Figure of Jesus is always central to it. It is no trance, but 'a waking state, a state of concentrated capacity of thought.' It brings an indescribable joy in communion with the Saviour-Friend.

N. V. Tilak has written thus about this Christian *Samadhi*:

Ah love, I sink in the timeless sleep,
Sink in the timeless sleep!
One Image stands before my eyes,
And thrills my bosom's deep.

One Vision bathes in radiant light
My spirit's palace-halls.
All stir of hand, all throb of brain
Quivers, and sinks, and falls.[1]

The same poet has written thus, under the name of Dasa (servant), concerning Christian *Bhakti*:

Once I bethought me, Thou my Guru art,
I Thy disciple, humble and apart;
Sat low before Thee thus, nor ventured near,
Schooling my soul to reverential fear.
Ah, folly mine! Thy smile upon me bent
Has shattered in a trice my fond intent.
I rose and ran to Thee, and could not check
My laughter, as I fell upon Thy neck.
In sooth, dear Lord, so winsome is Thy grace,
I cannot keep my due and proper place.
Saith Dasa, Tell me true, hath any taught
Friendship with distance ever to consort?[1]

[1] Quoted from *Sushila and Other Poems* by N. V. Tilak in Winslow's *The Indian Mystic*.

And again:

As the moon and its beams are one,
So, that I be one with Thee,
This is my prayer to Thee, my Lord,
This is my beggar's plea.

As words and their meaning are linked,
Serving one purpose each,
Be Thou and I so knit, O Lord,
And through me breathe Thy speech.

O be my soul a mirror clear,
That I may see Thee there;
Dwell in my thought, my speech, my life,
Making them glad and fair.

Take Thou this body, O my Christ,
Dwell as its soul within;
To be an instant separate
I count a deadly sin.

N. V. Tilak foretells as follows the result of the Christian *Bhakti*:

Yea, at the end of pregnant strife,
Enthroned as Guru of the earth,
This land of Hind shall teach the worth
Of Christian faith and Christian life.

Such expressions of the *Bhakti* of Jesus Christ bear clearly marked upon them the signs of their descent from Hindu *Bhakti*, but they are transformed by the quality of the Personality who forms the object of worship. It must constantly be borne in mind also

that the *Bhakti* tradition forms the heart and soul of Indian religion, whereas in Christianity mysticism has always been looked upon somewhat askance by orthodox religion; even to-day the very word 'mystic' is frequently used as a term of reproach, almost identical with the terms 'heretic,' 'pantheist,' or 'unbalanced emotionalist.' No doubt the Palestinian Christians regarded the new-fangled Logos worship of the Fourth Gospel with a similar aversion.

If we take such an expression of Hindu *Bhakti* as the following, it will be plain how much Christianity may gain from a sympathetic attitude towards it:

"It is needless to lay a child in the arms of its mother: she draweth it towards her by her own instinct. Wherefore should I take thought? He that hath the charge will bear the burden. Unasked the mother keepeth dainties for the child, in eating them herself she hath no pleasure. When it is busied in play, she seeketh it, and bringeth it in; she sitteth pressing it tightly to her breast. When it is sick, she is restless as parched corn on the fire. *Tuka saith*, 'Take *no thought for the body*; *the Mother* will not suffer the child to be harmed.' "

It is to be noticed from this quotation how the thought of human mother-love has led the poet deeper into knowledge of God's love, and in return has dignified and immortalised the human love.

The writer of this Hindu description of the nature of the Divine Love was the seventeenth-century

Marathi poet Tuka Ram. With regard to him the Indian Christian poet N. V. Tilak, to whom reference has been made above, once wrote as follows: "As for myself it was over the bridge of Tuka Ram's verse that I came to Christ." An instructive comparison might be drawn between this conversion of a Hindu to Christianity by the reading of an old Hindu poet and the influence exercised upon Augustine's mind by the reading of Cicero's treatise on Platonism (*Con.*, III, 4).

Just as the greatest of the Christian mystics have constantly laid emphasis upon the necessity not only of adoring God but of seeking to do His will and to imitate His character of goodness and love, so Indian *Bhakti* also insists upon a discipleship of spirit and character. For example, Tuka Ram himself says this, "Where pity, pardon, peace abide, there God dwells; thither He hastens to make His home, for spirit is the place of His abiding, and where these graces have free play He tarries." The spirit and character which is inculcated in the true *Bhakta* (devotee) is one which is marked pre-eminently by love. In the *Narada Bhakti Sutra*, which is an early compendium of *Bhakti* belief, probably meant to be committed to memory by ascetics, the following occurs:

> By *Bhakti* we mean an intense love of God,
> Love of God is like the food of immortals; for it
> makes a man perfect, deathless and satisfied.

A man who loves God has no wants nor sorrows. He neither hates nor joys nor strives with zeal for any ends of his own.

For through love he is moved to rapture; and through love does he attain peace, and is ever happy in spirit.

For love is an experience pure and selfless, subtle, unbroken and ever expanding.

A man who has once experienced love will see that alone, hear that alone and speak that alone, for he thinks of that alone.

The Lambeth Conference of 1930 expressed its belief that *Bhakti* is 'a real contribution of abiding spiritual value to religious thought.' There is great need that more should be done to study and interpret this body of spiritual teaching, and to welcome into the heart of Christianity the gifts which it has to give us. There dwells in the Indian mind a power of wholehearted devotion to the service of the Divine Saviour which we urgently need in Christianity; and without which our own experience of Christ, both individual and corporate, will remain inadequate.

The greatest poet of present-day *Bhakti*, Rabindranath Tagore, has expressed in the following words the root-belief of this whole school of thought: "Our Master himself hath joyfully taken upon Him the bonds of creation. He is bound in our midst for ever." The Hindu *Bhakta* constantly returns to the verses of the *Gita* which refer to the incarnation of the Supreme Being in the human and personal

Saviour-God. He rejoices in, and is devoted to, a divine being who suffers for man, in humanity, that humanity may be saved. He sees this divine being 'bound in our midst for ever.'

It is obvious how close such ideas are to the fundamental beliefs of Christianity. There is urgent need to emphasise this closeness, and to welcome the contribution thus offered. Only so shall we come to know more fully the Universal Christ.

There are large numbers of thoughtful men all over India to-day who, whilst remaining Hindus in social allegiance and endeavouring to conserve the permanently valuable elements in the Hindu view of life and religion, are yet true *Bhaktas* of Jesus Christ. The following expression of this type of mind is taken from a magazine written by college students:

"We arrive at the Divinity of Christ, not by taking the abstract idea of Deity and asserting (in deference to authority or tradition) that He is Divine, but by learning to know Him, and through that knowledge going on to the knowledge of God. We begin with Jesus, as He is presented to us in the Gospel narrative; as we meditate upon Him, He draws us with an irresistible love; through His life, which is our example: through His death, which condemns sin and made possible our forgiveness, we are drawn insensibly to trust in Him, we grow conscious of pardon, we find that we are new creatures and

that the Spirit of God is within us, filling us with a new life."

A consideration of this Indian utterance concerning Christ will show another aspect of the contribution which the Hindu mind may be destined to make to universal Christianity, in a new interpretation of personal discipleship. A further instance of the same thing may be taken from a letter recently received by the present writer from one of these Indian *Bhaktas* of Jesus Christ: "I am keeping well by His grace. 'The life that I now live I live by faith in the Son of God, who loved me and gave Himself for me.' I am not able to keep any external law without the grace of Jesus. I wish to have abundant life in fellowship with Him."

CHAPTER FIVE

SATYAGRAHA

In the previous chapter we have seen reason to believe that the Hindu spirit of *Bhaki*—joyful personal devotion to a personal Saviour-God, on the basis of direct mystical communion—may have a very important contribution to make to the Christianity of the future. It is even possible that if Christianity fails to make contact with the modern purified Hinduism on the right plane, a plane of mutual tolerance and teachability, Christianity may lose an essential element of life, without which it will not be able to survive into the future, even as first-century Christianity would in all probability have failed to survive had not its welcoming of the Hellenic teaching of the Divine Logos led to the harnessing of the Greek mind to the service of Christ.

But the contribution which Hinduism is destined to make to the universal understanding of Christ does not, in all probability, lie solely or even chiefly in the sphere of this radiant and beautiful personal religion. It lies also in the domain of character-in-action. Hinduism may give us a fresh understanding of the significance of the Cross, and of the manner in which the Cross should be borne victoriously for

the sake of the founding of the Kingdom of God on earth.

One of the earliest letters recorded as having been written by an Indian is that from Calamus, an Indian philosopher of Taxila (in the Panjab), to Alexander the Great, who had been constraining Calamus to action of which his conscience did not approve. The philosopher wrote as follows:

"Your friends, whose dreams even have not revealed to them our works, persuade you to lay hands and violence upon the Indian philosophers. Our bodies you may indeed remove from place to place, but our souls you will never compel to that which they do not will, any more than you can compel wood and stone to utter sounds. Fire burns fierce pain into living bodies, and destroys them; on this fire we are, for we are ever burning alive. *There is neither king nor prince who can compel us to do what we have not chosen.* Nor do we resemble the philosophers of Greece, who are busy with mere words, for the sake of publicity. With us words are the companions of deeds, they are brief, they have a different purpose, and bring us happiness and freedom."[1]

This letter forms an early expression of the principle of *Satyagraha*, which has recently come into such prominence as the controlling force behind

[1] Quoted in *Private Letters, Pagan and Christian.*

the movement for Indian independence led by Mr. Gandhi. It is recorded that Calamus, the writer of the letter, as his protest to Alexander was not successful, mounted a pyre and caused himself to be burnt alive, as the only way out of the wrong position in which the Emperor's oppressively applied power was placing him.

It is highly probable that Calamus himself was a Buddhist monk. If so, the religion to which he belonged had from its earliest beginnings laid stress upon various aspects of *Satyagraha*.

Gautama, the princely ascetic who became the Buddha and founded Buddhism, after his three visions of pain—the old man, the sick man, the dead man—formed the resolution that at whatever cost to himself he must find a means of curing pain; and he perceived also that what was needful could only be discovered through freely-endured suffering.

The memory of this sacrifice has remained in the heart of India ever since, and has been astonishingly influential in building up a habit of mind which is not only eager to renounce the good things of this life for the sake of eternal values, but is confident that by such sacrifice deliberately undergone—even to the bearing of the most agonising pain—wrong can be righted and truth established.

This attitude of mind may be illustrated from numerous legends which sprang up around the personality of Gautama. There is the legend, for

example, of his sacrificing himself in a previous existence in order to save the lives of a starving tigress and her cubs. More significant is the legend of the monk Purna, who wished to settle in a land whose inhabitants were noted for their violence. Buddha asked him, "If they abuse or injure thee, what then wilt thou think?"

