoted "servants of India and the Supreme" is one of the outstanding elements in this whole great movement. Their methods, too, are unique. During a railway strike because of some added injustice the protesting employees lay flat on the tracks in such masses that no traffic was possible. Pickets stationed before opium dens fall on their knees before those they would dissuade, and embrace and kiss their feet in a fervor of exhortation. If this fails to persuade, the embrace tightens and the cry goes up—"Only over my dead body will you enter that evil place." And in innumerable instances this proves literally true. But is it not the verdict of history that those for whom death holds no terrors are the ultimate victors?

Gandhi believes profoundly, *literally*, that "the kingdom of God is within." He knows with unborrowed conviction, *experi-*

ence, that men have infinitely more inherent power than is resident in their muscles or in any material weapon, and he insists upon reliance on this and *this only*. We all profess this faith, but what one among the so-called Christian peoples, *lives* it? For how many individual men and women among us is "the unseen" a definite working basis in every-day life? Gandhi pleads "Let the world know that India's message is not one of physical might, but of love alone; bloodshed is not victory, spiritual predominance only can conquer."

The Sermon on the Mount and Tolstoi's emphasis upon its teaching have been an abiding influence in Gandhi's life. As long ago as 1910 Tolstoi wrote to him, then in the midst of his struggle for justice in South Africa, "I believe your work to be the most essential of all work being done in the world to-day, in which eventually not only all Christian nations but all the peoples of the earth will join." If the censorship were not keeping from us on this side of the world, the true growth and strength of this "non-violent, spiritual

resistance" it would prove a yet greater inspiration to us Westerners. To those who "seek after a sign" Gandhi insists most reasonably that until *this* method of conquering evil has been tried as thoroughly and as long as has the way of death we call war, criticism is at least premature.

Gandhi planned a definite programme for the accomplishment of his desired goal, which is not merely freedom from a foreign yoke, but spiritual freedom for every soul, freedom from fear, freedom from all the dross in each nature. Those of his countrymen who were employed under English direction to do what their consciences could not approve (extort taxes from starving peasants, use firearms against their fellows, plead in law courts against the right for the sake of political preference, etc.,) must cease to do these things even though starvation may seem the alternative.* All children must be withdrawn

*While I was in India a large number of the Irish constabulary there, in admiration of the wonderful selfsacrifice and courage of Gandhi's followers, refused to fire upon one of their mass meetings and faced death instead at the hands of their own officers.

from English schools, Gandhi insists, and taught by those who will instruct them, not in "the glories of war" but against the use of any physical violence whatever. All Hindu lawyers and judges must withdraw from practice or administration of English law that imposes capital punishment and cruel retributions, instead of the more reasonable method of treating social transgression as social or individual disease and applying the fitting remedy. All English-made manufactures must be shunned because they are mainly woven under coercion and of the blood and tears of even little children. Increasing pressure in more and more complete "civil disobedience" must be brought to bear and ultimately, if the unwelcome foreigner is not thus shamed into leaving the land that so pointedly does not want him, as a last resort the more than 300,000,000 of "spiritual resisters" must, figuratively, surround the thousands of aliens, "lovingly escort them to the shore, and speed them to their homes never to return."

This may indeed sound like a fairy tale,

but as a matter of fact it is a physically practicable and entirely feasible proposal. Many of the earlier stages of this programme have already been put into effect. The shuttles of hundreds of thousands of handlooms are threading back and forth to-day in mud huts all over India; village schools have been revived; personal and civil differences have been settled before native tribunals; native constables have refused to serve the Government or wear their official uniforms, but have organized themselves into "volunteer law-and-order leagues" that have won the respect and confidence of all who know their work. These officials wear the plain white homespun cotton cap that is the sole insignia of the *Satyagraha*—"those steadfast in the truth without fear of suffering or death." Thus there is growing up a "state within the State." The millions who have enrolled themselves with the "nonviolent" forces are indeed "tried gold, refined by suffering," men and women of all levels of life, united and transfigured by a common ideal, the perfection of character

and the coming of the kingdom of God on earth.

An innovation incidental to the new order that reigns in India, is the increasing freedom of women. At the recent Bengal Provincial Congress, there were some two thousand women in attendance, and several hundred were active delegates. The internationally known poetess, Sarojini Naidu, reviewed the National Volunteers not long ago in Bombay. Women of the Tagore family have taken a prominent part in public service. It will interest those in America who heard the Hindu poet, Rabindranath Tagore, to know that after the Amritsar massacre in 1919, he publicly renounced and repudiated the Knighthood that had been bestowed upon him some time before by the British Government. It may also be of interest to know that the flag chosen to symbol the new regime is composed of three broad bands of color— one red, one green, one white,—with the figure of a hand loom outlined across them.

For some time the people have clamored

for Gandhi's sanction of complete "civil disobedience" and entire withdrawal from all co-operation in any expression of the foreign Government, including non-payment of all taxes. To this demand, Gandhi not long ago gave a limited assent in certain localities, but later withdrew it when, in consequence of refusal to give the taxes required, the English Collectors committed depredations and assaults upon even women and children, there was physical resistance on the part of those pledged to "non-violence." This action of Gandhi's has been adversely criticised by superficial observers. To the occidental mind, instinctively reliant on obvious power only, it may seem contradictory, a betrayal, but in reality it was a clarion call to the fuller and higher powers of these followers—'as if Marconi, for instance, should admonish one trying to shout from New York to Chicago—"Save your breath; use wireless instead.'"

It is an open secret that the situation in India is chiefly responsible for England's sudden concessions toward "peace" in

Ireland, and for not a few points in the Pacific Pact recently arranged in Washington. (This relation should not be forgotten if, or when, a cry may be raised in America that soldiers must be sent to the aid of England in Asia to "save civilization.") And it must never be forgotten that if to follow literally the teaching of Jesus Christ is to be "civilized," then this unpretentious Hindu, Gandhi, is perhaps the most civilized man in the world to-day.

Here then are outstanding factors in this great world movement in which a fifth of the whole human race, for the most part tax-ridden, helpless and starved, is waking to a new and marvellous realization of human and spiritual values under the influence and example of this "mystic." If mysticism indeed be "intensification of life" Gandhi is pre-eminently a mystic. His personal life follows the way of the mystics of all time: long vigils of profound meditation and prayer, long periods of austere fasting. But the greatest mystics have not felt any need of separation from their fellows or physical isolation. The

vigor of their inner life has surmounted the pettiness and sordidness about them.

From time to time great souls have emerged who pierced the web of convention, looked with clear eyes at the universe and saw, felt, loved, the permeating reality which alone gives full meaning to the whole. If we compare their discoveries with our own distracted states, their unshakeable certainties with our superficiality, the aridity of our own lives, does it not seem that much of our failure is due to sloth and cowardice? We are not living with the whole of our lives, we are imperfectly vitalized. The average man makes full use of only about one-fifth of his available lung tissue. A similar inertia, ignorance, seems to characterize both the mental and spiritual attitude of great numbers of us. We allow one whole aspect of our being, and that the most important, to all but atrophy. We are inherently fitted for interaction with a wider, richer world, a more real and vital order of existence. The soul is or should be more vividly alive than either body, or brain.

When it is denied its rightful expression, the whole personal life and all social relations are thrown out of key. We are starved at the source. Blind and dumb as we are, each of us has moments in which he is convinced there is more to see, to know, to love—a fleeting vision of fullness of knowledge, completeness of power. Gandhi believes that this is the true life, the *only true* human life, that all human souls should *experience* spiritual relationship with the source of all power. And that this is most certainly not a matter of mere emotion, even though emotion be sublimated to the measure of ecstasy. Only “he who *doeth* . . . shall know.” He teaches most emphatically that “no man liveth or dieth to himself.” While one human being suffers and is incomplete because of the incomplete, immature conditions of this only partially “created” world of ours, the salvation of each individual soul is in giving itself “a ransom for many” and in being a “co-worker with God” to finish the work of creation in its spiritual sense. Gandhi has practically

sloughed off, for himself and his people, the fatalistic interpretation of that age-old oriental doctrine of "karma," and has articulated and *applied* all that is best in the teachings of brotherhood. His conviction and his *work* are leavening the life of the world.

Philadelphia. }
March, 1922. }

ESTHER HARLAN.
 in "THE QUAKER"

(Note—Miss Harlan lived in India for five years
 —1914 to 1919. THE EDITOR.)

SOME FACTS ABOUT GANDHI

HOW AND WHY THE SAINT Baffles THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

It was lately said of Gandhi, the great Indian leader, that his only weapons are "firm resistance to Western religion and education, and non-employment of force." This statement is incomplete. Gandhi uses a formidable weapon in a boycott on British goods, and especially on British-made cloth.

Before India came under British rule, vast quantities of beautiful fabrics were manufactured in millions of cottage homes, and exported far and wide. Indian shawls, silks, and muslins were famous the world over. The British Government has deliberately destroyed India's manufactures, by putting on prohibitive export duties, in order that they might not compete with British-made goods. For the same reason,

a so-called "excise tax" is levied on every yard of cloth manufactured in India for sale, whether made in factories or cottages. But there is no tax on homespun made by a family for its own use. Therefore Gandhi urges every family to spin and weave its own clothing, and the spinning-wheel or hand-loom is the emblem of the movement.

Gandhi believes that England holds on to India mainly because India as a possession has been immensely profitable, and that if it ceases to be profitable, there will be much less objection to granting it self-government. The movement has been so far successful that India, which used to buy about three hundred million dollars' worth of cotton goods from England every year, last year bought less than one hundred million dollars' worth. There was also a falling off of \$75,000,000 in the revenue from liquor and opium. Gandhi preaches abstinence from these, both on ethical grounds and as another way of cutting down the revenue.

THE CHRISTIAN REGISTER asks, "Did England make a colossal blunder when it

sentenced Gandhi to six years' close confinement?" It is not Gandhi alone, but about forty thousand others who are now in prison, not for any act of violence, but for expressing dissatisfaction with British rule. It is always a mistake to hope to cure discontent by muzzling the expression of it without removing its cause.

In India there is a real and vital grievance. When the country's manufactures were wiped out, the people were left almost wholly dependent on agriculture. Tenant farmers are always at a disadvantage; and thoughtful Americans are much concerned because more than a third of the farms in the United States are now worked by tenant farmers, with an increasing proportion shown in every census. But in India practically every cultivator is a tenant farmer. The Government claims the ownership of the land, and rents it out—sometimes to the cultivator direct, sometimes to a rich man who sublets it. In the former case, the regular government demand is one-half the value of the gross produce of the land; but additional land

taxes often bring this up to 65 and sometimes to 75 per cent. In the second case, the landlord pays the Government the worth of 10 per cent. of the produce, and charges his tenants what he likes.

Naturally, under these circumstances, the mass of the people are desperately poor and constantly growing poorer. When they were more lightly taxed, and could supplement their agriculture with cottage industries, they were comfortably off. Now they can hardly get a living even in a good year, and a single bad harvest ruins them. More and more of them have to borrow money, cannot repay it, are sold out, and become homeless wanderers.

Hence the increasing frequency and severity of the famines. In the fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, there were only two or three famines in a century and these were almost all local. In the eighteenth century there were eight famines; in the nineteenth century, thirty-one; and now there is a famine every few years. In that of 1918 alone, 32,000,000 persons perished.

Of late years they have all been "financial famines"; that is, there was always food enough in the country to have fed all the people, but they were too poor to buy it. In the worst famine years, great quantities of food were shipped out of India, as they were out of Ireland during the Irish famine.

The soil is fertile, the population industrious and frugal. In the old times, if the harvest failed in one province, the people drew upon their savings and bought food from outside. Now they cannot save anything.

Under native rule, with all its drawbacks, the taxes were spent in India, and the money circulated among the people. Now more than a third of the annual revenue is sent to England and spent there. Any country in the world will have famines if agriculture is heavily overtaxed, manufacturers are discouraged, and nearly half of the total national revenue is sent abroad every year to be expended elsewhere.

Although the people have been left in

ignorance,—the British Government provides no free schools,—discontent with such conditions was bound to arise. And the Government met it by passing the “Rowlatt Acts,” which for the past four years have practically deprived the people of their civil rights. Free speech, free press, and the right of peaceful assemblage are abolished. Any one suspected of disaffection to the Government may be arrested without a warrant, tried behind closed doors, without a jury, without the right to be confronted with his accuser, without the right of appeal; and a special clause provides that the court need not be bound by the usual rules of evidence.

Gandhi was a man of wealth and education,—he took high honors at Oxford,—and a lawyer with a large income from his profession, during the short time that he practised it for his own benefit. He was also a staunch supporter of the British Government up to and even after the World War. He won commendations and a medal for his war service. He believed that India could progress by degrees under

British rule, and finally attain Dominion status. His opinion was changed by the Rowlatt Acts and the Amritsar massacre, with the events that followed. As he said at his trial :

“In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, justice has been denied to Indians as against Europeans in the courts of India. This is not an exaggerated picture. . . . 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 has added to the ignorance and self-deception of the administrators. . . . 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. Non-co-operation with

evil is as much a duty as co-operation with good."

A study of the economic history of India shows clearly that the country has been ruled primarily for Great Britain's benefit, not for the benefit of India. The policy has been to use India as a source of cheap raw materials for British manufactures, and then to make it buy back the manufactured goods. This has illustrated afresh the truth of John Stuart Mill's famous saying:

"The government of a people by itself has a meaning and a reality; but such a thing as government of one people by another does not exist. One people may keep another for its own use, a place to make money in, a human cattle farm to be worked for the profits of its own inhabitants."

Nothing has been said here of Gandhi's wonderful record as a saint and a religious leader; giving all his wealth to found a school to train young men in arts useful to India; teaching the highest spiritual truths; living the simplest life; breathing a spirit:

of universal love so pure and so fervent that it has melted away the age-long lines of caste and sect, and welded together Brahmans and Pariahs, Hindus and Moslems, in one great brotherly movement to secure freedom for India by peaceful "non-cooperation." That movement deserves the sympathy of all who really believe that governments "derive their just powers from the consent of the governed."

Some of the more fantastic utterances ascribed to Gandhi are said by his friends to be inventions of the enemy. But his preference of cottage industries to factories is easily understood, since he judges the question solely from the standpoint of human welfare. By that criterion, cottage industries have an obvious advantage over factories,—not as factories might be run, but as they often are run.

Gandhi has got the British Government thoroughly scared by his unprecedented tactics. They could crush an armed revolt; they do not know how to deal with the peaceful non-co-operation of millions. They have jailed Gandhi; they allow him to see

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only one visitor in three months, and the visitor has to promise to tell nothing about the interview. Meanwhile the soul of the great leader goes marching on. All up and down India it goes, and across the sea; prison walls cannot hold it; and the number of Gandhi's followers is growing every day.

British rule has brought some real and undoubted benefits to India, and these have been kept constantly before us by English writers. This article tries to give a glimpse of the other side of the shield, about which most of our people know nothing.

ALICE STONE BLACKWELL,
in "THE CHRISTIAN REGISTER."

Boston, }
August, 1922. }

HOW MANY PROPHETS ?

How many prophets would ye have, O
people?

How many saviours of a martyr-killing
race ?

How many prophets would ye stone and
imprison,

O cruel and blind generation !

Ye have had Socrates,

Ye have had Lincoln,

Ye have had Tolstoy, Buddha,

Gandhi .

Many there be who do pray for a star.

Many in this darkest night of the world

Grovel at the feet of the Most High God,

Begging for a Saviour or a Sign, . . .

Yet here is Gandhi !

Take him to your hearts, O people,

For lo, a messenger whose word shall make
you whole.

Take him for your nourishing, O nations,
 For here is the bread that shall cure your
 famines.

Take him into your courts, O lawgivers,
 For here is the Law that fulfilleth all law.
 Take him into your council chambers,
 O diplomats and statesmen,
 Who with cold words engraven upon parch-
 ment

Do fashion future hells for the weak and
 the dependent!

Receive him into your congresses and
 parliaments,

Ye who are spokesmen for those who may
 not speak;

Link him unto your governments, O rulers
 in high places,

Premiers, presidents, mayors, kings!

Take him into your churches,
 O hymn-singing, enraptured congregations,
 Bending the knee to a Janus God breathing
 Love and War.

Take him into your pulpits, ministers of
 the gospel

Who make many prayers and are forever
 mouthing

The sacred word of God
 Yet know not that Word when it doth
 come!

Turn and look upon him, murderers!
 Ye who make of the blossoming earth
 A graveyard of young men's bones. . . .
 War-lords, profiteers, vendors of infamy;
 Makers of machine guns, army tanks,
 battleships,

Bombing airplanes and poisoned gas,
 O ye who make a mock of children's
 bodies

Trampled under the unheeding hoofs of
 war;

Ye who make a mock of stricken women
 Mourning for those who shall never
 return,

Ye who would pile dead upon dead, war
 upon war,

Infamy upon infamy. . . .

Turn ye, and look upon this man!

How many prophets would ye have, O
 people?

How many Christs from Pilate for the
 rabble?

Still do ye plead for a Sign and a Token?

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Do ye kneel still?
Yet here is Gandhi!

ANGELA MORGAN.
IN "UNITY"

New York, }
December 28, 1922. }

(Credit to King's Feature Syndicate.)

THE GANDHI IDEALS

“.....Then my work called me to Bombay. And there I met Mahatma Gandhi and the courageous souls who are his close associates. One incident is particularly vivid in my memory. It was after the massacre, Gandhi's arrest, release and prohibition to leave Bombay. The situation was very tense, the atmosphere throughout all India charged with apprehension, indignation, ready to flame into violence in a hundred populous towns. An old man was sitting in the walled yard of a house near Malabar Hill, where Gandhi was then stopping. His hair and beard were white, his shoulders bent, but the fire of youth was in his eyes, the strength of his endurance seemed limitless. Practically without sleep, scarcely taking time to eat, for more

than a week he had worked continuously, persuading, encouraging, explaining, organizing, going over masses of papers, reports, records, conferring with Gandhi and others regarding decisions perhaps involving thousands of lives. Before us, in the earth about the doorway, a tiny seed, in the might of its germinating impulse, had raised a stone of perhaps some ounces weight and hundreds of times its own size, enough to find its way out to the light.

“Who that has seen a seed spring up,” this old man said, “in the very teeth of the law of gravitation that we have called an irresistible force, from under a crushing weight, as this seed has come, can doubt the strength of a living idea? That tiny thread of green will one day be a great tree and the strength with which it will then defy the storms will have been derived as much from the intangible elements of the air as from the minerals of the earth. . . . We of India know of the imminence of power, the spiritual force that nothing can resist. . . . I may not see it in the flesh, but I know that this great ideal stir-

ring in my country to-day will move the whole world with its might. . . .”

PAUL ELLIOTT.
in the “CALL”.
(*Extract.*)

August 1921.

INDIA'S ATTEMPTED REVOLUTION WITHOUT BLOODSHED

Probably the most remarkable movement that the world ever saw, aiming to effect a great political revolution without bloodshed,—to win, for a long-suffering subject people, freedom from an unjust foreign rule, without war,—is now being carried on in India.

India's condition under foreign rule has become simply unbearable. More than a century and a half ago she was conquered piecemeal by Great Britain, because Britain wanted her wealth, and possessed more powerful arms than she. As soon as conquered she was disarmed, and British military garrisons were placed at all strategic points in the land. Thus for 160 years she has been held in subjection by the sword.

Meanwhile, for the enrichment of her

conquerors, she has been industrially and financially bled and bled and bled, until from being a very rich nation, one of the richest in the world, she has been reduced to the point where she is now probably the very poorest civilized nation on the earth ; so that, according to British authorities themselves, from forty to sixty millions of her people never know from the year's beginning to its end, what it is to have a full meal. Although her civilization is one of the oldest in the world, and although her people are intellectually and morally little or any inferior to the British, she is not allowed to make or alter a single law under which she is compelled to live, or to control the expenditure of a single rupee of her national revenue. And although her people plead constantly for schools and education, they are kept in a shocking condition of illiteracy.

Year after year, decade after decade and generation after generation, the Indian people have been petitioning their rulers for justice, for freedom, for the right to shape their own national life, and be

men. But their petitions have been no more heeded than if they had been inhabitants of the moon.

Since the Great War, partly as the result of the return of those who survived, of the more than a million men sent to aid the Allies, India is waking up, and demanding her rights—determined no longer to remain simply a nation of helots, of slaves, of hewers of wood and drawers of water for foreign oppressors.

What does she propose to do? Probably she could not if she would (disarmed as she is) throw off her foreign yoke by force. But she prefers not to use force. She abhors bloodshed. Has she no other resource? She believes she has. She has always been pre-eminently a peace-loving nation. She believes that peaceful agencies in the end are stronger than those of war. She believes that in the end right is might. She has determined, therefore, upon a bloodless revolution. She will win her rights; she will compel England to grant them. How? Not by violence; not by indulging in even a single act of violence;

but by "*non-co-operation*" with her foreign rulers, and by *suffering*. The government cannot go on a week without the aid of the Indian people; the English cannot do business of any kind, or even live in India, without the aid of the Indian people. The Indian people propose peacefully but resolutely to strike against their foreign masters—refusing to cooperate with them in anything, or to aid them in anything until their rights are granted; and they propose to suffer, without retaliation or revenge, the penalties visited upon them, however heavy they may be. Of course, they know that the government which has not scrupled in all the past to hold them in subjection by force, and to meet every sign of insubordination with arrest, imprisonment, hanging and shooting, will not hesitate now to resort to the extremest measures to break their resolve to be free. They know that not only the strongest possible police forces, but also the army with all its enginery of machine guns and bombs and martial law, will be employed to thwart

their purpose and compel them to submit to their masters.

What will be the result? Can right win against might under such conditions? Will it be possible for the Indian people to hold out against the mighty power of England? Already arrests and imprisonments are multiplying, and the iron hand of power is being felt with increasing severity. A government which in the city of Amritsar, less than two years ago, did not hesitate to shoot to death five hundred unarmed men, women and children, and wound two thousand more, on the entirely unfounded suspicion of a disloyalist plot,—will such a government hesitate at anything? We may be certain that blood will flow in streams if the people hold out. Will they hold out? Can they? When they are goaded to frenzy, will they not strike back? Can they endure and suffer, and suffer and endure, without retaliation? The experiment is one of the most striking, startling, shall we not say heartening, that the modern world has ever witnessed.

The leader in this remarkable movement

of the Indian people to cast off a hated yoke and win freedom by peaceful means, by a strike without violence and by voluntary endurance of suffering, is Mr. M. K. Gandhi—not a warrior, of course; hardly a statesman, although he has shown some statesmanlike qualities in years past; but above all else, a saint—a man revered by all India as one of the saintliest characters it has ever produced. Mr. Gandhi has enormous influence. His word everywhere is :

“We must have no bloodshed. We have a right to our liberty; it is dearer to us than life; we will obtain it or die. But we will do no wrong; we will not kill; we will not harm our oppressors; we will not even hate them; but we will not co-operate with them in any way, in their work of tyranny and wrong, in their work of carrying on an unjust government in this country which does not belong to them; and thus we will compel them to give us our rights and our freedom.”

In a recent article published in his paper, *Young India*, Mr. Gandhi says :

“Let not our rock be violence and deviltry. Our rock must be non-violence and godliness. The success of our movement depends upon our ability to control all the forces of violence on our side. I do not plead for India to practise non-violence because she is weak. I want her to practise non-violence, being conscious of her strength and power. I want India to realize that she has a soul which cannot perish and which can rise triumphant over every physical weakness and defy the physical might of the whole world. If India takes up the doctrine of the sword she may gain momentary victory; but she will then cease to be the pride of my heart. I believe she has a mission for the world—to teach mankind the power of the soul, the power of non-violence, the power of right, holding no sword or bayonet in her hand. My life is dedicated to the service of India through the religion of non-violence, which, I believe, is the root of true Hinduism. Non-violence in its dynamic condition means conscious suffering. It does not mean meek submission to the will of the evil doer, but it means putting

one's whole soul against the will of the tyrant. Working under this law it is possible for a single individual to defy the whole might of an unjust empire. I do not believe India to be helpless. Let us in India realize that 100,000 Englishmen need not frighten 300,000,000 of human beings standing as we do on our own soil and having justice on our side."

I am sorry to say that only a few of the Christian missionaries in India side with Mr. Gandhi, or with the Indian people, in their struggle for freedom. Most side with the government, on which they are dependent for favors; just as in this country in the days of slavery, so many Christians sided with the slaveholders, and just as in all times of war so many Christians side with the powers that control the armies and the navies.

A few Christians in India, however, take the side of the people, of freedom to be obtained by non-violence, and of Mr. Gandhi. One of these is the Rev. C. F. Andrews, a very able, widely known and widely honored missionary connected with

the Church of England Mission in Delhi. Mr. Andrews pleads as strongly for freedom and self-rule for India as does Mr. Gandhi, and he also pleads as strongly with the Indian people, to determine to obtain these by peaceful means. In a recent Indian paper, Mr. Andrews writes :

“India will not be the India of my dearest religious hopes on earth if in her great struggle for freedom she turns from the path of love and peace, to follow the paths of bloodshed and violence, the pathway of the sword. It has been the one dream that has sustained me, all through these hideous years of blood-stained war and no less blood-stained peace, that India may show to Europe the true and living picture of Christ ; that India may show to the world, in act and deeds of love, what the Sermon on the Mount really means. For Europe has of late lost sight of the figure of Christ, my Master. In a recent Indian magazine there is a very wonderful poem, published by one whom I revere, Satyendra Dutt. He wrote it on Christmas day—the day of peace and goodwill—to the effect: ‘There

is no room for Christ in Europe to-day. Come, O Lord, Christ, come to India. Take thy stand in Asia, in the country of Buddha, of Sakya, Kabir, Nanak, Nitai, and Sanak.' If this great and pure movement which Mahatma Gandhi has begun only ends in violence and bloodshed, if this great and pure movement does not win by suffering and suffering alone, then my dearest religious hopes will have been in vain. But I still believe with all my heart and soul, that the people of India are gentle and humane, as no other people. I still believe that the religious message of the Buddha, Kabir and Nanak, and a thousand others—the message of my own Master, Christ—is still a living message in India to-day.

O, India, keep to that pure and true independence, the independence of the soul, the independence of the soul that wins by suffering and by loving service. Then there will come to mankind a new power of peace and goodwill on earth."

This extraordinary, this wonderful

movement, which the people of India are undertaking, to carry on a great political revolution and win their freedom in Christ's way and not in Cæsar's, by non-violence, not by violence, by suffering and being killed if need be, but not by killing, by the power of reason and right and the soul, and not by swords and bombs—this wonderful movement is one which every lover of peace and freedom and justice in the world, and especially which every believer in the religion of Jesus Christ in the world, should watch with the greatest possible interest, and the deepest possible sympathy.

Does the movement mean that India, despised India, "heathen" India, is going to teach Christendom what real Christianity is? Does it mean that India is going to show to the world that the religion of Jesus, as set forth in the Sermon on the Mount, is *practical statesmanship* and the *only* practical statesmanship, and that when the so-called Christian nations accept the real religion of Jesus and put it in practice, and not before, will wars and

tyrannies and bloody revolutions cease,
and we shall at last have freedom and
justice and peace on the earth ?

NEW YORK.
April, 1921.

J. T. SUNDERLAND.
IN "UNITY."

(Mr. Sunderland, an American-British-born, has
lived a considerable number of years in India. He
is a close student of Indian affairs.—THE EDITOR).

GANDHI AND INDIA

India has been called a land of saints, the home of religions, and, living up to her well earned reputation, she produces in our own time a man who from sheer impeccability of character, and extraordinary personality, and from loftiness and originality of doctrine and ideas, takes rank at once among the great men of the world whose mark is high enough to make for them a permanent niche in the repository of the benefactors of mankind.

No man who is in the least interested in the throbbing mass of peoples of the earth can fail to take notice of this exceptional soul called forth by a great need and destined to make a significant contribution to the very human effort which man is putting forth to get himself out of the encircling gloom into the promised land. I say "destined", but that is to detract

from the glory which already enshrines Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. I should speak in the present instead of the future tense, for the man about whom I write, not only will be but is. Indeed he is so vital a factor that he is called at once the most dangerous yet the most beloved man in India to-day.

When Lord Reading, the newly appointed Viceroy of India, reached that country, one of his first acts was a long heart to heart talk with Mr. Gandhi. * * * *

To ask who this man Gandhi is, is to ask more than one can properly answer. To many of his Indian countrymen he is Mahatma, or saint, a human being in touch with the divine, to bring relief to the suffering, food to the hungry, and satisfaction to the other physical wants of India; to enthusiastic students and members of the educated class, and to many leaders in political life he is the embodiment of a great challenge, which, if answered, must lead out into the possession of not only that which the body needs and must have, but into that indefinable

realm of the mind and spirit, the imponderable kingdom of the soul—a possession which may sound very theoretical and impracticable, yet one which is the very stuff that life, and living, human well-being, and achievement are made of.

Mr. Ben Spoor of the British Labor Party, who went to India to represent that organization at the Indian National Congress, writes:

“The West has produced a Lenin, strong, masterful, relentless alike in logic and method. The East has given birth to a Gandhi, equally strong, masterful and relentless. But whilst the former pins his faith on force, the latter relies on non-resistance. One trusts the sword, the other the spirit. In an extraordinary manner these men appear to incarnate those fundamentally opposing forces that—behind all the surface struggle of our day—are striving for the mastery.”

A learned man of India writes that no one can understand Mr. Gandhi's crusade who does not know Mr. Gandhi. Let us dispose briefly of the common facts of his

life and then undertake to see the man as he is.

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was born of an old Bania family, resident in Kathiawar, India, October 2, 1869. Politics appears to be the heritage of his fathers. Through business enterprise they had accumulated some wealth. His mother, an orthodox Hindu lady, rigidly observing religious obligations, performing in the highest manner her duties as wife and mother, could be expected to demand of her children the most desirable qualities of character. From the records one reads, young Gandhi was no disappointment to her. Mohandas Gandhi received his early training in Kathiawar and his final academic instruction in London, where he qualified as a barrister-at-law. It is reported of him during his stay in London, that he was rich and clever, of a cultivated family, gentle and modest in manner. He dressed and behaved like other people. There was nothing particular about him to show that he had taken a Jain vow to abstain from wine, from flesh, and from sexual intercourse. He

took his degree and became a successful lawyer in Bombay, but he cared more for religion than for law. Gradually his asceticism began to show itself. He gave away all his money to good causes, except the most meagre allowance. He took vows of poverty. He gradually ceased a large part of his practice at law because his religion forbade him to take part in a system which tried to do right by violence.

The beginning of Mr. Gandhi's larger life was in South Africa, whither he had been induced to go in connection with an Indian legal case of some difficulty. * * * *

Professor Gilbert Murray, writing in the *Hibbert Journal*, relates the significant part of Mr. Gandhi's South African experience:

“ In South Africa, there are some 150,000 Indians, chiefly in Natal, and the South African government, feeling that the color question in its territories was quite sufficiently difficult already, determined to prevent the immigration of any more Indians and if possible to expel those who were already there. This could not be done. It violated a treaty; it was opposed by Natal,

where much of the industry depended on Indian labor; and it was objected to by the Indian government and the home government. Then began a long struggle. The whites of South Africa determined to make life in South Africa undesirable, if not for all Indians, at least for all Indians above the coolie class. Indians were specially taxed; were made to register in a degrading way; their thumb prints were taken by the police as if they were criminals. If, owing to the scruples of the government, the law was in any case too lenient, patriotic mobs undertook to remedy the defect. Quite early in the struggle the Indians in South Africa asked Mr. Gandhi to come and help them. He came as a barrister in 1893; he was forbidden to plead; he proved his right to plead; he won his case against the Asiatic Exclusion Act on grounds of constitutional law and returned to India.

