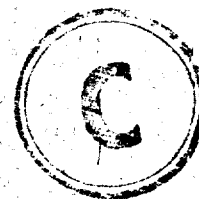


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Gandhi and the Anglican
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GANDHI AND THE
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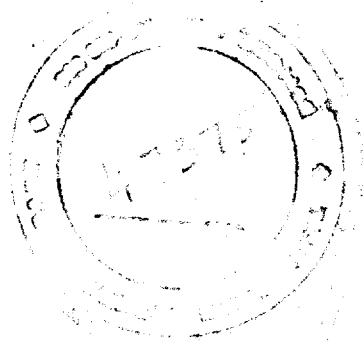
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FOREWORD

I have been asked to write a brief foreword to this paper which appeared as a series of articles in the 'Reformer.' I do so with much pleasure. The author, who, I am sorry, does not wish his identity to be disclosed, has rendered a valuable public service by his clear, close and forceful analysis of the propositions contained in the Bishop's Letter. And, in doing so, he has focussed attention on the central principle of Mahatma Gandhi's great work for India and for the world. I may add, since the paper has been attributed to one or two distinguished Christian publicists, that the author is a Hindu with a profound reverence for Jesus Christ.

Bombay,
June 26, 1922. }

K. NATARAJAN.



THE CAMBRIDGE
PRESS, MADRAS.

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GANDHI AND THE ANGLICAN BISHOPS

THE ENGLISH CLERGY AND INDIAN POLITICS

I

In a pastoral letter addressed to the members of the Church of England in India and Ceylon and any others who may care to read it, the Bishops of the Province assembled in Synod, describe the political situation, deprecate the atmosphere of suspicion and misunderstanding and counsel a spirit of moderation and reasonableness. A calm and candid consideration of the Indian problem is at no time so urgent and necessary as at the present hour when the mind of the country is distracted by the conflicting forces of a blind self-assertive conservatism which hugs to its heart the seventeenth century order of things, a futile pompous moderatism which prefers safety to courage in meeting great issues, a self-styled independent liberalism which vents its wrath and woes in what are called vigorous

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protests and deputations to the authorities, a militant vindictive nationalism hardly more creditable than fiddling partisanship, which is ready to plunge the country into disorder and anarchy, a vague mysticism which dreams of distant paradises to be won by splendid spiritual isolation and an impossible idealism, at once so deceptive and so alluring, so like a mirage and yet so potent for action. The general ferment has released from subconsciousness, suppressed passions and impulses. The country has escaped from the insensibility which deadens the weight and is eagerly struggling to break the chain. A new life is insistently asking for recognition and interpretation. Friends of the Empire can render no greater service to Britain and India than deal with the situation in a dispassionate way, appreciating the achievements of the past, sympathising with the privations of the present and suggesting lines of future advance.

The opening paragraph where the Bishops insist on "the gentleness and the reasonableness of Christ" and entreat their readers to "think justly and sanely" is pitched in the right key, though the body of the letter, in spite of the studied attempt at fairness and impartiality, is not altogether loyal to that spirit. An authoritative

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body as the Anglican Clergy in India, one would have thought, would have attempted to interpret and make articulate the deeper and half-conscious strivings and impulses which have brought about the present crisis rather than make a partisan plea on behalf of one specific solution of the problem, ignoring the motives and aspirations which have come to the surface with increasing insistence. To discuss the problem as if these currents and forces meant nothing, as though they were mere aberrations irrelevant to the issue at stake is to move in a realm of fiction and unreality.