"I shall then think: 'These people are really good in that they only abuse me, but do not beat me and throw stones at me.' "

"But if they beat thee and throw stones at thee?"

"Then I shall think: 'They are really good in that they only beat me and throw stones at me, but do not attack me with sticks and swords.' "

"But if they attack thee with sticks and swords?"

"Then I shall think: 'They are really good in that they do not rob me of life outright.' "

"But if they rob thee of life?"

"Then I shall think: 'These people are really good to me in that they have freed me from the burden of this life.' "

Whereupon the Buddha said: "Well hast thou spoken, Purna, Go and deliver, thou self-deliverer! Lead to the other shore, thou that thyself hast reached that shore! Comfort, thou that already art comforted! Guide to Nirvāna, thou that art already entered into Nirvāna."[1]

A similar legend records that King Brahmadatta,

[1] Quoted from *Majjhima*, 145, in Dahlke, *Buddhist Essays*, p. 146.

having conquered, driven into exile and finally hunted to death King Dirgheti and his queen, lived in constant terror of the anticipated vengeance of their son, Prince Dirghayu, who had escaped. In the course of events the prince came into the employ of the murderer of his parents, and was chosen to serve him as personal attendant. One day, while on the hunt, the tired king fell asleep with his head in the lap of the prince. The latter drew his sword to avenge his parents, when the parting words of his murdered father rang in his ears: 'Not by hatred is hatred appeased. Hatred is appeased only by not-hatred.' The prince stayed his hand and sheathed his sword; but when the king awoke he again brandished his sword over the latter's prostrate form, at the same time disclosing his own identity. As the king begged piteously for his life, Dirghayu said without bitterness or ill-will, "How can I grant you life, O king, since my life is endangered by you? It is you, O king, who must grant me my life." Then the king said: "Well, my dear Dirghayu, then grant me my life, and I will grant you your life." When they had sworn cessation of hostility, the king asked for the interpretation of King Dirgheti's dying injunction. Whereupon the prince explained the same as follows: "When he said, 'Not by hatred is hatred appeased; hatred is appeased by not-hatred,' he meant this: You have killed my father and mother, O king. If I should deprive you of life, then

your partisans would deprive me of life; my partisans again would deprive those of life. Thus by hatred, hatred would not be appeased. But now, O king, you have granted me my life, and I have granted you your life, thus by not-hatred has hatred been appeased!" And so, the Blessed One declares, 'This is an eternal law.' "[1]

Buddha himself gave this teaching:

"Not by hate is hate destroyed: by love alone hate is destroyed."

"Kindly thought is the best kind of retaliation."

"Ye monks, if robbers and murderers should sever your joints and limbs with a saw, he who fell into anger thereat would not be fulfilling my commands."

He saw, that is, deep into the new world-order, where wrong is righted in the only possible way—by the substitution of good-will for evil-will, a substitution brought about by freely-incurred suffering and self-sacrifice.

Another characteristic Buddhist legend runs as follows:

A king's son, Kunala, had both his eyes put out through the malice of his stepmother. When, with collected mind, after the first eye had been torn out, he had it put in his hand by the executioner, as he held it and looked at it with his remaining eye,

[1] Quoted in Carus, *The Gospel of Buddha*. More material may be found in Mrs. Rhys David's *Psalms of the Sisters* and *Psalms of the Brothers*.

suddenly there arose in him the comprehension of the transiency of all that has arisen. True knowledge awoke in him, and throwing off every feeling of *I*, he broke out into the exulting words: "May she long enjoy life, power and happiness who has made use of this means in order to make me a participator in this great boon."[1]

In the *Majjhima* the following words of the Buddha are recorded: "If you are attacked with fists, with stones, with sticks, with swords, you must still repress all resentment and preserve a loving mind with no secret spite. Your good will should be as inexhaustible as the waters of the Ganges."

And again: "For all alike your love should be one and the same in its nature, and should include all realms, all beings and all ages. . . . Make no difference between those who are friendly, indifferent or hostile to you." "If a man foolishly does me wrong, I will return to him the protection of my ungrudging love: the more evil comes from him, the more good shall go from me."

Throughout the centuries since the time of the Buddha there have been innumerable instances of fearless Defence of Truth (*Satyagraha*) by the patient suffering of the worst which wrong can do. To-day Mahatma Gandhi has proved that such *Satyagraha* can become a political weapon of almost irresistible quality.

[1] Quoted in Dahlke, *Buddhist Essays*.

At the basis of *Satyagraha* there are five very simple ideas.

In the first place there is the conviction of wrong. Mahatma Gandhi, for example, is convinced that India is suffering grievous wrong at the hands of a foreign government. He may be completely mistaken in reaching this conclusion; but this does not affect the fact that he has reached it, and that many millions of his fellow-countrymen have also reached it. They look upon the poverty of India, which they consider to be rapidly increasing, as the main proof of this mis-government. They point to the appalling facts of indebtedness (it is common for money to be lent at the rate of two annas in the rupee compound interest per month, which means that a loan of Rs. 60., if none is repaid, becomes in five years a debt of Rs. 60,000). They quote such a judgment as the following: "I do not hesitate to say that half the agricultural population of India never know from year's end to year's end what it is to have their hunger fully satisfied" (Sir Charles Elliott); or this: "As to clothes the women and children are much worse off than the men. It is unusual to find a village woman who has any wraps at all. Most of them have to pass the night as best they can in their day-clothes—a cotton petticoat, wrapper and bodice. As a rule they and their children sleep, in the cold weather, during the warm afternoons and early hours of the night, and from midnight to dawn

cower over a fire of rubbish in the yard of the dwelling-house" (William Crooke); or this: "People in India are living on one meal every two or three days; the poorer classes are always prepared for this. As one of our Christians said, 'If we can eat food once in two days, we will not ask for more' " (Rev. G. H. Macfarlane). They remember that the most optimistic estimate given to the Simon Commission regarding the average income in India placed the figure at £8 per annum, and the least optimistic at £5 11s., whilst the corresponding figure for Great Britain is £95.[1]

In view of this dire poverty of the peasantry the expenditure on the Army in India, which has quadrupled in sixty years, seems to Mahatma Gandhi, and to those who think like him, to be not merely excessive but a great wrong: so also does the expenditure on the Viceroy, with regard to which the Nationalists reckon that, counting in tour expenses, allowances and other similar items, the Viceroy costs India more than £100,000 per annum. With this is contrasted the cost of the United States President at £15,000, that of the French President at £4,000, that of the British Prime Minister at £5,000, and that of Stalin and

[1] The present writer has visited thousands of Indian homes, where the only household possessions were a few brass cooking vessels, a string-cot and a few rags. Such people, if asked where is their bedding, will point to a pile of sticks and say, "That is our bedding," meaning that on cold nights they cower over a wood-fire.

Tchicherin, who receive about £220 each, with use of a car!

The sense of serious injury, amounting to outrage, is increased by the injudicious utterances of British political leaders, for example this: "India should be maintained as a permanent possession to find fresh markets for our goods, and also employment for those superfluous articles of the present day, our boys"; or this: "We did not conquer India for the good of the Indians—that is cant. We conquered India by the sword, and by the sword we shall hold it. I am not such a hypocrite as to say that we hold India for the benefit of the Indians. We hold it as the finest outlet for British goods in general and for Lancashire cotton goods in particular."

The *nationalists contrast with such modern* utterances the opinion of the great men of a century ago, who are believed to have stood for a policy of friendliness and trust, which has been reversed by their successors. For example, Sir Thomas Munro, Governor of Madras, said in 1824: "Liberal treatment has always been found the most effectual way of elevating the character of any people, and we may be sure that it will produce a similar effect on that of the people of India." Similarly, Mountstuart Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay from 1819 to 1827, who was subsequently twice offered the Governor-Generalship of India, made the following pronouncement: "We must not dream of perpetual

possession of India, but must apply ourselves to bring the natives into a state that will admit of their governing themselves . . . and to take the glory of the achievement, and the sense of having done our duty, for the chief reward of our exertions." Even after the Mutiny, in 1861, Herbert Edwardes said this: "England, taught by both past and present, should set before her the noble policy of first fitting India for freedom and then setting her free." The Indian National Congress itself, which has been for many years the focus of the national movement, was started by Sir A. O. Hume, a retired British official, with the encouragement of the then Viceroy, Lord Dufferin.

One important section of the national movement lays emphasis on another wrong which England is believed to have inflicted upon India, viz. the introduction of Western industrialism. In Bombay, the chief industrial city in the country, there is one ward with an average of five hundred people to the acre, the average for London being fifty. It is common to find fifteen to twenty people inhabiting one room, under conditions which baffle description. The average rent demanded for such appallingly inadequate accommodation is often from 25 per cent. to 33 per cent. of a monthly wage which, considering the cost of living, is miserably low. 97 per cent. of the industrial workers of Bombay live in single-room tenements, or less. A recent

investigation disclosed the fact that there were 135 cases in which six families or more were living in a single room; and that infantile mortality for families living in one room, or less, was 828 per thousand, that for families living in two rooms 322, that for families living in three rooms 191, and that for families living in 4 rooms 133.

Such conditions seem almost inevitably to follow the progress of industrialisation in the Orient; and many of the Indian nationalists feel that they constitute one of the most serious aspects of the wrong done to their country by the West, and by England in particular. An Indian thinker who is well acquainted with the better side of Western life, and is notably moderate in his views, has declared: "There are men in the East who spend sleepless nights in cursing God because He has allowed these 'civilisers' to enter their lands." A generation or more ago Sir Dadabhoi Naoroji, who was for a time a British Member of Parliament, and was in many ways a staunch friend of England and the English, said this: "British rule has given the Indian people security of life and property: but of what value to them is a life which means death by starvation or disease?"

Evidence for this widely-spread conviction that British rule in India has been anything but an unmixed blessing might be gathered from many other sources. Rightly or wrongly, the opinion is

held and is held passionately. It is impossible to talk for long on confidential terms with any educated Indian without discovering that he is convinced that he is misgoverned. He may be a fool, or a knave, for thinking this, but he certainly does think it. His convictions in this respect may be summed up in Mr. Gandhi's own words, "The millions who approved of the Independence Declaration of January 26, 1930, did so in the faith that the rule which has piled iniquity on iniquity must be destroyed by the sheer weight of it."

This then is the first leading idea of *Satyagraha*. There has been wrong and injustice: and England is responsible for that wrong and injustice.