“Gandhi came again in 1895. He was almost mobbed and nearly killed at Durban. I will not tell in detail how he settled down eventually in South Africa as a leader and counsellor to his people; how he began a

settlement in the country outside Durban where the workers should live directly on the land and be bound by a vow of poverty. For many years he was engaged in constant passive resistance to the government and constant efforts to raise and ennoble the inward life of the Indian community. But he was unlike other strikers or resisters in this: that mostly the resister takes advantages of any difficulty of the government in order to press his claim the harder. Mr. Gandhi, when the government was in any difficulty that he thought serious, always relaxed his resistance and offered help. In 1899 came the Boer War. Gandhi immediately organized an Indian Red Cross Unit. There arose a popular movement for refusing it and treating it as seditious. But it was needed. The soldiers wanted it; it served throughout the war, and was mentioned in dispatches and thanked publicly for its skilful work and courage under fire. In 1904 there was an outbreak of plague in Johannesburg, and Mr. Gandhi had a private hospital opened before the government had begun to act. In

1906 there was a native rebellion in Natal. Gandhi raised and personally led a corps of stretcher bearers whose work seems to have proved particularly dangerous and painful. Gandhi was thanked by the governor of Natal and shortly afterwards thrown in jail in Johannesburg.

“Lastly, in 1913, when he was being repeatedly thrown into prison among prisoners of the lowest class and his followers in jail were to the number of 2,500 ; in the very midst of the general strike of Indians in the Transvaal and in Natal, there occurred the sudden and dangerous strike which endangered for a time the very existence of the organized society in South Africa. From the ordinary agitator’s point of view, the game was in Gandhi’s hands. He had only to strike his hardest. Instead, he gave orders for his people to resume work until the government should be safe again. I cannot say how often he was imprisoned, how often mobbed and assaulted, and what pains were taken to mortify and humiliate him in public. But by 1913 the Indian case had been taken up by Lord Hardinge and

the government of India. An imperial commission reported in his favour on most of the points at issue and an act was passed entitled the Indian Relief Act."

Manifestly, a man of such lofty ideals, so perfectly displayed in practice is bound to exert no small influence in a country like India at this period of her life. In order to understand the man himself in relation to his country it is perhaps necessary to observe a few facts of the political history of India.

India was the contemporary of great Egypt, ancient Assyria and Persia, but unlike her contemporaries of antiquity, she lives. They are dead. Through a continuous period running back to most archaic times, she has come with her literature, her religions, her customs—in short—with all that makes her justly proud to-day. One could go on and state what has become the classic theme of the demands of contemporary India. We cannot consider here the interesting facts of her kingdoms and empires, her wars and warriors, of which the Mahabharata so gloriously sings; nor

of the coming of Islam and the great empires of the Moguls. It is certainly not possible to write here of Indian society—of caste; of poverty widespread and dazzling wealth; of the depth of illiteracy which grips the country octopus-like and a culture and education as noted for their literary and scholarly achievements as for their far reach back into the haze of un-historical days; of marriage, home, and the family.

India has for centuries been a land much desired by Europe. Every school boy remembers that it was this land that Columbus sought in 1492. The immense wealth of that country as it lured on the bold discoverer of America, in the same way was the object of expeditions of the Portuguese, Dutch, French, Austrians and Germans. The tragic results of their seeking, both to themselves and to India, form interesting yet harrowing reading. Intrigue, murder, robbery—wholesale pillage—all for the wealth of the Indies!

In 1600 Queen Elizabeth granted a charter to what became known later as the

East India Company. This Company established in India trading-posts and settlements and built forts to protect its ports and settlements. It sent out governors and a governor-general and when it applied at London for charters and courts of justice, it got charters and courts of justice; then follows the sordid yet romantic period of Lord Clive Warren Hastings, and others (see Macaulay and Burke), until the East India Company ceased to exist in the Sepoy War of 1857 and the British crown assumed the sovereignty of this country and its millions in 1858. Upon and out of this more than half-century of foreign rule, a rule of which one reads great good and much evil, comes what is to-day termed "Indian unrest", and upon the very crest of this wave Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi occupies his position.

These 315,000,000 people, largely poor and illiterate, though with a highly cultured and educated leadership, what is it they want and in what is it that Gandhi is for many of them the spokesman? * * *

One could mention an almost unending

list of complaints, demands, memorials and resolutions. Each year it appears the leaders of the people have become more bold and have given increased expression to their larger and national aspiration. A demand granted has only served to reveal their miserable weakness and the mighty strength of the power that granted it. Thus has a new state of mind come upon this country almost with the suddenness of the dawn of day but with the same surety of travel and background as that upon which dawn depends. Instead of a half loaf, the whole is desired. The same sort of patience is no longer advocated and a conditional loyalty to the British Empire is preached.

Without doubt the war primarily and other subsequent developments have given the immediate impetus to the rising tide of new and popular thought. But it is possible for almost every Indian to name specifically definite overt acts and administrative measures which led an erstwhile patient and philosophic people into a state which an unfriendly reporter characterizes

as "an atmosphere surcharged with heat and an horizon obscured by smoke screens of racial passion." Of the overt acts, the one which touched the very quick of the people's heart, was the Amritsar massacre whereby several hundred Indian men, women and children were shot dead under the order of a British general and hundreds of others were left wounded. And this because these unarmed people refused to obey the order of the British general to disperse!

In the second place, the Moslems of India are dissatisfied over the turn events have taken during the past three years which, they claim, humiliate Islam and completely subjugate the Mohammedan world to the Christian. Their deepest feelings are stirred over what is to them a studied insult to their religion. The very heart of India's racial self-respect is stirred. But behind these two questions just referred to the *New Republic* states: "There is a greater and all embracing one, that of national wrong and shame of which every Indian is sensitive."

Upon a governmental report on the Amritsar massacre Mr. Gandhi writes: "The condonation of the Punjab atrocities has completely shattered my faith in the good intentions of the government and the nation supporting it."

Thus begins the newer attitude of Indian leaders towards Britain! New terms, or rather old terms with new meanings are now the order of the day. *Swaraj*, non-co-operation, non-violence, and Gandhism, are the terms which have turned the eyes of the world upon the man responsible for their use, and have won for him the devoted following of great masses of his own people.

March 1922.

THE CRISIS.

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NON-CO-OPERATION PROGRAMME.

Never in the history of the world has it happened that a prophet of a new political and spiritual idealism has had during his lifetime such a following as has Mahatma Gandhi of India to-day. This man has brought into politics a new and unique alignment, and into the domain of war a new explosive, a most powerful explosive, which he calls "soul force." Some one has said of him, "It is becoming increasingly evident that Gandhi is one of the great characters of history—one of those 'pale thinkers' whom Emerson described as being let loose on this planet now and then for its purification." But the Mahatma is more than this. He is the recognized leader of a resurgent Asia, and of an India reborn, for India's present unrest is but part of a great continental movement, a stupendous spiritual revolt of nearly a

billion people against materialism—a materialism that found tragic demonstration in the great war.

* * * *

Non-co-operation as practised by many millions of Indians to-day amounts to a complete boycott of everything English—an amplified, glorified boycott that makes it an act of wrong-doing for an Indian to buy and use anything of English manufacture, to attend English schools, enter English courts, or accept honors of any kind from the government. All this being entered into, Gandhi insists, with no spirit of retaliation or of hate, which this leader reiterates shall have no place in a programme that works to the end of self-discipline—individually and nationally. All this means that every community must be self-supporting for cloth; that Hindu-Muslim unity must prevail; that Hinduism must be rid of the curse of “untouchability,” that the people must aim for self-purification through the avoidance of drink and drugs; and, last and most important, that non-violence must be religiously observed.

It is the last requirement that makes the Indian revolutionary programme unique in the history of revolutions. In a recent issue of his paper, *Young India*, Gandhi says :

“The success of our movement depends upon our ability to control all the forces of violence on our side . . . I want India to realize that she has a soul which can not perish and which can rise triumphant over every physical weakness and defy the physical might of the whole world.”

In March just before his arrest he said :
“*Swaraj* by non-violence must be a progressively peaceful revolution such as the transference of power from a close corporation to the people’s representatives, and as natural as the dropping of a fully ripe fruit from a well-nurtured tree. . . . If we approach our programme with the mental reservation that after all we shall wrest the power from the British by force of arms, then we are untrue to our profession of non-violence. If we believe in our programme then we are bound to believe that the British are not unamenable to the

force of affection as they are undoubtedly amenable to the force of arms."

As Gandhi sees it, violence is *no-raj*, but the non-co-operation programme faithfully carried out leads to *Swaraj*, that is to say self-government for one-fifth of the people of the globe. And non-co-operation is simply an organized refusal to help the ruling class to rule; the boycott takes the place of mobilization—love takes the place of bitterness and ill-will! For the first time in the history of the world a great people have set out to win freedom by opposing to the strength of the opposition the willingness to suffer until might shall have been put under foot by right. It is a determined effort to effect a great political revolution without shedding the blood of the enemy. It is fighting in Christ's way rather than Cæsar's.

* * *

The gentle Aryan of the East has faith that the long-time gathering rancor of an oppressed people can be sublimated to the heights of renunciation, that the teachings of the Christ can be the guiding star of

120 GANDHI—NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE

India to-day, leading the way not alone to freedom for India, but pointing the way to the future peace of the world. If Gandhi and his people can succeed—against what seem to be fearful odds—then indeed the West must again sit at the feet of the East as it did long ago, and learn again the ancient message of love and pity, of tolerance and simplicity, which to-day it is far on the way to forget.

BLANCHE WATSON

IN "THE UNIVERSALIST LEADER"

BOSTON }
July 1922. }

(Extract).

INDIA AND BRITISH DOMINATION

Many Englishmen try to justify themselves for holding India in subjection by saying "We are only doing what has always been done. India has always been a subject nation. She has always been ruled by foreigners because she is incapable of ruling herself. Therefore we are doing her no wrong. If we were not there some other foreign power would be, which would not govern her so well as we do. Therefore we feel wholly justified in continuing our domination. Indeed, we consider that we are doing her a kindness by continuing our rule."

What is to be said in reply to this claim? The reply to be made is that the claim is pure fiction. Instead of India always having been a subject nation ruled by a foreign power, never before in all her long history of 3,000 years has she had such an experience. The present British

domination is the first foreign rule of any duration she has ever known. To be sure at different times foreign conquerors have swept with their armies across her borders and over parts of her territory, but always these invasions have been of only portions of India or else they have been temporary, or both.

Probably the foreign rule that these Englishmen have primarily in mind is that of the Mogul Emperors who reigned over most of India during the centuries immediately preceding the coming of the British. But those Mogul Rulers were not foreigners in any such sense as the British Rulers of India are. The first of their number, Baber, came from a foreign land ; but he settled down in India and both he and all his successors made India their permanent home, identified themselves wholly with the interests of India and ruled the land as Indians, not as foreign sovereigns.

They were foreign in the sense in which the sovereigns of England have been foreign since the time of William the Con-

queror. William came from abroad, but he came to be an English, not a foreign, King, and all his successors have regarded England as their own country, and have reigned as English kings and queens.

The Mogul rulers of India were foreign only in the sense that all the presidents of the United States have been foreign. All the presidents have been descendants of men who came to America at some time from foreign lands. But they came to make America their home and to be Americans, and therefore their descendants are rightly thought of as Americans.

In exactly the same way the Mogul Emperors are rightly to be considered as Indian rulers, not as foreigners.

But the case of the present rule of Great Britain in India is wholly different. These British rulers are foreigners and never become anything else. They are born thousands of miles from India; they come to India for the distinct purpose of ruling the country as a foreign and subject land; they never identify themselves with

the people whom they rule; often they do not even learn to speak the language, but are obliged to depend upon subordinates for communication with the people; they never call India home; as soon as their terms of office are over, they hasten back to England, the land where all their interests and hearts are.

It is as if a nation in a distant part of the world—say the Japanese—should come by a long sea voyage to England, conquer the country, depose its own rulers, and thereafter, without the consent of the English, govern it arbitrarily, wholly by men sent from Japan, who never settle in England and never identify themselves permanently with England's interests, but are there to exploit the country for Japan's benefit and return to home to Japan as soon as their periods of office expire. That is exactly the rule which Great Britain maintains in India. Instead of being in line with previous Indian experience, it is something absolutely new in Indian history.

And because it is so new, so wholly

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foreign, so wholly arbitrary, so wholly without the consent of the Indian people, and so wholly out of sympathy with Indian aspirations and ideals, it is more galling than any rule that India has ever known.

November 1921.

J. T. SUNDERLAND
IN "UNITY."

AN AMERICAN AT THE ALL-INDIA NATIONAL CONGRESS OF 1920.

[The writer of this article is a mining engineer, just back from five years spent in India. He learned to speak one of the Indian languages and to understand bits of several. His work carried him into the small towns and off the beaten trails, so that he writes from first-hand, comprehensive observation. Because of his interest in Indian affairs he was invited to sit in the Indian National Congress of 1920, the only member who was not an Indian. His view point is one of sympathy with Indian problems.—THE EDITOR.]

STAND on an Indian railway station as the sun goes down. You will see here and there figures at prayer. Standing, kneeling, prostrating themselves on little rugs, they find even in that busy spot time for this most important duty of all. They are Mohammedans, followers of what our Christian world considers a religion of sensuality and blood. But look at them closely and you will see that they are men, simple, sincere, unashamed to pray. Think

what you will of their religion you cannot deny that there is something manly in it; men praying as men who believe should. One fact that must be admitted by every unprejudiced observer is that whatever may have been the achievements of Christianity in India in the past, it is utterly without influence among the Indian people to-day.

India speaks, not only for India but for all the non-European races, and she speaks not only to Britain but to the world. Her plea is that there must be made room, not only for our type of civilization, but for the Indian, the Chinese, the Japanese and perhaps the African type as well.

The troubled conditions which exist in India are much more than a protest against British rule. They are the conflict of two radically different systems of human organization. For the first time the civilization of Europe has failed to penetrate. In all previous contacts with darker skinned races white institutions have rapidly swept before them the traces of whatever civilization may have existed prior to their

advent. Thus the failure of European institutions to establish themselves in India after several centuries of effort is one of the most significant facts facing humanity to-day.

Railways, factories, mines, colonial empires, their spread has been so rapid, so irresistible for the last 100 years, that we have all but forgotten that no civilization is the ultimate civilization; that the peoples who are dominant to-day have not always been so and that the human race is a greater institution than the white race.

* * * *

It is the ideal of the young Indian of today to build up a new civilization which will re-create in India the glories of her past. He recognizes clearly the more glaring faults of the present Hindu system and is endeavoring to correct them. But he is determined also that this new social structure shall be a thing essentially Indian, uncrippled by any alien control and in which all that is best in the Indian spirit shall have every opportunity to grow and expand.

This was the state of affairs when the results of years of patient statesmanship were swept away in an hour by the folly of one man. There is in India a class of Englishman occupying usually high administrative posts who belong to an age which they fail to realize has passed away. The Indian army officer is almost invariably of this class. He belongs mentally in those "kick the nigger days" which existed before the idea of the rights of minor peoples had been brought forth. The men in power during the war in the Punjab, the district in which most of the Indian overseas troops were recruited, were pre-eminently of this class.

There was considerable unrest in the Punjab accompanied by riots in which one or two Europeans were killed. According to Indian opinion this unrest was the outcome of unwise recruiting activities and injudicious use of the Rowlatt Act, a measure passed in spite of vehement Indian protest, giving to the Government the power to employ the most extreme measures when any condition threatening

public peace was suspected. According to the official version, it was the outcome of the general depravity of the Punjabi, his hatred of British rule and a widespread plot to bring about a repetition of the great Indian mutiny of 1857.

I was present in the State of Mayurbhanj during the uprisings among the Santals, which took place in 1916. After seeing the effect there of overzealous recruiting methods among a primitive and ignorant people, I am inclined to accept the Indian version as correct.

As a result of this state of affairs, General Dyer, who was in command of the British troops in Amritsar, caused notices to be put up forbidding all public assemblies. A few hours after the posting of these notices a large crowd of Indians assembled in the Jalianwalla Bagh, one of the public squares of the city. It is doubtful if in a population so illiterate the notices were thoroughly understood, or if in the short time since their issue their significance had been generally realized. It is also doubtful

if any copies of the notice were posted in this particular spot where the meeting took place. The crowd was apparently a peaceful one and if armed at all carried only sticks.

Carried away by the fear of a general uprising, General Dyer closed the outlets to the square with his troops, opened fire with machine guns and did not cease until 380 persons had been killed. This was followed by the bombing of outlying villages from air-planes and the enforcement of degrading indignities upon the public. Indians were permitted, for example, to pass a certain street only on their hands and knees.

India was stunned. A special meeting of the National Congress was convened to consider what should be done. It met in Calcutta. I was there at the time and was asked by a number of my Punjabi friends to act as a member of their delegation. I accepted the invitation with some reluctance, as I knew that there would be extremely few Europeans present and I did not

know to what extremities the crowd might be driven by the inflammatory speeches which I felt would be made.

A structure of bamboo poles roofed with palm-leaves, like a great circus tent, had been erected, enclosing a large part of one of the public squares. Within, the pillars and roof had been draped with white cloth. It was packed with row upon row of quiet, orderly humanity facing a raised platform. Every inch of legitimate space was filled, but the aisles were kept clear, the exits free and the whole immense gathering was handled in a way which would have done credit to any organization in the world.

The President of the Congress was Lajpat Rai, who had just been permitted to return from a long exile abroad. Near him on the platform sat the slight figure of Gandhi, of whom so much was to be heard. As far as I could see I was the only white person present, but I need have felt no alarm. I was guided politely to my seat under

a large sign marked Punjab. Printed copies of the speeches and proceedings were thrust into my hand. References or allusions which I might not have understood were eagerly explained. The tone of the meeting was one not of anger or excitement, but rather of dignified mourning over a national misfortune. It was impressive in its restraint. One felt that all hope of compromise was past, that India was definitely turning her back on England and that she was setting her foot irrevocably in a new way.

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E. H. DICKENSON
June 1922. IN "NEW YORK TIMES"
(*Extract*)

"THE GREATEST MAN ON EARTH TO-DAY."

That is what the great poet Rabin-dranath Tagore calls him. He says: "To see a whole nation of different races, of differing temperaments and ideals, joining hands to follow a saint, that is a modern miracle and only possible in India. I do not agree with Gandhi in many things, but I give him my utmost reverence and admiration. He is not only the greatest man in India, he is the greatest man on earth to-day."

John Haynes Holmes, the famous preacher, says of him that Gandhi has the spirit and ideals of Jesus, and that under his leadership for the first time in the history of the world the Sermon on the Mount is being put in practice on a national scale.

The world is desperately in need of great

men to-day—in need of great saints and great statesmen more than any other kinds of great men, some of us think. So that when we hear the story of a man who is both great saint and great statesman it becomes both a pleasure and a duty to tell about him and what he is trying to do.

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi is about fifty three years old. He was educated first in India and then went to England to study law. He was called to the bar in 1891. After a short legal career in Bombay he went to South Africa to conduct an important case. There he found that his fellow-countrymen were suffering constant injustice and persecution at the hands of the British Colonials. Most of the Indians in South Africa were indentured workingmen, without education, money or social position. Gandhi, a high caste Hindu, the son of the Prime Minister of a great Native State in India, a lawyer of promise, decided to settle in South Africa and cast in his lot with these poor "coolies." For eight years he fought

the battle of Indian rights,—fought hard, steadily and constitutionally. His chief weapon was the ancient Quaker one of non-resistance. He and his followers refused to obey the laws which they felt to be unjust and went to prison in the spirit that our ancestors showed when they suffered for the right to worship God according to their own consciences. More than once angry mobs threatened Gandhi with death. He and his compatriots were “led out in prison garb to grace General Smuts’ triumph under Kaffir guards armed with rhinoceros-hide whips.” In the end he won—won the respect of the whites and the cause of Indian constitutional freedom in South Africa.

Of the struggle he himself says: “We did not want to be governed by the Asiatic Act of 1907 of the Transvaal. . . . Two courses were open to us—to use violence when we were called upon to submit to the Act, or to suffer the penalties prescribed under the Act, and thus to draw out and exhibit the force of the soul within us for a period long enough to

appeal to the sympathetic chord in the governors or the law makers. We have taken long to achieve what we set about striving for. That was because our Passive Resistance was not of the most complete type. . . . For the exercise of the purest soul-force, in its perfect form, brings about instantaneous relief. For this exercise, prolonged training of the individual soul is an absolute necessity, so that a perfect Passive Resister has to be almost, if not entirely, a perfect man. We cannot all suddenly become such men, but, if my proposition is correct—as I know it to be correct—the greater the spirit of Passive Resistance in us, the better men we will become. Its use, therefore, is, I think, indisputable, and it is a force which if it became universal, would revolutionize social ideals and do away with despotism and the ever-growing militarism under which the nations of the West are groaning and are being almost crushed to death, and which fairly promises to overwhelm even the nations of the East.”

The name "Passive Resistance" for such an irresistible force as Gandhi here describes is an unfortunate one. It won religious liberty in England in the seventeenth century as used by George Fox and his fellow-believers. It won Indian rights in South Africa as used by Gandhi in the early nineteen hundreds. It is being used again under his leadership in the greatest experiment in practical religion and government since the days of Fox and Penn. For Mahatma ("Saint," as they call him) Gandhi is trying to win national freedom for India by a great national movement using non-co-operation and non-violence as spiritual substitutes for war. The whole nation is in a state of revolt against British rule, and there are many Indians who would use violence, even terrorism, but the popular idol is Mahatma Gandhi, and so far his programme has the official sanction of the Indian National Congress. To understand the significance of what is now going on in India one must have some knowledge of its economic and political condition.

After many years of British rule the average income per capita is \$10.00 per annum for India's 315,000,000 people. At 1916 prices, one meal of rice a day would cost \$10.95 per annum. In addition, taxes according to the new budget are exacted in cash averaging \$1.40 per capita. "Is it any wonder," as Norman Thomas says, "that large sections of the population are living under famine conditions, that between 5,000,000 and 7,000,000 of these undernourished people died of influenza, and that 75,000,000 are receiving barely one square meal in two days? This starving people contribute to Imperial Britain for the benefits of her administration and interest on capital an amount estimated variously between \$100,000,000 and \$200,000,000." To stop the unrest which this condition of affairs has produced, England has resorted to martial law, with the result, as the Duke of Connaught put it, that "the shadow of Amritsar has lengthened over the fair face of India." India is in revolt. * * * * *

A new India is being built and when the

inner walls of the regenerated civilization are strong enough to stand, the outer walls will tumble to pieces." As Gandhi himself put it, "*The Times of India* considers the non-co-operation movement to be 'an easy descent to hell.' I respectfully urge that it is a difficult ascent to heaven. If it was a movement to produce anarchy, surely it could be precipitated any moment."

Part of the secret of Gandhi's success with the masses lies in his simple life, which is a proof of his absolute sincerity. His life, like his movement, is based "on self-sacrifice, self-discipline, unflinching determination and the capacity for unlimited suffering."

He lives as simply as possible. He eats only vegetables, rice and nuts. He sits on a mat on the floor and sleeps on hard planks. He dresses like a workingman and walks barefoot. He travels third class.

Gandhi is fearless. He says in one of his writings, "A man who has realized his manhood, who fears only God, will fear no one else. If man will only realize that it is unmanly to obey laws that are unjust,

no man's tyranny will enslave him. This is the key to self-rule."

If he lives, a man like this has a great part to play in the future of the world. Whether we agree with him in his attitude toward the British or in all the details of his programme, we must acknowledge that he is a great man, attempting against great odds one of the greatest experiments that the world has ever seen. As Tagore says, "The soul of India has found a worthy symbol in Gandhi; for he is most eloquently proving that man is essentially a spiritual being, that he flourishes the best in the realm of the moral and the spiritual, and most positively perishes both body and soul in the atmosphere of hatred and gunpowder smoke." Was such a lesson ever more sorely needed in our war-worn Western world?

ANNE G. W. PENNELL.
IN "THE FRIEND"

PHILADELPHIA.

March 1922.

GANDHI AND NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE

“Victory is complete if non-violence reigns supreme in spite of arrests. We have stipulated to go to prison without feeling angry or injured.— And if we are neither cowed down nor provoked to violence but are able to continue National work, **we have certainly attained Swaraj.** For no power on earth can stop the onward march of peaceful, determined, and godly peoples.”

M. K. GANDHI.

Much has been said and written about the economic bases of revolution, but it has taken a “Saint,”—one who declares that he is a religious man trying to put religion into politics—to come the closest to proving this premise. The spinning-wheel is deciding India’s destiny to-day! It is the crux of the unique programme that Mahatma Gandhi has laid down for 315,000,000 people who have declared that the time has come for the British to get out of their country. It is the instrument

that will make British occupation less and less profitable as the days go by,—and there are those who say that if the profit is taken out of this business of “protecting” India the British rule will cease forthwith.

The spinning-wheel is the symbol on the new Indian flag—and well it may be, for it and Mahatma Gandhi together have put the fear of God into the British Raj, as never a fighting-man of the old type has done in a hundred and sixty years of this foreign rule that Indians now say must go. “England could never have held us all these years,” says Gandhi, “had we not co-operated with her. If then we would be free we must refuse to co-operate in any way with any part of the machinery of her domination.” But the rejection side of the problem is not all. Non-co-operation has a positive as well as a negative side, and the positive side provides for the building up of a virile, independent, and self-disciplined India. It means the building up of the ancient village organization system, the reviving of Indian industries, the creation

of Indian arbitration courts, the starting of new schools—the opportunity to live as a free nation. It is a call to one-fifth of the human race to cease to co-operate with the government that is demoralizing *both* Indians and Englishmen, and build a new and a better government.

But this is not all. Behind this weapon there must be always the non-violent attitude. Non-violence in word, thought, and deed must mark every step of the way to Self-Government. "Every step forward," he has declared, "must be taken with the greatest deliberation and calmness. ... An outbreak of violence would retard our progress and may even indefinitely postpone Swaraj. ... The Struggle is prolonged to the extent *that we fail to understand the implications of non-violence*. ... If non-co-operators get angry and retaliate, *they lose the battle*,—whereas if they suffer, they win *without fail* and without delay."

Gandhi is in prison. Something is happening in India but the censorship lets little or nothing through. Gandhi said to

his followers on his departure for his six-year sentence, "Carry on the programme with clock-work regularity and the speed of the Punjab express." If India were running rivers of blood however,—as was predicted by those people of little faith in the great principles of Gandhi that have never been without an advocate, be it said, from the time of Laotze, the venerable Chinese sage even down to the present day,—we should hear of it; so, no news may be taken for good news.

Just before his arrest, Gandhi wrote in comment upon a letter of appreciation from an English lady:

"This is a terrible struggle. It is NOT based on hate though men who hate are in it. It is a struggle that is based on love, pure and undefiled. If I felt any hate towards Englishmen or those who in their blindness are associated with the administration, I have the courage to retire from the struggle. A man who has the least faith in God and His mercy—which is His justice—cannot hate men through at the same time he must hate their evil ways... This struggle therefore is intended to make friends with Englishmen and the whole world."

Gandhi has declared that he has a message for the whole world, that his is the universal gospel, that the welfare of humanity is his goal. Recently he said more explicitly that the aim of the non-co-operators should be to hold up the ideal that government in the future must rest not on brute force, but on moral force. And, inexplicable as it must seem to many—indeed to most of us—Gandhi has most sincerely at heart the spiritual advancement of the oppressors of his people as well as of the oppressed Indians. This is the logical outcome of his oft-expressed thought that the rule of the British was quite as demoralizing to the British as to the Indian people. Gandhi is far more than a nationalist leader. He is without a doubt, a supreme religious teacher, as well as one of the noble line of exemplars of the non-resistant theory, that includes Isaiah, St. Francis, Tolstoi, and our own Thoreau. The core of his spiritual message is the establishment of Moral or Truth force as the basis of relationship between governments; the elimination of all racial

prejudice within the human family; and the substitution of Love for antagonism and ill-will. He looks beyond India to the various dominions where Indians are discriminated against, and beyond Indians to the rest of the world. He knows that what all religions teach is right—only the teaching has never been completely applied. He desires that India shall teach to the world the greatest lesson of all time, that consistent Right must prevail far more surely than Right which calls on Wrong for aid. “Not that the resort to arms is wrong when people have no other”; says an editorial in the *Bombay Chronicle*—“Not that honest anger under oppression is a sin; *but both are imperfections.....* The world deems George Washington and De Valera great men and splendid patriots. Many in the world deem Lenin and Trotsky the same. On these the imperfect way to freedom *was forced*—the way of honest anger and bloodshed. But on Mahatma Gandhi and India lies no such compulsion. We cannot but believe that the great God has so adjusted these modern circum-

tances called 'economic conditions' as to allow India *alone of all the nations of the earth*, to prove to a distracted world that God is its ruler and that God's law must prevail. For we in India are so strong in our position. We are unassailable *if only we preserve faith in non-violent non-co-operation.*" And these are the words of a Mohammedan. This is all very well, but it will be asked what about the India of to-day? Says the New York *Nation* speaking of Gandhi:

"Consider the man. In the space of a few years he has done more for his people than any government in centuries. He has been the bearer of new hope and human dignity to the Untouchables; he has been the weaver of bonds of unity between the Moslems and Hindus whom the British would keep asunder; he has fought the liquor traffic which was debasing his people, and the infamous opium monopoly, by which for its own profit, the British Government menaces not only India but all mankind. He has given to revolution non-violent instruments which promise the release of humanity from the seeming necessity of wars for freedom. He has sincerely preached love for the enemy.

* * * * *

Nothing succeeds like success—and Gandhi—imprisoned as he is to-day is successful beyond the wildest hopes and dreams of the despised pacifists who steadily held to the belief that there was a better way than had yet been tried, to settle the disputes of humans on this planet. The very severity of the repressive acts of the Government, the 25 thousand or more in jail to-day—three thousand imprisoned in the space of a month, two hundred in one day in Calcutta—all this extremity as Gandhi has observed, is but the proof that victory is at hand for the non-co-operators. And what can the action of a stupid officialdom that imprisons such a man as Mahatma Gandhi attest but approaching defeat for the Government?

This blundering move on the part of a well-nigh distracted bureaucracy is proof enough—if proof were needed—that the British are *not* in India for the good of the Indians. More than that, it proves quite conclusively that no imperialistic governments function in the interests of the people. They exist for the profit and power

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of the ruling class. "As little to-day in India, as yesterday in Palestine," says John Haynes Holmes in *Unity*, "it is possible for a government to co-operate with, or even tolerate a man who is single-heartedly devoted to the higher interests of humankind. Gandhi, like Jesus before him, is a dangerous man—to *Pilate!* Therefore he must be led to Calvary."

But Calvary for Jesus of Nazareth was the triumph of humanity. The descent from the cross began a new day for countless millions. And when the prison doors open for Mahatma Gandhi there will begin, please God, a new day for India's teeming millions. Far more—there will have been made the beginning of a new era for the whole world.

May 1922.

BLANCHE WATSON
IN "THE MESSENGER"

A GREAT MAN AND A GREAT BOOK

Note.—The approaching session of the All-India Congress, to be held in the last week of December, makes an article on Gandhi, the leader of the Nationalist forces of that country, timely and worth while. Without some understanding of the philosophy, the methods and the aims of this remarkable man, the activities of this great gathering—news of which are bound to reach us here in America—will be difficult of comprehension. As it is, one can say that it needs almost a new mind to grasp the essentials of the non-violent resistance movement, which, while the body of its leader is imprisoned, is still being led by his spirit. The success of the non-violent, non-co-operation programme, to date, can best be estimated by the measure and the kind of repression that it has aroused. Between thirty-five and forty thousand men—the flower of the Indian race—are at present in jail. What the year's Congress is to accomplish will be a matter of great moment, very likely for the whole world.—Editor.

"Non-violence is the law of our species as violence is the law of the brute. The spirit lies dormant in the brute and he knows no law but that of physical force. The dignity of man requires obedience to a higher law—the strength of the spirit."—M. K. Gandhi.