The Bishops, however, are not to blame if they cannot divest themselves of their vested interests and inherited prejudices. They afford a further illustration of the difficulty of thinking 'sanely and justly' when passions are running high and the mind plays tricks upon itself. We generally hold opinions favourable to our interests. We discover reasons for what we *will* to believe. Even Aristotle nodded when he found himself faced by the institution of slavery in his own state. With his rare powers of penetration he could not but see how it sapped and weakened the social fabric. Yet dependent like all his class on that system for his way of life, he put forth without any candid avowal

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of intellectual inconsistency miscellaneous arguments to defend that institution. As Hobbes apologised for autocracy, as Locke defended Civil Government, our Bishops stand up for the British Empire in its present form. "As it was in the beginning, is now and ever shall be, world without end. Amen." It is not for a moment suggested that there is any element of deliberate hypocrisy. The ideals we avow to ourselves are above suspicion; only our actual practice is motivated differently. The hidden forces are generally suppressed and are not consciously noticed. An effort of self-analysis is necessary to reveal to us the inner springs of conduct. Mr. B. Russell, F. R. S., writes in his "Analysis of Mind", "When some desire that we should be ashamed of is attributed to us, we notice that we have never had it consciously in the sense of saying to ourselves, 'I wish that would happen.' We therefore look for some other interpretation of our actions, and regard our friends as very unjust when they refuse to be convinced by our repudiation of what we hold to be a calumny. We say: 'I desire to be kind to my friends, honourable in business, philanthropic towards the poor, public-spirited in politics.' So long as we refuse to ourselves, even in the watches of the night, to avow any contrary desires, we may be bullies

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at home, shady in the city, skinflints in paying wages and profiteers in dealing with the public; yet if only conscious motives are to count in moral valuation, we shall remain model characters." The deceitfulness of the human heart screens the truth. The quality of humour is necessary to shatter the world of make-believe and good intentions in which we generally live. We must now and then laugh at ourselves and bear others laughing at us. Without the freedom from the tyranny of the practical and the power of self-analysis, the discovery of truth is a hard game. The Brahmin of old, intended for the pursuit of truth and spiritual discovery was freed from the petty politics of the passing hour and encouraged to acquire an impersonal outlook on life.

Who sees with equal eye, as Lord of all

A hero perish, or a sparrow fall

Atoms and systems into ruin hurled

And now an atom burst and now a world.

The Bishops cannot be expected to see and judge things with the passionless impersonality of a stoic sage, or the clear vision of Plato's philosopher or the spiritual realism of the Indian sages, who were not bound by settled thought and accepted usage but drove hard at fact and based all on the fundamentals of truth.

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The present writer who is an observer outside the arena of practical politics would not have ventured to join issue with the learned Bishops if their appeal had been only to the practical political sense of the people. He has no quarrel with them if they look upon Gandhi as a knight of the impossible, "a beautiful but ineffectual angel beating his luminous wings in the void in vain," though he would like to add that no real progress is possible without the inspiration of the impractical. One who believes that the great truths of loving enemies, despising riches and turning cheeks to smiters, (practising which we cannot go even once round the College Square) can become human nature's daily food is certainly an unpractical dreamer. The writer can understand the Bishops if they say that one who is 'too proud to fight' cannot lead the country in its struggle for freedom. He cannot consider them unsympathetic if they dismiss Gandhi as a tyro in politics who is as ready to make mistakes as to own them, or look upon him as a dangerous force who plays with fire in trying hurriedly to force up society to a higher plane, thus exposing it to the avenging power of facts. He cannot deem them unjust if they consider Gandhi to be a faddist trying to imitate the prophet of old and

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bid the sun of progress stop in its course and go back. He can appreciate their cleverness if they declare, what Nietzsche said of the Jews of Jesus' day, that the cowardly and effeminate Indians unable to show open fight to the virile and robust Britishers have revived the code of love as a simple act of self-preservation. He will agree with them if they dispute the wisdom of certain aspects of his movement such as the discourtesies to the Prince, the crusade against Colleges, bonfires of foreign cloth and the campaign of civil disobedience. But what staggers him most is that the Bishops in their zeal for the established order should believe that "the non-violent method of a famous Indian politician," is not the same as that of Jesus. The present writer does not claim to possess a tithe of the vast learning of the Bishops but he does not yield to them in his reverence for the life and teaching of Jesus. He believes that the Bishops have done a cruel wrong to Jesus in their elaborate theological defence of the duty of blind obedience to law and a grave injustice to Gandhi in condemning his non-violent method as un-Christian. The writer's only interest in the present movement is the non-violent aspect of it. He believes that the application of the principle of love to the sphere of politics is Gandhi's greatest contribu-