The second leading idea of *Satyagraha* is the idea that, at all costs, even at the cost of life itself, wrong must be faced and put right. Mr. Gandhi is never tired of telling his followers that if they acquiesce in, or fail to protest against, the exploitation and pauperisation of their country, which is going forward, as he believes, at the hands of England, then they are cowards, and unworthy of ever gaining their freedom. Truth is of sovereign worth; and to Mr. Gandhi truth includes, and involves, the establishment of right relationships between man and man, community and community, nation and nation. His followers must be willing to lay down their lives in defence of Truth, so

understood, in the conviction that it is God's will that wrong should be righted, freedom established and Truth vindicated. Such self-sacrifice only comes from the assurance that they are carrying forward God's will, and that God is on their side. Mr. Gandhi expresses his convictions on this point as follows: "The fact is that *Satyagraha* presupposes the living presence and guidance of God. The leader depends not on his own strength, but on that of God. He acts as the Voice Within guides him. Very often therefore what are practical politics so-called are unrealities to him, though in the end his prove to be the most practical politics."

And again: "We must love our English administrators and pray to God that they may have wisdom to see what appears to us to be their error. I believe in the power of suffering to melt the stoniest heart. We must by our conduct demonstrate to every Englishman that he is as safe in the remotest corner of India as he proposes to feel behind his machine-gun. Either we believe in God and His righteousness or we do not. No power on earth can stop the march of a peaceful, determined and godly people."

Thus also on the morrow of his appointment, by the Indian National Congress in April, 1931, as sole plenipotentiary for the forthcoming deliberations with Great Britain, Mr. Gandhi declared, "I have to seek God's infallible guidance and 'be careful for nothing.' "

But the facing and righting of wrong does not imply the doing of any violence to the wrong-doer. It is aimed, not at the extermination of the oppressor, but at the changing of his heart. For this reason the individual Englishmen in India, who has shown in a practical manner his friendliness towards Indians, is continually astonished by the courtesy and kindliness of Indians, even of ardently nationalistic Indians, towards himself. The present writer knows this by personal experience gained from years of work as one of two or three Europeans engaged in educational activities in the heart of a large Indian city. All around us the people as a whole, and our students most of all, were seething with political passions, fired with a burning indignation against the British system. This indignation frequently (for example in College debating societies) found vent in an almost unmeasured denunciation of all things British. Occasionally one of us Britishers would say half-humorously, after such an explosion, that we scarcely dared to show our faces or to make our voices heard. Immediately there would come an eager response from the students, "Oh, Sir, we did not mean *you*. We meant the British Government."

An Englishman who spent some months in very close touch with Mr. Gandhi during the eventful period in 1929 and 1930, when the Civil Disobedience campaign was in preparation, wrote home again and again saying that he met everywhere with

the greatest kindness and courtesy. Another Englishman who was in Bombay at the same time wrote to an English periodical as follows: "There is absolutely no antagonism to the English as such. My treatment by Indians of all schools here—even in a hotbed of Gandhism—is perfect."

Satyagraha implies, if it is rightly understood and practised, a recognition of the fact that wrong can only be righted by a change of ideals in the oppressor, which shall make him unwilling to practise oppression any more, and lead him to do justice instead of wrong. Such a change, it is believed, may best be brought about by suffering unresistingly and vicariously undergone, instead of by violent retaliation and resistance.

This brings us to the third of the main ideas underlying *Satyagraha*. Violence is no remedy. Even if it is successful in checking wrong and injustice outwardly, it is bound inevitably to lead to worse wrong in other directions. The *Satyagrahi* notices how in the West nations which have become free, as a result of the Great War, or of previous wars, have hastened to impose their rule upon others. He can point to the behaviour of the liberated Poles towards the Ukraine: to that of the liberated Italians towards the Tyrolese: to the imperialism of revolutionary France: to that of Hungarians towards Rumanians, and later of Rumanians towards Hungarians. He can

point to the fact that modern nationalism, which to a thinker such as Mazzini appeared so fair and pure a thing, has been proved by the Great War the greatest of curses to humanity, through its endeavouring to obtain its ends of liberty and constitutionalism by force. To Mahatma Gandhi himself the issue appears perfectly plain and simple. Again and again he has shown himself willing to sacrifice everything to this principle of Non-Violence, or *Ahimsa*, Harmlessness, as he prefers to call it. In 1919 he checked the movement against the Rowlatt Acts, when it was in full swing, because violence had been committed; and later he reproached himself bitterly for his 'Himalayan blunder' in trusting the masses with such a weapon as *Satyagraha* before they were rightly trained in its use. In 1922, when the Non-Co-operation movement was in the full tide of popular success, he called off the proposed inauguration of Civil Disobedience (non-payment of taxes) because violence had broken out. He declared with the utmost emphasis, on very numerous occasions, that violence would ruin the Civil Disobedience campaign of 1930. One of the most remarkable features of that campaign was the fact that, in the main, and in spite of lapses in a few localities, it maintained its non-violent character. At its outset Mr. Gandhi laid down the following rules for his Civil Resisters. They were published in his paper *Young India* on February 27, 1930:

(1) Harbour no anger.
(2) Suffer the anger of your opponent.
(3) Put up with assaults: never retaliate: but do not submit, out of fear of punishment, to any order given in anger.
(4) Submit to arrest: do not resist the confiscation of your property.
(5) Even if you lose your life, do not retaliate.
(6) Never swear or curse.
(7) Never insult your opponent.
(8) Protect officials (i.e. the agents of the British system against which the whole campaign was directed), even at the cost of your life.
(9) In no way regard yourselves as superior to others.
(10) Entrust your dependents to the care of God.
(11) Never take sides in a communal quarrel.
(12) Avoid every occasion that may give rise to a communal quarrel.

An examination of these rules will show plainly the influence of the Sermon on the Mount upon Mr. Gandhi's mind as he framed them. He sums up his teaching on Non-Violence, however, under the Hindu religious term *Ahimsa*, which is generally (though inadequately) translated Harmlessness, and which has been a cardinal principle of Hindu relationships, especially in connection with the animal creation, for many hundreds of years.

Regarding this principle of Harmlessness, Mr. Gandhi has written as follows:

"Literally speaking *Ahimsa* means non-killing, but to me it has a world of meaning, and takes me

into realms much higher, infinitely higher. It really means that you may not offend anybody, you may not harbour an uncharitable thought. . . . If we resent a friend's action, or the so-called enemy's action, we still fall short of this doctrine. But when I say we should not resent, I do not say that we should acquiesce. . . . If you express your love—*Ahimsa*—in such a manner that it impresses itself indelibly upon your so-called enemy, he must return that love. . . . Under this plan of life there is no conception of patriotism which justifies such wars as you witness in Europe to-day."

The penultimate sentence of this quotation makes clear the principle already mentioned as underlying the whole conception of genuine *Satyagraha*—the principle that no method of activity can be regarded as satisfactory which does not result in a change of heart in the oppressor. Force can never achieve such a 'transvaluation of values.' The revolution which is required is a spiritual revolution. Violent resistance merely hardens the spirit of ill-will and oppression, reinforcing it by all the impulses of pugnacity which are aroused through such opposition. A method is needed which will make the wrong-doer no longer desire to do wrong. It must be a method which will effect an inward change of attitude, so that a spirit of generosity and good will shall take the place of the spirit of dominance and exploitation. Hence Mr. Gandhi says, "Those who

seek to destroy men rather than their manners, adopt the latter and become worse than those whom they destroy, under the mistaken belief that the manners will die with the men. *They do not know the root of the evil.* . . . Non-violence is not mere restraint from physical violence. Evil thoughts, rashness, ill-will, hatred and falsehood are all forms of violence. To possess what others need is also violence. . . . Non-violence is the means, and truth the aim. . . . Cultivate the quiet courage of dying without killing. . . . Non-violence 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."

These quotations show how far-reaching is the principle thus invoked. It involves nothing less than a spiritual revolution, which starting in the soul of the *Satyagrahi* must pass out from him to all with whom he comes in contact, whether they are oppressors or oppressed, everywhere kindling a new spirit, and kindling it by one means alone, the regenerative power of self-chosen suffering.

This brings us to the fourth main idea behind *Satyagraha*. The first was that there is wrong: the second, that at all costs the wrong must be righted: the third, that violence is no remedy: the fourth is the leading positive principle of *Satyagraha*, the principle that wrong can be righted, and infallibly

righted, by suffering, if that suffering is self-chosen and vicariously endured.

His study of the New Testament, reinforced by the teachings of the Gita, of Ruskin and of Tolstoy, had led Mr. Gandhi to the conclusion, enunciated by Plato in the *Gorgias* twenty-three centuries ago, that "To do is worse than to suffer injustice. . . . He who is unjustly put to death is not so much to be pitied as he who kills him, for doing injustice is the greatest of evils. . . . To be struck wrongfully is not the worst evil that can befall a man, nor to have his purse or his body cut open, but to smite and slay wrongfully is far more disgraceful and more evil."[1] But Mr. Gandhi's studies had led him farther than this. They had shown him an infallible solution for the problem of evil, viz. a willingness to court and to bear suffering at the hands of evil. In suffering so invited and borne he discerned a strange effectiveness for the destroying of the evil will.

Christ might have avoided the Cross. He need not have 'set his face steadfastly to go up to Jerusalem.' He might have remained judiciously in Galilee till danger to himself was past. The vision of the Twelve Legions of Angels, seen by Him in the Garden just before His arrest, shows that even then He was conscious of supernatural resources at His command, which he might have used to establish

[1] Compare Plato, *Republic*, II: "The just man will be scourged, tormented, fettered, have his eyes put out: and lastly, having suffered all manner of evils, will be crucified."

a kingdom of righteousness, and so to save his country from the destruction of A.D. 70, and (incidentally) Himself from the Cross. But Christ did not dodge the Cross. He went through with the shame and agony of it, bearing patiently the worst that hatred and tyranny could do to him.

Satyagraha cannot be understood unless this idealism of the Cross, which lies behind it, is also understood. The Cross means suffering willingly and vicariously encountered. The fact that *Satyagraha* has been used, and used with such amazing success by a Hindu against 'Christians' and by an Indian against Englishmen, must not blind our eyes to this other fact—that in inspiration and largely also in practice the movement has been a Christian thing, a reviving and reinterpreting of the Cross.

When Mr. Gandhi initiated the Civil Disobedience campaign of 1930, which was destined to have such a decisive influence upon the relations between India and England, he declared to his fellow countrymen in effect, "You can win freedom and right, and win them swiftly, if only you are prepared to suffer enough for them, and to suffer without retaliation. You must diligently seek out lines of suffering. You must challenge the imperial authority in every way which does not involve violence or moral turpitude." The campaign accordingly began with an attempt, led by Mr. Gandhi himself, to break the Government salt-monopoly; and it continued with a chal-

lenge to the Government drink-monopoly, and with a diligently-prosecuted endeavour to prevent the sale of foreign cloth, which sale was regarded as a main objective of the Government's economic policy. In numerous other ways also, some of them closely bordering on the morally indefensible, the authority of the British Raj was effectively challenged. Wherever possible the peasants were incited to refuse payment of the land-tax.