In the pages of the Hibbert Journal, Professor Gilbert Murray—during the first years of the war—brought forward the unique figure of a man whom the years immediately succeeding the war, were to see developed into a world personality. That man, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, is to-day being held up to the world as the ablest and truest mouth-piece of India's dreams and ideals. It is as author that this article is to treat of him,—the author of a little book with the unassuming title—“Hind Swaraj” (Hindu Self-Government). “It is certainly my good fortune,” he writes in the Introduction, “that this booklet of mine is receiving wide attention.” Continuing, he says, “It was written in 1908 in answer to the Indian school of violence and its prototype in South Africa. I felt that violence was no remedy for India's ills and that her civilization required the use of a different and higher weapon. . .”

The doctrine of “passive resistance” may be said to be the central thought in the book. Gandhi does not like this

phrase however. He feels that it does not convey the full beauty of the method which centers around the returning of good for evil, and the replacing of all hate and bitterness by love. "Methods of violence," he says—"are like weeds,—they will grow anywhere; but for the growth of passive resistance, it is necessary that the ground be cleared by self-sacrifice and self-discipline."

The idea of non-co-operation as a weapon to replace force of arms and to supplement passive resistance,—or non-violent resistance, which is a more adequate characterization,—is merely suggested in the book though it is outlined in the Introduction written to a recent edition. (Published by Ganesh & Co. Madras, Price As. 6.) As a matter of fact this weapon, as it exists today, was forged since the writing of the book, but that the idea was even then taking shape in the mind of the author is indicated quite clearly in the rules for action looking toward "Swaraj."

War, to Gandhi, is the outstanding vice of the "Satanic materialism" of the West,

and against it he directs the full force of his energy, both as a religious teacher and a political leader,—for he is both.

To Gandhi, that civilization is permanent which outlives its trial, and the strength of India, he believes, is “immeasurable” and is seen in the fact that it has survived the shock of its purging process.

Most of us, it is likely, would argue that passive, that is to say “non-violent,” resistance is a splendid weapon for the weak, but that the strong take up arms. Gandhi’s reply to this embodies the best possible characterization of the doctrine that Jesus of Nazareth taught, and which he lived. He says:

“This is gross ignorance. Passive resistance, that is, soul-force, is matchless. It is superior to the force of arms . . . Physical-force men are strangers to the courage that is requisite in a passive resister. Do you believe a coward can disobey a law that he dislikes? . . . Passive resistance is an all-sided sword; it blesses him who uses it and him against whom it is used. Without drawing a drop

of blood it produces far-reaching results. It never rusts and cannot be stolen. It is not the weapon of the weak but of the strong. Competition between passive resisters does not exhaust . . . Those who defy death are free from all weakness."

Gandhi puts forward the unique thought that strength means the absence of fear, not the quantity of flesh and muscle on one's body, nor the keen edge of one's sword. To do a thing that violates one's conscience, he insists, argues fear. Fear then must be eliminated, for those alone can follow the path of truth who are free from fear.

He points out that passive resistance does not require the training of an army; it needs no Jiu-Jitsu. Control over the mind is alone necessary, and when that is attained, man is free like the king of the forest, and his very glance withers the enemy. "One who is free from hatred requires no sword."

The personality of Gandhi is so closely identified with all his writings, and particularly with this "Hind Swaraj" that it is

difficult to discuss them apart from the author. Whatever may be one's estimate of Gandhi the political leader it must be admitted that "Hind Swaraj" is a big little book. It is unfortunate that there are but few copies in the country, for its spirit and trend should be known. The author has said that it will appeal to the heart of a child. It teaches the gospel of love in place of hate. It replaces violence with self-sacrifice. It pits soul-force against brute-force. One almost needs a new mind to follow a person who talks about "the moral stature of a nation" and "the power of suffering,"—who speaks of "spiritualizing industry," and declares that "politics divorced from religion is like a corpse fit to be buried."

A noted Englishman, Colonel Wedgewood, has said publicly that one does not think it blasphemous to compare the Mahatma to Christ. It is only in the light of some such understanding that one is enabled to approach the writings of this man, and his spoken word, which together have been the means of creating in the

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Indian people a wholly new psychology which has brought together age-old religious antagonists like the Hindus and Mohammedans.

People of all races, castes, tongues and creeds have come under the spell of this great leader of the Hindus, who, with every last energy of soul and body, has dedicated himself to the service of humanity. Those who know him say that he has discarded every last vestige of self-indulgence, that no slightest desire of the flesh shall stand in the way of devotion to his ideals. And the man is reflected in his book. At the end he says, speaking of Swaraj, "I have endeavored to explain it as I understand it, and my conscience testifies that my life henceforth is dedicated to its attainment."

BLANCHE WATSON
IN "PEARSON'S MAGAZINE"
November 1922.

MAHATMA GANDHI OF INDIA.

(WRITTEN FOR CHILDREN)

About two thousand years ago there lived a man who said, "He that taketh the sword shall perish by the sword,"—that is, he tried to make people see that war was wrong—that all killing was wrong—because all human life was sacred. The world, since that time, has listened to that message, but it has not understood it, or even tried to understand it. All of which means that Jesus came before the world was ready for him, and not, being ready, it crucified him.

When I say "the world," I do not mean everybody in it. There were some people who did understand what Jesus taught, and who tried to live by those teachings.

To-day, on the other side of the world, in far-away India, a man is preaching as did Jesus of Nazareth, "Love your enemies."

Like Jesus, he goes out under the blue sky and gathers the people around him.

Now India is a nation numbering more than three hundred million souls, and the people of India have decided that they want the right to govern themselves as we govern ourselves in this country, as they governed themselves a great many years ago. Usually when a people decide that they want to be independent (as we call it) they "go to war,"—that is, they gather together armies and go out and kill one another, forgetting what Jesus said, forgetting that we are all brothers and that God is our Father.

This man, who is leading the Indian people,—“Saint” Gandhi, they call him,—is giving, to his people the message of our Christian leader. He, too, says, “He that taketh the sword shall perish by the sword,” and the people are responding in the most wonderful way. They have the utmost faith in him, a faith that has led many to lay down their lives for him and the movement he is leading.

You ask me, “Why?”

Let me tell you. Gandhi says, "Do not have anything to do with this alien government and the people it sends here to rule us; but do not hurt them, do not lift a hand against them: just love them." Now when a man persists in loving you, in spite of all you do to him, you can't keep on hating and misusing that man forever.

Mankind, it would seem, is beginning to realize that love is mighty, that love is constructive, that it builds.

Gandhi says to his people, "If you follow my way, you will be a free people"; and when he speaks thus—this little man who has to sit in a chair on a table when he speaks—people do follow him. It is said that no one can argue with him, that it is difficult indeed to look into his brilliant eyes. Do you know why this is? Because of the strength of his spirit. It is the spirit—the spirit of God Himself that blazes there, and his word is the same word of God that Jesus gave the world.

Will the people of India hold out? Will Gandhi succeed? Is the world to learn the lesson that war is murder, that Christ's

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way is the better way, that love is the
“greatest thing in the world”?

Let us all watch India—and Gandhi!

BOSTON,

June 1922.

BLANCHE WATSON

IN “THE BEACON”

ENGLISH OPINION

INDIA'S SAINT

India is drifting into anarchy. To understand what is now happening in India one must first understand Mahatma Gandhi, and then the state of the clay which he is moulding. The saint or Mahatma has India at his feet; the *intelligentsia* differs from him in private, rarely in public; property differs from him and trembles; the Government, any Government, differs from him (because he goes to the root of all Government), and thinks it best to—wait.

The last time I saw him he was sitting cross-legged on a mattress on the floor, eating a dish of rice, and surrounded by a semi-circle of squatting disciples. All he wore was his small white convict cap and a pair of coarse white trousers. "Why have you not brought Mrs. Wedgwood?" said he. On the whole, I was glad I had not, for I know few things more unpleasant

than being perched up on a chair, in boots, when all around are silent strangers on the floor.

Gandhi specializes in giving up, in reducing his wants; his recreation is fasting, and making his disciples fast. He looks so physically frail and weak and small that one could carry him as one does a child, and he makes one feel like that towards him. He is as serious as any child, and as pure. All this has captured India. One does not feel it blasphemous to compare him with Christ; and Christ, too, one suspects, gave infinite trouble to reasonable and respectable followers. For Gandhi is a philosophic anarchist—a new edition of Tolstoy, without Tolstoy's past, and a Tolstoy who has long since subdued Nature and shrunk into simplicity.

He tells me that when first he came to London he took lessons in dancing and elocution to fit himself for the polite world. But he is a Jain, peculiarly averse to taking life, and, while still a child, he had already found the efficacy of non-resistance; he now came upon Ruskin's

"Unto this Last," and the dancing lessons ceased. A loathing of civilization, especially Western civilization, grew up. He read Tolstoy's "The Kingdom of Heaven is within You," and it fitted in. In South Africa, in the early years of the century he was still nominally a lawyer, but the practice died out, and instead the gaols of the Transvaal and Natal began to be full of his disciples. The last cure for oppression by Government is to be completely indifferent to whatever Government may do. Non-recognition of law, non-co-operation with the State which is the embodiment of civilization, was born in South Africa. It is a terrible weapon, but it can be used only by those who are prepared to lose all. That is a condition which is just beginning to be understood by Indian Nationalists, and they are beginning to shy. It does not deflect the Mahatma. Three times he was gaoled; once he was left for dead, murdered by his own followers for imagined treachery.

In South Africa, too, he wrote his first book, "Indian Home Rule," and sketched

the same scheme. If you would destroy English rule, you must go to the root—cease to use the schools and law courts, refuse to plead, go to gaol gladly. “The Western civilization has corrupted you. Cast it out—by non-co-operation.” But he is not so much interested in destroying Western rule as Western civilization, Western wants, and the parasitic work of towns. Such cotton clothes as he has are hand-spun, hand-woven, and hand-made. His food (when not fasting) is too simple to create fear of gaol fare. (Only, he does use a high-powered motor and the railway train—third class—and the Philistines jeer!)

All this shows why he has such a hold on India, the land of resignation, and also why the fear of him grows too. He takes the students away from the colleges without asking the parents’ leave, saying, “Follow me.” Education may be a universal need, but educationalists are a Western product, and they squirm. Pundit Malaviya will even fight for his child, the Benares University. Parliaments and Councils are the machinery of Western government.

"Do not join them!" and the Indian politicians, exasperated by Punjab Martial Law, give up them, too, and hand the Councils over to the Moderates. They do not like it, but they obey. I fear he tolerates Democracy as little as Autocracy on account of their last two syllables. Only he cannot get the lawyers to leave their practices or officials to leave their posts. Only—Gandhi himself is not mighty enough to destroy Western civilization, even by precept and practice, or by his hold on the masses—masses crying, "Mahatma Gandhi ki jai"—"to Gandhi the victory," though that victory lead them they know not where. Gandhi alone is not enough to drive India to anarchy. There are his allies, the Moslem fanatics; and there is the Government, which, for fear of prestige, dare not apologize.

The Saint's allies are not of his own sort. Shaukat Ali is his stable companion, and Shaukat Ali, once a cricketeer and now a fanatic, stands seven feet high and five feet broad, in a great green cloak and a high, white astrachan cap. Shaukat Ali is a

likable, big, bluff, hearty man, when you meet him; but his ideas of the virtues of passive resistance are hardly skin deep. He works up the Moslem "Ulemas" and "Peers," and procures "fetwas," and gets the whole of religious fanaticism boiling. He calls the mixed crowd "brothers," but the only brothers he recognizes are brothers in the faith. The Sultan of Rampur (his native State) has taken from him his family, his goods, and home. He has lost all except his sixteenth-century faith. "Tell the Government that I am too fat to run," he says to those who warn him of imminent arrest.

A revision of the Sèvres Treaty will hardly appease Shaukat Ali. For him the British are kafirs for whom there is no place in India. And the strength of the non-co-operation movement is among the Moslems. It is the Moslem colleges that the students have deserted or captured. It is the Moslem seats on the Council that find no electors or candidates. It is the recalcitrant Moslems who feel the first and full weight of the social boycott.

The Hindoos, writhing under memories of Martial Law, understand neither the man nor the cause, and are a little nervous of the whirlwind; while Shaukat and his brother, Mahomed, would even stop cow-killing to cement the alliance and remove the rule of those who have trampled on the Khalifa and on the people of God.

The clay in the hands of these men is India.

JOSIAH WEDGWOOD
IN "THE NATION", LONDON
(Reprinted in "Unity.")

May 1921.

THE NON-CO-OPERATION MOVEMENT.*

India is achieving Indian independence in an Indian way. The cardinal fact of Indian public life at present is the policy of non-co-operation with the British Government. And the vital fact to grasp is that the leader, M. K. Gandhi, the dreamer, the super-ascetic, surveys the whole of Western civilization with a superbly contemptuous indifference. If British power be ended in India, it is not only the power that will go. It will also be the culture, the administrative policy, the sanitation and hygiene, the art, science and letters of the West, which for good and for evil, will depart with it. Gandhism is not merely anti-British; it is anti-civilization, except such civilization

**Note.*—This was one of three articles which appeared in the *NATION* (New York) December 1921. One was written by an American, this one is by an English authority, and the third, written by Lajpat Rai appears in the group, entitled "Indian Opinion".

as has been evolved by India herself. And Indian civilization is a thing apart ; a thing in many ways beautiful ; but isolation is its bedrock.

In the increasing interdependence of the world of to-day such an attitude is dangerous. All dividing gulfs are bad, no matter what gorgeous and pre-historic scenery they offer to the eye jaded by the more commonplace beauties of river and plain. Upon a culture based on separateness glorying in indifference, happy in isolation, averse to contact, India's great leader is rearing a political structure consolidating and confirming the whole of India's tacit repudiation of the rest of the world. Such an attitude arises from, and is sustained by, a burning sense of injustice. Recently this has been focussed in India's anger at Great Britain's failure to redress her wrongs during the 1919 Reign of Terror in the Punjab (of which the massacre at Amritsar was only one feature) and her perturbations over the position of the Caliphate of Islam.

On the latter question it must be remem-

bered that there are 70,000,000 Moslems in India, who are profoundly disturbed by the spectacle of a Turkey defeated by the Allies, her prostration to the dust having been accomplished largely by the aid of Indian troops in the recent war. And the Sultan of Turkey is their Caliph, their supreme spiritual head! A pledge given by Premier Lloyd George during the war's course, that the Allies were not fighting to deprive Turkey of her "renowned homelands," has been torn to verbal tatters between pro-Turk Indians and Britons (a very influential group in English public life has always had strong pro-Turk affinities) and anti-Turk Britons with Entente Allies of the type of Greece, now at war again with Turkey. Each side interprets the ambiguous pledge in its own favor. Moreover, at the conclusion of the war a new difficulty arose over Mesopotamia. That unblessed land was then threatened, and is now practically extinguished, by the Anglo-French-Dutch oil combine. But one influential Mohammedan delegation after another from India has put

forward a religious theory, of which the West was until then unaware, that it was the dying injunction of the Great Prophet that the vast "Jazirat-ul-Arab" (roughly Arabia plus Mesopotamia) must always be a religious sanctuary undefiled by the domination of the unbeliever. The erection of the Emir Feisal to the throne of Mesopotamia, sharply followed by the news that the British Government is to hold 50 per cent. of the Turkish Petroleum Company, of which the Royal Dutch-Shell and the French Government are each to hold 25 per cent is no disguise of the real situation to shrewd Indian eyes. The oil barons of Mesopotamia will not be rulers compatible with the deeply held religious views based on that injunction of Mohammed ; so that contentment can hardly be expected.

Unfortunately British good-will, which abounds, is only too often overpowered by the highly concentrated few—the financiers who assist Greece, the oil barons, and the international bankers. Meantime, while King George's Government is slow to act upon the plain fact that because Great

Britain has more Moslem subjects than any other Power, she has therefore more duties to Islam, Mr. Gandhi is gathering in their loyalty. A Hindu himself, his sympathy with the humiliated religious feelings of his Moslem compatriots is rapidly weaning them into an alliance away from that former inter-religious hate which was one of the secrets of the power of the West over India. India *had* divided; therefore another could rule over her. An interunion of the two mighty forces of Hinduism and Islam will be so colossal an event that, whether Gandhi achieves or not the independence of India, its formation will assure him a magnificent place among the makers of India. Moreover, each philosophy of life, Hindu and Moslem, will tend to break down the walled-off exclusiveness of the other. Mohammedanism also has never been so rooted in anti-universalism and separatism as Hinduism has ever been. The "Brothers"—Mohammed and Shaukat Ali¹—are the popular leaders of the

¹ Recently sentenced by the British to two years' imprisonment for sedition.

Moslem section. Impulsive, voluble, impetuous, roughly sincere, they are strange comrades for the implacably gentle Hindu dreamer of Tolstoian dreams. Gandhi interposes between them and the traditional sword of Islam his bloodless weapon of non-co-operation with the British administration, whose full adoption nevertheless can but lead to hideous bloodshed.

Within even the camp of his great organization, the Indian National Congress, Gandhi has his divisions and difficulties. The Maharashtra camp—the former followers of the late B. G. Tilak—is inclined to repudiate Gandhi's policy of boycotting the new legislative bodies of India and to seek election thereto. Many of them think that the powers conferred on the new Councils are extensive enough to make a trial from within justifiable. They would follow a policy of sharp, progressive give and take—responsive co-operation wherever Government met them, Parnellite obstruction wherever it proved adamant. This indeed was the policy at first adopted by the Indian National Congress

upon the passage of the last Government of India Act. It was dramatically reversed at a Congress of a year ago owing to the failure of Britain to satisfy Indian demands for redress after the Punjab Reign of Terror and for the revision of the terms of the Treaty of Sévres with Turkey—reinforced, no doubt, by the tragically inopportune death of B. G. Tilak at the one instant where his life and talents were supremely needed by his country. The Maharashtra party are willing enough to follow Gandhi in his boycott and bonfires of foreign textiles and also in his liquor prohibitionist views. They are unfavourable, however, to his over-frequent proclamation of personal and private views upon religious dietary and family questions. Their own pet piece of reaction is reversion to the use of an ancient calendar based upon calculations more nearly related to Hindu mythology than to the facts of the solar system—a calendar which amiably lags a month behind the rest of the world within every three years. The Moderate Party

in India have, of course, swept the polls and swamped the new Councils, owing to the voluntary abstention of the non-co-operationists. Some of their leaders have done fairly well.

In India itself the new Viceroy, Viscount Reading, has abandoned the old policy of celestial inaccessibility and meets everyone in friendly conference, from Mr. Gandhi downwards. Indeed, he almost gives an impression of dancing a risky *pas seul* on hot bricks among eggs not long to be unbroken. The repeal of repressive press laws is in the air. Prison reforms are foreshadowed. A general modification of the old wood and iron despotism is going on at a more rapid pace than ever before. Liberalism is the avowed fashion. But is it genuine? For while Amritsar is unatoned for, while Islamic India is pre-turbed to its fanatical depths, while Indians are helots in many quarters of the British Empire there can be no real conciliation. Hence, abandonment of the non-co-operation movement, with all its nobility, all its self-sacrifice (one Bengali

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barrister, C. R. Das, has given up a legal practice worth £30,000 a year), all its passive heroism, all its divine folly, all its saintly and incorruptible leadership, and also with all its nascent dangers to a world in need of unification—that is utterly improbable.

HELENA NORMANTON
IN "THE NATION"

December 1921.

GANDHI: AN INDIAN SAINT

A PERSONAL STUDY

We will grow strong by calmness and moderation; we will grow strong by the violence and injustice of our adversaries.—*Abraham Lincoln.*

When a man is described by Rabindranath Tagore as “the greatest of living men,” and by the governor of a province of the British empire as “a dangerous and misguided saint” it is worth while studying his personality even if his policy does not interest us. And this is how the Indian leader, M. K. Gandhi has been spoken of. Gandhi is undoubtedly a remarkable man, remarkable in the fact that he differs so greatly in policy and public life from all those who guide the nations. Statesmen and politicians are seldom guided by the motives which compel Gandhi to action. He has said of himself: “Most religious men I have met are

politicians in disguise; I, however, who wear the guise of a politician, am at heart a religious man."

This is the secret of Gandhi's overwhelming influence in India. It is not because he stands for a definite policy in regard to the British Raj, but because he is a saint, a man of austere and ascetic life who follows Truth at whatever cost to himself. Not even his worst enemy has ever doubted Gandhi's sincerity. His friends know him to be so stern in his loyalty to a principle once accepted that even friendship cannot divert him from a course which he regards as right.

I first met him in South Africa early in 1914 just after he had been released from prison for leading the Indian community in his Movement of Passive Resistance against the government. I remember my first glimpse of him as, surrounded by other Indians, he stood on the wharf upon the arrival of the steamer in which I had come from India. He was dressed in simple homespun, had no hat on his head and was barefoot. He is not striking in

appearance though on closer acquaintance with him it is impossible not to be struck with the singular sweetness of his expression. As I saw him working for the coolies on the sugar plantations and greeting them often by name, I was forcibly reminded of Saint Francis of Assisi. Whenever he travelled he went by the third class which is usually patronized by the Kaffirs, and he always preferred to walk except when time made it advisable for him to drive.

As an example of his unswerving allegiance to a principle of action I recollect his attitude before the commission which had been appointed by the government of South Africa to inquire into the grievances of the Indian community in that colony. It was to give Gandhi and other leaders an opportunity of giving evidence before this commission that they had been released from jail. But the Indian community had not been consulted in the matter of the personnel of this commission and Gandhi consequently refused to give evidence and persuaded all Indians who followed him to refuse likewise. He persisted in his

refusal, although the Honorable Mr. Gokhale, a man for whom he had the very greatest reverence, was almost daily cabling to him from India urging him to reconsider his decision, as his refusal was being construed as a virtual confession of the weakness of the Indian point of view. But he regarded the appointment of such a commission, without consultation with the Indian community whose interests were at stake, as a direct blow at the self-respect of India. So he turned a deaf ear to the urgent plea of one whom he revered and esteemed. He was right though he may not have been diplomatic. Gandhi never is diplomatic. He always lays all his cards on the table and his opponent is often unable to believe that he has nothing ulterior in his motives. Open diplomacy has always been Gandhi's strength.

Another characteristic is his chivalry to an opponent. Just when he was to start the Passive Resistance campaign again early in 1914 as a protest against the appointment of a commission without adequate Indian representation, a strike

broke out among the white workers on the Rand. Gandhi immediately announced that his Passive Resistance would be indefinitely postponed until the government was no longer embarrassed by this strike. This chivalry proved to be a stroke of diplomacy for it won the admiration of General Smuts and of many who would not otherwise have sympathized with his political ideals. But it was not intended as a diplomatic move.

Mr. Gandhi originally had a lucrative legal practice in Johannesburg bringing him in over \$15,000 a year. This he gave up when the call of his country came to him with impelling force. He gave all the money that he had to the founding of a settlement at Phoenix, near Durban, modelled on Tolstoian lines of simplicity and service. He himself felt that a life of poverty would give him the freedom necessary for his work for his countrymen.

I visited him at this settlement where every member of the community does some service for the whole. Gandhi him-

self was exceptional only in that he did far more when he was there than any other individual member. It was at Phoenix that his characteristic unselfishness of conduct was most evident. Often did I protest against the way in which Mr. Gandhi in the midst of great public responsibilities spent his valuable hours in menial tasks which could so easily have been carried out by less prominent members of his community.

When the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale was a guest at Phoenix he had the same experience and he often told humorously of the heartless tyranny of his host who insisted upon doing the most menial tasks, including that of a sweeper, for his guests. To such protests he would reply that as regards a piece of work which had to be done and got through with, there was no highness or lowness about it—if a piece of work was thought to be too dirty for him (Gandhi), it should be regarded as too dirty and low even for a poor sweeper, who was just as much a human being as he himself.

It is this readiness to make the same sacrifices which he asks of those who follow him which gives him his extraordinary moral authority. As a recent interesting writer on India has said of him:

Mr. Gandhi has always been prepared to accept and has always actually accepted for himself the direct logical outcome of his principles, whatever hardship and breach of social convention it may involve. This, combined with his utter sincerity, the austere simplicity of his life and his readiness to serve the people at all costs and sacrifice, explains his unparalleled hold over his countrymen. No trick or posing can give such influence to any leader.

Mr. Gandhi is a strict vegetarian and when I first met him he was taking only one meal a day which consisted of fruit, nuts, olive oil and whole meal bread often baked with his own hands at the settlement. Even when he went to Pretoria to interview the heads of the government he wore the plain homespun garments which he always wears, believing, as he does, in a revival of hand weaving in protest against the present industrial system. As he sat at his meal in a large store in Durban, he

would ask the coolies who had come to see him and to consult with him about their troubles, to sit beside him so that he could give them more time for talk. And in all his dealings with the simple uncultured people he showed the same courtesy and patience. He was always accessible to the poor and unfortunate, and even when affairs of the utmost importance weighed upon him he would give them some of his time.

Mention has been made of his settlement being started on Tolstoian principles and it should be stated that Gandhi has always had the greatest admiration for the teachings of that great western prophet. From him he adopted the term Passive Resistance, and the spirit of much of his public work shows the influence of Tolstoi. But there is no doubt that the doctrine of non-resistance which he preaches also has its foundation in the teachings of his own religion, a religion which teaches "Ahimsa" or aversion to slaughter and violence. He was born a Jain and the Jains will not destroy any life, even that of the most

insignificant animal. Like strict Buddhists they will not eat animal food.

He has, where possible, co-operated with the British government as is shown by the fact that he has been decorated several times with war medals for his services in the Zulu War, the Boer War and the War against Germany in connection with ambulance work. But lately he has lost faith in the promises of British statesmen, and even in the justice of the British people. In an open letter addressed "To Every Englishman in India" occur the following words, which explain his present position:

In my humble opinion, no Indian has co-operated with the British government more than I have for an unbroken period of twenty-nine 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 the fear of 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. 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 (1919) I pleaded for a trustful co-operation. I fully believed that Mr. Lloyd George would redeem the promise to the Mussulmans and that the revelations of the official atrocities in the Punjab would secure full reparations for the Punjabis. But the treachery of Mr. Lloyd George and its appreciation by you, and the condonation of the Punjab atrocities have completely shattered my faith in the good intentions of the government and the nation which is supporting it.

He goes on to explain the meaning of his non-co-operation policy:

I am engaged in evoking bravery of soul. 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. You are in search of a remedy to suppress the rising ebullition of national feeling. I venture to suggest to you that the only way is to remove the causes. You have yet the power. You can repent of the wrongs done to Indians. You can compel Mr. Lloyd George to redeem his promises. The other solution, namely, repression, is open to you. I prophesy that it will fail.

In a recent number of his paper, *Young India*, dated March 30th, 1921, he writes as follows :

The problem before us, therefore, is one of opposing our will to that of the government, in other words, to withdraw our co-operation from it. If we are united in purpose, the government must obey our will or retire. It is the disturbing factors of which the government avails itself for the consolidation of its power. When we are violent, it resorts to terrorism ; when we are disunited, it resorts to bribery ; when we are united, it resorts to cajolery and conciliation ; when we are clamant, it puts temptations in the way of those who cry out the most. All, therefore, we need do is to remain non-violent, united, and unresponsive to bribery and cajolery.

Let us not waste our resources in thinking of too many national problems and their solutions. A patient, who tries many nostrums at a time, dies. A physician, who experiments on his patient with a combination of remedies, loses his reputation and passes for a quack. Chastity in work is as essential as chastity in life. All dissipation is bad. We have hitherto all pulled our own way, and thus wasted away national strength in a most extravagant manner. To boycott foreign cloth within a year is a practical feasibility. To bring into being a working or-

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ganization for the Congress is an easy thing for honest workers. Drink and untouchability must vanish. The education movement is steadily going forward. The national institutions that have sprung up will, if they are efficiently managed make headway and attract students who are still hesitating. Boycott of the law courts by the public is making fair progress. These things do not now require concentration of universal effort.

My strong advice to every worker is to segregate this evil government by strict non-co-operation, not even to talk or speak about it, but having recognized the evil, to cease to pay homage to it by co-operation.

Gandhi has been able to unite the people of India as they have never been united before, not only because of his unfaltering loyalty to a moral ideal and his austere and ascetic personal life, but because the British government has itself by repeated acts fed fuel to the fires of national aspiration.

Confronting the most powerful empire in existence stands this one man who cares nothing for his own personal safety, who is uncompromising and fearless in the application of principles which he has once accepted, and who scorns any longer to re-

ceive or beg for favors from a government which he regards as having "forfeited all title to confidence, respect or support." He believes in conquering hate by love, in the triumph of right over might, and all the effort of his public life is directed towards persuading the masses in India of the truth of this ideal.

W. W. PEARSON
IN "THE NEW REPUBLIC"

July 1921.

THE SPINNING WHEEL *vs.* THE FACTORY

A LETTER TO GANDHI

[On February 15, 1922, Mahatma Gandhi had addressed a letter to Sir Daniel Hamilton from Bardoli on the Spinning Wheel. We reproduce below Sir Daniel's reply.]

WARREN HILL,

LOUGHTON, ESSEX,

March 8th, 1922.

Dear Mr. Gandhi:

I am indebted to our mutual friend, Mr. Hodge, for your letter of 15th February, which has just reached me, and which I am very glad to receive. As, however, I am just recovering from a serious operation, and am still confined to my room, I hope you will be good enough to excuse me, if I do not reply at any length to your letter by to-day's mail. I shall hope to do so later.

Meantime, with reference to your remarks regarding the *charkha*, I may say from my own personal knowledge of Indian rural life, that given a fair chance, with the help of modern finance, not only the spinning wheel but the hand loom can compete successfully with steam power, the reason being that the four months' labor which is now largely wasted in the agricultural off-season costs nothing. No yarn or cloth can be cheaper than that which costs only the price of the raw material.

I quite agree with your opinion regarding the evils of the huge factory system. The value of an industry should be gauged less by the dividends it pays to sleeping shareholders than by its effect on the bodies, souls and spirits of the people employed in it. Cloth is dear which saves a few annas to the buyer, while it cheapens the lives of the men, women and children who live in the Bombay *chawls*.

What I want to see grow up in India, and I think it is what you want also, is a Swaraj whose power will be measured in

terms of healthy life rather than in terms of unhealthy money. Three hundred and twenty millions of people who were masters of the money power, instead of its servants, would be the greatest nation on earth. This Swaraj can be reached in a few years and the way to it lies through expanding fields of rice and wheat, not through the Sahara of revolution. But finance is a big subject which I cannot tackle to-day, though I may do so shortly.

Meantime, I hope you will not be too hard on the Government. I myself have criticized Government about as severely as any one, and I hope to do so again, for I strongly disapprove of this doubling of the salt tax, and increased postage; but after all is said and done, it is the Government which has welded India into one, and made it possible to be one nation. I should like to think of you not as the destroying angel of the old regime, but as the Master Builder of the new. I have no axe to grind, and if I can help in any way to build the New India, it will be my delight to do so.

With kindest regards, I am,
Yours sincerely,
D. M. HAMILTON.

June 1922.

*(From the "Unity:" Reprinted from
"Young India.")*

INDIAN OPINION

INDIA'S RIGHT

“Let India be unfit, but let India be ruled by Indians according to Indian ideals. It is her right to claim it.”

B. G. HORNIMAN.

TO INDIA

O young through all thy immemorial
years !

Rise, Mother, rise, regenerate from thy
gloom,

And, like a bride high-mated with the
spheres,

Beget new glories from thine ageless
womb !

The nations that in fettered darkness weep
Crave thee to lead them where great
mornings break

Mother, O Mother, wherefore dost thou
sleep ?

Arise and answer for thy children's sake !
Thy Future calls thee with a manifold
sound

To crescent honours, splendours, victories
vast ;

Waken, O slumbering Mother, and be
crowned,

TO INDIA

203.

Who once wert empress of the sovereign
Past:

SAROJINI NAIDU.

THE GOLDEN THRESHOLD.