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tion to the progress of humanity. He is, therefore, very much pained when even the Bishops doubt its wisdom and contest its validity. Now that Gandhi is removed from the scene of his activities and cannot influence practical politics, we can discuss his method with greater freedom.

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II

The letter divides itself into three sections dealing with the teaching of Jesus, His method and His attitude to the Imperial Government and concludes with certain practical suggestions relevant to our present conditions. First, as to Jesus' teaching : Love of God and love of neighbour form the centre of His message. "The choice of the word neighbour" the letter says, "is significant. He does not say, Thou shalt love thy kinsman, nor thy fellow tribesman, nor the co-religionist, but thy neighbour as thyself ; that is every one who in the providence of God comes near enough to thee to receive thy help." To those people who were taught to see outside their community a world of unbelievers, the question, ' who is my neighbour ? ' was answered by a parable where the despised alien played the true neighbour. The spirit of love should govern our personal lives and public activities. Gandhi treats all men as brothers and he does not know what it is to hate another human being. Rejoicing and exceeding glad,

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he does what the world considers to be the meanest services for the lowest of God's creation. The Rt. Hon. Mr. Sastri observes: "His compassion and tenderness are infinite. The present writer stood by as he wiped the sores of a leper with the ends of his own garment. It is his complete mastery of the passions, his realisation of the ideal of a *sanyasin* in all the rigour of its eastern conception which has crowned him with the title of Mahatma or the great soul." The Bishops urge that the non-co-operation movement is instilling into the minds of men race-hatred. Gandhi deplores it more than the Bishops. "A man who has the least faith in God and His mercy, which is His justice cannot hate men." It is, however, a melancholy fact that those who call themselves his followers are not devoid of hatred. They assent to the formula of non-violence but do not understand its truth. Many of his nominal adherents are in secret revolt against his faith. He realised this at the Delhi meeting. "I see that our non-violence is skin-deep—we are burning with indignation." Many of those who fly under the banner of non-co-operation with something of the fervour of Gandhi though without his faith have stirred up the passions of the ignorant sections of the population and misled youthful

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enthusiasts. Nothing has hurt Gandhi so much as the acts of violence committed by some so-called non-co-operators. When the Advocate-General thrust the responsibility for them on him, his head became bowed with grief. The shame, the humiliation of it all came out as he said: "Thinking over these things deeply and weeping over them night after night and examining my heart, I have come to the conclusion that it is impossible for me to dissociate myself from the diabolical crimes of Chauri Chaura or the mad outrages of Bombay." In an indirect way he is responsible for dragging into the movement people who do not share his faith or his hopes. The responsibility of a leader is great when large masses of population have a superstitious reverence for him and venture out with him on the same voyage trusting to him as to a pilot. In his optimism, Gandhi forgets that the mills of God grind rather slowly. Society cannot be made to march in time with a saint. Even those in the inner circle who are trying to purify themselves are not proof against all provocation. The boldness of virtue may at any time lapse into the irresponsibility of crime. The ideal of Gandhi, to bear torture and persecution without bitterness in the heart and with a smile on the lips is difficult of realisation. But.

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that is no reason why he should give up his mission of love as a flight of moral vision possible only to the race of dreamers. He has to be extremely cautious but he need not give up his work, alarmed by the mere presence of danger and difficulty. In Indian mythology, it is said that when the milky ocean was being churned at the bidding of God, a terrific world-destroying poison came first to the surface, though it had other good things in its wake. Did not Jesus let loose a revolution, set fire on earth, send a sword and launch divisions? Gandhi's greatest glory is not that he never errs but through every error he learns. If the spirit of the Bardoli programme dominates the activities of Congressmen, the country may yet progress peacefully to the desired end.