The propaganda designed to bring about these ends was carried on both by a host of nationalist speakers and organisers, and by large (in some cases exceedingly large) crowds of *Satyagrahis*, who sought by every means in their power to persuade the police, as the agents of Government, to use violence upon them, in order that they might attain their object of suffering without resistance the worst that the 'oppressor' might do to them. The police were placed in an exceedingly difficult position. If they resorted to ordinary police-action, they were merely playing into the hands of the nationalists, and (as experience rapidly began to show) were adding fuel to the fire of nationalist ardour. It was impossible, on the other hand, to stand by and see the law broken.

Therefore the authorities adopted the policy of using the minimum of force consistent with the 'safeguarding of law and order.' But this policy was very difficult to apply. In the first place the minimum of force was still too much, in view of a situation in

which every police-charge, ordered under whatever provocation and however cautiously carried out, was still a priceless boon to the movement of *Satyagraha*, which could only flourish by such 'suffering.' In the second place, the rank and file of the police had many a long-standing grudge against the nationalists, and were somewhat naturally ready to supply the 'suffering' which was demanded. For a generation the nationalists all over India have opposed the police in every possible way, voting against appropriations in the provincial budgets which would have given them better pay and better living conditions, and making their life a burden to them on all occasions of political excitement. Moreover, the nationalist leaders are for the most part caste Hindus: and the police are largely recruited from the Moslem and low-caste communities, which have accounts to settle with the caste Hindus dating back for many centuries. When the fact is taken into consideration that the police had to stand up to an odious and exasperating form of baiting, for hour after hour and day after day, in the gruelling heat of an Indian hot-weather, at the hands of mobs begging, beseeching and inciting them to use their *lathis* (staves) upon them, it is not to be wondered at that occasionally the demand was complied with: and that the clamour for 'suffering' was successful in gaining what it wanted.

The country thus became full of rumours of

'police atrocities,' the great majority of which were nothing but rumours. Here and there, however, there was definite ground for the complaints. Every such instance of rigour was a goldmine to the national cause, and was exploited as such.

It was a situation unique and extraordinary, not devoid of comic elements, and yet full of the matter of high tragedy.

As a well-qualified observer wrote at the time, "When people have watched non-resisting *Satyagrahis* standing up with folded arms and being laid out on the ground by police *lathis*, they are never the same people again, and they *feel* that in the quarrel Government and the police were wrong." The element of feeling proved to be of more and more decisive importance as the months of 1930 went by. A great historian has declared that 'a nation is a nation when it *feels* itself to be one': and the effect of *Satyagraha* was to kindle the sentiment of nationality at great speed and with profound effectiveness all over India. Thus the movement became a method by which the police and the Government behind the police were driven, unwillingly and against their own better judgment, to contribute to their own downfall. Finally they could hardly move without destroying themselves!

The self-chosen suffering for which *Satyagraha* called, and which was its method and policy, was not confined to any one class. "When knighted

members of the Viceroy's Executive Council, aged Vice-Chancellors of Indian Universities, retired Judges of High Courts, and trusted and respected leaders of Indian thought and life of every shade of opinion, are in jail in opposition to our country's policy, it causes one to think furiously. If we cannot rule India without keeping in jail hundreds of India's most respected citizens, what about it?" These words, from an Englishman long resident in India, will serve to show the immense appeal which *Satyagraha* made even to classes which in any other country would have formed the bulwarks of conservative caution, and would have shown themselves the rigorous defenders of vested interests and established institutions. In other words, the use of *Satyagraha* brought in, as stalwart protagonists of the national cause, elements of the population which would immediately have been estranged by any appeal to violence.

Satyagraha brought in also the women, whose unselfish work became of greater and greater importance as the campaign went forward, especially in connection with the movement for the boycott of British goods. In December 1930 it was officially announced in the British House of Commons that the exports from England to India had decreased, as between the third quarter of 1929 and the third quarter of 1930, by 43·5 per cent.[1] The main reason

[1] The falling-off in cotton goods was very much higher than this.

for this astonishing falling-off, which came at a time of acute economic depression in England, was the national work done by the Indian women volunteers. Many of them were women who had spent their lives behind the *purdah*. Many were people of wealth and refinement. Yet at the call of the national movement they came out into public, and took their place day by day as volunteer pickets before shops selling British goods. As the men were sent to jail, the women automatically stepped into positions of leadership; and before the end of 1930 the Congress party 'Dictators' in many of the Indian cities were women. Everywhere *Satyagraha* meant to Indian womanhood a priceless opportunity for emancipation; and it was an opportunity eagerly accepted, so that it has been well said that Mr. Gandhi, by his movement for political freedom, has given the signal for social emancipation also.

Another notable feature of *Satyagraha* was the holding of immense public demonstrations. At one of these, in Bombay, it is reckoned that one in every three of the adult male population of the city were present, prepared to suffer whatever might come as the result of their defiance of police orders. In the ranks of these demonstrations were numbers of the city's best citizens, legislators, educationalists and professional men of all types. It is impossible not to compare such gatherings with those which took place in England during the crisis of the Reform

Bill agitation in 1832. For example, in May of that year a monster meeting was held on Newhall Hill, Birmingham, which was attended by two hundred thousand people, who 'solemnly and with uplifted hands took the view never to cease from agitation till the Reform Bill were passed, saying 'with unbroken faith, through every peril and privation, we here devote ourselves to our country's cause.' The effect of the holding of such meetings in many parts of England was decisive. The will of the people, thus unmistakably shown, was acted upon speedily; and the Bill was passed.

In India *Satyagraha* meant not only gigantic public meetings and processions: and not only unarmed crowds standing up unflinchingly to police beatings, with very numerous casualties in consequence: but also the imprisonment of huge numbers of nationalists. At one time there were more than fifty thousand *Satyagrahis* in jail; and the correspondent of an English newspaper in Bombay reported, in June 1930, that 'Indians here have got to the state of delighting to go to prison for their convictions.' Arrest was eagerly anticipated and welcomed as a high honour. In many country districts the peasants became infected with the same spirit, to the extent of being willing to see their goods distrained rather than pay their land-tax.

Thus by degrees the spirit of eagerness to suffer spread through India, creating a situation in which

it became impossible for the alien government to continue to function. Almost without bloodshed an immensely significant revolution was brought about —a revolution which meant the successful challenging of the greatest imperial power in the world's history,[1] an imperial power buttressed by a scientifically-organised system of administration, by a highly efficient and public-spirited body of officials, and by an army recently victorious in the greatest of all wars. That imperial power was assailed and (however little we may like to admit it) worsted by a miscellaneous collection of clerks, peasants and women, untrained to concerted action and extremely sketchily organised. Their success was due to their readiness to suffer *anything* for the sake of what they believed to be right, in defence of the poor and weak.

After the struggle was over Mr. Gandhi wrote concerning it as follows:

"We cannot win Swaraj for our famishing millions by the way of the sword. . . . The way of violence can only lead to perdition. Do you think that all the women and children who covered themselves with glory during the last campaign would have done so if we had pursued the path of violence? Would women like Gangabehn, who stood the *lathi* blows till her white *sari* was drenched with blood, have

[1] The Roman Empire, at its maximum, probably never contained more than one-fifth of the population of the modern British Empire.

done the unique service they did if we had violence in us? We were able to enlist as soldiers millions of men, women and children because we were pledged to non-violence. Anger cannot take us forward. We need not consider the Englishman as our enemies. I have used *Satyagraha* against them, but have never thought of them as enemies. *I want to convert them, and the only way is the way of love.*"[1]

Mr. Gandhi was convinced, throughout the struggle, that if only the principle of Non-Violence could be maintained, success was absolutely certain. "Nothing can stand before the march of a peaceful, orderly and God-fearing people." He even declared on certain occasions, in a somewhat apocalyptic manner, that if only a very few *Satyagrahis* genuinely believed in and practised *Satyagraha* with their whole hearts, victory for their cause was inevitable. In other words, he was possessed by an unconquerable faith in the power of self-chosen, non-retaliating suffering to right wrong and to establish truth. He believed with his whole soul in the principle of the Cross.

Some day perhaps the so-called Christians of the West will learn anew from this Hindu the meaning

[1] From an article in *Young India*, April 2, 1931. In other writings of about the same time Mr. Gandhi speaks very plainly about the failure to restrain the spirit of violence, which he had noticed in some phases of the 1930–31 struggle. He spoke in a similar strain after the Bombay riots of 1921, which were indirectly due to the Non-Co-operation campaign. At that time he severely blamed himself for the 'Himalayan blunder' of supposing that the masses could be rapidly trained in the idealism of non-violent *Satyagraha*.

and the power of the primary fact of their Faith: and will learn it, not as a dogma, but as a practical working principle, eminently capable of solving modern problems in the modern world. Then there will arise a band of Cross-bearers and Cross-lovers who will be as sincere as the Indian *Satyagrahis* have been in their opposition to wrong, and who will therefore be able to deal directly and victoriously with those gigantic problems, especially the problems of international ill-will, hatred and warfare, which at present baffle the skill of the best leaders whom the West can produce.

The gist of the whole matter is sincerity and courage in opposition to wrong and in assertion of truth. The name *Satyagraha*—moral determination in the defence of Truth—has been well chosen. Without this intense ethical sincerity there will be timidity and dodging in face of the suffering which is the only means of establishing Truth, the only method of bearing the Cross. Given such sincerity, all things are possible.

CHAPTER SIX

THE GENESIS OF *SATYAGRAHA*

It is important to realise that *Satyagraha* is essentially a corporate enterprise, to be undertaken by a group of people united not only in purpose and idealism, but by the practice of a common life and the sharing of a common discipline.

It was during his twenty years' residence in South Africa that Mr. Gandhi made his first experiments in *Satyagraha*. He thus gained invaluable experience, which he later put to use in the far larger movements of *Satyagraha* in India. The laboratories at which these experiments were developed were his two community-settlements, or *Ashramas*, in which his ideas took form and became powerful. The first of these was near Johannesburg, and the second near Durban. Their significance as laboratories for the perfecting of a technique, and later as power-houses in the stress of actual passive resistance, may be studied in Mr. Gandhi's own book, *Satyagraha in South Africa*. Shortly after his return to India, in 1915, he set to work to build up a similar community-settlement, near Ahmedabad in Gujerat, which might act as laboratory and power-house for possible Indian movements of a similar character to those which had proved so successful in South Africa.