*(By courtesy of John Lane Co. New
York.)*

WHAT INDIA WANTS

THE sentence of six years' imprisonment passed by the British Government in India on Mahatma Gandhi marks a turning point in the grim struggle in which the people of India have been engaged for the last three years. The incarceration of Gandhi is the crowning episode in a policy of ruthless and unparalleled repression by which some thousands of the foremost citizens of the country, including the President of the Indian National Congress, several ex-Presidents and other veteran and widely respected national leaders, had already been put into jail.

The action taken against Gandhi, however, affords the measure of the success of his movement against the British Government: it is the measure of the futile and ferocious desperation of British Imperia-

lists against the protagonists of Indian Nationalism. The point to note is that Gandhi in captivity is infinitely more powerful than Gandhi at large; that India's real struggle for national deliverance is not ended but only beginning with the Mahatma's imprisonment. The issue may be said now to have been fairly joined. Nothing is more certain than that a great deal more will be heard of Gandhi in the immediate future than was the case in the recent past, considerable as has been that publicity. India, indeed, seems destined to occupy the centre of the world's stage at no distant date.

ELEMENTS OF THE SITUATION

It may not therefore be without interest to examine the elements of the Indian situation, and trace the genesis of the crisis—the acutest and most formidable since the abortive rising of 1857—that holds India in its grip at the present hour.

Mahatma Gandhi launched his “non-violent, non-co-operation” movement to secure three definite things, viz: (1) the

righting of the Punjab wrongs; (2) the fulfilment of the British pledges to Moslems, and (3) the attainment of Swaraj (self-rule).

It is upon this triple foundation that the national movement to-day rests, Gandhi's programme having been accepted by the Indian National Congress and endorsed by the nation at large. Each one of the three items mentioned above is, from the viewpoint of India, fundamental, admitting of no compromise. That is a fact which, it would seem, has at last begun to dawn even upon the British Government, if one may judge from the circumstances attending the recent resignation of Edwin Samuel Montagu, the Secretary of State for India.

Reading between the lines of the dispatch of the Government of India, for publishing which Mr. Montagu was "sacked", it becomes abundantly clear that the British Government's attempts to whittle down the Indian demands or alternatively, to break down the Hindu-Moslem solidarity which sustains them,

have failed. Overwhelming corroborative testimony on this point is also forthcoming from the successive and signal failures of the visits of the Duke of Connaught and the Prince of Wales. These royal visitors were sent to India, one after the other, in a frantic but vain effort to create a diversion and thus secure a compromise.

The Duke returned to England with the doleful tale that "the shadow of Amritsar has lengthened over the fair face of India." The visit of the Prince, just concluded, has proved even a more dismal failure. There is not the slightest doubt that the Prince was sent to India to be an instrument of reconciliation, a mouthpiece for "concessions." What India was looking for, however, were deeds not words: for "specific performances" and not more promises. Deeds apparently were not forthcoming. The Prince was boycotted even more vigorously than the Duke. In the event His Royal Highness has left India without even making one of those conventional, picturesque pronouncements belauding a fictitious "loyalty" that British imperial-

ism loves to put in the mouth of its royalty.

“LET US FORGIVE AND FORGET”

The Duke of Connaught had made an earnest plea in terms of the old formula, “Let us forgive and forget.” India, for her part, was willing to do both—but only on a basis of reparations and guarantees; reparation for the grievous wrongs that have been inflicted on her and guarantees against their repetition in the future. The British Government so far has manifested no practical determination to furnish either the reparations or the guarantees. The ancient mania to buttress up a “prestige” that has long since been non-existent, and the ineradicable propensity to bluff, have continued to animate its policy. The “change of heart” on which Gandhi insisted as the first condition of any negotiations with the Government has not materialized. The result is that the deadlock continues.

What India wants, then, is summed up in the three items of the non-co-operation.

programme. They constitute the irreducible minimum of the national demand, and for a proper understanding of the Indian situation it is essential that the true inwardness and full bearings of each one of the three articles be adequately comprehended.

THE PUNJAB WRONG

First, there is the question of righting the Punjab wrong, as it is called. The public memory is a proverbially short one, and it may be that in the minds of the outside world "Amritsar" has become a remote echo like Denshawi or Putumayoor—Belgium. In India, however, it is still a blazing memory, because, for all practical purposes, that unparalleled essay in "frightfulness" has been condoned by the Government and Parliament of Great Britain.

In this circumstance lies the key to the Indian situation: the non-co-operation movement came, and has throughout been sustained, by the nation's firm and unalterable determination not to have anything

to do with a Government, and a system of government, which in the first place, were capable of permitting and prolonging a reign of terror such as desolated the Punjab in the Spring of 1919, and which, in the next place, after the whole of the horrible facts had been sifted and the responsibility for them clearly brought home to the individuals concerned, have omitted to punish the guilty and vindicate the principles of civilized Government.

One example should suffice of the manner in which the Imperial Government of Great Britain has discharged its duty to the people of India and to the civilized world. Brig. Gen. Dyer was the hero of the crowning episode of the reign of terror—a massacre, in cold blood of about 2,000 unarmed men, women and children at Amritsar.

When the news of the massacre was finally allowed to reach England eight months after it had taken place (a commentary on the methods of censorship employed by the British Government in India!) it naturally created a tremendous

revulsion of feeling on the part of all decent-minded Englishmen and English women. Their sentiment was thus summed up by a leading organ of British liberalism:

“General Dyer must be recalled and dealt with in such a way that the massacre of Amritsar shall be solemnly repudiated by the Imperial Government. If he is not condemned by the nation, the nation itself will be condemned by the civilized world.”

[The Westminster Gazette].

WHAT WAS THE SEQUEL?

To this I may add that in the view of Mr. Upjohn K. C., the greatest constitutional lawyer of Great Britain, whose professional opinion was taken by the Indian National Congress, General Dyer should have been indicted for murder. But what, in fact, was the sequel? He was retired from his Indian appointment on half pay—a pecuniary deficit which was handsomely made up for by his friends and admirers raising by public subscription and presenting to him, on his return,

to England, a purse of over £30,000. Moreover, the name of General Dyer continues to grace the British Army List. In the debates in the Houses of Parliament, 131 members of the House of Commons and 129 members of the House of Lords publicly ranged themselves on the side of General Dyer. He had become a hero and a martyr!

And the Governmental attitude toward this officer was typical of the treatment accorded to other authors and agents of the Punjab terrorism. Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the real author and instigator of the so-called martial law regime, the direct superior of Dyer, who telegraphed him on being informed of the slaughter at Jallianwalla, "Your action correct, Lieutenant Governor approves," got a handsome testimonial from the Secretary of State for his services to the Empire and continues to draw his pension from the Indian revenues. Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy, who throughout backed up and connived at the doings of O'Dwyer, was never impeached or even recalled, as

had been demanded by the Indian National Congress.

The less notorious culprits—all British officers and officials—who had been responsible for such atrocities as public floggings, making the Indians crawl on the public high road, bombing villagers from airplanes, erection of public gallows, indiscriminate whipping of school-boys not for any specific offences, but “as an example” were all also allowed to go more or less scot-free. Pious censure was conveyed to some, condign punishment accorded to none.

Now, perhaps, my readers will realize why the Indian people had no option but to resort to the policy of non-cooperation to vindicate the first principles of civilized existence. All talk of “constitutional reforms” (since boasted all over the world by British apologists and propagandists) naturally came to be looked upon in India as a mockery and an insult while the British Government continued by implication to trample upon the primary rights of citizenship

and to persist in upholding terrorism as the symbol and sanction of its rule. Is it any wonder that India insists upon the righting of the Punjab wrongs as a necessary preliminary to the restoration of any relations with the British Government?

THE MOSLEM QUESTION

Not less edifying, from the constitutional point of view as well as that of international morality, are the facts of the Moslem impasse in India which came to the fore with such dramatic suddenness the other day by the resignation of Mr. Montagu, the Secretary of State for India in Lloyd George's Cabinet. On this question, it would appear, ignorance and misunderstanding are incredibly widespread. The bogey of Pan-Islamism and hymns of hate against the Turk are made to do duty for any intelligent understanding or rational discussion of the issues involved. Yet the facts are simple and historical, and the cause of peace neither in India nor the Near East is likely to be advanced unless those facts

are squarely faced. The British Government tried its best to evade or ignore the facts ever since the armistice, but when Curzon and Montagu clashed over the publication of Lord Reading's significant dispatch a few days ago the cat was out of the bag.

The fulfilment of the British pledges to Moslems, as we have seen, is one of the three unalterable planks of the Indian non-co-operation movement. What are those pledges? What, to begin with, has India got to do with Turkey? The answer is that there are 75,000,000 of Moslems in India who, like the rest of the Islamic world, acknowledge the Sultan of Turkey as their Caliph. The Caliph of Islam is something more than the Pope of the Roman Catholics. The Caliph is not only the Defender of the Faith, but the Warden of the Holy Places of Islam. According to Moslem law the Caliph must be an independent temporal sovereign to enable him to discharge his functions as such. The institution of the Caliphate has been co-existent with Islam—an unbroken tradition

of nearly 1,400 years. It is essential to the continued existence of Islam as a spiritual unit. The brotherhood of Islam, as is well known, transcends all national, racial and territorial boundaries, and the Caliphate is the pivot of the Moslem commonwealth. To expect a Mohammedan to acquiesce in the disruption of the Caliphate is like expecting a Catholic to consent to the extinction of the Papacy.

QUESTION OF ALLEGIANCE

Now there has been no question at any time during the period of British rule in India that the extraterritorial allegiance of the Indian Moslems to the Sultan of Turkey as their Caliph was a perfectly legitimate, justifiable and, indeed, inevitable fact. When war was declared between England and Turkey the British Government in India, on behalf of the Imperial Government, as also the Governments of France and Russia, promptly issued a proclamation assuring the Mohammedans of India that "no question of a religious character was involved in the war," and disclaiming any

British designs on the holy places of Islam.

If it were not that Indian Moslems accepted the word of England, pledging her own honor and that of her allies, it is inconceivable that hundreds of thousands of Moslems would have rallied, as they did, to the cause of the Allies. Tens of thousands of them laid down their lives, fighting even against their own co-religionists. Subsequently, as the strife developed and it became necessary to have further Indian reinforcements for the depleted allied ranks, Mr. Lloyd George felt that it was desirable to give further assurances to Moslems and Indians. On Jan. 5, 1918, claiming to speak in the name of the whole Empire, the British Prime Minister made the following unambiguous and remarkable pronouncement :

“ Nor are we fighting to deprive Turkey of its capital or of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace, which are predominantly Turkish in race.”

This solemn and categorical declaration also served its purpose. Finally came the

of nearly 1,400 years. It is essential to the continued existence of Islam as a spiritual unit. The brotherhood of Islam, as is well known, transcends all national, racial and territorial boundaries, and the Caliphate is the pivot of the Moslem commonwealth. To expect a Mohammedan to acquiesce in the disruption of the Caliphate is like expecting a Catholic to consent to the extinction of the Papacy.

QUESTION OF ALLEGIANCE

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armistice with Turkey, and it is important to recall that it was signed on the basis of President Wilson's Twelfth Point (one of his famous Fourteen Points as set forth in his message to Congress, dated Jan. 8, 1918), which is as follows :

“That the Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured of secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities now under Turkish rule should be assured security of life and autonomous development.”

Now, how have these promises and pledges been redeemed? In the Treaty of Sevres, presented to the Turkish plenipotentiaries on May 11, 1920, every single principle contained in the declarations cited above has been palpably violated and betrayed. The treaty aimed not only at the utter dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire, but also, quite unmistakably, by Article 139, at the destruction of the Caliphate. England not only gave herself a mandate in one shape or another for the Holy land of Islam—embracing the shrines of Mecca,

Medina, Jerusalem, Najaf, Kerbela, Samarra, Kazimain and Bagdad—thus violating the indefeasible religious obligation of Islam that those regions must be independent of any form of direct or indirect non-Moslem control, but also, at the other end, sought to aggrandise Greece at the expense of Turkey.

Under cover of the allied occupation, Great Britain grabbed Constantinople and has been holding it ever since, while the “rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace,” which, according to Mr. Lloyd George, were “predominantly Turkish in race,” in 1918, were sought to be transferred, in whole or in part, to Greece. The Moslems of India have made it perfectly clear to the British Government by means of successive deputations and otherwise that unless it redeems its pledges to them—on the strength of which tens of thousands of Moslems were lured to their death—and abandons its intrigues against and encroachments upon the Caliphate, they must renounce all allegiance to the British connection.

The Hindus of India, headed by Mahatma Gandhi, recognizing the Moslem claims to be just are standing by them to a man. They feel that the Caliphate question is not merely a religious question of exclusive importance to Moslems, but an Indian national question, inasmuch as it involves the rights of conscience and the well-being of 75,000,000 of the citizens of India. Moreover, there is the further point: If the solemn pledges of the Prime Minister of England are no better than "a scrap of paper," what can be the basis of co-operation between England and India? India, then, wants the redemption of the pledges made by Great Britain during the war—and that means the scrapping of the whole of that Near Eastern policy upon which Curzon and Lloyd George have been embarked since the armistice.

SWARAJ

And now we come to the third and most important item of the non-co-operation programme, viz., the attainment of

“Swaraj.” That is what India wants and needs above everything else. “Swaraj” means, literally, self-rule. India is sick unto death of British rule, which has proved rapacious and inept. It has pauperized, exploited and demoralized the people. It rests on a foundation of military force, pure and simple. How the British Government discharges its trust to the people of India may be judged from the manner of its disposal of their national revenues. In the year 1918-19 out of a total expenditure of £127,000,000 it appropriated £45,500,000 for its army, allotting £4,000,000 for education and only £500,000 for sanitation! Again, in the year 1919-20, out of a total expenditure of £144,000,000 it appropriated £57,500,000 for its army, generously allowing £4,500,000 for education for a population of 315,000,000 and £750,000 for sanitation.

Last year, again, nearly two-thirds of the national revenues went for the maintenance of the Army of Occupation, and in the financial statement for the current year Lord Rawlinson, the British

Commander-in-Chief, is amazed at his own moderation in asking for only 52 per cent. of the total national revenues of the country for his beneficent establishment, whose main function is to hold the people down. It is obvious that a rule of such a character—a sheer betrayal of the nation—neither can nor deserves to endure indefinitely. The people of India, of all shades of opinions and of all denominations, are determined that it shall go. The proposed methods to bring about its termination vary between the “non-violent non-co-operation” of Mahatma Gandhi and the bomb and revolver of the revolutionaries. It should be remembered that the country has been disarmed.

In the same way the precise form that Indian independence shall take can only be settled when India is free to self-determine her destiny.

FEDERAL REPUBLIC

Only a freely elected national convention can settle that question authoritatively. At the present moment the

general sentiment, I believe, is for separation from England, although the Indian National Congress has not committed itself beyond affirming the principle of Swaraj. Important sections among Moslems and Sikhs, as well as, of course, among the Hindus, have openly declared themselves for separation. The revolutionary group, with many silent auxiliaries, is for a federal Republic of the United States of India, while the Moderates—a small minority, which, however, embraces a goodly section of the capitalist class—have pinned their faith to the Dominion form of government. Gandhi himself has so far kept an open mind on the subject. He declared in 1920:

“What I say is that it is derogatory to national dignity to think of the permanence of the British connection at any cost. We are laboring under a grievous wrong, which it is the personal duty of every Indian to get redressed. This British Government not only refuses to redress the wrong, but it refuses to acknowledge its mistakes, and so long as

it retains its attitude it is not possible for us to say all that we want to be or all that we want to get, retaining the British connection. * * * If the British connection is for the advancement of India, we do not want to destroy it. But if it is inconsistent with our national self-respect, then it is our bounden duty to destroy it."

And only a few days before his arrest he said:

"Nothing short of a full Dominion status is likely to satisfy me personally, and nothing short of complete severance will satisfy me if the Caliphate and the Punjab wrongs remain unredressed, but the exact form does not depend upon me. I have no clear-cut scheme. It has to be evolved by the people's representatives."

One thing is perfectly certain: India, with a population comprising one-fifth of the human race, cannot eternally remain the "adjunct"—in Wells's phrase—of a little island 7,000 miles away from her shores. Neither any natural nor any economic ties bind her to the British

Empire, and she can only form part of that system if it can be proved that such an arrangement would be of definite advantage to her. The onus of proof lies on Britain. On the other hand, there is every reason in the world why India should work out her own destiny, unfettered and uncoerced, and make her own contribution, as in the past, to the culture and civilisation of the world. Not only India, but the world is the poorer for her present compulsory emasculation and disorganization. The British have fixed a stranglehold on her creative genius and national growth. India must be free.

SYUD HOSSAIN

NEW YORK TIMES

April 9, 1922.

GANDHI AND NON-CO-OPERATION

Gandhi's simplicity, openness, frankness, and directness confound the modern politician, parliamentarian, and publicist. They suspect him of some deep design. He fears no one and frightens no one. He recognizes no conventions except such as are absolutely necessary not to remove him from the society of men and women. He recognizes no masters and no *gurus* (spiritual preceptors). He claims no *chelas* (disciples) though he has many. He has and pretends to no supernatural powers, though credulous people believe that he is endowed with them. He owns no property, keeps no bank accounts, makes no investments, yet makes no fuss about asking for anything he needs. Such of his countrymen as have drunk deep from the fountains of European history and European politics and who have developed a deep love for European manners and European culture

neither understand nor like him. In their eyes he is a barbarian, a visionary, and a dreamer. He has probably something of all these qualities. Because he is nearest to the verities of life and can look at things with plain eyes without the glasses of civilization and sophistry.

Some say he is a nihilist; others that he is an anarchist; others again that he is a Tolstoian. He is none of these things. He is a plain Indian patriot who believes in God, religion, and the Scriptures. He believes even in caste, not the present-day sub-divisions and sub-sections of it, but the four original castes of the ancient Aryans. He does not believe in the superiority or domination of one caste over another, but he believes in their different occupations according to their inherited ability. He is so orthodox as to believe that caste is heritable. Far from being an anarchist he believes in discipline, organization, and authority. His cult is not one of negation as some say, but of positive discipline made up of self-denial and self-assertion. He does not believe in the inherent

superiority of the white race or in its God-given mission of ruling other people by making tools of them. He does not hate the European civilization, but he abhors the industrial system upon which the civilization of Europe rests and the double-mindedness which characterizes European politicians. The doctrine of non-co-operation which he preaches and practises is not a negation. It is the withdrawal of that help which the Indian people have voluntarily been giving the English which has made it possible for them to rule India and exploit her for their own ends.

The non-co-operation programme consists of: (a) Rejection of all government titles, honors, and honorary offices, (b) abstention from drink, (c) withdrawal of all boys and girls from a system of education which has reconciled the best of Indians to slavery under foreign domination without feeling the sting of it, and which has made of them parasites sucking the blood of the classes that produce and work, (d) establishment of such schools and colleges as will give a secondary place to the study

of English and other European literature, reserving the first for the spoken languages of India and for manual training, (e) boycott of English forms of "justice", their courts and their lawyers, (f) boycott of foreign cloth and the rehabilitation of Swadeshi (i.e., Indian made) cloth,* (g) withdrawal of Indians from the service of the British Government and from service in the British army and the British police, (h) non-payment of taxes.

This is a provisional programme which is

* It is an historical fact that before the establishment of British rule in India and for some time after it spinning and weaving was a universal occupation in India. An English traveller of those days has observed that half of the population was engaged in it. India is an agricultural country where one can raise only seasonal crops. The agriculturist has a good deal of leisure which under British rule he has been simply wasting. Formerly he used to employ it in spinning and weaving. Under British rule he idles it away, causing immense economic loss to the country. Foreign cloth and yarn are our principal import. In 1913-14 we imported foreign cloth and yarn of the value of about Rs. 600,000,000 (\$200,000,000). Lately its value went up to about Rs. 900,000,000 (\$300,000,000). This is more than one-fourth of our total imports.

by no means exhaustive and which is not to be put into practice all at once. Gandhi and his associates have been working on this programme for only twelve months and the success they have achieved is marvellous. It is true that not many people have given up their titles or honorary offices. It is also true that only a small proportion of lawyers have given up their practice. As regards withdrawal of students, the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, an Indian High Court Judge in the confidence of the British, complained the other day that in Bengal the attendance at colleges had fallen by 23 per cent. and at schools by 27 per cent., and that the University had suffered a great loss of income from examination fees. As regards the boycott of foreign cloth, he has succeeded remarkably well. Lancashire is already feeling the pinch, and the sale of foreign cloth in Indian bazaars has gone down to less than 25 per cent. It may be safely said that the masses and the middle classes are with and the wealthy against him. There are a sufficiently good number of

wealthy men also with him as was proved by the phenomenal success of the Tilak Swaraj Fund for which ten million rupees were collected in less than three months. In these three months he perfected the Congress organization which now has a registered membership of about ten millions. He called upon the country to introduce two million new spinning wheels in the same period and the response was more than adequate. These are concrete items of his success, but to my mind, his great success lies in having created a universal love of freedom and a spirit of non-violence among the people. The Indian patriot of Mr. Gandhi's school is quite distinguishable from the old revolutionaries of Russia. He works in the open and has no secret affiliations either in India or abroad. He is frankly out to destroy the present system of government and win full freedom for his country, with full discretion to remain in or go out of the British Empire as it suits him best.

It is true that the "higher" and "respectable" classes of the intelligentsia who

have thrown themselves on the side of the Government are opposed to his programme because it would reduce them to positions of comparative poverty and nothingness. The British in India have accepted these intelligentsia as subordinate partners in their business of exploitation. Imperialism is as much a business as capitalism. For 150 years the intelligentsia cried for reforms. The Government did not listen to them. At first they did not ask even for home rule. They merely wanted a few more posts and offices and extension of education. In 1905 rose a party which set up the flag of independence. Both the Government and the intelligentsia saw that the game was up. That astute scholar-politician, John Morley, started the policy of "Rally the moderates." So he decided to throw them a few crumbs. They accepted them gratefully, sang Hallelujahs of gratitude and praise, and conspired to root out the extremist, both by repression and propaganda.

In the meantime came the war. Lord Morley's disciples and the princes immedi-

ately declared for the British, and persuaded the people to believe that British victory would bring them freedom. The country was "bled white." Men and money, munitions and provisions were poured into the theatres of war, though the country itself lost millions of souls (six millions from influenza alone in six months) from disease and distress. Victory came and was immediately followed by the Rowlatt Act which was a negation of freedom. Gandhi who during the war had been recruiting for the Government, but had caught the popular fancy by his simple life and fearless championship of the poor and the peasant, declared for passive resistance.

All kinds of repression have been resorted to; meetings proclaimed and prohibited, speakers and writers arrested and imprisoned; but the movement has progressed unchecked. India is in a state of non-violent revolt. The most pleasing feature of the new movement is the active support it is getting from the women, who flock to the non-co-operation meetings, clad in

Khaddar, by thousands. Millions worth of foreign cloth has been destroyed in order to intensify the feeling against it. Thousands are ready to adopt general civil disobedience of British laws as the cult of their lives, but the leaders are withholding their consent in their desire to keep the movement strictly non-violent. When a man is arrested, he refuses to give bail and goes straight to the lock-up with the view to spreading the idea that he has no confidence in and he does not recognize the authority of the Government and its courts. In some places people have lost self-control and committed outrages on the police and Government men. Gandhi has denounced them and advised expiation.

The movement for Indian freedom has taken a deep root and gone out of the control of the Government and the "respectable" section of the intelligentsia. The Government can repress but it cannot suppress. The greater part of Mr. Gandhi's following may even now accept a dominion form of government within the British Empire, but a little more delay and the

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weight of public opinion will not be satisfied with anything less than full independence.

LAJPAT RAI

THE NATION

December 1921.

MAHATMA GANDHI

CO-OPERATING NON-CO-OPERATOR OF INDIA

“I who tread the path of the Warrior, not that of the Saint, who battle against Enthroned Injustice by assault, not by meekness, I recognise in this man, so frail and yet so mighty, one of those whose names live in history among those of whom it is said: ‘He saved others; himself he could not save’.”—Dr. Annie Besant.

Gandhi's father, the Diwan of an Indian State, was a man of great independence of character who could oppose the will of the Rana and the English political agent when he thought they were wrong. His mother was a very pious lady whose influence on him equalled that of his father. The family belonged to the Vaishnava school of Hinduism which approaches the Deity

through the path of love and devotion rather than through intellect, which recognises no social barriers and which is vegetarian on principle. Gandhi's Satyagraha Ashrama at Ahmedabad has two "observances," (1) Swadeshi, and (2) Fearlessness. "Free from the fear of kings, people, caste, families, thieves, robbers, ferocious animals and death." There is some humour in the juxtaposition but the items are significant.

He studied law in London and set up as a barrister in India. He was soon called to South Africa in connection with an Indian legal case and finding the indignities to which his countrymen were subjected he decided to stay on with them. This was the beginning of his schooling in patriotism. Thrown into prison again and again, assaulted by the Colonials, he forced, by passive resistance, the Government to yield, and by peaceful methods won a victory for India of the greatest significance.

During his passive resistance he always called truce whenever the Government was

embarrassed in any way. His Ambulance Corps during the native rebellion and the Boer War were well spoken of. A European wrote about his corps, "When succour was to be rendered they were there. Their unassuming dauntlessness cost them many lives and eventually an order was published forbidding them to go into the firing line." More than once truce was called on the oral promises of Colonial Ministers, in one of which Gandhi was stabbed by one of his own countrymen as a traitor. The Ministers, however, denied having made any promises. The father of Indian Non-Co-operation is the *last word* on co-operation.

When war broke Gandhi was in England. He immediately set about the formation of an Indian Volunteer Ambulance in London. In India the Government invited him to help in recruiting when they did not invite Mrs. Besant. Gandhi joined, entering protest, however, on the other leaders having been left out. This raising of cannon fodder is the greatest anomaly in the life of Gandhi. It was a sub-cons-

scious and conscious solicitude to prove to the British people that in his "self-reliance" movement in India "England's calamity is India's opportunity" is not the motto as elsewhere in the empire. The man who with long suffering patience had carried on a co-operative passive resistance in South Africa from 1893 to 1911 before winning, saw the Government would raise this cannon fodder "somehow or other," as he said in recruiting meetings. He wanted these men to go not as hired assassins but as consecrated soldiers laying down their lives for winning "equal partnership in the empire."

Mahatma Gandhi is pre-eminently India's labour leader. The champion of the indentured coolies abroad is to-day a champion of the coolies at home. And a quiet, unobtrusive, subtle influence has been his. Is the condition of things in the indigo plantations of Behar unsatisfactory? Gandhi quietly and alone goes to the district to see things for himself. The district magistrate serves him notice the next day to quit the district "by the next

available train as his presence will endanger the public peace and may lead to serious disturbance which may be accompanied by loss of life." Gandhi coolly offers to go to jail for inability to obey. The higher authorities also keep a cool head and issue intimation to have the notice withdrawn. A commission is appointed with Gandhi as a member to inquire into the agrarian troubles and the thing is satisfactorily settled. This was the Champaran affair.

Eighty per cent of the masses of India are agriculturists and their poverty and chronic indebtedness are proverbial. The laws of the land—as on books—entitle a tenant to postponement of tax for a year, of the whole amount if the yield was twenty-five per cent of the normal, and of half the amount if between twenty-five and forty per cent. Yet in the operation of the law the tenant does not get the benefit of it. Such a distress happened in Gandhi's own province. The men petitioned the Government but the Commissioner—officer next in rank to the

Lieutenant Governor—threatened the tenants. Gandhi led them through a passive resistance. The peasants won. This was the Kaira affair.

The Indian mill owners and the workers differ on wages. Gandhi is requisitioned to settle the dispute. He guides the laborers, taking the vow of fast, and the Indian capitalists climb down. Such is the man.

A lawyer that has given up practising because it is an "unclean thing"—he was a man who could not be carried away by reform acts passed by bureaucrats so long as a "change of heart" did not come. A man who, Polak informs us, when a professing lawyer, "reserved to himself the right to withdraw at any stage if he felt that his client had not dealt honestly with him" can be easily understood if he denounces bureaucracy as "Satanic" when he finds it violating promises, wantonly shooting down unarmed assemblies with machine guns (the English nation presenting the agent a sword of honor), and making secret treaties against India. With him co-opera-

tion changed for non-co-operation. Yet all along he gave freedom to people who believed in co-operation to work according to their light.

Non-co-operation is the protest mood of the ideal co-operator. Co-operator in peace, non-co-operator in war. His protest outside the councils has contributed to the success inside it. The good faith doubted had to be proved. The non-official Europeans have worked in greatest harmony with the Indian members and joined the demand of the latter for the right of voting on the budget, a demand most unfortunately denied by the cabinet.

This lack of fiscal autonomy is the greatest enemy of the reforms. At the root of it are (1) England's rebellion-phobia and (2) the scandalous poverty of India. Gandhi's greatest co-operative contributions to Imperial politics concern these two defects. The spirit of non-violence he has succeeded in introducing in India should be a cure for military expenditure which, although not confessedly so, is necessitated by British distrust of India.

herself. Gandhi's straight, frank talks and writings in the name of religion and manhood have weaned the English-minded anarchists of India from their path of violence as no insincere denunciation of moderate politicians could. Dewan Bahadur Kesava Pillai of the British deputation to Guiana bears witness to this influence on the Indian revolutionaries in America. On the Moslems of India his hold is phenomenal. They have rallied round him to give Non-Violence a trial as an "*expedient*" examination given by Moslems to Christian Britain. Civilised Christendom may well pray for England's success. The apology for violent speeches tendered to the Government at Gandhi's request by the Ali brothers—the Griffiths and Collins of India—should set the tradition, a tradition in the line of a land where an emperor, the greatest and mightiest that India has known, expressed repentance for violence on pillared edicts of stone but left his own name unproclaimed, unadvertised.

There have been some disturbances no

doubt but it is not fair to exaggerate them. Sir Sankaran Nair gives a list of all disturbances—political, industrial, social, religious—throughout the continent of India from Rangoon to Karachi from 1919 to 1922. The total number killed was 194. The casualty at the tragedy of Amritsar alone was 500 killed. It is unfair to attribute to Gandhi deaths caused by the bullets of the police and military to “preserve law and order.” Also you cannot praise him for controlling people who have adopted Non-violence out of deference to his assurance of its being “expedient,” and then blame him for what small outbreaks have occurred.

In the list an incident is described laconically as the “Nankana Sahib affair in the Punjab.” No casualties are reported. In this, 133 armed Sikhs of the fiercest warrior clan of the Punjab submitted, on principle, to be butchered by hired assassins of an abbot without retaliating. In this church reform movement, the non-violent effort towards purification of the church of all Hindu accretions of caste and

idolatry and the proper administration of the income of the abbey goes on to this day. In Calcutta policemen ordered to beat prisoners have been known to lay down their batons and to have come out into the streets with cries of "Victory unto Saint Gandhi." A new temper has come into India, a new weapon has been forged in the national arsenal of India by Gandhi.

His spinning wheel campaign is designed to meet the shameful poverty of India's masses. Eighty per cent are agriculturists in India and yet suffer from chronic starvation, perpetually in debt, with crops sold to money-lenders before they are sown. To help them along he wants them to utilize their spare time, when they are lying "fallow," to clothe themselves free of cost, and by the sale of their agricultural and cotton manufacture to the cities, to get together some capital to tide over periods of drouth. A spinning wheel is a tiny little toy that a villager can manufacture himself. If he gets fed up with it, or finds it economically useless, as some prophesy, he can cast it into the oven and

convert it into *chapaties* without any harm accruing to anybody. The way, however, this innocent propaganda has been handled by officials (ladies having been thrown into prison for selling the spinning wheel) shows that Gandhi's dictum that the spinning wheel is India's machine gun for winning Swaraj is somehow true. At any rate, it will give "fiscal autonomy" to eighty per cent of the Indian population.