If his followers do not live up to his teaching, we cannot legitimately complain against the movement itself, that it breeds hatred and promotes anarchy. It is as unfair as to condemn Christianity by the practice of Christians. Crusades and massacres, tortures and savageries past counting have been perpetrated by those who called themselves Christians. The abominable massacre of St. Bartholomew in honour of which the Pope illuminated Rome and struck a medal, which drove Montaigne out of office

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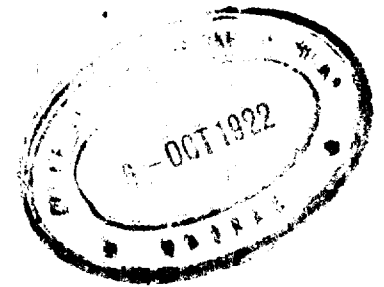
elicited from him the cry that "there is no enmity so extreme as the Christian; our zeal works wonders when it seconds our bent towards hate, cruelty, ambition, avarice, detraction, rebellion. Our religion is framed to extirpate vices; it shields, nourishes and incites them." If the wicked get into a good movement and cast it into disrepute, the ideal of the movement is not discredited. If the God of Jesus is not the God of Israel but of the whole earth, if He has no special weakness for either India or the British Empire, then the true followers of Gandhi's non-violent method need not fear that they will become mere fuel for the flames of hell. "The souls of the righteous are in the hand of God."

It is no use exaggerating the facts. Indians are no more given to wanton violence than any other people in the world. There is a tendency to attribute agrarian disturbances, industrial strikes and labour troubles due to economic depression to Gandhi's movement. It is wise policy but is it true? Are the excesses really many for a continent like India, if we bear in mind the increasing irritation due to the imprisonment of leaders? It is a striking testimony to the self-restraint of the people that Gandhi's arrest did not result in any excitement. The

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Bishops rightly urge that contempt on the part of the rulers is provocative of hatred. We have been recently treated with arrogant announcements of race superiority. The treatment of India after the war, the Punjab affair, the presentation of a purse to Dyer who practised the simple maxim of a thousand Indian lives for one European, the Debate in the House of Lords on this question, the recent pronouncement of Winston Churchill on Indians in Kenya and a series of other incidents form a record of race pride which Indians cannot easily forget. If the hysteria of hatred is to disappear, the debauch of race-arrogance should be abandoned.

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III THE METHOD OF JESUS

JESUS "sought nothing in his hearer but free and unforced conviction. He set himself to persuade. He used no intimidation. He did no violence of any kind to the wills of men. To attempt to drive men to adopt one's opinions or join one's party by intimidation or bribery is just as alien from His method as to try to do so by blows." These are unexceptionable words. "I have no desire to carry a single soul with me," says Gandhi, "if I cannot appeal to his or her reason." Gandhi points out to the people of India the realities of the situation and his words of truth attract large numbers.

"Christ's method would have been nothing but the consistency of a good and amiable man unless it had been employed to draw men to real knowledge of God and to the revolution in the living of life which that real knowledge must cause." All the guiding principles of moral life have been long since discovered and formulated by the great teachers of huma-

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nity. Real moral progress, however, depends not on an academic acceptance of the right way of living but on the love of the right and the practice of the right by an increasing number of the human family. The quickening of moral sensibility is achieved by personalities of singular force of character and unique power. The greatness of Gandhi consists in his personal purity, rare devotion to truth and uncompromising determination to live it. His exalted idealism and magnificent devotion to suffering humanity are facts as clear as day-light and his worst enemies, if they have any sense of fairness, must acknowledge them. Mrs. Besant, a staunch friend of the British Government and an open enemy of Gandhi's movements, wrote in these words when she first met Gandhi. "Among us, as I write, is dwelling for brief space, one whose presence is a benediction, and whose feet sanctify every house into which he enters—Gandhi our martyr and saint. He too by strange ways was led into circumstances in which alone could flower all that he brought with him of patient unwearying courage that nought might daunt, unselfishness that found its joy in sacrifice, endurance so sweetly gentle that its power was not readily understood. As I stood for a moment facing him, hand clasped