From that time on the *Satyagraha Ashrama* at Sabarmati, Ahmedabad, has been increasingly important in the development of Indian nationalism. It has provided Mr. Gandhi himself with the personal backing of a group of loyal and enthusiastic friends, who are ready and eager to follow him to any self-sacrifice on behalf of the ends which they and he hold in common. It has given him the spiritual support, founded on a joint practice of religion, which he regards as a most important factor in any movement of *Satyagraha* that is to be genuinely successful. It has provided also a congenial and favourable environment in which the ideals of the movement and their application in many spheres may be thoroughly thought out and tested.

The life of the *Ashrama* is conducted on a basis of spartan simplicity. Every one of its inmates must take his share in the 'menial' work of the community: and all barriers of caste are effectively broken by the fact that this menial work includes the duty of the scavenger. Many hours a day are devoted to manual labour, chiefly in the form of hand-spinning; and this labour is regarded as a sacramental agency, by which the *Satyagrahis* are united to the toiling and suffering millions of their poverty-stricken fellow-countrymen. The community life is organised on a basis of rigorous discipline, even of asceticism, and with a spiritual motive

running through it, so that the *Satyagrahis* one and all feel that they are engaged on a profoundly significant and important task, the gathering of the spiritual power which shall make the idealism of their movement practically effective as a revolutionary force.

The *Ashrama* forms a microcosm of the new India—a land where, in accordance with the ancient teaching of the *Gita*, selfish desire and personal ambition shall be banished, a land of hard work organised for the sake of the community rather than of individuals, a land where wants are rigorously kept down and spiritual values are set in the forefront, a land where barriers of creed, race and caste are transcended by the spirit of service. Some day, it is believed, the whole of India shall be a federation of such communities, inspired by this same spirit, and carrying the idea of *Satyagraha* into all the relations of life.

It was in communities of this type that Mr. Gandhi developed his technique of *Satyagraha* during the years which he spent in South Africa. From such communities went forth the band of leaders who carried through to success the remarkable movement of 1913, by which the self-chosen suffering of some two thousand Indians, chiefly labourers, protesting against invidious and oppressive legislation was eventually effective in bringing about the repeal of that legislation. In the course

of that struggle, the main feature of which was a 'trek' from Natal into the Transvaal, Mr. Gandhi himself was responsible for the commissariat of the *Satyagrahis*, and found it needful to do much of the cooking for them with his own hands and this after many hours each day of hard marching. Even in 1930, when he was over sixty years of age, on the occasion of the conclusion of the settlement with Lord Irwin, the Mahatma refused to be taken back to Old Delhi by car, though it was nearly midnight, but insisted on walking the seven miles on foot: and this although his diet consists of goat's milk and almond paste.

The spirit in which the initial movement of *Satyagraha* was launched may be gauged from the following principles laid down by its leader:

Truth is ever with the minority; for truth itself is corrupted in the hands of a majority.

Movements do not fail for lack of funds, but because they have too much.

All institutions run on the interest of accumulated capital cease to be amenable to public opinion and become autocratic and self-righteous.

A *Satyagraha* bids good-bye to fear; he is therefore never afraid of trusting his opponent, even if that opponent has twenty times deceived him.

The Fruit of *Satyagraha* is contained in the movement itself (i.e. quite irrespective of its success or failure).

Rejoice at the thought of approaching death as at the prospect of meeting a long-lost friend.

In *Satyagraha* there are no leaders and no followers: all are leaders and all are followers.

You must count the cost of *Satyagraha* before entering upon it: and be prepared for any sacrifice.

A *Satyagrahi* must be entirely single-minded.

Satyagraha must have a limited objective, and rigorously concentrate its attention upon it.

A *Satyagrahi* must take a man at his own valuation, even at the almost certain risk of being deceived.

A subscription of five rupees to the movement is more than one of twenty-five rupees if it is all that the giver can afford.

A movement of *Satyagraha* can be carried on without material resources.

The *Satyagraha* struggle itself is victory in itself.

A *Satyagrahi's* peacefulness and self-restraint constitute his preparation for war: he relies upon God as his sole refuge.

The courteous behaviour of *Satyagrahis* calls forth courtesy in return from the officials whom they are compelled to oppose.

The world rests upon the bedrock of Truth: *Satyagraha* must pierce down to that foundation.

If anyone wants peace, he must seek it within himself.

How can you kill the *Satyagrahi*, who is voluntarily dead?

Victory is implicit in our two qualities of non-violence and determination.

Distrust is a sign of weakness, and *Satyagraha* implies the banishment of all weakness and therefore of distrust, which is clearly out of place when the adversary is not to be destroyed but won over.

These extracts, which are for the most part given in Mr. Gandhi's own words,[1] will serve to outline the idealism of his movement in its initial stages. That idealism has remained essentially the same in all subsequent developments of method and technique. A brief study of the principles here laid down will show how deeply the conceptions behind *Satyagraha* are permeated by the spirit and ideals of the Sermon on the Mount.

The general spirit of South African *Satyagraha* may be seen from Mr. Gandhi's expression of belief, after the struggle had proved successful, that 'a continuance of the generous spirit which the Government have applied to the treatment of the problem during the past few months will make it quite certain that the Indian community will never be a source of trouble to the Government.'

South African *Satyagraha* had repercussions far beyond the limits of South Africa itself. The news of the various demonstrations of Indian opinion, following by the 'trek,' by the imprisonment of hundreds of *Satyagrahis* and by other sufferings, caused immense excitement in India. Great public meetings were held all over the country, addressed by the foremost leaders of Indian public opinion. The writer of these words will never forget the impression produced upon him at one of these

[1] In his *Satyagraha in South Africa*.

meetings, held in Delhi and addressed by the greatest statesman of modern India, Mr. G. H. Gokhale. As the result of the movement which found expression in this meeting, one of the best-known European missionaries in Delhi gave the whole of his life's savings to help the Indian cause in South Africa. A little later the Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, placed himself at the head of Indian opinion by a remarkable speech at Madras, in which he demanded a Commission of Inquiry. The result was the hurried intervention of the Imperial Authorities, the discharge from prison of the Indian leaders and the acceptance in the main of their point of view. Then came the mission of reconciliation undertaken in South Africa by Messrs. C. F. Andrews and W. W. Pearson. A European strike hampered the Union Government just when the Indian situation was most difficult; but Mr. Gandhi, as he had already done on a similar occasion, undertook not to add to the Government's embarrassments whilst the strike was in progress; and the impression created by this act of courtesy was so great that "an entirely new spirit of friendliness, trust and co-operation was found to have been created by the great Indian leader."[1]

After the South African struggle had been brought to a successful conclusion, Mr. Gandhi left that country, having proved that political ends

[1] H. S. L. Polak in *Speeches and Writings of M. K. Gandhi.*

could be achieved, and justice secured, by the sole means of non-violent *Satyagraha*. "Passive Resistance has given for these disfranchised ones far more than the vote could have won, and in a shorter time. But above and beyond all this is the new spirit of conciliation that has resulted from the hardships, the sufferings, the sacrifices of the passive resisters."[1]

In the South African struggle, which was described by the London *Times* as 'one of the most remarkable manifestations in history of the Spirit of Passive Resistance,' Mr. Gandhi showed a disposition to 'go the second mile' with those to whom he was politically opposed, especially in connection with the two European strikes. This spirit has not perhaps been so marked during the later big-scale campaigns of *Satyagraha* in India. Its absence may account for those failures of the masses to comprehend and live up to the idealism of non-violence which Mr. Gandhi himself has so deeply deplored. For this and other reasons the South African struggle stands out as probably the purest and most distinctive movement of Passive Resistance in recent times. Its records must be studied for themselves, in Mr. Gandhi's *Satyagraha in South Africa* or in Mr. C. F. Andrews' *Mahatma Gandhi: His Own Story*. They disclose the emergence into effective operation of a 'moral equivalent for war' whose

[1] H. S. L. Polak in *Speeches and Writings of M. K. Gandhi*.

ultimate significance for the well-being of mankind it would be hard to exaggerate. They show Mr. Gandhi as the pioneer in an immensely-significant enterprise of discovery, whereby spiritual forces may be yoked to severely practical ends. They powerfully suggest, also, to the reader's mind the necessity for industrious preparation on the part of the idealists of the new order, if the old order of force is to be superseded. If peace is to have her victories no less than war,' those victories must be planned and prepared for as carefully and patiently as those of war. A merely impromptu experimenting in methods of Passive Resistance can never suffice. Mr. Gandhi's twenty years of patient spadework amongst the 'stinking coolies' (as they were called) in South Africa show the necessity of thought and work far ahead if a programme of *Satyagraha* is to be rightly carried through without degradation towards violence. The lack of such thorough preparation, and the immense numbers involved, are probably responsible for the absence of a similar purity of motive and action in the subsequent Indian movements. "No great movement of 'corporate moral resistance' can be effectively developed, organised and launched without exhaustive preparation. Merely to trust to a sudden wave of popular emotion is to court failure at the very outset. . . . When we consider, even for a moment, the vast and detailed preparations

that are made for a struggle of violence such as a war, and how military training occupies many years of a man's lifetime and with large numbers becomes a life-profession, it should be abundantly clear that the moral effect needed to supplant war cannot be made in an impromptu manner. 'Corporate moral resistance' needs all the care and forethought of an earnestness no less whole-hearted than that which is given to world-wide military endeavour. In this respect Christ's words are still true: 'The children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light.' "[1]

The success of the movement in South Africa convinced Mr. Gandhi that here, ready to his hand, was an instrument which might be employed, if need were to arise, on an even wider stage. Soon after his return to India, in 1915, he began to believe that there were needs in that country sufficiently pressing to render not only justifiable but necessary the use of the newly-perfected weapon in India also. Accordingly the *Satyagraha Ashrama* at Ahmedabad was organised, to become a training-ground for a band of stalwarts acquainted from within with the ideals of *Satyagraha*, and with Mr. Gandhi's methods of applying those ideals. The day might come when the *Satyagrahis* thus trained might find themselves called upon to act as the

[1] C. F. Andrews, *Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas*, p. 348.

leaders of the thought and practice of *Satyagraha* all over India.