An English divine speaking before Indian students at London frankly confessed England was delaying reforms in India because "India militarised and India industrialised would become a menace to England." He was sorry for the fear and did not justify it. In Gandhi India has given her reply. She shall not be industrialised and not be militarised, and that not for England's benefit but for her own good. In political philosophy Gandhi is a disciple of Tolstoy and Ruskin, and has never made any apology for it. Sir Sankaran Nair in his book charges Gandhi with trying to deceive the nation into his philosophy. This book, written by an

honest man, though conceived in a rather fanatical spirit, just because it comes from an "enemy," forms one of the nicest commentaries on the life of Gandhi. He writes: "Non-violent submission to suffering and the consequent attainment of self-control over one's self which he called Swaraj was the end which he had in view. He found there was no use in directly advocating it. He therefore puts it forward as the chief instrument for obtaining Parliamentary Swaraj which the people of India wanted." Certainly this charlatan should hang by the neck till he be dead for smuggling such a dangerous thing into India as non-violence.

This charlatan seems to be getting on very well. The other day a poet rose in Bengal that called the nation to arms. "Take up your swords! Not to be conquered by spiritual means, these demons." The sporting government gave the poor man a—pension! I congratulate them on it. Here is a man in Gujerat greater than he to-day who says there is no obstacle that cannot be conquered by our spirituality,—

brother Hindus and Moslems, no caste, no race, no people so far gone that they cannot be conquered by spiritual means. And this man is condemned for six years for saying things which any moderate leader could be quoted to have said. It proves the charlatan is successful. This is the greatest compliment for the land to which Gandhi belongs, viz., that this Dreamer has not been crying in the Wilderness.

I have tried to present the co-operative contributions of Gandhi to British Imperial politics. A nation that has made Imperial statesmen of Smuts and Botha, Griffiths and Collins will one day recognise this Pariah from the Dependencies to be greater than all of them put together. Interviewed in jail he says he is out to destroy the empire, that the Satan of to-day is *Imperialism*. Ah! but a Commonwealth is going to rise from the ashes of this Empire from which India will not go. "She has no right to." Talking to his own countrymen long before he said Home Rule by definition certainly implies the right to secede from the empire but it would be a sin for us

to separate when we have got Home Rule. It would mean the lack of faith in divine humanity of the British nation of the same kind as theirs in the divine humanity in us which denies Home Rule to us.

* * * * *

When shall Gandhi's ancient dream be realized? "Many of us believe, and I am one of them, that through our civilization we have a message to deliver to the world. I tender my loyalty to the British Government quite selfishly. I would like to use the British race for transmitting this mighty message of Ahimsa to the world."

SATYENDRA RAY.

IN "THE WORLD TO-MORROW."

November 1922.

GANDHI AND THE SPINNING WHEEL

THE spinning wheel is deciding India's destiny to-day. It is a new agent of revolution through which British occupation will be made less profitable. The spinning wheel is the national emblem of the "republic of India" yet unborn.

The programme of boycott of British cloth from the Indian market has become so successful that foreign goods are lying piled up on Indian wharfs undelivered and Lancashire merchants and employees have already made representations to the British Parliament. British government officials in India are employing agents to counteract the movement. A confidential circular of the British government throws some light on the situation :

All officials subordinate to Collector and District Magistrate, are desired to take steps to make known among the people that inasmuch as-

India produces less than her population requires. a boycott of foreign cloth and its destruction or export must inevitably lead to a serious rise in prices which may lead to disorder and looting and that these consequences will be the result not of any action on the part of government, but of Mr. Gandhi's campaign.

But the great leader of the Indian revolution is not unaware of the fact that there might be serious shortage of cloth supply in India if there were not a constructive programme for production of Indian cloth. For this reason, and in order to build up the Indian cotton industry, he, with the approval of the Indian National Congress, has distributed broadcast spinning wheels to Indian homes, so that men, women, and children in every family will spin thread and with the handlooms will make cloth to clothe the population. Moreover, to meet the problem of rise of price of piece-goods he has made contracts with the Indian producers and merchants against profiteering at the cost of the Indian people. India is in revolution.

And a strange sort of revolution it is.

that is being staged on the other side of the world. The strangeness is due to Mahatma Gandhi. Last December he appeared before the All-India Congress, then in session at Nagpur, with his programme of non-violent opposition to the English government, and non-co-operation with it, a programme looking toward complete self-government for the people of his country. He presented his resolution, which read :

The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment of *Swaraj* [self-government] by the people of India by all peaceful, and legitimate means.

After debate and amendments, all of which were later withdrawn, the resolution was put to vote, province by province, and carried unanimously—only two persons out of thirty thousand dissenting. For the first time in history, a people had set out to achieve national independence not by the sword but by the spirit. It is a strange trio that is leading the strange revolution: the little frail ascetic, Gandhi, worn by much fasting, with his gentle

manner and soft voice but iron will; and the big bluff hearty Mohammedans—fire eaters both, if we are to believe some accounts of them—but pledged to uphold the programme of absolute non-violence. But it is Gandhi—called by courtesy Saint—who is the one to whom all eyes turn. An Idea, some one has described him, clothed for a time in a broken body. He is a typical Hindu, who wants none of the Western methods, neither for war nor for peace—a holy man “in the guise of a politician,” as he has expressed it, who in a world of fear disintegrated by hate says to his followers: “Love your enemies, do good to those who hate you and pray for those who despitefully use you and persecute you.”

Gandhi is leading his people in this notable struggle for freedom. He says:

We must have no bloodshed—or if it must be shed, let it be ours. We will not harm our oppressors. We will not even hate them.

In thus pleading for non-violence, this great leader says:

I do not plead for India to practise non-violence

because she is weak. I want her to practise it, being conscious of her strength and power! . . . I believe she has a mission for the world—to teach mankind the power of non-violence—the power of Right, holding no sword or bayonet in her hand. Non-violence in its dynamic condition means conscious suffering. It does not mean submission to the will of the evil doer, but it means putting one's whole soul against the will of the evil tyrant.

To those who know Indian history, his "passive resistance programme" has no element of the unusual. For many years the Indian people have made use of this weapon when they have wished to gain a certain end. It has not been unusual for hundreds of them literally to sit down, fold their hands, and wait until concessions were granted. Their weapon of conscious suffering is backed by a programme of non-co-operation directed against the alien government. They propose to gain their independence by refusing to co-operate with this government.

In the spirit of constructive goodwill [Gandhi says to his people] refuse to help England to

make you dependent, to make you a conquered nation. Then after you are free, open your arms to the English—but only in the manner of men equal in every way to the English.

His programme may be said to be one that advocates at the same time both the rejection of slavery and the achievement of *Swaraj*. The rejection side of it is seen to be a sort of glorified boycott.

- Refuse to do business with the English.
- Refuse to wear English clothing, go not to the English courts, take your children out of the English schools, give up all titles and honors, which have been bestowed on you by the English government. Pay no taxes. Give up drinking and drug-taking.

In short it spells India for the Indians.

The rejection side of the programme is not all. It has a positive as well as a negative side, and the positive side of it provides for the building up of a virile, independent India. It promises a better life, new life, and more life for the down-trodden masses of India. It means building of the ancient village organization system, the reviving of Indian industries, the creation of Indian

arbitration courts, the starting of new schools—the opportunity to live as a free nation. It means the restoration of all that makes for a human freedom and dignity of three hundred and fifteen millions of people. It is a call for the Indians, not to co-operate with the present government, but to build a new one. Like all weapons, non-co-operation is to be laid aside as soon as it shall have served its purpose. Co-operation with all nations must come after India has proved her worth and taken her worth and taken her rightful place in the family of nations.

This political movement of non-co-operation has a distinctly religious side. It puts into practical application the teachings of Jesus of Nazareth that the Western people have thought too impractical to be used in business and national affairs. Dr. M. A. Ansari, general secretary of the Indian National Congress, says of the success of the movement:

Tolstoi, the Russian and Thoreau, the American have very lucidly enunciated the principle of passive resistance, but it is Gandhi, the Indian

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patriot who has given to these principles concrete definitive application on a nation-wide scale, and has built on them a movement that has united all classes, races, and sects in India into a new spiritual faith and made it the guiding principle of an entire nation. . . . Actions speak louder than words. It is difficult for those not in India to realize the great revolution that has taken place during the last six months in the mentality of the people. Take the rejection of government honors. No precise figures are available, but twenty-five thousand to twenty-six thousand titles have been formally renounced. In this connection, it is an interesting fact that Dr. Rabindranath Tagore was one of the first to make such renunciation. After the massacre of Amritsar, he wrote to the Viceroy:

"The time has come when badges of honor make our shame glaring in their incongruous context of humiliation, and I for my part wished to stand shorn of all special distinctions, by the side of those of my countrymen who, for their so-called insignificance, are liable to suffer a degradation not fit for human beings."

Dr. Ansari reports that hundreds of

thousands who have formerly lived in luxury have sacrificed all to the non-co-operation movement; that eminent lawyers have given up their large incomes to go about the country preaching the gospel of national freedom. Most interesting to the Westerner will be his testimony to the effect that violent mobs have been controlled because of the appeal made to their higher nature.

At Delhi station [he writes] I saw a menacing crowd of some 80,000 quietly disperse at the bidding of a *swami* after upwards of two hundred of their comrades had been wounded and some killed by soldiers sent to break up the procession. Instances of this sort are occurring every day due to the strength and authority of the non-co-operation ideal and the love and respect in which their leaders are held.

That the revolution in India has entered upon a new phase is shown by recent dispatches to the effect that Gandhi is carrying out his promise of direct action by lighting an immense bonfire of foreign goods recently arrived in that country. This is in line with the policy of non-co-

operation, and is an organized refusal to make use of materials, the acceptance of which implies assistance of the government that has become unacceptable. It recalls to the mind of Americans the Boston Tea Party. To check the progress of the movement in India the British authorities have adopted repressive measures and Gandhi writes in his magazine *Young India* :

The responsibility for anarchy, if it does overtake, will rest with the Indian government and with those who support it in spite of its wrongs, not upon those who refuse to perform its wrongs, not upon those who refuse to perform the impossible task of making people forget vital wrongs and try to direct their anger in a proper channel. . . . We are not going to tamper with the masses. They are indeed our sheet-anchor. We shall continue patiently to educate them politically, till they are ready for safe action. There need be no mistake about our goal. As soon as we feel reasonably sure of non-violence continuing among them in spite of provoking executions, we shall certainly call upon the *sepoy* [Indian soldier] to lay down

his arms and the peasantry to suspend payment of taxes. We are hoping that the time may never have to come. We shall leave no stone unturned to avoid such a serious step. But we shall not flinch when the moment comes and the need has arisen.

It is being recognized that a free India is essential, if world peace is to be guaranteed. Imperialism is the mother of Militarism and Landlordism is the mother of Imperialism. Destruction of British militarism and other militarism will not only help the great mass of the English people, and enable India to make her peculiar contribution to world politics and world culture; but it will be perhaps the most vital factor in the question of world disarmament. Gandhi, who up to the present time has been able to sweep everything before him, is neither anti-English nor anti-European. He is simply pro-Indian. He stands for peace and goodwill among nations. He frankly declares:

We are at war with nothing that is good in the world. In protecting Islam we are protecting

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all religions. In protecting the honor of India
we are protecting the honor of humanity.

TARAKNATH DAS.
IN "THE SURVEY,"

October 1921.

GANDHI—APOSTLE OF FREEDOM

The attention of the entire world to-day is drawn to the frail-looking, deep-eyed man of the East who holds in his hands the destinies of more than 300 million people. Newspapers print sketches of this unique and lovely personality, and magazines discuss his philosophy. Despite the opposition and misrepresentation that always attends the attempt of any people to secure their freedom, the story of Gandhi and India's peaceful struggle is everywhere being told.

Born son of a Prime Minister of an Indian state, Mohandas K. Gandhi received his education partly in India and partly in England. The ennobling atmosphere of the Hindu home served as the best back-ground for character-building, and there under the tutelage of a splendid mother was laid the beginnings of his

greatness—the foundation of his sublime personality. When Gandhi went back to India he began practice as a barrister. Circumstances called him to South Africa, where he found his countrymen everywhere discriminated against and ill-treated. On all sides color prejudice, walls and barricades! Even he did not escape the assaults of blind, unreasoning prejudice from his fellows of whiter skin. He was insulted in court, and at one time in a railway carriage, a man struck him in the face—and this simply because he had a dark skin.

Gandhi decided to remain in South Africa and fight for redress of the grievances of his compatriots there. Thus at the age of twenty-four began the dedication of his life to the cause of freedom and justice,—for human rights. For two decades the peaceful fight went on—now on the verge of victory, now on the brink of defeat. During that time Gandhi went to prison four times. On the occasion of the last pilgrimage to prison he fasted nearly a month and a half because decent food was

not supplied to the other prisoners. After a bitter struggle covering twenty years, Gandhi succeeded in compelling the government to recognize the justice of the cause, and redress of grievances followed,—at least on paper. Non-co-operation with the government was the basis of action, and the struggle from beginning to end was conducted on strictly non-violent lines. Thus was signally vindicated the potential superiority of democracy over autocracy, of moral force over brute force.

Just after the outbreak of the world war, Mahatma Gandhi returned to India. During the war he organized a "passive resistance" protest movement in a section where relief had been refused to the drought-stricken, over-taxed peasants. The movement grew in strength and finally the government yielded. Another victory for non-violent action. This opened the way for non-violent non-co-operation in his own country. From the time of his landing in Bombay, Gandhi had been studying the Indian problem and trying to find the causes of, and the remedies for,

the existing ills. First he started a school for imparting the proper education to children so that at the end of their school life they might become true sons of the Motherland ready to sacrifice their lives for their freedom. All along Gandhi had been exhorting the people to submerge their differences and oppose a solid front to their oppressors. He was insistent on Hindu-Muslim unity, without which, he declared there could be no Swaraj (self-rule) in India.

Gandhi, during the years of the war, exhibited calmness and restraint. He thought the destruction of "Kaiserism" would spell the application of the right of self-determinism to nations. But the war that was to end war brought a peace that has nearly ended peace perpetrating a grievous wrong on Turkey and thereby arousing all the Mohammedans of the world. India herself fell under the immoral exactions of the Rowlatt Act of 1919, protestation against which led in turn to the massacre of Amritsar. This, together with the Khilafat wrongs, rolled

up a wave of nationalistic feeling the like of which had never been known in the country. Having championed the cause of the Mohammedan world as well as the people of his own land Gandhi rode on the crest of that wave to a position of power never attained by any national leader, and has ever since been the recognised head and spokesman of India. Even to-day, in prison his word is law with the masses of the people. Now, as during the entire duration of the struggle, this man is worshipped by his countrymen. Even those who disagree with his principles revere and love him. Apologists for imperialism themselves admit that Gandhi is a man of the loftiest motives and unswerving in his fidelity to the truth. He is described as a man who never says more than he means. His goodwill towards the British is unquestioned. The judge who sentenced him to six years behind the bars said to him on the day of his trial:

It will be impossible to ignore the fact that you are in a different category from any person I

have ever tried or I am likely ever to try. It would be impossible to ignore the fact that in the eyes of millions of your countrymen, you are a great patriot and a great leader. Even those who differ from you in politics look upon you as a man of high ideals and of noble and even saintly life.

“Mahatma”—great soul—indeed, is Gandhi—twentieth century saint and apostle of peace and freedom. That this great man, this supreme personality, should have been doomed to the prison cell by the imperialists of England is in itself a significant commentary on British rule in India. But in prison or out of prison Gandhi stands the recognized representative of a great people and in a way of the whole East. His inspiring words and example have led the masses of India to shake off the lethargy of years. Ten millions of them have registered as volunteers pledged to follow out to the letter—even unto death—the most extreme requirements of this non-violent programme, while practically all of India is united in spirit for the accomplishment of its

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great leader's purpose, namely the winning of Swaraj, self-determinism, freedom, for one-fifth of the human race.

HARIDAS MUZUMDAR.

IN "THE NEGRO WORLD,"

April 1922.

MAHATMA GANDHI'S BOYCOTT

Self-reliance is the cardinal doctrine of the non-co-operation movement fathered by Mahatma (Saint) Gandhi, a movement which is sweeping through India like a forest fire. According to this spiritual leader and political prophet the British Government in India is "an irresponsible, insolent and godless bureaucracy," and is "wholly evil in its totality." Therefore, he declares that he "seeks to, and must destroy the system." To him this is not only a civic duty, but a spiritual obligation as well.

The destruction of an alien government by a subject people held in unwilling submission at the point of the bayonet is not a new thing in the world, but never perhaps in recorded history has there been another attempt on such a gigantic scale to win a victory by purely peaceful means. Strange

are the weapons of this war without violence—the weapons of non-hatred, self-restraint and non-co-operation. It was through the influence of Gandhi that this titanic movement of such far-reaching consequences was officially adopted by the Indian National Congress a few months ago. The provisions of non-co-operation embrace the surrender of all titles of honour; the settlement of disputes by private arbitration, and the suspension of practice by lawyers; the boycott of government-controlled schools and colleges; the boycott of British goods; the gradual resignation of all government employees, including the police and the soldiers; and lastly, the refusal to pay taxes to the alien government.

The object of the movement is avowedly to paralyse the British Government of India. The first condition of success, according to Gandhi and his followers, is the absolute abstinence from any act of violence. Even violent thoughts and words are to be studiously avoided. It is not because India is weak and helpless, but

because she is so great and strong that she can magnanimously afford to wear this armour of non-violence and begin a peaceful offensive to win a speedy victory for her ideals.

Considering the active opposition of the British Government and the Indian royalists, the country as a whole has marvellously responded to the call of the Mahatma. Although the modern Indian nationalist movement began in Bengal in 1905, a true national leader was wanting. This has at last been found in the unique personality of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. The saintliness of his character and the utter unselfishness of his motives have won for him the unalloyed confidence and unconditional obedience of the teeming millions of Hindustan. True, there are many, who, in spite of their profound reverence for their great leader, are not strong enough to renounce all their earthly treasures for the joy of supreme self-sacrifice, and for the boon of helping to win a national government for their native land. But, day by day, the conditions all around them are

forcing even these weaker brethren to think seriously of their responsibilities to the great cause.

In the meantime, in response to a national appeal, a large number of men and women have returned to the British Government their titles and badges and medals of "honour." Those who still cling to these things are being socially ostracized. Hundreds of candidates who stood for election in the so-called reformed councils created by the new Indian "Home Rule" Act withdrew their candidacy. Thousands of lawyers of eminence have given up their practices in the British courts. Mr. C. R. Das, for example, who had a monthly income of about \$ 15,000 from an extensive practice of law in the High Court of Calcutta, has given up his practice and is now working with Gandhi for the attainment of *Swaraj* (National Government). The boycott of schools and colleges owned or controlled by the Government is spreading. Hundreds of thousands of students, both male and female, have ceased to attend the educational institutions of the

Government. As soon as a government school or a college is closed, it is at once nationalized, or if this cannot be done, a national school or college is promptly opened to take its place. In such schools or colleges, education is imparted along national lines. Hindi, the future common language of India, is compulsory; as are also spinning and weaving. Furthermore, thousands of youths are now being trained as "national volunteers" in different *Swaraj Ashramas* (National Homes) for non-violent service of the motherland. These student volunteers are establishing national schools and arbitration-courts in the villages of India. Whenever they find a village without a school, they do not leave the place until they have set up a school there. The education of the workers and the farmers is receiving special attention at their hands.

The formidable boycott of British goods in India is inflicting immeasurable injury upon British political prestige and financial power. After all, British administration in India is only another name for unbridled

exploitation of India's fields, farms, factories, markets, mines and raw materials. This systematic exploitation of India keeps the idle rich of Britain in abominable luxury, the British workingmen in abject poverty, and more than half the world inextricably chained to the chariot-wheels of British imperialism. More than any other single factor, this boycott of British goods in India threatens to put an end to this state of affairs. The boycott began on 1st August 1920. Indian merchants have cancelled orders in Britain to such an extent that many British mills and factories have been forced to close their gates and suspend all production. Millions of British workers are out of employment. In the cotton-districts of Lancashire the effect of the boycott is clearly marked. The British Stock Exchange is in a panicky mood, and there are several financial authorities who trace the origin of the present economic crisis to the spirit of revolt in India. There are to-day about 65,000 bales of British cotton piece-goods lying unclaimed in the harbour of Bombay, and another

100,000 unclaimed bales in Calcutta. Altogether \$ 1,500,000,000 worth of foreign goods of various kinds are rotting in the harbours of India. Since January 1921, almost no orders have been placed in England. Writing in the *Manchester Guardian* (weekly edition) on 4th March, 1921, a correspondent states :

Some days ago the Lancashire members of the Parliament in deploring the serious decline in export of cotton piece-goods to India under present conditions, pointed out that Britain in 1913 exported to India 3,189,000,000 yards, but in 1920 the figure had dropped to 1,474,000,000 yards. The members called for the immediate inquiry into the causes and remedy.

But while the machinery of boycott is working incessantly, India's great need for cotton-goods continues. In the production of raw cotton India is second only to the United States of America. Hence the boycott of British-made cotton has created an urgent need for spinning wheels and hand looms. The spinning wheel has been adopted as the national emblem, and stands on the newly designed national flag of

India. The National Congress Committee has undertaken to distribute 2,500,000 hand looms to as many homes all over the country. Men and women of all ranks and of all professions are using their leisure hours in spinning and weaving; and even the richest are proudly going about dressed in the coarsest homespun. "We have willed," writes Dr. M. A. Anasari, the General Secretary of the National Congress, "to become poor that India may be rich; we have spurned every pleasure that India may know the joy of freedom; we make ourselves small that India may be great; we become weak that invincible strength may be hers." It is claimed in certain quarters that the spinning wheel will win the war.

Because drunkards cannot be efficient workers in a sacred cause like this, Gandhi has declared that drinkshops and drinking must disappear from India. The boycott of liquor, opium and hemp is spreading throughout every province. Saloons are disappearing everywhere, even in the city of Calcutta. Men who haunt saloons or

drink at home are socially ostracized. This is another blow at British rule for the liquor traffic is a monopoly of the British Government in India from which it derives enormous revenues. On account of this boycott against drink many saloon-keepers have given up their leases, and many more are refusing to renew theirs. The British Government, consequently, is uselessly doing all that it can to crush the temperance movement in India.

But the most dramatically significant factor in the non-co-operation movement is the whole-hearted manner in which the working men of India are supporting Mahatma Gandhi and the cause he represents. The Indian working man, mercilessly exploited and criminally neglected, holds the key to the situation to-day. He is in the vast majority, and potentially he is the dominant power in the land. Already he is giving substantial evidences of his self-realization. Trade unions are increasing in strength and numbers everywhere. Almost every profession is thoroughly organized. The labour-unions are closely

co-operating with the political leaders. At the least provocation the workers declare a strike. At present the strikes are mostly directed against the British Government, British merchants, British manufacturers and British employers in general.

The dynamic potency of this new movement may be measured by what happened not long ago in Bombay. An "epidemic" of strikes swept the "Queen City." The longshoremen struck work, and shipping was at a standstill and the entire water front was paralysed; the trolley-strike stopped transportation; a railway-strike cut off all communication with outside; the gasmen's strike plunged the city in darkness; the telegraph operators' and postmen's strike made the receipt of messages impossible. The city was practically in a state of siege, and thus the vaunted power of the mighty British *Raj* was non-violently reduced to nothing by the might of Indian labour.

Who can wonder that the British Government to-day stands aghast at the prospect it sees ahead; no wonder that the

British newspapers in India and in England are crying curses on the non-co-operation movement. To one such criticism in the *Times of India of Bombay*, Mahatma Gandhi replied recently :

The *Times of India* considers the non-co-operation movement to be 'an easy descent to hell.' I respectfully urge that it is a difficult ascent to heaven. If it was a movement to produce anarchy, surely it could be precipitated any moment. The *Times of India* and other critics, who, I believe, are anxious to understand the inwardness of the struggle, will do well to appreciate the fact that not only I, but all the leaders, are doing their utmost to prevent anarchy. It is no use isolating me from the rest.

Non-co-operation is strengthening both the body and the soul of India. It is more of a spiritual than a political movement. Whatever may be its outcome the awakened people of India are at least giving the people of England ample warning that the time has come for a peaceful evacuation of the Indian motherland.

BASANTA KOOMAR ROY

IN "THE FREEMAN."

August 1921.

GANDHI AND THE "MIRACLE OF NON-VIOLENCE"

Six hundred years before the Christian era and a century before the advent of Buddha, Lao-Tze, the venerable Chinese sage, preached the doctrine of non-resistance, summing up his thought in the fine words—"The good I meet with goodness; the bad I also meet with goodness; that is virtue's goodness." Then came the Buddha, who exhorted his disciples thus: "Let a man overcome anger by love, let him overcome evil by good, . . . the liar by truth." But the classic formulation of the doctrine is to be found in the "Sermon on the Mount"—"Whosoever smiteth thee on thy right cheek, turn him the other also," which is only another way of saying, "Resist not evil." Humanity has mouthed the words all these centuries, but it was not until the latter part of the nineteenth century, when Tolstoy attacked

the very foundations of the Christian church, that the world realized the full import of the doctrine of peaceful resistance, or, as he characterized it, "passive resistance."

It was left for this Hindu "saint," the leader of the non-co-operation movement in India in the twentieth century, to reclothe the ancient doctrine, to emphasize its positive character, and to put it firmly on the plane of practical achievement. "Passive resistance," he has said, does not give the exact meaning of that upon which the present nationalistic movement is predicated. Satyagraha, i.e., Truth-force, conveys the meaning more correctly—that is, soul-force as opposed to force of arms. As it has worked out it is better described as non-violent resistance. Gandhi declares:

. . . . soul force and force of arms
 respectively represent forces of good and evil. The Indian belief is that there was in this land a time when the forces of good were predominant. That state still remains our ideal. Europe to-day furnishes a forcible illustration of predominance of the forces of evil.

Gandhi visualizes a world free from strife where every people may make its own peculiar contribution to human thought and endeavor. "We must show the world," he says, "the miracle of non-violence." And non-violence, it must be remembered, is to him a dynamic force, the power behind the weapon of non-co-operation. And what is non-co-operation? C. R. Das, an eminent Indian lawyer—in his presidential address prepared for the opening of the recent national congress—quotes from the words of S. E. Stokes, an American, living in India:

It is a refusal to be a party to preventable evil; it is the refusal to accept any part in injustice; it is the refusal to acquiesce in wrongs that can be righted, or to submit to a state of affairs which is manifestly inconsistent with the dictates of righteousness. . . . it is refusal to work with those who insist upon committing or perpetuating wrong.

Continuing, Mr. Das makes reference to the criticism that the whole doctrine is one of negation—of despair. "I agree," he says, "that in form it is one-

of negation, but I maintain that in substance it is one of affirmation. We break in order to build; we destroy in order to construct; we reject in order to accept. This is the whole history of human endeavor. If subjection be an evil, then we are bound to non-co-operate with every agency that seeks to perpetuate our subjection . . . (and this) affirms our determination to be free, to win our liberty at any cost."

In a recent issue of his little paper, *Young India*, Gandhi says:

"The success of our movement depends upon our ability to control all the forces of violence on our side. . . . I want India to realize that she has a soul which cannot perish and which can rise triumphant over every physical weakness and defy the physical might of the whole world."

Gandhi would have his people purchase their freedom with the coin of suffering. To those who know Indian history, such a programme has no element of the unusual. Rather it may be said to be the essence of Hinduism. "Swaraj is knocking at our door," says Gandhi, "and by co-operation with the comparatively few

Englishmen within our borders, may it not be we ourselves, not the British, who are shutting it out?"

And what does it all mean? Simply that refusal to help the ruling class to rule is to take the place of mobilization; love is to take the place of bitterness and ill-will! . For the first time in the history of the world a great people have set out to win freedom by opposing the strength of the oppressor the willingness to suffer until might shall have been put under foot by right. It is a determined effort to effect a great political revolution without shedding the blood of the enemy. It is fighting by Christ's way rather than Cæsar's. This man, who says frankly that he is trying to put religion into politics, teaches that spiritual strength is the manifestation of good-will, while armed force—the weapon of the weak—is always the concrete manifestation of fear and hate, which are disintegrating forces. He argues :

“ Non-violence may be said to have succeeded only when we show the miracle of non-violence

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to the many. The miracle can be performed only with quiet, with peacefulness."

The message that was Christ's two thousand years ago, is Gandhi's to-day. On it rests the future peace of the world!

T. H. K. REZMIE

IN THE "NEW YORK GLOBE."

February 1922.

GANDHI AND THE INDIAN UNREST*

The characteristics of the present Indian unrest are: (1) a distinct reaction of the people against Western civilization; (2) a revival of national consciousness; and (3) a re-appraisal of old Indian values. While the roots of this unrest are in the comparatively remote past, in order to discover its exact nature and meaning, one must bear in mind the events of more recent times.

The rebellion of 1857, it will be recalled, was a combined uprising of Indians and Mohammedans against the British, which failed to attain its purpose simply because it was a military outbreak, unrecognised and unaided by the civil population. The historic Queen's Proclamation, issued in 1858 when Victoria was proclaimed ruler

* The substance of an address delivered before the New York Society for Ethical Culture. Sunday, March 5, 1922.

of India, was designed to overcome the irritations provoked by the mutiny of the preceding year. In this proclamation it was stipulated that the same rights and privileges enjoyed by British subjects borne elsewhere, irrespective of color and nationality, should be extended to the Indian people. Since that time, however, very little has been done by the British authorities in India to observe the spirit of the proclamation. The discrepancy between the position occupied by British subjects in Australia, Canada, and New Zealand, and that of the Indian subjects of the Crown is too obvious and too great to require much in the way of elaboration. The Indians have had no franchise at all—although recently five millions out of a population of three hundred millions have been allowed to vote. Indians are not permitted to emigrate to Canada, Australia, New Zealand, or South Africa, while, on the other hand, Canadians and other Colonials are free to enter or to leave India. The manifold grievances of the Indians are, how-

ever, too complicated to be considered here.

But there is one side of the problem that has ever been emphasized: the psychology of the Hindu and the Moham-medan people of India in conflict with the psychology of the British. The Hindus, for instance, who are strict vegetarians, regard any meat-eating persons as more or less impure, and the Mohammedans are forbidden by their religion to eat pork or ham. Now both Hindus and Moham-medans are ruled by a race which eats both cows and pigs, and this single fact illustrates one of the causes of the psychological friction which has arisen between the rulers and the ruled. Tour-ists have even been seen eating ham sandwiches in the Taj-Mahal, and I my-self have seen Western people walking through temple grounds with their shoes on, which no Indian ever does. This con-tinual overlooking by Western travellers and sojourners of the sensitiveness of the Eastern people, is a very significant fact.

There are other distinctive differences between the Eastern and Western people. The Indians are excessively religious-minded, even superstitious in their religious outlook. When they sit together, they talk about God—but how many Englishmen of average intelligence would waste their time talking about God! Further, the Indian does not recognize the reality of the time-process. Time to him is an illusion drawn over the substance of reality, while to the Westerner, time is excessively real.

Now when two such races are thrown together—the one believing in the time-process and the other disbelieving in it, the one concerned with talk about God and the other discussing the good points of race horses or blood hounds, the one attaching supreme significance to dietary laws which the other entirely ignores—the differences in point of view are so stupendous as to give rise to constant misunderstanding.

Moreover, there are marked divergences

in the ethical attitude of the two peoples. I remember that, on one occasion, when my grandfather had been touched by a meat-eating person, he came home after a bath in the Ganges and said to his wife: "I must have got up this morning with an evil thought in my mind. That is why a rude man touched me and thus polluted me." Time and again I have noticed in India that the Hindu believes that the only way to cure an error, particularly an ethical error, is through self-abnegation. *Ahimsa paramo Dharma, Tyaktena Vanjita*: not to do injury to others is the highest ethical attitude, and this is to be attained through self-purification. Now opposed to this attitude is the usual view-point represented by Europeans in India, that the ethical ideal must be commensurate with self-expression. This is particularly true of the modern West, which has eschewed Plato and Jesus Christ and taken psycho-analysis to heart. Along with all the physical, political and economic grievances that have developed since 1858 is this moral and esthetic

grievance, which is fundamental and unshakable.