In the years between 1915 and 1922 *Satyagraha* was tried out in seven campaigns,[1] ranging from small local struggles to a first-grade national movement. In the first of these campaigns, that concerned with the Viramgan customs barrier, the mere suggestion that *Satyagraha* might be used was sufficient. In the second, the important movement which led to the ending of the system of indenture, not only was the use of *Satyagraha* suggested, but preparations were made for actually starting it. As a result, a system which had in some respects prolonged the institution of slavery for eighty years was at last brought to an end. In the third, the Champaran question, *Satyagraha* was actually put into practice for a short time. In the fourth, a mill-strike at Ahmedabad, in which Mr. Gandhi had convinced himself of the justice of the labourers' claims, not only did the mill-hands practise *Satyagraha*, but Mr. Gandhi did so himself also, in order to sustain them in their determination. In the fifth, the question of the reassessment of the land-tax in the Khaira district, the practice of *Satyagraha* by the peasants was not wholly satisfactory, as 'their non-violence was only superficial.' The sixth, the campaign of 1919, was directed

[1] Details concerning these may be found in C. F. Andrews' *Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas*.

against the detested Rowlatt Acts. These Acts were introduced, through a blunder worse than a crime, at a moment disastrously ill-chosen, with the result that India felt herself to be rewarded for her services in the War by the establishment of methods of summary jurisdiction to combat brigandage. The first institution of mass-*Satyagraha* on this occasion led to very serious disorders in Northern India. As a result Mr. Gandhi had to confess that he had made the 'Himalayan blunder' of considering that the common people were as yet sufficiently trained in the idealism of his movement to render it safe for their leaders to entrust the weapon of *Satyagraha* to them. In the seventh campaign, the Non-Co-operation movement of 1920–22, which spread rapidly all over India, although an extraordinary degree of discipline was shown by the Indian masses as a whole, violence broke out in certain localities, with the result that Mr. Gandhi called the movement off just as it was coming to a head.

These seven campaigns were all in a sense preparatory and experimental. They were also to some extent at least unsatisfactory, inasmuch as *Satyagraha*, whenever tried on a big scale in India, had broken down through lack of discipline amongst the masses, leading to outbreaks of violence.

There followed six years of comparative political quiescence, during which *Satyagraha* was applied

on a number of occasions to the solution of social and economic problems, with the result that most valuable experience was gained, and important educational work carried through, by means of which the country became more and more thoroughly trained in the idealism of the movement.

It will be of advantage to consider briefly two or three of these non-political campaigns of *Satyagraha*.

One of the most interesting was the Vykom campaign. At this town in the State of Travancore the Untouchables, who have traditionally been denied the rights of human beings within the Hindu body-politic, but who have found in Mr. Gandhi a stalwart defender of their rights to emancipation, resolved to make a test-case of the fact that they were forbidden by the higher castes to use a certain street leading to a temple. All over South India streets alongside which are the dwelling-houses of high-caste people had from time immemorial been closed to outcastes.

It was announced that on a certain day a procession of outcastes would march down this street. The matter was referred to the State police, and the outcaste demonstrators were arrested and imprisoned. The matter became widely known, and large numbers of outcaste and other volunteers flocked to Vykom in order to march down the street in question. Arrests continued to be made until the

State jails were full. Then the authorities adopted a new policy. They drew a police cordon across the entrances to the street.

The matter was then referred by the outcastes to Mr. Gandhi. He replied that they must practise *Satyagraha* in assertion of their rights. They must be absolutely unflinching in their determination to secure justice, but without violence. This would mean that they must stand in the Indian attitude of petition, with joined hands and bowed heads, up against the police-cordon until it gave way.

Preparations were accordingly made for a protracted campaign of *Satyagraha* on these lines. Thousands of volunteers came in, from all parts of the country. A camp was established. Batches were organised; and for sixteen months the volunteers stood in the attitude of petition against the police-cordon. During the rainy season the street was flooded; and the *Satyagrahis* had to stand deep in water, the police being in boats. There was much sickness and suffering in consequence.

Finally, however, their display of patient determination was successful in gaining its object. The cordon was removed; the outcastes marched in triumphal procession down the street; the test-case had been won.

From this incident there has spread a wide movement for the emancipation of the outcastes all over India from these ancient and evil taboos.

Another more recent case occurred in a city of Northern India, where the women have for the most part been kept in a position of subjection behind the veil. Mr. Gandhi is known to be a champion of the emancipation of womanhood; and *Satyagraha* has been recognised as a weapon which women can wield successfully. The women in one of the quarters of the city in question were desirous that a certain bye-law should be passed by the municipal authorities. They petitioned, but in vain. Finally they went in a large body to the Town Hall whilst the City Council was in session, and sat down all around it, announcing that they would not stir till the bye-law in question was passed. It was passed in about three hours.[1]

On at least one occasion Mr. Gandhi has used *Satyagraha* himself as a mode of settling industrial disputes. During one such dispute the claims of both sides were submitted to him. He investigated them, and gave what he believed to be a right decision. This was not at once accepted; and Mr. Gandhi, impressed by the suffering caused by the strike, announced that he would himself fast till peace should be restored. It is said that after a few

[1] What may be regarded as a type of *Satyagraha* was put into practice on various occasions by the workers for Women's Suffrage in England twenty years ago, though in this movement also violence was apt to creep in. *Satyagraha* is a weapon well adapted to the use of women, who are constitutionally more patient and brave than men in the bearing of suffering. It is a weapon which the women of the West, now in a position of political control, may some day use with decisive effect for the solving of the great problems of Western life.

days the representatives of both sides called upon him beseeching him to name any settlement which he thought right, and pledging themselves to accept and observe it.

Some years ago a great new dam was to be built across a valley in the Western Ghats above Bombay, in order to supply water for a hydro-electric scheme which would facilitate the extension of Western industry in that city. This would mean increased numbers of helpless peasants migrating from country villages to the city, and consequently increasing overcrowding, disease, infantile mortality, indebtedness, moral collapse and all the other heterogeneous evils of life in a great industrial city in the East. The scheme also meant the uprooting from their ancestral lands of many hundreds of the finest peasant stock in Western India. Generous compensation was offered; but the peasants did not wish to sell; and if they did sell the cash would soon be gone, and they would drift to the cities. It seemed to the nationalists a clear case of the sacrificing of personal values to the interests of big-scale Western industry. Accordingly it was resolved that *Satyagraha* should be offered. The peasants were organised. Large numbers of volunteers came to help them from other parts. The *Satyagrahis* lay down in batches upon the ground which was to be excavated by the engineers.

In this way the progress of the dam was held

up for some months. The case attracted much attention throughout India; and though the *Satyagraha* was not in the end successful as regards the prevention of the expropriation of the peasants, the episode served as an effective means of educating public opinion.

Perhaps the most notable case of *Satyagraha* during the years between 1922 and 1928 was Mr. Gandhi's fast of 1924. In the latter part of that year the relations between Hindus and Mohammedans were worse than at any time in the recent history of India, owing to a very grave massacre of Hindus by Mohammedans, which had taken place at Kohat on the North-West frontier. Mr. Gandhi, who had recently been released from jail, became convinced that there could be no hope of future peace and freedom for his country unless something signal were done to expel the evil spirit of hatred and violence which existed between the two communities. He believed that he was called upon to undertake something which a Christian would most aptly describe as the application of the method of the Cross to the then existing communal problem in India. He must bear in his own body, and through self-chosen suffering, the burden of his people's sin, in order that they might be freed from that sin through the creation of a new mind and spirit within them. Their evil will must give way to a good will; and the transformation could

only take place through the redemptive power of vicarious suffering.

Accordingly Mr. Gandhi caused it to be announced that he would fast until a new spirit were manifested in the relations between the Hindus and the Mohammedans.

It must be remembered, in considering this fast, that Mr. Gandhi was, and still is, not merely a national leader in the Western sense, i.e. a successful politician. He was, and is, venerated by his fellow-countrymen not so much for his political abilities, which in any case are not the outstanding feature of his character, as for his spiritual qualities —his prophetic vision of righteousness, his enunciation and practical application of the principles of *Satyagraha*, above all his sympathy with the poor and his self-identification with them. It is because of these qualities that so many of his fellow-countrymen not only admire and follow Mr. Gandhi, but even worship him as an incarnation of the Supreme Being. The very idea that this Mahatma—this great spiritual leader—was going to sacrifice himself because of their transgression, exercised a profound influence upon the minds of Indians of all classes and of both communities; for Mr. Gandhi, though a Hindu, had been at pains, especially during the Non-Co-operation movement, to show that he identified himself as far as possible with Mohammedan aspirations.

The effect of this personal and vicarious *Satyagraha* became very marked within a few days of its inception. Bulletins containing details of the Mahatma's health were published daily in the Indian Press all over the country. A change of spirit rapidly took place. Where before all had been resentment and exasperation, a determined movement came into evidence for the peaceable solving of old problems, the discovery of effective lines of compromise, the removal of long-standing grievances. The leaders of the two communities got together, and began diligently to explore avenues of conciliation. Everywhere a spirit of friendliness came into existence, in place of the spirit of hatred.

At the end of three weeks of rigorous fasting Mr. Gandhi was able to declare that the purpose with which he had undertaken the fast—the changing of the spirit of the antagonised communities—had so far been effected that he was able to discontinue his self-imposed *Satyagraha*.

This three weeks' lonely struggle, even though it was so individual, was unquestionably the most noteworthy of all the preparatory movements of *Satyagraha* which we have been considering. It showed *Satyagraha* as a spiritual instrument to be wielded for the most matter-of-fact and realistic of ends, the prevention of rapine and massacre. It showed that instrument to be capable of achieving

astonishing practical success, and in a very brief period of time. It is true that there have been numerous outbreaks of intercommunal friction and rioting in India since 1924; but the position has never again been so bad as it was in that year; and Indians have ever since realised that, if the worst comes to the worst, there is an effective way out of the difficulty, viz. *Satyagraha*—*Satyagraha* embarked upon by those who feel the need of their country sufficiently deeply to risk their lives by some such course of self-chosen suffering, in order that the need in question may be met, the evil spirit of hatred and violence cast out, and reconciliation effected.

But the fast of 1924 meant more than this. It meant the coming of the Cross down into the baffling problems of modern India, not merely as a possible solution, but as *the only* genuinely practical solution of these problems. As was inevitable, this coming of the Cross excited derision in some quarters, and violent resentment in others. *But the Cross worked.* And it worked where nothing else would work, amidst conditions of desperate need.

It is not too much to say that in those three weeks of 1924 a new type of nationalism was born into the world, a nationalism based on ethical convictions instead of violent self-assertion. This was a remarkable thing; but far more remarkable than

this was the fact that here, in our feverish and disillusioned post-war world, was a statesman using the principle of the Cross as a working method for practical politics. The Christian nation whose spokesman had said, a year or two previously, that "you cannot govern Ireland by the principles of the Sermon on the Mount," would clearly be sooner or later confronted in India by a Hindu statesman who would say, 'I propose to demonstrate, that India can be freed, and governed, by the principles of the Sermon on the Mount."

It will be clear from this how it came about that a great Hindu reformer and publicist[1] could say of Mr. Gandhi—"Never before have so many earnest minds of all races and creeds turned to Christ for light and guidance in their perplexities. The number and insight of the new lives of Christ are alone evidence of this fresh and deepened interest in His life and teaching. But the most impressive proof of it is that Mahatma Gandhi, a Hindu, has sought for the first time in history to apply the Master's teaching to politics as the best means of raising the people of India to a consciousness of their duty to themselves and to humanity. His movement has made the central teaching of Christ known and cherished in quarters to which a hundred years of the propaganda of Christian Missions has not been able to penetrate.

[1] The editor of the *Indian Social Reformer*.

And it has presented it in a form readily assimilable to the Indian mind."

Such a statement may appear meaningless until it is remembered that 'the central teaching of Christ' to which it refers is taken as being the Cross, and the Cross as an eternal principle for the conquering of wrong and the transforming of the evil will into a good will, by means of suffering, self-chosen and patiently endured.

In 1928 the period of quiet preparation came to an end. *Satyagraha* had now become a familiar weapon to the people of the whole of India. They had heard of its use as efficacious for the solutions of a large variety of problems, social, economic, religious, as well as political. They had begun to understand something of the moral prerequisites for the wielding of this weapon, the necessity for rigorous discipline, for a complete abandonment of all self-interest, above all for resolute non-violence.

During 1928 serious discontent was excited in the district of Bardoli, not far from Mr. Gandhi's home in Ahmedabad, in consequence of a reassessment of land-revenue carried through by Government and resulting in a demand for enhanced taxation. This demand was felt by the peasants to be unjust under existing economic conditions. Eventually *Satyagraha* was offered against the Government on this issue. Taxes were refused; and a great deal of suffering resulted. In the issue

the matter was reinvestigated, and the assessment much reduced. To Nationalists all over the country the Bardoli affair came as one more proof of the extraordinary efficacy of the weapon of *Satyagraha*, given determination to suffer enough amongst those prepared to use that weapon.

Towards the end of 1929 the decision was reached that the time had now come to use this same weapon in a full-scale endeavour to gain freedom for India from alien control, with the consequences which have already been noticed.

One picture may perhaps be given of the working of *Satyagraha* in the crisis of that struggle. It is taken from a letter to the *Manchester Guardian* in December 1930:

"A member of the Society of Friends living in Bombay has given us an account of what she herself saw in September. I give extracts which speak for themselves. "On September 17th or 18th I was on a balcony of the third floor of a house near by and opposite to the Town Hall in Bombay, where an election was taking place. There was a large number of people, but quite peaceful and quiet; and those belonging to the Congress party were, in their usual well-organised and methodical way, regulating the traffic, guiding pedestrians through crowded parts and dispersing crowds where they became too dense to allow of slow driving through them. One of the men so engaged was struck with

a *lathi* by a police sepoy; he did not retaliate nor move away. The second time he was struck he fell to the ground. Again he was beaten. Two of the ambulance men in attendance fetched a stretcher to take him to the ambulance car, as he was too much hurt to walk even with their aid. After he had been lifted into the stretcher the sepoy again struck him—a man already badly wounded—as he lay there being carried to the car.

"Some weeks previously (I am sorry I forget the exact date) I was watching a small crowd from a balcony above a store in one of the chief roads of the city. They had collected there when it became known that arrests were being made of the picketers. These picketers do not interfere with the people going into the shops. . . . At intervals this crowd was broken up in a most needlessly brutal way with *lathis*. . . . Many people were severely hurt and had to be taken away in ambulance cars to the hospitals. One man—a peaceable citizen who did not belong to the Congress movement nor had anything to do with the Nationalists—was serving in his shop opposite to and a few yards away from the balcony where I was watching. As a *lathi* charge was made a few of the people nearest his shop went into it to get out of the way of the sepoys. An English sergeant entered the shop, drove the people out with his whip, and severely beat the owner of the shop on his own premises.

Hearing there were English people on the balcony opposite who were sympathisers with the ill-treated people, he came across, asked if we could explain the reason of such things being done, and showed us the mark on his back made through two thicknesses of cloth. . . . I have seen the Nationalists under the most terrible provocations, and never once have they resorted to violence or retaliation in any way, though when their wounded or their women are ill-treated it is fearfully hard for them."

Many more such descriptions might be given, from the statements of eye-witnesses, concerning the very concrete nature of the suffering which the *Satyagrahis* took upon themselves, and concerning the spirit of disciplined patience in which they bore that suffering. A well-known English observer of current affairs, giving some account of Indian *Satyagraha* on the wireless in March 1931, said this: "I was reading a book on India the other day, written by a Frenchwoman who has every reason to be fond of Great Britain; and she declared that although she had been through civil war in Ireland, Portugal and Afghanistan, to say nothing of a revolution or two, she had never seen anything so tragic or so impressive as these crowds of passive resisters, blocking the traffic by lying flat on the roads, or otherwise making the normal business of the country impossible."

An English spectator of what was actually

involved in a former movement of *Satyagraha*, when hundreds of ex-soldiers, belonging to the proudest and most martial race in India, marched in rank after rank up to a cordon of police, there to be clubbed down unresistingly, has said to the present writer that never in his life did he see anything so dreadful and at the same time so impressive. On such an occasion it is plainly perceived by an impartial observer that two world-orders are in conflict, that of force and that of the Cross, the latter suffering patiently the worst that the former can do, in order to change the spirit of the force-wielder. And it is a terrible thing when the Cross thus gets nakedly to grips with force.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE CROSS AND *SATYAGRAHA*

It will be well, at this point, to remind ourselves of the primitive Christian teaching concerning the Cross as a practical principle for the establishment of righteousness on earth. That Cross was not merely an historical phenomenon, to be believed about in accordance with a formulated system of dogma. It was something to be lived and borne in the individual Christian's experience and in that of the Christian group.

The primitive Christian looked out on a world of pain and wrong; but he was conscious also of a fund of power and love, which could be drawn upon by himself, for the conquering of the pain and wrong. This conviction was based on his knowledge of Christ, and of what Christ had done upon the Cross of Golgotha. Christ had stripped himself of power and glory, for our sakes. He had become poor, persecuted, tortured, for our sakes. He had deliberately taken upon himself pain, and pain of the most agonising and dreadful kind, for our sakes. This self-chosen pain, vicariously borne, though it need not have been borne (for Christ might have avoided the Cross in a score of ways), had made available the fund of power and love upon which

the Christian knew that he could draw in order to conquer pain and wrong. The Cross of Golgotha had inspired, and indeed already created, an inevitable spiritual conquest of wrong. Cicero had said of crucifixion "No gentleman will speak of a cross." Another Latin writer had summed it up as meaning *vivus pascere corvos*. Yet Christ had taken *this* upon Himself, unresistingly, to save men. And Christ was the same yesterday, to-day and for ever.

Next, in regard to the personal experience of physical pain, the primitive Christians knew that the Cross meant victory. The greatest of their leaders wrote in one of his letters that he had suffered a pain so agonising that it was like the pain of impalement. It was a pain which crippled his usefulness and made him (apparently) ridiculous. But he had learnt that this intensely personal pain might become to him not only the means of moral discipline, preventing pride and undue self-confidence, but also a sacrament of the grace of God. It had softened his sternness, made him gentle and sympathetic, and bred in him Christlikeness; for it had kept him close to Christ, whose inward voice assured him 'My grace is sufficient for you.' As he looked back, Paul could honestly say that pain had been the making of him. He would not ask for one pang the less. The Cross, borne patiently in this way, had made him strong, so that he could say 'When I am weak, then am I strong.'

Thus to the primitive Christian it became plain that what is significant, from the universal point of view, is not the fact that a man bears pain, but the spirit in which he bears it. Even pain which seems fortuitous and meaningless may be borne redemptively, and thus become of incalculable importance in the elimination of suffering and wrong from the lives of other men. The experience of pain is the golden opportunity for the spirit of Christlikeness to shine through us; for that spirit is built on pain vicariously endured, and through pain comes the deepest joy of all, the bearing of the Cross, with Christ.

It was in the extremity of weakness and pain that Christ Himself did His most creative work. So was it with Latimer, when he cried at the stake, "Be of good cheer, Master Ridley, we shall this day light such a candle in England as shall never be put out." So it has been in a thousand other instances, because the pain has been borne in the right spirit.

But the primitive Christian conception of the Cross went deeper even than this. Paul wrote to his Galatian friends, "I am in agony for you till Christ be formed in you." He realised that he was called upon to carry the Cross in pain borne that others might have life—the life of Christlikeness. He clothes his expression of this thought in words borrowed from the realm of motherhood, saying

in effect, "I am bearing for you an agony like that borne by a mother when she gives life to her child." He sees, that is, the great truth that all motherhood, since it involves creative agony undergone that life may have being (and without life there can be no Christlikeness in humanity), is a realising of divine values, a bearing of the Cross. Paul is often stigmatised by superficial thinkers as a believer in the subjection of womanhood, because (forsooth) he gave certain *ad hoc* directions to suit conditions in the Levantine cities of his day. But his choice of language in this great pronouncement regarding the deepest purpose in his life shows that he recognises the august and eternal significance of motherhood, and that he has learnt from motherhood its expression of the fact that service of humanity means essentially creative anguish vicariously undertaken.

It is of little significance how pain had come upon Paul, either through too ardent driving of the machinery of his body, or through some obscure breakdown of his physical well-being, or through the deliberate choice of a course in life entailing suffering, as in the case of Father Damien, who became a leper in order to save the lepers. What mattered, for Paul and his fellows, and for us still to-day, is the manner in which the pain was and is borne, whether or not it is borne redemptively, and creatively, that Christ may be formed in others.

As each fresh pang came to this great Cross-bearer he prayed moment by moment, "Lord, use this, and this, and this, *for them,* to set them free, to make them like Thyself." Each stab of pain sent him back to God with this prayer. As he suffered, he held his friends up to God through his suffering, and thus he wore his pain for Christ and with Christ. Finally he became fully aware, even in imprisonment and physical breakdown, when he was chained night and day to a Roman soldier, that he could serve Christ actually better under such circumstances than he had ever served Him in the old days when he ran over the earth founding his churches: he could serve Christ better so because of his pain, which was pain borne for Christ and with Christ. He could say, "I fill up the sufferings of Christ." Pain-racked, immobilised, his work finished so far as outward activity went, the aged Apostle knew himself to be working for Christ as he had never worked before, because he was bearing Christ's Cross of pain for others. It was a complete case of the transvaluation of values; and the letter to the Philippians, in which he has set down something of this experience for all ages to read, is by far the greatest single act which Paul ever achieved for Christ, even in that lifetime of titanic energy.