But the crudities of meat-eating and the rudeness of self-expression are mere sign-posts of what the West is doing to the East. Sometimes, for instance, one will find on the left bank of a river the pagodas with their tapering, golden minarets, and, on the right bank, wooden pumps, many, many feet high, erected by Western business concerns for the purpose of getting oil out of the ground; and the people from the other side of the valley are unable to look at the minarets of their temples because the unsightly structures are in the way. Again in a country where the elephant formerly did the work of transportation, the sordid locomotive is being substituted and the beauty of the old method eliminated. People who worked at looms in little cottages are now being driven away from their vocations and drawn into vile factories, where they work as much as twelve hours a day. The factories and the hut-houses which surround these fac-

tories give evidence of the hooliganizing of the East by the West. The truth is that the Western individual is attaining self-expression at the expense of the Eastern personality.

All of these contrasts and conflicting forces were at work before the late war broke out, and a tremendous volume of unrest was seething beneath the surface of Indian life. Nevertheless India went into the war whole-heartedly, for the people thought, if they helped Great Britain and the Allies to do justice to Belgium and to Europe at large, that later on they could demand justice for their own land. More specifically, they hoped that the rights mentioned in the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 would no longer be withheld. India went into war to help Great Britain to keep her treaty with Belgium, as she expected England to keep her treaty of 1858 with India.

After the war instead of securing the inauguration of real self-government, India was offered the Amritsar massacre as an indication of what might happen to

her if she became too restive. The outcome of the Amritsar affair is history now: how General Dyer, the arch-instigator, was found guilty enough to be condemned by the House of Commons, but later was condoned by the House of Lords. But the significance of the massacre lies in another direction. What the Indian people were made to realize was that they would never get justice from their rulers unless they backed up their claims with force. Thus all India was startled into a consciousness of the imminence of a military rebellion, whose magnitude, was clear to one man, and that was Mahatma Gandhi. This man who had been a friend of the British in both the Boer and the World wars, who had always believed in the good faith of the British people, suddenly realized that India had begun to hate the West with an active hatred and that her people were about to institute a military revolution. But the most vivid lesson of the recent war was also clear to him, as to many other leaders, namely, that issues are not

settled but are rather utterly confused by the taking up of arms. It was also clear to Gandhi and to other leaders who were gifted with insight into the Hindu nature, that the Indian moral attitude is based on self-abnegation as the only means of purging error. So in order to keep the unrest within the limits of pacific measures, Gandhi stepped into the breach and proclaimed non-co-operation.

And now a further aspect of the recent unrest must be explained. When the Amritsar massacres were investigated and condemned by liberal opinion in Great Britain and the Montagu-Chelmsford Bill was passed, India was split more distinctly than ever before into three parties: the Moderates, the Revolutionists, and the Non-co-operators, as the followers of Gandhi were called. The Moderates became identified with the government, and lost control of public opinion when they agreed with and accepted the Montagu-Chelmsford Bill, which gave votes to only five million people out of three hundred millions. Then it was left to the

Extremists, who were Revolutionists, to control public opinion, and that spelt war and carnage as a prelude to the securing of real self-government. In order to save the country from going entirely over to the Extremists, Gandhi reminded the people of their fundamental ethical attitude, and the response of the majority was immediate. They agreed with him that if India is ever to win self-government, it must be through a revivification of her old ethical ideals. She must not overcome the West by employing Western weapons, but must remove the abuses which so perturb her by following the path of her ancestors—she must realize by renouncing herself. This decision involved a re-appraisal of ethical values; it renewed the ethical nature of the Indian people and re-established them on the firmest foundation that any nation can ever have. Instead of breaking the continuity of the old moral idea, Gandhi had woven it into the outer fabric of Indian life with a sure touch, and the nation had decided to abide by the idea of Buddha, of Chaitanya of the Middle

Ages, and of Ramakrishna of the nineteenth century.

Now I think we can see that the conflict is not between Great Britain and India, but between the mechanical, modern, ultra-utilitarian West and the mediaeval, quietistic, personal East. Great Britain happens to represent Western civilization in India, but the rebellion is against the Western mechanical idea of life, and would have taken place no matter which Western country represented it in India. The *New York Nation* of January 18, 1922, contains Gandhi's own proclamation, in which he says: "I cannot hate any person, I love every person. I love the Englishman, though I hate his institutions." And he urges his followers not to hate the person, though they must hate the mechanical institutions which are destroying the personalities, both of the East and of the West. This point must be emphasized, for among the Western peoples themselves, in their own civilization, the conflict is just as intense between the mechanical life and personality. All the great thinkers, both

of the Orient and of the Occident, are agreed that a community is real in so far as it enhances the relations of persons. Now the communities, both of the East and of the West, are ceasing to involve relations of persons, for which are being substituted relations between mechanisms. People are treating each other in terms of automobiles, locomotives, and factories, and not in terms of will-possessing entities, the implication of whose being is infinite.

So, to sum up, Gandhi's teaching is nothing but a page from the Upanishads and the Gospel of Buddha. It is not local and national; its significance is world-wide. Nations that are not paying heed to Gandhi's idealism, communities that are not making his ideas their own, are risking the terrible peril of dissolution. The battle that is being fought out in India between thousands of men and women who are in prison because they would not resist their captors and their jail-keepers and the established mechanical authority of the government is not a

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conflict of Nationalism versus Imperialism; it is an emphatic statement of the spiritual view of life against the mechanical. While the Indians are being taught not to hate the Englishman, not to hate the Western person, but rather to love him, they are urged to hate and abolish, if they can, the rampant and ruinous aspect of machinery, of the mechanical view-point, which is the international glutton. When, centuries from now, the history of the present-day world comes to be written, the impartial historian will assign to each race and community its burden of error and merit, and I am sure that if Gandhi fails to rally India to the side of the moral idealism of the race, it will be said of him that in an age of darkest gloom, this man perceived the moral dawn a little earlier than the rest of the world. The moral conflict now raging in India, is then, the same struggle that is going on everywhere else, and if India solves her problem of unrest under Gandhi, many difficulties now confronting the

GANDHI ~~AND~~ THE INDIAN UNREST 299
rest of the world will automatically be
settled.

DHAN GOPAL MUKERJI
IN "THE STANDARD."

NEW YORK,
March 1922.

NEW IDEALS AND NEW CREATIONS

New Ideals and New Creations are the watchwords of to-day for those who would be in tune with the universal spirit that is at work in the world, transforming men and nations, and bringing forth new births. It is the part of the prophet to condemn the wrong and to hold up the ideal of the right. Mahatma Gandhi has spoken of the "Satanic" civilization of the West; Rabindranath Tagore has said that "the soul of the West is famished and her social life wounded to the quick"; now comes M. Paul Richard—admittedly one of the great thinkers of to-day—who declares that there must be brought back to earth a healthy equilibrium of mind and body, that the dignity of labor shall be asserted. "No one," he says, "has any right to share the bread of others if he does not share the burdens." Tolstoy

expressed the same thought; so too, Ruskin and Thoreau; Gautama Buddha preached it; Jesus of Nazareth made it the central idea of his gospel. The Mahatma to-day—like Jesus in his time—utters condemnation of a wicked generation, which knows all the externals and little or nothing about the way of salvation. Many listen, some hear, but few understand,—and yet Gandhi's thought has been the crux of all the great religions of the world and his words have been the rallying cry of all the prophets. They are summed up in the phrase, "Love to God and Love to Man."

There is not love to man in this era—there is the most cruel exploitation of man. The two cannot go together. Monsieur Richard looks forward to the time when there shall be "no more plant and factory—the gloomy and dirty cities with their struggle and strife, their worm-like agglomerations of sad and down-trodden human beings—the time when all the powers and forces of nature shall be largely distributed in every home, cottage

and villa." Mahatma Gandhi says that in the Charkha is the secret of the future. The critics say that this is a regression towards the past. This is true in a way; but it is a regression towards a new start, towards new progress, rectifying and redressing the curved and crooked line of deadly modern industrialism. It is not an end in itself, but a step towards the more life-giving and efficient forms of a spiritualized industry. Gandhi's is a warning cry to a world obsessed with a mistaken admiration for the things that should count least but that apparently mean everything! Professor T. L. Vaswani, who perhaps after Gandhi best expresses the ideals of the non-co-operation movement in India (the movement that is furthering Gandhi's programme for a better world) speaks of the masses of India who have not the "comfort-civilization" of the cities. The Mahatma speaks as he does in condemnation of the "material civilization of the West" because he is aware that the masses all over the world have not this comfort-civilization that

has been the portion of most of his critics, —both of the East and the West. Gandhi visualizes a humanity that shall be fitted for “the great to-morrow”—the to-morrow of that newer and higher civilization, which —because of its long background of religious and philosophical culture—the East has visualized better than the West. Kipling declared that the East and the West could never meet; others have said that they have already met; Gandhi says—

The East and the West can only really meet when the West has thrown overboard modern civilization, almost in its entirety. They can seemingly meet when the East has adopted modern civilization, *but that meeting would be an armed truce.*

Dr. Tagore sees the West as beginning to have doubts about the feasibility of “clinging to the wreck called ‘civilization,’ now rapidly rushing towards annihilation—but with a habit of mind which prevents it from leaving the doomed ship.” (The strenuous critics of the letter which embodied Gandhi’s arraignment of Western civilization exemplify this habit of mind, it seems to me.) At the same time Dr.

Tagore sees some of his own people "getting ready to jump into the stream and swim across to the sinking ship to fight for a place in a corner." The words of the Mahatma, of Monsieur Richard, of Professor Vaswani, of the Poet, should be understood as warnings—to the East to steer clear of the wreck, rather than to attempt to board it,—and to the West to leave the ship while there is yet time. If their words fall short of convincing us that by abandoning our inventive gains we shall be saved, they have at least uncovered a tremendous problem—as the editor of the *Christian Register* has pointed out—the problem of having brought about the unequal development of things which make for our carnal ease and the things which make for our spiritual power. What have we in this letter of the great Indian leader, asks the editor of the *Register*.

What but a universal gospel, a plan of living and a vision of life that rise above and make us forget nations and their differences, above races and their isolations and hatreds, above the things of matter and comfort to the things of spirit and

mastery—to unity, to brotherhood, to a simple, beautiful, mighty stock giving its body, its mind, and its soul to the joy of life, to the wisdom, the peace, and the progress of the one family of mankind.

As this writer sees it, there are people eager to read of this unique leader—this “strange man”—and to treat him with growing veneration; and he adds “It is not the first time that a word spoken from a prison has gone round the world!”

In order that the civilization of the future may have a real chance of growing in an atmosphere congenial to it, shall not Mahatma Gandhi's demonstration of the right path be welcomed, and his emphasis on the needed simplification of the machinery of living, his limitation of the needs of humanity, even his restrictions in regard to modern inventions, be recognized as supremely essential conditions of the coming era? Every civilization in the history of man has reached a certain point after which there has been one possibility only for it—and that, absolute relapse into semi-darkness in order that the newer and

better civilization may have opportunity to develop. Worlds must be prepared for the ways of God—the ways of God which are always the unexpected ones. Be this as it may, there are signs that there is an awakening everywhere, in every land and among all peoples. This awakening will undoubtedly lead to social chaos—this chaos to new creation, and this creation to a great future. “Fight for this future,” says Paul Richard, “but not with the weapons of the past. Fight with that only which the new spirit is hammering, tempering in you. ...It is the battle, not of human armies, but world forces—that of the past and that of the future, that of the below and that of the beyond; a battle of the things that were and shall be no more, and those which are not yet but have to be.”

Gandhi of India has given to mankind the first part of the economic programme for the civilization that is to be. It is a programme (predicated on non-violence and love) which the world needs for the transitional stage, to be modified and enlarged as

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mankind is ready for the new ideals and new creations—ready for the succeeding steps which God shall will, to the end that man shall awake in the glory of a new morn.

HARI GOVIND GOVIL,
IN "UNITY"

September 28, 1922.

THE SONG OF INDIA

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE

Ruler of the minds of all people, Dispenser
of India's destiny

Thy name rouses the hearts of the Punjab,
Sindh, Gujrat, Maratha,

Of Dravid and Orissa and Bengal ;

It echoes in the hills of the Vindhya and
Himalayas,

Mingles in the music of the Jumna and the
Ganges,

And is chanted by the waves of the Indian
sea.

They pray for thy grace and sing thy
glory,

Thou Dispenser of India's destiny,

Victory to Thee !

Day and night, thy voice goes out from
land to land,

Calling the Hindus and Buddhists, Sikhs
and Jains around thy throne,
And the Parsees, Mussulmans and
Christians.

The East and the West join hands in their
prayer to Thee,

And the garland of love is woven.

Thou bringest the hearts of all people into
the harmony of one life,

Thou Dispenser of India's destiny,

Victory to Thee !

The procession of pilgrims passes over the
endless road rugged with the rise and
fall of nations ;

And it resounds with the thunder of thy
wheels, Eternal Charioteer !

Through the dire days of doom thy trumpet
sounds, and men are led by Thee across
death.

Thy finger points the path of truth to all
people,

Dispenser of India's destiny,

Victory to Thee !

The darkness was deep, and dense was the
night ;

310 GANDHI—NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE

My country lay in death-like silence of
swoon ;

But thy mother-arms were round her, and
thine eyes gazed upon her face, in sleep-
less love, through her hours of ghastly
dreams.

Thou bringest companionship and solace to
the people in their sorrows,
Thou Dispenser of India's destiny,
Victory to Thee !

The night fades ; the light breaks over the
peaks of the eastern hills ;

The birds begin to sing, the morning-
breeze carries the breath of new life.

The rays of thy mercy have touched the
waking land with their blessings,
Victory to Thee, King of Kings,
Dispenser of India's destiny,
Victory to Thee !

THE INDEPENDENT,
April 1921.

HOW NON-CO-OPERATION IS
WORKING.

NON-CO-OPERATION IN PRACTICE

There have been flags with harps and pine trees, white elephants and even rattlesnakes. The flag of Nationalism in India bears one of the strangest symbols of them all—a spinning-wheel.

That is because in the practical programme of “non-co-operation” the chief plank has been home-spun cloth. The theory of “non-co-operation” I have sketched in an earlier article. I turn now to the plan in practice.

India, says Gandhi, has awakened from a long sleep. The future threatens certain risks. But non-co-operation he defends upon three major points.

In the first place, it carries its own test with it. *Non-co-operation is largely a matter of morale. “It can only be carried to a successful conclusion if the cause be just.”*

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314 GANDHI—NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE

Physical force, as contrasted with passive-resistance, can usually win a quick decision. Passive resistance means a long and enervating struggle. It means hardship and inconvenience spread over a period that seems to grow interminable. The temptation to quit becomes more alluring as discomforts multiply, and the goal itself seems as far away as ever.

Only a cause that seems undeniably just to a great many people can keep non-co-operation going year after year. In that sense, Gandhi probably is right. Provided it does not abandon its own premise, and swing into violence, non-co-operation carries with it something of a test.

In the second place, Gandhi believes that non-co-operation is itself an educative process, training its devotees for the privileges they claim the right to exercise. In that respect, also, it affords contrast with a campaign based on force.

The programme on which Nationalism worked and the programme which Gandhi offered all India, was Non-Co-operation.

The theory of this project was blasting Britain's hold on India by making it both unnecessary and unprofitable for her to remain there. It contemplated a protest of the same sort that the American colonists made on the eve of war with Britain, when they launched their "non-intercourse" movement against all British products.

In theory the campaign thus rested on passive resistance—a doctrine in which India had long training. For even in the days before British rule the people of India had evolved the practice of "sitting dhurna" on occasions—and had found it highly effective against more than one of their own Princes.

It is possible, for one thing, that even though it fails, this campaign will have the effect of hurrying on self-government—provided it sticks to the last tactics of "non-violent Non-Co-operation" with which it started. One observer who holds that view is a responsible member of the British Indian Government, in Washington for the Arms Conference. There are others of his

colleagues who agree with him. Non-Cooperation, whatever else it does, has succeeded in displaying India's chief grievances.

NEW SENSE OF ASPIRATION

Again, it has undoubtedly given many Indians a new sense of aspiration, shocked them out of a sense of hopeless inferiority, encouraged them to experiment with standing on their own feet. Because unity is essential, it has also attacked the problem of reconciling two religious creeds whose hostility has done a vast land incalculable harm. It has at least rattled the chains that bind India's women, because it needs those women in its struggle. And it has, finally, given some hope to those most downtrodden members of India's own family—the "untouchable"—the great fifth of India rated "below caste." For while the Nationalist programme itself is silent about caste, individual leaders have campaigned against "untouchability," and their efforts count for more because they are now identified with patriotism.

NON-CO-OPERATION IN PRACTICE 317

I shall not attempt to weigh the good with the bad. The two are qualitatively different and do not belong upon the same scales. Both are real. As Nationalism develops, either may expand so as to negative the other.

Roused by Amritsar and the "Black Cobra Bill" and the Turkish treaty, fighting with such strange weapons as spinning-wheels and boycotts of a Prince—led by a non-resistant whose followers may spurn his edict against violence—a large company of India's restless masses struggle precariously toward something known as "self-rule."

[*Extract.*]

CHARLES MERZ

IN "THE NEW YORK WORLD"

March 1922.

SPILLING TEA AND BURNING COTTON

Surely, you still enjoy the memory of the tea party you attended in Boston harbour a century and a half ago. Perhaps, then you will be pleased to accept an invitation to another party to-day.

This time you are asked to make a big excursion to far-away India. The spirit-journey will involve no expense—beyond an outlay of intelligent sympathy. And such spending always means having and gaining!

When the American colonists, disguised as Indians, spoiled a cargo of good tea by spilling it overboard, they not only took liberties with the cheering, non-intoxicating national drink of none-too-merry England, but they made a picturesque protest against the unprincipled principle of taxation without representation.

At this safe distance of time and space we can see the jest of that situation. But the Boston Tea Party was no joke in those colonial days.

Indeed, it was another of the unmistakable signs of the on-coming throes of Revolution. Just as surely as is the burning of cotton now in India !

It is not fair to fact to say that England learns no lessons. On the contrary, she has learned much since the achievement of American Independence. Hence the United Kingdom, which is a federation of practically sovereign States.

Except Ireland, which—after much bloody and futile reluctance on the part of England—is attaining the status of an associated nation. And Egypt, whose sovereignty also is about to be recognized at London.

And India, which looms on the international horizon, huge and menacing.

Many believe that this black cloud portends the storm which is to bring the destruction of disruption to the British

Empire. But Britannia, which so long has ruled the waves, may know how to bow to this blast also and thus may manage to ride the storm in safety.

Even if her Ship of State is saved, be sure that it can only be through lightening of the load by further abandonment of cargo.

England can save herself only by allowing practical self-government to India.

England has deadened India's culture and killed her industry; she has exploited India's resources, for the enrichment of England and the spoliation and impoverishment of India.

She has encouraged the traffic in opium and liquors, and has denied India's thirst for education. She has forced upon India the blight of a foreign civilization, with militarism and famine as the cruel symbols of England's despotism.

And now the patient worm has turned.

India has not become avowedly Christian, but she is practising the militant pacifism of Jesus under the fairly hypnotic leadership of Mahatma Gandhi.

Lately, they built huge bonfires of their clothes made of cotton manufactured in England. And the people of India are bringing out the old spindles to make their own cotton cloth.

All this may sound impractical, and probably it is. But so was the spilling of the tea in Boston Harbour!

And yet that seemingly so insignificant act was followed pretty promptly by the incident at Concord Bridge and the firing of the shot heard round the world.

Indeed, all the cannonade and bombardment of the recent war were world-shaking reverberations of that shot fired by the Colonial farmers. And Russia is another; and China another, and India still another.

By the light of those bonfires of British cotton we can look into the heart of those hundreds of millions of Hindus and Chinese and Russians, all yearning to breathe free.

That lurid scene in far-off India blends with the gray-green of Boston Harbour, and illumines anew the meaning of that earlier incident in New England.

Essentially, they both have exactly the

same significance. They are episodes of the same human drama—the Awakening of Man.

Self-direction and self-fulfilment are the unalienable right and the inevitable destiny of all human beings.

They can no more be successfully denied to the real India by modern Britain than they could be kept, a century and a half ago, from the America which Columbus thought to be the fabled India of his day.

CHARLES FLEISCHER,
IN THE "BOSTON AMERICAN."

August 1921.

GANDHI AND THE PROHIBITION MOVEMENT IN INDIA

Until very recently the consumption of liquor in India has been on the increase. Rev. Herbert Anderson in an article published in the *Bengalee*, Calcutta, shows that the number of persons convicted for drunkenness in Calcutta for the last few years is as follows :

For the year 1915-16, 6,321 ; 1916-17, 6,752 ; 1917-18, 8,846 ; 1918-19, 7,685 ; 1919-20, 7,928.

But India is the most hopeful country in the world for Prohibition. It is for this reason the man who is dubbed by the friends of liquor "Pussyfoot" Johnson, is on his way to India and will arrive there about the 1st of August to help those who are working the cause of Prohibition.

The reason for this hopeful outlook lies in the fact that Mahatma Gandhi, the leader of *Swaraj*—the Independent Movement of India—is leading the Prohibition forces in India with unprecedented

success. One of the creeds of his unique movement for Indian freedom is that the Indian people must purify themselves from all evil habits, and above all the drink habit, and the mass of the Indian people are following him! Hundreds of liquor shops are being closed because the people will not buy liquor, and the students have organized themselves in big cities to give milk free of charge to those who wish to go to the liquor shop for intoxicating drink.

The government of British India is opposed to Prohibition because it derives a revenue of Rs. 1,70,000,000 (which is one-third of the provincial revenue), that is about \$50,000,000 from its excise department, and enforcement of total prohibition means loss of this enormous sum.

Gandhi, in his magazine, *Young India*, June 8, 1921, in his appeal to the Moderates of India, pleads for prohibition in the following way:

The state does not cater to the vices of its people. We do not regulate or license houses of ill fame. We do not provide facilities for thieves to indulge

their propensity of thieving. I hold drink to be more damnable than thieving and perhaps prostitution. Is it not often the parent of both? I ask you to join the country in sweeping out of existence the drink revenue and abolishing the liquor shops. Many liquor sellers would gladly close their shops, if the money paid by them (for licences) were refunded.

Against this argument of loss of revenue, *Young India* publishes the following sound and convincing argument that the loss of the revenue will not be a real loss at all, but it will be a national gain to its wealth and moral welfare, and therefore the State—if it is for the benefit of the people—will be benefited by the introduction of prohibition in India.

By abolishing excise, the nation will have on its hands the money it now spends on drink. The nation can spend the money or save it. Suppose the nation, instead of saving this money, spends it say on cloth, it will mean more growing of cotton, more manufacture of cloth, more employment and higher wages for the labor. Here again the nation will prosper. Why excise fails as a proper means of taxation is—*not to speak of the sin of it—because it accelerates the increasing poverty and chronic starvation of the people.* As a doctrine, it is fallacious and

unsound ; as a policy it is ruinous and immoral. If this evil takes permanent root among the people, the Government will soon learn to its cost, like the man in the fable, that it has killed the goose that laid the golden eggs.—*The Young India*, June 1, 1921.

The Prohibition Movement is known in India as "The National Purification" and is intended by Gandhi to make the people more worthy to carry on their struggle for independence. The whole world is indebted to American women, particularly the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, for helping to bring Prohibition in America. Will they not help India, Mahatma Gandhi, and three hundred and fifteen millions of people to free themselves from the monster of the drink habit fostered and encouraged by the government of British India under the pretext of raising revenue ?

TARAKNATH DAS,
International Secretary,
Friends of Freedom for India,
 IN "UNITY"

August 1921.

PUSSYFOOT'S CERTIFICATE

[We desire to share with our readers this interesting clipping from Mahatma Gandhi's *Young India*. It casts an interesting side-light on Gandhi's work.—THE EDITOR.]

I was agreeably surprised to receive the following from Pussyfoot. I had hoped to have the privilege of meeting Dr. Johnson, but our programme always clashed. It is therefore special satisfaction for me to be able to receive a letter from him acknowledging our temperance work.

“ My dear Mr. Gandhi:

“ While sailing away from your country my mind keeps going back to the wonderful work that you are doing for the temperance cause in India and consequently for the world.

“ After making all possible discounts for motive, purpose or method, the bald

fact looms up against the sky that you have accomplished more for the temperance reform in two years than any other man has been able to accomplish, in that time, in the history of the world.

“My chief regret in leaving India is that while there I was not able to meet you personally and tell you what I am telling you in this letter.

“Please present my kind recollections to your good wife and your brother with whom I did have the privilege of the little visit.

“Cordially yours,

“W. E. JOHNSON.

“At Sea, 19th November, 1921.”

I can share the letter with the reader without blushing for the simple reason that I can claim no credit for the work which Dr. Johnson truly calls wonderful. It has not even taken two years to accomplish what has been done. But the credit belongs to a multitude of unknown workers who, fired by the religious nature of the movement, spontaneously took up

temperance work. I wish that such glorious work had not been marred by the wanton and violent burning of liquor shops in Bombay.

Let me hope that all trace of compulsion will be removed from the reform and that we shall soon see an India become voluntarily dry.—*M. K. Gandhi in the "Young India."*

UNITY (CHICAGO),

April 1922.

GANDHI'S DIPLOMATIC VICTORY

The cabinet crisis in London, forced by the resignation of Mr. Montagu, Secretary of State for India, following the publication of Earl Reading's note asking for the revision of the Treaty of Sevres, marks the greatest diplomatic victory in Gandhi's extraordinary career.

Last January Gandhi, the leader of the non-co-operation movement in India, served a notice to those who wanted to co-operate with the Government to the effect that he would be willing to have a Round Table Conference with the Government provided the Government be agreed to settle three demands he had to make on behalf of the Indian Nationalists. The first demand was that justice be done to Turkey by revising the Treaty of Sevres on the following principles :

Full restoration to the Turks of Constantinople, Adrianople, Anatolia, including Smyrna, and

GANDHI'S DIPLOMATIC VICTORY 331

Thrace. Complete withdrawal of non-Moslem influence from Arabia, Mesopotamia, Palestine, Syria, and therefore withdrawal of British troops whether English or Indian from these territories.—*Young India*, January 19, 1922.

Earl Reading and others thought that the demand was very unreasonable because it would mean revision of even the Treaty of Versailles and it would be impossible to recommend it to the British Government. But Gandhi issued his ultimatum that he would not give up the non-co-operation programme and the masses of India have begun to refuse to pay taxes in all parts of India, particularly in Bengal, the Punjab and the United Provinces. The Indian soldiers have also refused to stay in the British army. The unrest has become so serious that Lord Rawlinson, the commander-in-chief of the British army in India, on March 9th, demanded that the military budget of India be increased from 48 crores to 62 crores of rupees (one crore is equivalent to \$4,865,000), which is more than double the military and naval expense of Japan. This bill was passed in spite of the opposi-

tion of the Indians. Lord Rawlinson claimed during the debate that

sedition propaganda was being circulated among the population, which caused the necessity of calling out of troops almost daily to preserve peace and guard against attempts of seditionists to tamper with the loyalty of Indian soldiers. . . . Internal condition of India gave cause for serious anxiety, and the ability of the Government to maintain law and order would be seriously tested in no distant future.

The strength of the revolutionary movement in India and the failure of repressive measures adopted by the Government of India to check its progress has forced the Government to recommend the following measures to gain the confidence of the Mohammedans of India, and, if possible, to separate them from the Hindus :

The Government of India particularly emphasises the necessity of guaranteeing the neutrality of the Dardanelles and security of the non-Moslem population. It also urges evacuation of Constantinople, sovereignty of the Sultan over holy places, restoration of the Turks in Thrace, also in Adrianople and Smyrna. The Government urges that these points are of supreme importance to India.

This shows that although Gandhi's demands were spurned three months ago by Earl Reading, yet the Government of India has to come down and accept Gandhi's demands as a basis for the solution of the Turkish question. This is the greatest diplomatic victory of Gandhi, the advocate of Non-violent Revolution in India. This also shows that India is the centre of British diplomacy in world politics and Britain is willing to make compromises in other parts of the world to keep her hold in India.

But the net result of this is more far-reaching than the people can realize at the outset. It may mean that in the coming Genoa Conference Britain would try to win Turkey on her side on the basis of Indian programme against France and Russia; but if that be impossible to do, because of the opposition of the British unionists and others, then the stock of British prestige in the Orient will be lowered and the courage of the Indian nationalists will be magnified. It would then probably result in bloody massacres in India about which

General Rawlinson has hinted in his speech. But at this moment Gandhi has won the greatest diplomatic victory over all the statesmen who were engaged in framing the Treaty of Sevres, because the treaty will be revised in some form or other through British initiative created by the pressure of Indian unrest led by Mahatma Gandhi. This is also a landmark in the diplomatic tradition of the coming Republic of India—the United States of India—the tradition of anti-imperialism, Live and Let Others Live.

TARAKNATH DAS,
International Secretary
of Friends of Freedom for India.
 IN "UNITY."

March 1922.

LANCASHIRE OR INDIA !

By a vote of 68 to 30, negating the proposal to raise the import duty on cotton piece goods, the "representatives" of the Indian people have recently gone on record as willing seriously to curtail the fiscal independence of India because of "possible undesirable political consequences." "The only important consequences," says the *Bombay Chronicle*, "would seem to be reduced consumption of imported cloth, and an added impetus to the Swadeshi movement." Swadeshi may be translated "our own country." It is the spirit that is symbolized more particularly by the wearing of the national dress made of Indian grown and woven materials; but it means the cherishing of what is inherent in the national life.

Swadeshi, religious unity, the removal of untouchability, and non-violence are the four pillars, so to speak, of Swaraj—Indian

self-government. The method taken by the Indians by which they plan to secure Swaraj under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi—a method often wrongly called non-resistance or passive resistance, but more correctly to be described as non-violent resistance—is predicated on the refusal to use violence of any sort. In a struggle wherein “the sword” is barred, however, there must be an equally effective or a more effective weapon, and the weapon now being wielded by the Indian Nationalists is non-co-operation that is to say refusal to help the ruling power in any way whatsoever, thereby eventually cutting the connection that has been draining the wealth out of the one country into the coffers of the other. It is in the manufacture and use of Khaddar (homespun) that non-co-operation has proved most damaging to British prestige and hence most effective from the point of view of the revolutionist. Underlying this programme is the thought—firmly imbedded in the minds of Indians of all sorts and conditions—that without Swadeshi there can be no Swaraj. “The destruction

of the hand-weaving industry," says Gandhi, "has been the destruction of India. Its return means reconstruction—and a new India." For nearly two years now India has been getting into Khaddi. The use of Gandhi's peaceful weapon has spread to all classes of the population and to all parts of the land, and silent Manchester spindles 7,000 miles away bear eloquent testimony to its effectiveness.

In the heat of the debate on the floor of the Indian Assembly when the possibility of "undesirable political consequences" was put forward by one of the "Liberal" members, cries of "Manchester—Manchester," interrupted the speaker, whereupon the finance member arose with an indignant and emphatic denial of "outside influences." The Chronicle, notwithstanding, declares editorially that the puppets who proclaim themselves "democrats" and "liberals" have sacrificed the fiscal interests of India that they may bask in the sun of official favors a little longer. (The leader-writer of the Chronicle would undoubtedly agree with Ibsen that the liberal

is the worst foe to progress.) Parliamentary procedure, as carried on in these debates had a distinctly western flavour (and by the same token, India is quite ready to govern herself.) Men, who, only a few weeks before, had vehemently denounced the sinister attempts of Lancashire to deprive India of her right to adjust her tariff and protect her industries, suddenly saw new light. Certain rays of this light were in the interests of governmental economy, but most of them concerned the interests of the "consumer," the "poor"—the majority of whom do not use any imported cloth, by the way—the "man in the street," or "the dumb masses." The champions of the latter, in every case, be it said, were large mill owners! Only two members—two out of 98, be it noted—spoke on the side of the protection that it is absolutely necessary in this period of national re-adjustment. One of these said frankly that India was going to be protectionist in the matter of fiscal policy, which meant that the consumer would undoubtedly sacrifice his interest, temporarily, for the sake of

the industrial development of his country, and it mattered little when that protection began. Although the increase in tariff duty meant a strengthened native industry, encouragement for the use of Khaddar (homespun), and consequently a strengthening of the national movement for Indian independence, the "outside influences" prevailed and it was voted not to increase the import duty from 11 to 15 per cent. The "democrats"—supposedly representing India—have not met the acid test, and the result of the debate shows, again to quote from the Chronicle, that "the little finger of Lancashire can do more than all the power which the 'reform' councils of India can exercise."

Several interesting questions arise in connection with this situation—not the least of which is, when Indians get self-government will they elect a proportional number of working men to represent them in their parliamentary bodies? But the more immediate question is, shall India sign Lancashire's meal ticket—which means signing the death warrant of mil-

lions of her own people? The legislators of Delhi, representing one in 18,000 or 19,000 of the population, have spoken in favor of Lancashire. Non-co-operationists, who represent one out of 30 (taking simply their registered membership as a basis) stand opposed. Lancashire, to be sure, has gained a temporary advantage, but she is no more to be described as easy in her mind than are her advocates in the Indian Assembly. Indeed the future is not very bright, we are told, for the British bureaucracy or its tools—British or Indian. Gandhi—who has put “fear of God” into the Government as no other man in the history, perhaps, of British Imperialism has ever done—is in jail; but his programme is being carried forward as he advised “with clock-work regularity and the speed of the Punjab express.” Violence has not swept the country as so many predicted. Indeed there has been practically none of it. More than that both Moderates and Extremists are daily joining the ranks of the N. C. O's. The Assembly has played. It is India's next move—not

the India represented (?) at Delhi, but the India which stands with ever-increasing strength and power behind Mahatma Gandhi. The game continues. It is finesse and brute force on the one side, and truth and "soul" force on the other. And a world looks on, asking—Is it to be "Lancashire" or India?

BLANCHE WATSON,
IN "THE APPEAL"

GIRARD, KANSAS,
October 1922.

AWAKENING OF INDIAN WOMEN

One of the most remarkable things about Mahatma Gandhi's non-violent resistance movement for the liberation of India is the fact that the women are speaking and working alongside of the men.

It was a woman, Sarojini Naidu—president of the Bombay Congress Committee—who, on the arrest of Mohammed and Shaikat Ali, issued a message entitled "India's Sacred Duty," entreating the people of Bombay, in the hour of grave national crisis, to keep a spirit of unbroken calm, courage and fortitude; and to offer these good fighters a tribute of love by maintaining inviolate the integrity of the great ideal of peaceful non-co-operation.

Hundreds of women—Hindu, Mohammedan, Parsee and Christian—are thus

playing their part in this, the strangest revolution that the world has ever seen, one which may revolutionize revolution.

It is not the women of any one class that have gone into the thick of the fight. Her Highness the Begum Nazli Rafiya, a Mohammedan Princess, is president of the All-India Khilafat' Committee and has shown her interest in the Nationalist movement by giving a castle and all her jewels in furtherance of the active work in her province.

Mrs. Gandhi, in the early period of her husband's South African activity, decided to cast her lot with that of her husband—and how hard that lot was can only be glimpsed by reading the accounts of that long and arduous struggle. The sufferings of that and of later times have left their indelible marks upon her face.

Women go to public meetings and come back minus their diamonds, saying: "It is for the cause." Some of the most splendid jewels in the land are laid at the feet of Gandhi to be sold at public auction for the Tilak Swaraj Fund, as it is called

after the man who in his lifetime was the leader of India.

Women of all ranks are casting aside their beautiful clothes and putting on the coarse, unfashionable Khaddar, made of Indian-grown materials, realising to use the words of one of their number, that "it is at the point of the spindle only that we shall win back our freedom."

Gandhi saw clearly that the spinning-wheel was the gun that would shoot straight at the heart of British rule in his country. He saw more than that. "Back to spinning" meant back to the simple life; it spelled a new and a nobler nationality; it provided for a more equitable distribution of the riches of the earth.

He saw still further and quite as clearly that it was within the home that the sinews of his peaceful "warfare" must be created. That is to say, he looked to the women for aid and comfort—and he looked not in vain.

Indian women are taking their place with their emancipated sisters in every part of the world; they are coming out of their

seclusion filled with the spirit of legitimate nationality that says: "India shall be free."

The mother of the Ali brothers perhaps best sums up the new spirit of the Indian women in the message she sent to Gandhi on the occasion of the arrest of her sons. It reads as follows:

"Telegram received. Am unmoved. Work should on no account be relaxed, but continued with redoubled energy. Though practically invalid, I am ready to work to the last breath. God be with us."

Is it any wonder that Gandhi has said: "I should be guilty of want of faith in God if I underrated the significance of the response of the women of India."

BLANCHE WATSON,
IN N. Y. AMERICAN,

November 1921.

[Reprint from *Bombay Chronicle*.]

WILL GANDHI SUCCEED?

“ Will Gandhi succeed ? The answer to this question is easy—Gandhi has already succeeded ! In the short space of a year and a half he has organised a movement which numbers more adherents than any other movement in human history has ever gathered ; he has disciplined his millions of followers to a rigor of life which obtains through spontaneous moral idealism what is ordinarily obtained only through dull obedience ; he has released forces of social regeneration which mean the ultimate transformation of the Indian people. If Gandhi should die to-day and his movement as a distinct and separate organization end to-morrow, his career would mark one of the supreme triumphs of all time. The trouble with our thought of Gandhi is that we picture his work exclusively in terms of nationalism. We imagine that he will succeed or fail according as he secures or

does not secure political independence for his native country. Such independence is, of course, central to his activities; it is the form in which his spirit now shapes itself. But to identify Gandhi's cause with any nationalistic movement, however noble is to misunderstand the man completely. As well think of Jesus as a mere patriotic leader, and call his life a failure because he did not drive the Roman legions from Palestine. What we have in Gandhi is a religious prophet comparable to the few supreme historic incarnations of the divine spirit; and, in his movement, a religion comparable to Buddhism or Christianity. We believe that Gandhi will succeed in his political aims and thus free India, but this achievement, great as it is, will be but an incident in his larger spiritual work. Beware therefore of non-violence and the non-violent!

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

Extract from "Unity."

March 1922.

THE CHARKHA

(THE SPINNING-WHEEL)

Spin, spin, a nation is waking,
A fresh dawn is breaking, a new day
is born ;
Weave, weave, Arya Varta is waiting
For garments of homespun to greet
the new morn :
Spin for the starving who are not yet dead,
For the life of the Motherland hangs by a
thread ;
Weave the bright web of a future so great
The world will allow that man weaves his
own fate—
Spin, spin, to the naked, give clothing,
Food to the hungry, wheels to the poor;
Work, work, all idleness loathing,
For only by spinning, our lives we
insure.

Chant, chant, that religion is spinning,
Our work, a glad penance to keep the
heart pure ;

Spin, spin, pay for past sinning.

Earn by the CHARKHA, deliverance
and cure :

A-hum is the hovel, the dwelling, the
mosque,

For pariah, brahman and mullah, a task ;

A-hum is the school, every child keeps
pace

With the effort to free his downtrodden
race—

Hum, hum, as the bee keeps on humming
And gather the cotton as honey from
flowers ;

Store, store it in cloth which keeps
coming

Until, crowned by thrift, we eclipse
the great powers.

Spin, spin, a nation is winning

Its freedom by spinning, its place
among men ;

Spin, spin, our women are singing :

“The CHARKHA is needed above
sword or pen.”

The Goddess of Liberty sits at the wheel,
 And substitutes spinning for bullets of
 steel;

She smiles that the living continue to
 weave,

And women and children have no cause to
 grieve—

Spin, spin, a new *flag* is winging

The symbol of woman abroad unto
 man:

Work, work, the CHARKHA is spinning

A cable to circle the globe in its span.

Spin, spin, a heaven creating,

Where beauty and truth, peace and
 plenty abide:

Sing, sing of the stand we are taking

Until all the nations at strife are
 allied:

Well within hand be the thread's release,

The price of his labor, each man's increase,

His time, his endeavour, his patience, his
 toil,

Sacred and safe, as his home or his soil—

Shine, shine, as the Sun in his spinning

Shines in that great wheel where

Earth is a spoke:

Voice, voice through the CHARKHA, this
hymning,
Echo, "The Music of Spheres," O ye
Folk!

MAUDE RALSTON SHARMAN.

IN "UNITY,"

April 1922.

A COMPARISON.

“Bombay, March 10 (Associated Press)—Mohandas K. Gandhi, the Indian Non-Co-operationist leader, was arrested at Ahmedabad, 310 miles north of Bombay. He is charged with sedition.”

From the Gospel of St. Luke—“Then they took him (Jesus)...and led him unto Pilate. And they began to accuse him, saying, ‘We found this fellow perverting the nation, and forbidding to give tribute to Cæsar,... And they were the more fierce, saying, “He stirreth up the people.”’”

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES,
IN THE “UNITY,”

March 1922.

GANDHI—THE FOURTH ?

HAS CHRIST come to India? This is what persons are asking who have followed the history of strange, mystic India and its place in the British scheme of empire, and the extraordinary career of Mahatma Gandhi, the prophet liberator. Some go so far as to say that Gandhi is the fourth in the succession of great prophets of the East—the Christ, Mahomet, and Buddha being the other three. At all events, adopting none of the methods of modern leaders, he has swept under his influence millions of his fellow-countrymen, who are now devoted to his teaching. The only weapons he uses, or will permit his disciples to use, are firm resistance to Western religion and education, and non-employment of force.

Did England make a colossal blunder when it sentenced Gandhi to six years'

close confinement in a national prison? So far, there has been no uprising among his followers, due chiefly to the refusal on the part of the Mahatma himself to allow them to have recourse to violence. But underneath is seething unrest, bitter resentment over English persecution of the great prophet, and instant readiness on the part of multitudes to forget religious differences and unite with all the ardor of fanatics, should the leader say the word, against further development in India of everything that savors of European influence—industry and science as well as education and religion.

A new day is dawning in that ancient country. This fact is recognized by friends and foes of British rule. Christian missions have received a severe set-back, which means that reactionary forces are in control, for in these later years progress has gone with the missionary.

The most powerful weapon ever used for the extension of an idea was the weapon of non-resistance, in the rise and spread of Christianity. Jesus and his

early followers preferred martyrdom to force. Since Gandhi and his following are using similar means, it is possible that out of India, as out of Palestine, may come an influence that will shake the foundations of civilization, as it was shaken at the beginning of the Christian Era.

THE CHRISTIAN REGISTER.

(Unitarian)

BOSTON,
June 1922.

GANDHI—THE WAY OF PROPHETS AND SAINTS

Gandhi has been arrested. The British Raj has answered the old question "What shall we do with our saints and prophets?" in the orthodox way of governments. Such is the end of a policy which has illustrated once more the futility of a belated and hesitant liberalism in time of crisis. That policy was an inept compound of concession and repression and its guiding principle was: Divide and govern. We credit both Mr. Montagu, until recently Secretary of State for India, and Lord Reading, the Viceroy, with liberal intentions. Their delay in the arrest of Gandhi even more than their support of the parliamentary institutions set up by the Reform Act was gall and wormwood to the old-time bureaucracy, but it did not satisfy India. They tried to strengthen their Government by

importing the Prince of Wales, but to obtain a welcome for that amiable young man it proved necessary to arrest 5,209 persons in Calcutta alone. Repression became more and more the order of the day, and legal repression, as always, has been attended by extra-legal cruelty. But in vain were Indian leaders imprisoned; the ferment only increased. Finally as a last desperate measure came the Indian Government's note urging the adoption of uncompromising Moslem demands for the restoration of the Turkish Empire.

The immediate effect of the publication of the note was the enforced resignation of Mr. Montagu, a political tempest in England, and the arrest of Gandhi in India as a token of the definite adoption of the policy of the iron hand. For the present we are concerned neither with the justice and practicability of the Moslem demand which the Indian Government indorsed, nor with the plight of the British Empire, but with the Indian situation. The Viceroy's note which Mr. Montagu made public bears unanswerable testimony to

the extent and power of the Nationalist movement. To disrupt it by buying off Moslem adherence to the national cause was the sole reason for the Government's unprecedented act. English opposition frustrated the payment of the bribe to the Moslems; it did not frustrate the arrest of the one man whose teaching has heretofore prevented violent revolt. When an alien government arrests a national hero who, its own apologists admit, is the most saintly figure in the modern world, no further proof is required that it rests its case on naked force.

Even so, the protagonists of imperialism, English and American, assure us that there was no other course open to the Government. However clouded England's title, she and she alone, it is asserted, protects India from external invasion and internal chaos and strife. She has brought justice and modern civilization to a country where they could not exist but for her strong arm. The argument is not convincing; it clearly overstates both the evil conditions prior to the British conquest and the bless-

ings of British rule. It attributes material progress solely to alien rule rather than to the general march of science which has coincided with the period of British dominance. At best the imperialist case smacks too much of the argument of the burglar who would justify his continued occupation of another man's house by saying: "I keep order in the household and I keep other burglars out." The Indians are willing to take the risk of doing that for themselves. They believe they can end the economic drain of an alien rule which has multiplied famines, increased illiteracy, and reduced the people of a land which was once a synonym for wealth to the poorest on earth. They are weary of seeing their sons enlisted and their property taken to fight England's wars. They passionately affirm that in losing native government they have not even gained good government.

This Indian indictment with some changes lies not alone against Great Britain, but against Western civilization wherever it has been enforced on weaker

peoples. Every imperial Power—and none more than our own—needs to consider its justice. One may admit a considerable service rendered by the rule of the British Raj and a real danger in its instantaneous collapse, and yet believe that it has earned the doom that lies before it. Indeed the question of the balance of good or evil in Western rule is almost academic in view of the plain fact of Eastern hatred of it. The exploited peoples of Asia and Africa are aroused; they are on the march; whether the force that challenges the West will be primarily national or racial, or a revival of Islam, the certainty of that challenge is plain. As well argue with the north wind as talk to Tripolitans or Egyptians or Indians of the blessings of hospitals and railroads when they feel that their pride is outraged by the conqueror. For some time—no man knows how long—the superior material equipment of the West will assure its victory. But if the future is to be one of the stark conflict we face intolerable tragedy both for the imperial Powers and those who are rising

against them. At best the future of the relations between the races is dark. The great hope is in such leadership as Gandhi offered—and this the British despised.

Consider the man. In the space of a few years he has done more for his people than any government in centuries. He has been the bearer of new hope and human dignity to the untouchables; he has been the weaver of bonds of unity between the Moslems and Hindus whom the British would keep asunder; he has fought the liquor traffic which was debasing his people, and the infamous opium monopoly by which, for its own profit, the British Government menaces not only India but all mankind. He has given to revolution non-violent instruments which promise the release of humanity from the seeming necessity of wars for freedom. He has sincerely preached love for the enemy. Not he but Lord Reading, by his refusal to abandon repression, prevented the proposed Round Table Conference which might have furthered the peaceful settlement of grievances. Even on the vexed question

of the Caliphate we believe that Gandhi's voice might have been potent in persuading his Moslem friends to grant to non-Moslem communities the justice they seek for themselves. And it is this hope which the British Government has almost shattered—apparently with the consent of those British liberals who would approve the deportation or imprisonment of Gandhi while they praise his saintliness! Yet that hope is not dead while Gandhi's spirit is powerful in India. How long his people will follow the way he pointed out, we do not know; already there are signs of revolt. But this we know: If the Indian people, like the oppressed of other lands, finally take the way of the sword, the primary blame for the tragedy that will follow must rest not on those who have preached freedom and justice or even on those who seek them by violence, but on those who have made violence the very foundation of their continuing dominion over unwilling subjects.

THE NATION.

March 1922.

GANDHI ON NON-VIOLENCE

Britain's arrest of Gandhi on the charge of sedition gives new interest to the self-description of that saintly embodiment of non-violence and co-operation.

On August 11, 1920, Gandhi said :

“ I believe that non-violence is infinitely superior to violence, forgiveness is more manly than punishment. Forgiveness adorns a soldier. But abstinence is forgiveness only when there is the power to punish ; it is meaningless when it pretends to proceed from a helpless creature. . . .

I do not believe India to be helpless. I do not believe myself to be a helpless creature. Only I want to use India's and my strength for a better purpose. . . . Let me not be misunderstood. Strength does not come from physical capacity. It comes from an indomitable will. . . .

I am not a visionary. I claim to be a

practical idealist. The religion of non-violence is not meant merely for the Rishis and saints, it is meant for the common people as well.

Non-violence is the law of our species, as violence is the law of the brute. The spirit lies dormant in the brute and he knows no law but that of physical might. The dignity of man requires obedience to a higher law—to the strength of the spirit. . . . Non-violence in its dynamic condition means conscious suffering. It does not mean weak submission to the will of the evil-doer, but it means the putting of one's whole soul against the will of the tyrant.

Working under this law of our being, it is possible for a single individual to defy the whole might of an unjust empire to save his honor, his religion, his soul, and lay the foundation for that empire's fall or its regeneration.

And so I am not pleading for India to practise non-violence because it is weak. I want her to practise non-violence, being conscious of her strength and powers. No

training in arms is required for realization of her strength. 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 a whole world."

If such sentiments seem to you fantastic and unpractical, then you must realize two things besides :

One, the reason why Colonel Wedgewood, M. P., a good Briton and a good Christian, said that Gandhi's was the only name in history which could be coupled with that of Jesus and without sacrilege in such use.

The other, that the whole of the so-called Christian world is as far from being Christian as England is from understanding either Jesus or Gandhi.

NEW YORK AMERICAN.

March 1922.

GANDHI BEFORE THE COURT

On this page our readers will find a report of the address of Mahatma Gandhi before the British Court which sentenced him to six years' imprisonment for "sedition." *The Call* is the first publication in this country to carry this important document.*

Readers of this speech will recognize it as one of the most important ever delivered by a liberator of human kind. It is worthy of preservation by the side of the speeches of Robert Emmet and Eugene Victor Debs when these two men received their sentences. Reading it one feels that British imperialism is in the dock and not Gandhi. He passes sentence upon a hateful regime, a sentence that will be approved by the free peoples of the future.

There is no trace of fear. No retraction, no apology is made for his conduct.

*See Appendix.

"I knew that I was playing with fire," said Gandhi. "I ran the risk, and if I were set free I would still do the same. I felt this morning that I would have failed in my duty if I did not say what I said here just now."

Nor is there any trace of the braggart or of the egoist seeking notoriety in this address. No tricks of oratory are resorted to. It is a calmly reasoned and passionless address which, with iron logic, places British imperialism in the pillory for all time. He asks no mercy from his tormentors, and frankly admits that he has earned the penalty imposed. He was before the court "for what in law is a deliberate crime and what appears to me to be the highest duty of a citizen."

It was this conflict between duty and the law which led thousands of people in the North to defy the Fugitive Slave Act. The law was torn to shreds and not even the oratory of the "godlike" Webster could save it from the contempt of masses in the North, who followed their "highest duty as a citizen."

In the perspective of history we would rather stand by the side of Mahatma Gandhi in his prison cell than by the side of the judicial tools who have consigned him to isolation. At the same time, this glorious figure in India's struggle should command the support of every movement in every country that appreciates Gandhi's service to humanity. Hot resentment should be expressed and appeals be made for his release. It is atrocious that this great figure should be caged for six years while alien upstarts strut with power in the land whose free air is denied to him.

NEW YORK CALL.

March 1922.

GANDHI AND THE CRISIS IN INDIA

The comment most generally made by Indian Nationalists on the arrest of M. K. Gandhi seems to be this: that the method of Non-co-operation has now been given a fair trial; that the British government refuses to allow its continuance, and that, as a consequence, the Indian people are now forced to take the road of violent resistance. The substantive statement, it appears to us, and the inference, are alike illusory. Less than three years have passed since Mr. Gandhi, his dwindling faith in England shattered by the guns of Brigadier-General Dyer at Amritsar, announced the full programme of Non-co-operation. The notion that, among the myriads of India, a programme such as that could be given an adequate trial in so brief a time is surely absurd. And those Indians, who,

now that Mr. Gandhi is in jail, find themselves tempted to repudiate his doctrine, should give heed to their leader's warning. He has said repeatedly that if Non-co-operation turns to violence India will never attain her freedom. The present in India is extraordinarily dark and confused. But about the immediate future one thing seems to be beyond question. The Indian Nationalists, having been carried thus far by the power of an idea, embodied in a unique personality, will win or lose in this conflict with the government of India, according as they prove themselves able or not to persevere in the application of the Gandhi doctrine.

The extraordinary movement which assumed its present shape in the early months of 1919 has two sides: first, the crusade for a free, though not necessarily an independent, India—of which crusade Mr. Gandhi became the unchallenged leader through the conditions that developed in the last year of the war; and secondly, the Mahomedan agitation for the revision of the Turkish Treaty and for the rest-

oration of the Khilafat—that is, of the spiritual headship of Islam in the person of the Turkish Sultan at Constantinople. Mr. Gandhi, by reason mainly of his championship of the rights of Indian settlers in South Africa, is the first and only Indian leader to command a great following in both the Hindu and Moslem communities. When the treaty of Sévres was framed in 1920, he entered into an alliance with the Mahomedan leaders, declaring that the Khilafat was no less essentially an Indian cause than the cause of Swaraj (own rule) itself. At any moment after last summer Mr. Gandhi's specific and reiterated challenge to authority was liable to be taken up by the head of the Indian government. But the Viceroy held his hand, with the approval of Mr. Montagu, the liberal Secretary of State; and as matters befell, it was not over Mr. Gandhi but over the Turkish treaty that Mr. Montagu came to grief and Lord Reading found himself in danger of recall.

There has never been any doubt as to the united stand of the Viceroy in India

and the Secretary of State in London on behalf of the fairest possible treatment for Turkey. They agreed in the main with the position taken up by the Indian Moslems and against the Allied governments they could quote the definite pledges of the British Prime Minister, as to the future of Constantinople and the Turkish homelands, given within a few days of the Wilsonian Fourteen Points. After going to India Lord Reading made no attempt to hide his own strong view. Some months ago he informed the Moslems that the government of India was using its weight with the imperial government in favor of treaty revision. He knew that the case had become desperately urgent, especially after his government had secured the arrest and conviction of the principal Moslem agitators and also after Mr. Lloyd George and Lord Curzon, yielding to the force of circumstances in another part of the Islamic world, had been compelled to proclaim the freedom of Egypt. Hence Lord Reading's insistence on the necessity of making public the Indian government's

proposals for a new settlement with Turkey—an insistence that led to his colleague's undoing, and has since borne fruit in the new offer to the Turkish government at Angora.

So much for England and Turkey. But what of the apostle of Non-co-operation and the crisis into which the government of India is plunged by his arrest and condemnation? Mr. Gandhi, true to his principle, calls once again upon his adherents to refrain from violence of every kind and to go forward during his imprisonment with the positive work of Non-co-operation. He forbids the organization of a hartal, or protest strike—doubtless being convinced that, with himself not on the spot to direct the strike, or to call it off at the exact strategic moment, an outbreak of mob hysteria would be inevitable. In this connection it is worth while to recall the resolutions adopted at the annual session of the Indian National Congress three months ago. They were singularly fine and impressive in expression, an astonishing contrast to the flatulence and insincerity

of the motions familiar to political conventions in the West. They reaffirmed the programme of "non-violent non-co-operation," to be prosecuted by all peaceful and legitimate means, to the end that the control of the government may speedily pass into the hands of the Indian people.

* * * * *

The Non-co-operation movement as a whole has been held to the principle of non-violence by the single power of Mr. Gandhi, who has now been put out of the way under a sentence of six years. It is not inconceivable that many of his followers, especially among the peasantry and the literate classes, may make a stand for the preservation of non-violence. But the government of India has proscribed the Non-co-operation volunteers as a seditious and revolutionary body. Force is being applied to their disbandment. That is to say, they are being subjected to a form of provocation which crusaders organized in contingents have never been known to suffer without resistance. There are, moreover, very large and varied divi-

sions of the Indian people to whom the ideas of non-violence and passive resistance are altogether foreign. The Moslem reliance upon force is proverbial. Not a few of the Hindu races are as militant as any in the world. The Sikhs of the Punjab were created and have been preserved as a martial community; and they are by tradition anti-Mahomedan. The Moplahs of the south, in rebellion since last summer, earned a grave rebuke from Mr. Gandhi for their conduct towards their Hindu neighbors. These and many other indications imply only too clearly that the next stage in India cannot fail to be one of conflict and disorder, and also of the hardest trial for British statesmanship.

Lord Reading has succeeded in retaining his office, and, even in the event of Lloyd George's retirement, it will manifestly be the purpose of the imperial government to avoid a change in the Viceroyalty. But what then? England may, and undoubtedly will, strike hard at the tremendous movement which, as its leader confesses with his stupefying simplicity and candor,

is designed to overthrow the alien government. But England cannot enter upon the subjugation of India. Ireland and Egypt are overpowering witnesses to the contrary. The age of conquest is past. Humanity is on the march. There seems no escape from the conclusion that the choice before the nations now dominant in the world is terrible but clear. It is the choice between a futile, and in the end of fatal, attempt to check by force the drive of the peoples, and a daring resolution to throw open the gates and lead them into freedom.

THE NEW REPUBLIC.

March 1922.

THE SPIRITUAL SIGNIFICANCE OF MAHATMA GANDHI

To Gandhi has been given the power, as to few religious leaders in the history of mankind, to mould and impress the spiritual life of a great people. In India they compare him with Jesus and Buddha, and without blasphemy they have regarded him as the living incarnation of a new spiritual and mystic message on earth. He has unified the warring factions in India as no British authority ever dreamed they could be unified. The "untouchables" and the outcasts, the caste system, the age-long hatreds between Hindu and Muhammadan—all the rigid and ugly imperfections of Indian civilization, have yielded to the purity and supreme spiritual confidence of this extraordinary man. The revolutionists of India abandoned their violent plans for a general and bloody rising before his eloquent fervor. He had

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only gone a little way toward his goal, but in this world, so spiritually arid since the terrible holocaust in Europe, his was an unique career burdened with an irresistible message for human brotherhood.

It is a mistake to suppose that with the arrest of Gandhi the harbingers of violence in India will be able to seize for their own purpose the Indian National movement which he has built up. Gandhism is no longer a personal creed, but a great popular movement in India. As Gandhi goes to prison he leaves with his followers the message of his lieutenants who were liberated: "Abandon violence."

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR.

(*Boston.*)

May 1922.

INDIA'S SAINT

"The greatest man in India to-day," says John Haynes Holmes, "is Gandhi." It is he who has initiated the non-co-operation movement in India which means the total boycott of all British functions on the territory of the Hindus. J. T. Sunderland writes in *Unity*.

What does India propose to do? Probably she could not if she would (disarmed as she is) throw off her foreign yoke by force. But she prefers not to use force. She abhors bloodshed. Has she no other resource? She believes she has. She has always been preeminently a peace-loving nation. She believes that peaceful agencies in the end are stronger than those of war. She believes that in the end right is might. She has determined, therefore, upon a bloodless revolution. She will win her rights; she will compel England to grant them. How?

Not by violence; not by indulging in even a single act of violence; but by "*non-co-operation*" with her foreign rulers, and by *suffering*. The government cannot go on a week without the aid of the Indian people; the English cannot do business of any kind, or even live in India, without the aid of the Indian people. The Indian people propose peacefully but resolutely to strike against their foreign masters—refusing to co-operate with them in anything, or to aid them in anything until their rights are granted; and they propose to suffer, without retaliation or revenge, the penalties visited upon them, however heavy they may be. Of course, they know that the government which has not scrupled in all the past to hold them in subjection by force, and to meet every sign of insubordination with arrest, imprisonment, hanging and shooting, will not hesitate now to resort to the extremest measures to break their resolve to be free. They know that not only the strongest possible police forces, but also the army with all its enginery of machine guns and bombs and martial

law, will be employed to thwart their purpose and compel them to submit to their masters.

Gandhi, however, has already won remarkable results in South Africa by his methods of non-violence. The Hindu scholar Basanta Koomar Roy tells in the *New York American*, how the Mahatma (saint) cast in his lot with the "coolies".

He lived with them and inspired them to offer passive resistance against unjust laws and obnoxious regulations. He has been arrested with them, tried with them, and also sent to prison with them, times without number.

In prison he always refused to accept preferential treatment. Many a time he and his compatriots have been "led in prison garb to grace General Smuts' triumph under Kaffir guards armed with rhinoceros-hide whips".

More than once angry mobs have threatened him with death. Undaunted, he always obeyed the dictates of his own conscience, fearless alike of prison, punishment, or even death itself.

Gandhi's noble fight in South Africa attracted the attention of Tolstoy, who thus wrote to his Indian counterpart in part: "Your activity in the Transvaal, as it seems to us at this end of the world, is the most essential work, the most important of all the work now being done in the world, and in which not only the nations of Christian Europe, but of all the world, will undoubtedly take part."

* * *

His life is that of the ascetic, continues Mr. Roy.

Gandhi is a man of unimpeachable character, and his fellow-countrymen rightly call him Mahatma (saint). He lives the life of an ascetic. He eats only vegetables, rice and nuts. By voluntary fasting he has reduced himself to a mere skeleton. He weighs about one hundred pounds.

He sits on a mat spread on the floor and sleeps on hard planks. He dresses like a poor workingman, and he walks barefoot. He invariably travels by the third class. He has reduced his personal needs to the minimum.

He is always genial and gentle, and is courteous even to his enemies. His toleration is superhuman. Deeply engrossed in his own idealism he is above insult and injury, above anger and hatred.

* * *

It is this blameless life of his which has accomplished the incredible—that of bringing together the numerous sects of India.

This one phenomenon ought to convey a warning to Great Britain.

THE CRISIS.

July 1921.

TOWARDS INDIVIDUALISM

ACCUSTOMED as we are to regard national independence as the goal of political ambition, we are in danger of overlooking the real significance of the Gandhi movement in India. It is realized, to be sure, that a victory for the method of passive resistance would have a profound influence upon a world which is wedded to violence; but the bearing of the struggle upon the controversy between the individual and the State is not so clearly perceived. It is therefore worth noting that the Gandhi movement has revived the flagging spirits of those who lean to the side of individual liberty and who have grown accustomed to seeing their hopes driven from place to place, as one after another attempt at self-expression expired beneath the steam-roller of centralized authority.

The mind craves a tangible home for its Utopias, an actual Spain for its castles; and the will-to-believe is so strong that, in spite of the ability of old institutions to survive revolution, each country that is shaken by a popular convulsion is hailed as the veritable cradle of liberty. America, France and Russia have served in turn as the chosen field for the enjoyment of personal responsibility; and although expectations have not yet been realized, it is possible that each struggle has contributed something to a more or less obscure evolutionary process. But in each instance, resort to violence has created an overpowering centralization of government, and the hope of freedom has dwindled as the inevitable bureaucracy developed.

The new hope in the case of India lies chiefly in the avoidance of violence and its inevitable consequences. Because of its alliance with this treacherous force, Ireland is threatened with a barren victory in which the bounds of tolerance find no enlargement. National independence, con-

sidered by itself, is not calculated to inspire outsiders; for even when nationalism succeeds in overcoming local antagonisms and in extending rights within the State, the principle of liberation is halted at the boundary, and nationalism becomes an agent of division and discord. The results of self-determination are likely to be disappointing until the universality of human rights is recognized.

It is precisely the respect for individual judgment that distinguishes the struggle for liberation in India from the familiar type of revolution, and encourages the hope of consequences weighted with fewer disenchantments. Gandhi, according to a compatriot, Ram Prasad Dube, who discusses the movement in *Clarte*, has performed a great service in developing the philosophy of individual responsibility. Although he has not yet discovered the fundamental economic basis of reconstruction for Hindu society, he has succeeded in making an appeal that is comprehensible to the masses, because it is based on social and economic interests and self-

respect. Its sincerity may be judged by its insistence upon the abolition of caste-prejudices and religious exclusiveness. Instead of creating a sectarian movement after the conventional pattern, commanding obedience to church or party, Gandhi regards the individual as a social unit subject only to self-discipline.