As we read this letter we share with Paul the vision of a spiritual world-order wrestling within

the seen universe, not for happiness, comfort or ease, but for Christlikeness of character in humanity. We see the whole earth, and the whole history of life upon the earth, as a factory of Christlikeness, wherein by a long slow process Christlikeness has been developed. And the heart of that process is suffering borne vicariously. It is a process stretching in one unbroken movement forward from the first appearance of parental sacrifice on earth, long before life emerged from the seas upon the land, going forward to Christ's perfect sacrifice of Golgotha, and proceeding thence to ourselves. It is a process in which each unit of humanity is called to join, through pain self-chosen and self-endured, for the sake of others. And it is summed up in Paul's great words, "Let the same purpose be in you which was in Christ Jesus. He stripped Himself of His glory and took on Him the nature of a slave, and even stooped to die, yes to die the death of the Cross" (Phil. ii. 5–8).

The primitive Christians thus saw through and beyond the horror of pain to a realm where pain is a sacrament, a sharing of the spirit and purpose which sustains the universe, and where, moreover, pain is the supreme method of creative workmanship. The Christians of that age were uneasy and conscience-goaded until they were bearing their share of pain for the righting of wrong and the building of Christlikeness. They knew themselves

to be knaves and cravens if they called themselves disciples of the Cross-bearing Christ and did not take pain upon themselves, to help others. Could they call themselves soldiers of Christ if they were content with a safe and easy life, and left Christ to bear His Cross alone? They would be traitors to Christ in this case instead of His disciples and soldiers. They must strip themselves of one advantage after another: and take upon themselves one pain after another, in order to be like Christ and to share with Him the world's pain from within.

In the same spirit Mr. Gandhi has prayed that in the next life he may be born an Untouchable, in order that he may be able more effectively to help the Untouchables.

The realisation that it is intolerable for the Christian to be easy and comfortable when the Master he follows was treated as a felon and an outcast, tortured and crucified for his sake, and when his fellow-men are groaning under pain and oppression, leads on inevitably to the fact that such a Christian's most earnest prayer becomes this, "Lord, lay on me Thy Cross of pain, for men." This prayer will bring its own answer, in the practical application of the method of the Cross—the seeking and bearing of pain vicariously for the liberation of men.

We live in a universe so constructed (whether

we like the fact or not) that pain and wrong can only be conquered effectively in one way, by self-welcomed suffering. Even Omnipotence itself has no other way of conquering the evil will, except by bearing patiently the worst that it can do. Calvary has shown that this is a universal and eternal truth. The universe, and God in and beyond the universe, stand in need of a great reservoir of sacramental pain, to which the individual Christ-follower must contribute, whether by self-chosen pain, or by bearing vicariously for Christ and for his fellow-men the pain which has come upon him in a fashion that may appear fortuitous.

This primitive Christian teaching of and attitude to the eternal Cross may be summed up as follows:

The Incarnation and Death of Christ show us that God suffers, and suffers vicariously: He suffers that the evil will may be changed into a good will: this can only be effected even by God Himself, still more by man, through the patient bearing of pain and wrong.

All pain may be borne as a sacrament of the presence and grace of Christ: as the deepest joy: as a direct means of aiding Christ's work: as a means for creating Christlikeness in the world: as a sharing of God's eternal purpose.

Self-chosen pain (and this includes pain that may seem fortuitous, but is borne in the right spirit) is essential to the creative process, and we are cowards and shirkers unless we share in it.

Such self-chosen pain *works miracles* to conquer the pain and wrong under which others groan: the man who has borne even a little of it will affirm that he counts all that

he has lost as mere refuse in view of the glorious creative activity which this sharing through pain in God's purpose has opened up before him.

The idealism of *Satyagraha* is fundamentally a re-affirmation of these primitive Christian convictions. Mr. Gandhi, as the typical *Satyagrahi*, has read his New Testament with profound effect. He, an idealist, is also an arch-realist; for he has had the genius to bring the idealism of the Cross down to earth, from the realm of musty theological dogma, and to discern that it is not a thing of creeds and ecclesiastics but a working programme for the reform of concrete problems in a world of blatant realism.

The extraordinary success of the *Satyagraha* of 1930 is a sign which should be greeted with the deepest joy and hopefulness by all Christians. As those unarmed crowds, old men, youths, women, children pressed up to the ranks of the police in the eager desire that they might suffer unresistingly, the Cross came back in power upon earth—not as a dogma, but as a working policy. As the police, driven by an odious necessity to use the weapons of force against these protagonists of the spiritual, gave them the suffering which they desired, the victory of *Satyagraha* became absolutely inevitable. Mr. Gandhi's words were proved true, "No power on earth can stand before the march of a peaceful, determined and God-fearing people." But far more

was achieved than the Gandhi-Irwin settlement of March 1931, and the eventual freeing of India from British domination. What was achieved was the setting up once more upon earth of the Eternal Cross, the bringing of Christ's method and Christ's mind into direct and victorious contact with modern imperial and national problems, on a scale of operation involving populations which number in all one-quarter of the human race.

The world can never be the same again after the success of this movement. The idealism of the Cross is dangerous. It may be misinterpreted and misapplied. Mr. Gandhi himself points out the risks that may accompany the popularising of *Satyagraha*, if its methods are used for petty ends and in a petty spirit. But it has been proved, once for all, on the widest possible scale, that all things are possible to those who are prepared to suffer enough for the ending of pain and wrong and for the establishment of truth and right.

Some day perhaps the peoples of the West will realise the significance of what has happened, and will learn from the East to apply the methods of the Cross to the solving of their own great problems, especially the problem of international warfare. But at present, it is to be feared, we are too comfortable, too well off, too well fed. At present *Satyagraha* is looked upon in the West, in spite of the astounding victory which it has won, as ridiculous and undig-

nified. Working-class hearers, when told about it, characterise it as 'grown-up sulks.' More educated audiences regard it with cold disfavour. It is too exotic, too unconventional—in a word, too Christian for us.

But some day we shall awaken to the significance of what has happened, and begin to be Christian again—that is, to live and work by the Cross.

"What has not yet been found in the West is a moral genius of such commanding spiritual personality as to be able to unite and combine the various organised efforts (for world peace) into one overwhelming movement of Non-Violence which shall be strong enough to sweep away on a tide of world approval the opposing forces."[1]

God send us that personality before it is too late.

[1] C. F. Andrews' *Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas*, p. 349.

APPENDIX

The following extracts from a speech delivered by Mr. Gandhi to an Economic Society at Allahabad will serve to illustrate his attitude towards Christ and Christ's teachings:

Does economic progress clash with real progress? . . . The question we are asking ourselves this evening is not a new one. It was addressed to Jesus two thousand years ago. St. Mark has vividly described the scene. Jesus is in His solemn mood. He is earnest. He talks of eternity. He knows the world about Him. He is Himself the greatest economist of His time. He succeeded in economising time and space—He transcended them. It is to Him at His best that one comes running, kneels down, and asks, "Good Master, what shall I do that I may inherit eternal life?" And Jesus said unto him: Why callest thou Me good? There is none good but one, that is God. Thou knowest the commandments. Do not commit adultery. Do not kill. Do not steal. Do not bear false witness. Defraud not. Honour thy father and thy mother. And he answered and said unto him, Master, all these have I observed from my youth. Then Jesus beholding him loved him, and said unto him: One thing thou lackest. Go thy way, sell whatever thou hast and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven. And come, take up the cross and follow me. And he was sad at that saying, and went away grieved; for he had great possessions. And Jesus looked round about and said unto His disciples: How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the kingdom of God. And the disciples were astonished at His words. But Jesus answered again and said unto them, Children, how hard it is for them

that trust in riches to enter into the kingdom of God. It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God.

Here you have an eternal rule of life stated in the noblest words the English language is capable of producing. But the disciples nodded unbelief, as we do even to this day. To him they said, as we say to-day: "But look how the law fails in practice. If we sell all and have nothing, we shall have nothing to eat. We must have money or we cannot even be reasonably moral." So they state their case thus—And they were astonished out of measure, saying among themselves: Who then can be saved? And Jesus looking upon them said, With men it is impossible, but not with God, for with God all things are possible. Then Peter began to say unto him: "Lo, we have left all and have followed thee." And Jesus answered and said, "Verily I say unto you there is no man that has left house or brethren or sisters, or father or mother, or wife or children, or lands for My sake and the Gospel's but he shall receive one hundredfold, now in this time houses and brethren and sisters and mothers and children and land, and in the world to come eternal life. But many that are first shall be last and the last, first."

You have here the result or reward, if you prefer the term, of following the law. I have not taken the trouble of copying similar passages from the other non-Hindu scriptures, and I will not insult you by quoting, in support of the law stated by Jesus, passages from the writings and sayings of our own sages, passages even stronger, if possible, than the Biblical extracts I have drawn your attention to. . . . In so far as we have made the modern materialistic craze our goal, so far are we going downhill in the path of progress. I hold that economic progress in the sense I have put it is antagonistic to real progress. Hence the ancient ideal has been the limitation of activities promoting wealth. This does not put an end

to all material ambition. We should still have, as we have always had, in our midst people who make the pursuit of wealth their aim in life. But we have always recognised that it is a fall from the ideal. It is a beautiful thing to know that the wealthiest among us have often felt that to have remained voluntarily poor would have been a higher state for them. That you cannot serve God and Mammon is an economic truth of the highest value. We have to make our choice. Western nations are to-day groaning under the heel of the monster god of materialism. Their moral growth has become stunted. They measure their progress in £ s. d. . . . I would have our leaders teach us to be morally supreme in the world. This land of ours was once, we are told, the abode of the Gods. It is not possible to conceive Gods inhabiting a land which is made hideous by the smoke and the din of mill chimneys and factories and whose roadways are traversed by rushing engines. . . .

We need not be afraid of ideals or of reducing them to practice even to the uttermost. Ours will only then be a truly spiritual nation when we shall show more truth than gold, greater fearlessness than pomp of power and wealth, greater charity than love of self. If we will but clean our houses, our palaces and temples of the attributes of wealth and show in them the attributes of morality, we can offer battle to any combinations of hostile forces without having to carry the burden of a heavy militia.

Let us first seek the Kingdom of God and His righteousness, and the irrevocable promise is that everything will be added to us. These are real economics. May you and I treasure them and enforce them in our daily life.[1]

[1] Quoted in *Speeches and Writings of M. K. Gandhi*, pp. 286 ff.


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