The magnitude of the revolution already accomplished is shown by the way in which the members of different castes are acting together as equals, eating together and even intermarrying. Not only have caste barriers given way, but the carefully nurtured division between Mohammadan and Hindu has been successfully overcome. It is as though the whites and Negroes of the South were to join forces on a basis of political and social equality, and enter into a fraternity which no longer knew the meaning of any ancient feud or any separatist doctrine. Gandhi's good offices in behalf the Mohammedans have led them in return to discourage the slaughtering of cows, out of respect for the religious feelings of the Hindus.

From an economic point of view, the revival of the spinning-wheel has been effective, not because it is in itself a step in the direction of greater ease and comfort, but because in the circumstances it helps to free the masses from dependence upon British goods, and at the same time spares the misery of Western industrialism. Resort to such an expedient is made possible by the emotions aroused in a struggle which persuades its adherents, irrespective of caste and private fortune, to wear the coarse, homespun *khaddar*, to abandon luxury and to suffer imprisonment. As a result of the supplementary occupation provided by home industry, agricultural labourers are no longer forced into industrial centres, as they used to be, and as they would be again were the exceptional demand for homespun to come to an end. Permanent economic emancipation is not to be found in the abandonment of scientific methods, but in the determination to keep open the limitless natural opportunities for self-employment as an alternative to the factory or the mine.

The participation of women in the Gandhi movement, both in respect of industrial work and of political agitation, is another significant factor in a revolution which has become more and more a popular movement. But there is a division of opinion among the native leaders; some of the younger men who have studied in England, wishing to organize the Indian labourers along trade-unionists lines; while others prefer an anarchist-communist development as more in keeping with Hindu tradition, although for the highly centralized form of communism attempted in Russia, decentralized and independent units would be substituted. Hindu thought is more concerned with social ideas than with political ideas, as may be inferred from the freedom from outside authority that prevails even in religious matters.

There is some danger, according to Ram Prasad Dube, that Gandhi's adherents may end in becoming a new cult; say, a communist party of ten million persons united in a caste and submerged "in the vast obscure sea of the Indian population."

There is also danger, says this authority, that Gandhi will become entangled in political intricacies and make unwise concessions. "On the other hand," he adds, "one can regard as an event in the history of social evolution in India, the agitation for the adoption of Hindu philosophy. It is that alone which has given a new life to the masses, and awakened the latent energy and the constructive idealism of the oppressed Indian people." The success of the movement will depend upon its adherence to the idea of individual responsibility as a means of accomplishing a measure of freedom that has not proved possible under the political constitutions of the Western world.

THE FREEMAN.

April 1922.

**CORRESPONDENCE FROM THE
NEW YORK PRESS**

THE CLERICAL VIEW OF INDIA

TO THE EDITOR,
THE FREEMAN,

SIR: We note what you have to say in your issue of 12th April in regard to the way that imperialism perverts the minds of those who may feel called upon to defend it. By the way, it is interesting in this connexion to know that Gandhi had said that the rule of any people against their will by another people is as demoralizing to the one group as to the other.

May we quote from the arguments for the British position in India, as set forth by Dr. Robert E. Speer, Secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, in the *Literary Digest* of recent date? They are singularly like those which you have taken from the *New Statesman*. We are changing the order to show their similarity with paragraphs 1, 2, and 3 of your extract:

Difficult as the situation is, we owe it to India to secure to her the best conditions of an independent national life, and we must stay and see the thing through.

It would be the easiest course to fling India free, but what would be the judgment of history and humanity? No, such a course would be easy, but it would be cowardly.

The British in India are here in the way of duty and human service. [They] do not believe that India is ready for absolute independence or that the great mass of people desire it.

Any detailed comment on such perversions of the truth would be superfluous. It may be in the nature of information to your readers, however, to say that the All-India National Congress has ten million registered members, pledged to non-co-operation and non-violence, ready, nay desiring, to go to jail, waiting the order for mass civil disobedience—the extreme step in this struggle, wherein conscious suffering is to take the place of killing one's enemy. This means a representation of one for every thirty of the population. We insist that the great mass of the Indian

people are not only ready for *swaraj*, but that they desire it!

In the face of Gandhi's expressed command that there shall be no bloodshed, except when the blood of the Indians is demanded and in the face of his statement to the Englishmen in India "We shall not even hate you"; in the face of the well-known fact that the whole non-cooperation movement is predicated on non-violence, this head of a great American missionary organization speaks of the "bloody outbreaks of Gandhi's followers," knowing (for surely he must know) that the outbreaks of violence all over great India have been almost negligible.

General Dyer caused a massacre that resulted in the death of nearly 500 people, and the wounding of about three times as many more and he is to-day proud of his performance. Some irresponsible followers of Gandhi, inflamed and egged on by outsiders, killed twenty-one policemen, and Gandhi—at the risk of his life, considering his condition at the time—fasted for five days! Indians do not want any

more of the General Dyer brand of "duty and human service." They are saying that the British shall not "stay and see the thing through." Why should not Dr. Speer consider our view of the situation? We are etc.,

HARIDAS MUZUMDAR.

HARI G. GOVIL.

New York City.

April 1922.

WHAT DOES GANDHI LOOK LIKE?

TO THE EDITOR,

THE NATION,

SIR: In connection with a vicious article about Mahatma Gandhi—written to discredit the comparison now being widely made between Jesus of Nazareth and the great leader of my country, Mahatma Gandhi—there has appeared in the *New York Times* a hideous picture with the caption "Gandhi", intended of course to bear out the word-picture by the writer of this article which attempts to make Mahatma Gandhi out an anti-Christ.

This picture is what is known in newspaperdom as a "doctored" photograph. George Creel has explained the whys and the wherefores of this sort of business in a pamphlet that can be easily obtained. He says that when for any reason it is decided to make a person out to be other than he is photographs are

made over to fit the occasion. The picture of India's great leader that was so used has appeared so often in the press of this city that it was necessary to add glasses to it to create the illusion that it *was* in truth a bona fide photograph. Gandhi never wears glasses. I have seen Gandhi and I can testify that no picture, even the best that have appeared in our papers and magazines, comes near to doing justice to the man. Frazier Hunt has well described him in the words, "He had eyes that were deep with pity and love and burning bright with a great purpose. His soft, cultivated voice and gentle manner, his beautiful courtesy to one and all who may want to talk with him well bear out his thought that even violence in thought—not to speak of deed—is far from him."

And one of the greatest papers of the world—so called—pictures this man (said by no less a person than Colonel Wedgewood, an Englishman, to be like unto Christ) with the expression of the lowest criminal—and this, be it said, in the interests of anti-Indian propaganda! Time

was when American papers would not have so outrageously debased their standards of honor to serve an imperialistic cause.

HARI G. GOVIL.

[This is an old story familiar to every careful student of the controversies of the day. It is strikingly set forth by Goethe about another prophet and philosopher in the following excerpt from "Dichtung und Wahrheit" (Oxenham translation): "I had not thought of Spinoza for a long time, and now I was driven to him by an attack upon him. In our library I found a little book, the author of which railed violently against that original thinker; and to go the more effectually to work, had inserted for a frontispiece a picture of Spinoza himself, with the inscription 'Signum reprobationis in vultu gerens,' 'bearing on his face the stamp of reprobation.' This there was no gainsaying, indeed, so long as one looked at the picture; for the engraving was wretchedly bad, a perfect caricature; so that I could not help thinking of those adversaries who, when they conceive a dislike to anyone, first of all misrepresent him, and then assail the monster of their own creation." —EDITOR, THE NATION.]

April 1922.

GANDHI ON MOB VIOLENCE

TO THE EDITOR,

THE CALL,

Sir, Will you kindly grant me space for a correction ?

It should be thoroughly understood that those who believe in military force stand at opposite poles as regards the methods to be used for freeing India from foreign rule, just as truly as they stand together in the desire that she shall be free.

Gandhi insists that non-violence is not the preparation for violence and that those who so believe it is fail to understand him or his programme ! To the minds of us such persons are all unwittingly flying the British kite !

Let Gandhi speak for himself. In his paper, Young India, of January 26, he says (and no word has come that he has changed his position one iota) :

“Any outbreak of popular violence will be a crime of the first magnitude. . . . Our own violence or untruth will be veritable death for us. If we are not able to set our own house in order, we shall certainly destroy ourselves. Non-co-operation will be a by-word of execration and reproach.”

Gandhi has said that “non-violence is non-co-operation”, that the latter must necessarily fail when the former (non-violence) fails.

Now let him speak himself to all who believe, as does Mr. Ghose, that Indian independence can be gained by force :

“I wish those who believe in the necessity of violence for India’s freedom would realize the truth of my position. They must not think that because they are willing and ready to do violence India is likewise ready or willing. I claim that India is unready, not because she is helpless, but because she is unwilling. . . . Human nature in India has advanced so far that the doctrine of non-violence is more natural for the people at large than that of violence. .

. . . If the people of India were violent

by nature, there was enough in Bombay and Madras to give rise to an unquenchable conflagration. . . . To train India for violence and thus to wrest Swaraj by violence is the work of ages. . . . People have come into their own. Let no hasty action arrest its progress."

It will be interesting to watch out for "six months" and see whether Joseph Connolly or Gandhi is right, whether violence will succeed in that time, or whether we shall get the news that—in the words of an editorial in the last Bombay Chronicle received—the people "have been worthy of their great leader." This editorial goes on :

"Ours is mainly a process of self-discipline and we have to conquer by love, that is by non-violence and suffering. In the words of our leader, 'If we are true to ourselves we shall be able effectively to deal with all our opponents, whether they be our own countrymen or Englishmen,' and 'as soon as the process of self-purification is complete we shall miss the system we appear to be fighting.' Swaraj is ours to

take. But we cannot take it without giving the price—the sacrifice, if need be, of all we hold dear. Who among us shall be so selfish, so unmoved by his country's wrong that he will withhold the sacrifice?"

The last two sentences of this editorial will be better understood when it is realized that the writer is a Mohammedan, to whom the non-violent method of fighting is in opposition to the religious faith that claims his allegiance.

A Mohammedan was responsible for the statement that if Gandhi's programme should succeed that it would revolutionize every phase of human life, including Mohammedanism itself! Evidently it has already begun to do that thing, at least with one follower of the prophet.

Is it not well for us to remember that new lessons are ever being set for humanity to learn—or to fail to learn? Gandhi is setting the people of India to learn the lesson that a certain Carpenter formulated for the people of the West nearly 2,000 years ago. Because Western peoples could not follow His teachings is no reason that some

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other people cannot make them into a living programme to be followed out to success! At least shall we not watch Gandhē and India? Yours, etc.

BLANCHE WATSON.

April 1922.

THE WEAPON OF NON-CO- OPERATION

TO THE EDITOR, THE CALL,

SIR: Non-co-operation holds so much of possibility for the world, and the field of its activity, potentially, is so great that everybody—and Westerners particularly, it seems to me (an Indian)—should thoroughly understand it. It can hardly be denied that non-co-operation is to be the weapon of insurgency in an ever-increasing degree, from this day on. Whether Mahatma Gandhi succeeds politically, or whether—because of dissension among the non-co-operators, and consequent lack of unity—he fails, this much is sure: he has formulated a programme of revolutionary activity that is bound to be tried in every part of the world where men are striving for self-determination. We hear that non-co-operation is being

tried or is about to be tried in Egypt, South China, Santo Domingo, Haiti and the Philippines.

Non-co-operation, it must be borne in mind, reverses all accepted standards of warfare. Moreover it is warfare, in that it is resistance—and resistance of the most determined character—to entrenched authority and recognized over-lordship. Perhaps the greatest departure from the accepted standards in Mahatma Gandhi's programme is the insistence on non-violence. Non-co-operation (to use Gandhi's own words) is non-violence. Exactly as the true non-co-operator turns his back on the farcical "reform" councils, and as he refuses to buy or wear English-made or any imported cloth, so he declares that there shall be no violence of any kind whatsoever.

Working in the political field by accepting positions in the councils—acclaimed by the government because such methods are favorable to them—is co-operation. Taking to violence—which is the manner of fighting prescribed by the alien rulers of

India—is also co-operation with the enemy, and a co-operation which is far more disastrous to the success of the Indian revolutionists than that recommended by the “moderates” when they say, “Go into the councils.” Indeed it is an absolute denial of the central idea of the Gandhi programme. It is working hand and glove with the very thing that is holding and has held India—namely, physical force. It is like co-operating with one hand while trying to non-co-operate with the other. It is attempting to go and come at the same time! The agent provocateur counsels violence; the “moderates” advise political co-operation. One is just as favorable to the ruling group as the other—and hence quite as unfavorable to the success of Gandhi’s programme of non-violent resistance.

And it is the Gandhi idea which is the big idea to-day in India. It is non-co-operation with the government that has gained all that has been gained so far in this struggle for the freedom of one-fifth of the human race. That these gains have

been real and that government has recognized them, is proved fully by the character and extent of the repressive activity. A stable government does not find it necessary to jail 30,000 citizens—and these, be it said, the finest type of men.

The weapon of non-co-operation must not be cast aside, that either political co-operation or co-operation with violence may be taken up. Gandhi's weapon has proved its worth. Moreover if it is true that "in unity there is strength"—that "United we stand, divided we fall"—then Indians needs must stand with their great leader and keep to the last the weapon that he has put into their hands. All inducements to take to the councils or to "the sword" (and it matters not who holds out such inducements) must be disregarded—absolutely, if Swaraj is to be won. The overwhelming majority of Indians are so disregarding them. Yours etc.

HARIDAS MUZUMDAR.

August 1922.

GANDHI AS A SUPPORTER SEES HIM

TO THE EDITOR, EVENING POST,

SIR: As one who has been permitted to work with Gandhi and the non-co-operators in India, will you permit me, through your columns, to take issue with your editorial "A Firm Policy in India" ?

Gandhi's "continued unwillingness to precipitate bloodshed and war" is decidedly misleading. In the first place, war is on! That it is being carried on on the higher plane from what the British are accustomed to does not make it any less fighting—and the extreme character of the repressive acts of the Government in retaliation are proof enough of the uneasiness, not to say fear, that Gandhi's non-violent type of warfare has created in the hearts of this same Government. "Saint" Gandhi, as he is called all over my country, is simply using moral or truth

force in place of brute force. (This is his own differentiation, let me say.)

Secondly, the "continued unwillingness" to precipitate bloodshed should read continual unwillingness—and it is more than "unwillingness." It is determination! Non-violence is fundamental in the fighting tactics of this leader of a peaceful movement for the self-determination of one-fifth of the human race. This method of resisting oppression is, to use Gandhi's words, "the essence of Hinduism." As a Mohammedan I can testify that it is not the way we would have chosen, but that 70,000,000 followers of Mohammed are standing with Mahatma Gandhi for peaceful resistance is in itself the highest tribute that could possibly be paid to the spiritual power and the political ability of the man.

To say that Mahatmaji's postponement of civil disobedience is "ostensibly" to rebuke the violent outbreaks in the U. P. is not to know the man. I can assure the writer of this calumny—and any Indian, whether for or against his policy would

bear me out—that Mahatma Gandhi always acts in perfect good faith. That indeed, is the cause of his remarkable hold on the masses of Indians. It is held implicitly that he will never say other than he means, or more than he means. One idea Gandhi keeps before him always, and that is that he will never go further than the people are spiritually ready to go, and this isolated outbreak of violence in the U. P. showed an unreadiness to go forward to what is the extreme manifestation of his peculiar method of meeting oppression. Spiritual readiness is in non-violent resistant warfare what armament with guns and bayonets is in ordinary warfare. The fraction of the Indian population that is not “ready” in this way, I would assure you, is almost unbelievably small.

Civil disobedience is “intolerable” only as the idea of a free India is intolerable to some people. But why, may I ask, should this last be intolerable to an American? And is civil disobedience with no ill-will towards the enemy and its insistence on no bloodshed, is this not better far than

bombs and poison gas and bayonets? If the Indians insist on wanting to govern themselves (or misgovern, if you will) is not Christ's way of fighting to be preferred to Cæsar's?

I thank your leader writer for the suggestion that Lord Reading and Secretary Montagu are taking a "regrettable" stand. I would remind him that the phrase "if he finds it necessary to take measures for suppression" cannot be squared with facts. The 16,000 Indians of all religious faiths now in jail are proof of my statement that such suppressive measures have been in force for a long time. "The tall poppies," as Gandhi phrased it have one by one been falling under the knife of repression—and the most extreme repression at that. One more correction. The "non-resistance campaign" is not postponed! It is still going on. It is "civil disobedience" that is postponed—in all probability only until Gandhi is assured that the time is ripe; that is, that the people are ready for it. His fast of five days because of the slip

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backward into violence at Chauri Chaura is at once a punishment of the guilty ones and a preparation in the way of future strength for the non-co-operators.

May I ask you to take the American position of fair play and give publicity to the Indian point of view I have here set forth? Yours etc.

T. H. K. REZMIE.

February 1922.

INDIA'S NON-CO-OPERATION PROGRAMME

TO THE EDITOR, NEW YORK TIMES,
SIR,

There is so much misunderstanding of the non-co-operation programme in our country that we ask space in your columns to make clearer what is going on in India under the direction of Gandhi.

In the first place, it is only in the imagination of the few that India has been considered even by the English themselves a conquered nation. Their historians have held that it was a condition of the Indian Empire that it should "be held without any great effort." This means that it has been by the co-operation of the Indians themselves that the British Raj has been maintained. The time has come when the majority of the Indians refuse longer to co-operate with this alien power, and declare that they mean to have Swaraj—

self-government. The reasons for this are to be found in the oppressive rule of the Government plus the injustice that has always marked that rule, but that has recently become unendurable. The affront to the Mohammedan part of the population contained in the Khilafat wrongs, the post-war legislation which was a moral equivalent of martial law, together with the shocking massacre of Amritsar, brought to a focus all the dissatisfaction and unrest of more than 300,000,000 souls, and the result was this demand for the withdrawal of the ruling power which was responsible for all these deep-seated wrongs. In the light of these facts the recent outgivings of the British Government have a singular, not to say an amazing sound.

India simply wants to govern itself as it was doing to its own satisfaction when the traders from England wormed their way into the good graces of Indians. She has seen her mistake in giving hospitality to and supporting these Europeans, who, unlike other peo-

ples that came from the outside, have never made themselves Indians in spirit or deed. To-day under the lead of Mahatma Gandhi, these people—Hindu and Mohammedan, together—say to the alien rulers—"We intend to resist you to the death, but not with force of arms. We shall fight on the higher ground of the spirit, making use only of moral force. If blood is shed it shall be our blood. We shall not even hate you, but we refuse longer to accept your domination. We are willing to go to jail, but we shall not meet your violence with violence. The blame for bloodshed and horror be on your heads!" This may be lawlessness from the point of view of the usurping group, but we contend that it is quite as lawful from the point of view of the lover of liberty—whoever and wherever he may be. The decision to take the extreme step of "civil disobedience" which was held in abeyance until the meeting of the National Congress the last of December, was finally forced upon the Nationalists by an unyielding and tyrannical bureaucracy whose

repressive legislation, directed against free speech and assemblage, left them no choice but to meet extremity with extremity. Contrary to the official communications of the India Office in London, this repressive activity has been accompanied by indiscriminate lawlessness and vindictive severity on the part of the Government both inside and outside of the prisons. One has only to read Indian papers of any stripe, to be assured of this. Letters from prisoners (including some by Laj Pat Rai, well known in this country) testify to the shocking treatment meted out to the imprisoned men, among whom are some of the noblest of our race. Three thousand arrests made in Calcutta (says the Bombay Chronicle) within six weeks—200 in one day—give the lie to the statement that there has not been “indiscriminate” repression.

The communication from London refers to “misstatements” of Mahatma Gandhi. We want to say that whatever may be Gandhi’s sins of omission and commission (and he acknowledges both), untruthfulness

is not among them. On the contrary—as has been said publicly by one of his friends and co-workers now in this country—he is a man who never overstates and never says other than he means regardless of any temporary advancement that might accrue from so doing. Well-known Englishmen have said that Gandhi may be likened to Christ. He is recognized as a “saint” all over India. Yet the India Office dares to speak of his “misstatements.” Suffice it to say that the hold he has on the masses of India is just because he has never given them cause to distrust him.

To charge that such a leader is advocating “lawlessness,” and to say that a Government that is trying to force violence on his followers is standing for law and order, is to fly in the face of the eternal verities. And the charge of “sophistry” against a man of recognized purity and transparent honesty by the present Government of India must fall by the weight of its own absurdity. To say that the “principles of civilized government” are such as to dictate the

brutality, the injustice, the reprisals, the wholesale arrests, and the vicious treatment that characterize the activities of the Government in India to-day, may be true—but, if so, it is the most terrible arraignment that the world has yet had of “civilization.” As for the support of the law-abiding, loyal citizens that the Government is so sure of to back up its lawful (?) injustices and horrors, permit us to say that there are such—as there were Tories here in America at the time of your own Revolution (which you now spell with a capital “ R ”)—but they are few. Gandhi has the masses with him, which means at the least estimate 200,000,000 people. Laj Pat Rai said on his departure for jail that wholesale arrests of the non-co-operators was “proof” that they were on the road to “victory.” Gandhi writes in his weekly paper “Violence is their (the Government’s) greatest educational institution. The day we demolish the prestige of violence in its entirety, the day we establish Swaraj. * * * If failure has to be

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written against us it won't be the failure of non-violence but of the violent to respond to it."

We Indians ask of Christian Americans only the consideration that a revolutionary programme based on the teachings of Jesus of Nazareth would naturally call out. We ask you to watch Gandhi, for he is writing the beginning of a new chapter in the history of the human race. Yours etc.

YOUNG INDIA ASSOCIATION.

February 1922.

GANDHI'S PERSONALITY

(FROM "UNITY," CHICAGO)

DEAR MR. HOLMES :

While I was in India I read your articles in several papers and magazines about our greatest leader, Gandhi, and allow me to say that you have really caught the inner-soul of that great personality. I had my education in America and like the rest I did not believe about Gandhi's teachings, but when I was brought face to face with this great personality I could not withhold my tears of repentance for the wrong notions I had about Gandhi. After staying in India for one year and with constant touch with this great personality and also with Mr. Lajpat Rai I have returned refreshed from that country of mine.

JAMES P. ARLIKATTI.

May 1922.

THE INDIAN REVOLUTION

TO THE EDITOR,

THE WORLD TO-MORROW,

Sir: May we be permitted, through your columns, to differ a bit with Mr. Sayre, and clear up, perhaps somewhat, the much misunderstood non-co-operation part of the revolutionary programme of Mahatma Gandhi, in India?

Non-co-operation with Evil for the purpose of opposing an oppressive rule—as is the case with war, for a like purpose—is merely a temporary expedient, not a permanent policy as so many Americans seem to think. In the mind of Gandhi this is a spiritual substitute for war. It is a programme based on the recognition of the fact that the exploiters exploit the exploited not so much by the bayonet as by the help, unwilling or willing, of the exploited themselves! India is endeavoring to demonstrate the eternal truth that Moral Force

is superior to Brute Force—and to this end, non-violence is insisted upon, that is to say, non-violence in thought, word and deed.

Is such a programme possible of attainment? Yes. Save for a few spasmodic and negligible armed attempts, the peaceful revolution of India is progressing by leaps and bounds. Not "75,000,000 followers," but in the neighborhood of 200,000,000 followers at the least figure—we are told by our compatriots, who from time to time come direct from India—are engaged in this unique struggle for freedom. This programme takes no cognizance of the ugly things called armaments, which are the very symbol of present-day Western civilization. And not economic betterment, but spiritual uplift is the prime urge back of the movement, though the economic necessities of India are kept always in mind. As Miss Blanche Watson has pointed out in the article to which you refer, non-co-operation is a constructive as well as a destructive force—the two forces being interactive. Refusal to co-operate with

the alien government forces a large-scale co-operation with all that is best in the national life of the people. "The new India," she well says, "is being built, . . . and when the (inner) walls of the regenerated civilization are strong enough to stand, the outer walls will tumble to pieces."

Now as to the effect of British rule on India. Mr. Sayre says, ". . . most of us would agree that some real and substantial benefits have come to India from contact with the English." Most Indians would rather say, in spite of it, not because of it! But grant, for the sake of argument, that good has resulted from the occupation of the British during the past 160 years, will you not permit us to call attention to a few facts that should be known on this side of the world? These years of British occupation have—as a matter of fact—been the barest in achievement that any like period in our civilization can show—a civilization of five thousand years. We refer to cultural, social, and political achievement, barring any mention of a spiritual contribution, with the thought in mind of

Gandhi, a man who will surely be recognized, in years to come, as a spiritual asset of incalculable value to the world.

We, who know the facts, contend that British rule has paralyzed many Indian industries and totally destroyed others, while, by unbearable taxation, it has made the richest country in the world the poorest. Education in India has been deliberately discouraged, until 93 per cent. to-day, are illiterate. Mrs. Besant (who bitterly opposes Gandhi) has said that 50,000,000 people in India are always hungry. (There are more to-day.) Norman Thomas wrote in 1919 that "the average per capita income of an Indian was \$10 per annum," which meant that 75 million were receiving barely one meal a day. "This starving people," he continued, "contributes to Imperial Britain in drains of one sort or another for the benefits of administration and interest on capital, an amount estimated at from \$100,000,000 to \$200,000,000 per year—and more than \$200,000,000 on the military, about 48 per cent. of the total budget." That has been increased to

52 per cent. for 1921-22, as Taraknath Das points out in a recent communication to *The New Republic*. Compare this with 8 per cent. in South Africa, and 14 per cent. in Italy—also a peninsula—and remember that the key to Indian foreign policy is the army, over which Indians have no control, direct or indirect.

In a word, economically India has been bled white. Industrially she has been crippled; politically, wrecked; morally, stunted; physically, dwarfed—(the average age of an Indian is but *twenty-three years*). These are a few of the beneficent results of British Imperialism in India! But in all these things India has co-operated with the evil. So in a way, she had to thank herself for her deplorable situation, that is, up to about a year ago when Gandhi's non-co-operation programme was undertaken, by vote of the India National Congress, voting almost 30,000 strong—only two delegates dissenting. This is the picture. Can any good, think you, offset such deplorable results as these? Is it to be wondered at that India wants self-government? We

do not ask the American people to take our word for this picture. It is painted by the British, themselves—for there have always been in England, the fair-minded, truth-telling individuals who will paint things as they are, come what may. We refer Mr. Sayre and the readers of the *World To-morrow* to Digby's book (with the ironical title), "Prosperous British India," to Hyndman's "The Bankruptcy of India," to Sir Walter Strickland's "The Black Spot in the East"—to these, and many other authorities. As a matter of fact, the voice of the better England has never been silent. As Frederic Harrison said in "National and Social Problems," P-256, "In twenty years and more we have sought to make our voices heard when Hindoos were being blown from guns and hunted like wild beasts. For years we have called out against the military oppression of India."

And in the face of all this Gandhi says—and millions are backing him up—"We must not hate the English, we must not hurt them, but we deserve to have our freedom." The way he has laid down to get it, is the

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way of non-violence, the way of love. If the Indian revolution is consummated by this method a new chapter will have been written in the history of the world! This much, at least is clear—we see the approach of the dawn of the new day. Yours etc.

H. G. GOVIL.

H. T. MUZUMDAR.

(OF THE YOUNG INDIA ASSOCIATION)

March 1922.

THE CASE OF THE AKALI SIKHS

To the Editor of *The Call*: There is considerable talk about atrocities these days. May I have space to tell your readers who may not have read the account in the current *Nation*, of what the British Government is doing to the Akali Sikhs in India.

On the one hand are a religious group standing for their rights; on the other hand is the government protecting property rights. I need not go into that part of it further than to set down this alignment. The reason given by the government for not arresting the "trespassers" as they called these Akalis, was that the jails were full.

I will say that I get the material for this letter from the paper, *Young India* (which is permitted to be printed by the government only as long as it gives strict-

ly the truth); from an account in the *Bombay Chronicle*, by Rev. C. F. Andrews—than whom there is no one man in all India, whose word has greater weight—and from an article written by a Moham-
medan. These two men were eye-witnesses to the procedure which has caused Mr. Andrews to write, “It was a sight which I never wish to see again, a sight incredible to an Englishman.”

It was the sight of a body of a hundred of these brave Sikhs coming up by fours (sometimes by threes) with hands folded and heads bowed in prayer, to face a force of from 20 to 30 police under the command of two Englishmen, who, be it said, joined off and on in the clubbing of these men who had taken a vow to be non-resistant in word and deed, but to assert their will to use their religious shrine as they saw fit. Among the number are many returned soldiers—some perchance, as Mr. Andrews says, who may have saved the lives of Englishmen and faithfully served the government that is now engaged in hammering them into

submission, to what they consider to be injustice.

The weapons which the police used on these religious devotees are the regulation police lathis—five and a half feet brass-shod poles. When the Sikhs refuse to disperse on order they are struck on the head, forehead or temple (I quote from Mr. Andrew's account), and on the legs. The account which the *Nation* takes from the *Manchester Guardian* says that orders are given to strike the legs. Pictures taken in the hospitals of the wounded show nearly every man with bandages on his head. If and when a man arises he is struck again. The account by the Indian says that on the day he was an eye-witness ten of the strongest held their ground for more than a half hour, being felled and rising to their feet as many as six times. He testifies that some of the injured remained unconscious or dazed even after 24 hours had passed. He declares that some were intentionally struck in vital parts, and both he and Mr. Andrews speak of men who had fallen helpless,

being kicked unmercifully, as they lay on the ground. (The *Nation* account says that no blow is struck while the men remain seated. The procedure may have differed on different days.) Mr. Andrews describes one blow given by an Englishman, who landed his fist which held the lathi, with great force, on the collar-bone. "It looked the most cowardly blow I ever saw struck," Mr. Andrews said, taxing to the utmost his vow not to interfere in the least regardless of what he saw done.

After one batch is rendered incapable of marching or have been knocked senseless, another four came up to go through the same sickening round till the hundred transported to the Bagh have all offered themselves for the sacrifice, before the eyes of their co-religionists who sat within sight of the Governmental "holiday"—undergoing, as Mr. Andrews expressed it, their baptism of fire even as were the active participants in the fray, and crying to God for help out of the depth of their agony of spirit. "I saw no act, no look of defiance," said Mr. Andrews "only steadfast

adherence to the principles of their noble religion." There was no attempt of avoidance of blows struck, the blows were received one by one "without resistance or a sign of fear."

Said Mr. Moazzmali (who is Secretary of the Central Khilafat Committee)—the Mohammedan I have mentioned, in appreciation of these other-minded religionists, "No people on the face of the earth could have exhibited such non-violent courage and self-restraint as has been displayed by the Akalis during the past two weeks."

Starting in a technical question of legal possession, a new lesson in moral warfare has been taught to the world—if the world is permitted to hear about it. Says the account by the correspondent of the *Guardian*, "This affair will rank as a first-class victory for non-co-operation. It is rapidly depleting the small stock of good will that remains to us in the Punjab . . . Mohammedans and Hindus are in full sympathy with the Sikhs, for any appeal to religious feelings carries terrible weight in this country..."

I would close with the words of this Englishman, "The trouble is that you (the government) have lost the public confidence and this incident is an example of what happens when you try to govern without it." And I would add—what is true of the Punjab is true of all India. The day has arrived foreseen by Sir John Seeley, the historian, when he said, "the day India is united that day the English must pack their things." Yours, etc.

HARI GOVIND GOVIL.

NEW YORK.

November 14th, 1922.

APPENDIX

Gandhi to every Englishman in India

Gandhi to the Duke of Connaught.

Gandhi on Modern Politics.

Gandhi's Statement at his Trial.

Lajpat Rai in an Indian Prison.

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-

* 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,

-510 GANDHI—NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE

“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

*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 tomorrow. 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?

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