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in hand, I saw in him that deathless spirit which redeems by suffering, and in death wins life for others, one of those marked out for the high service of becoming Saviours and Helpers of Humanity. I who tread the path of the warrior, not that of the saint, who battle against enthroned injustice by assault not by meekness, I recognise in this man, so frail and yet so mighty, one of those whose names live in history among those, whom it is said, 'He saved others himself he could not save'." Mr. Sastri concludes his article on "Gandhi the man" thus. "The writer of these lines is not one of Mr. Gandhi's political followers or a disciple of his in religion. But he claims to have known him for some years and to have been a sympathetic student of his teachings. He has felt when near him the chastening effects of a great personality. He has derived much strength from observing the workings of an iron will. He has learned from a living example something of the nature of duty and the worship due to her. He has occasionally caught some dim perception of the great things that lie hidden below the surface and of the struggles and tribulations which invest life with its awe and grandeur. An ancient Sanskrit verse says, 'Do not tell me of holy waters, of stone images; they may cleanse

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as if they do, after a long period. A saintly man purifies us at sight.' "

In the Bible we read that the prophet Elisha once threw himself on the body of a dead child in order with his own life to kindle there the life that seemed extinct. Gandhi has thrown himself on those who are spiritually numb to show up life in them. The converting power of his personality is simply marvellous. Brotherly love is breaking down age-long barriers between man and man. Centuries of bureaucratic administration failed to "disturb the placid and pathetic contentment of the people" and create the will for freedom. The whole country to-day is glowing with the spirit of common citizenship and is struggling to breathe the air of freedom. Public life has become more honest. Secret societies and revolutionary organisations are tabooed. The workers are playing the game with all the cards on the table. Faith in God and suffering for His truth are the central inspiration of Gandhi's movement. Rank, office and title are losing their charm. Thousands of young men whose only crime is the desire for *Swaraj* are rotting in prisons bearing witness to the faith in them. Men accustomed to ease and luxury are welcoming the trials and terrors of jail life. The

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silent revolution which the leadership of Gandhi is working in the minds of men cannot be estimated by the measuring tape or the weighing machine. Whatever be its political wisdom, none can deny its educative value for the nation. Modern India has had leaders of great intellectual eminence who compelled the respect of all, leaders of shrewd political instinct who were held in fear by their opponents, leaders of keen social sympathy and high sense of duty who won the affection of the people, leaders of great caution and hard common sense who had their eyes fixed on the ground and took every step without faltering and rose into positions of trust and responsibility, leaders who by theatrical gestures and simulation and dissimulation rendered valuable service to the country, leaders who, not less cynical than clever, managed to win the confidence of both the people and the rulers, leaders of all types from "the busy race of jugglers, petty machiavels of the antechamber, trading politicians ready to swear and to forswear, to launch out boldly or creep ashore according to the wind" down to those fire-eating patriots who with a fanatic fury and flagrant unreason sealed their faith by the blood of their body. Time will show them up, if it has not already done so. But the

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present leader, so utterly devoid of personal ambition, so full of religious fervour, so exclusively devoted to the distant lodestar, in spite of the stumblings, trippings and fallings on the pathway, who embodies in his life the truth of philosophies, the faith of religions and the ideal of ethics which bid us stand together manfully in the truth, love one another with a pure heart fervently and bear one another's burdens, will go on conquering and to conquer.

The Bishops do not give the right idea of the place of suffering in the life of Jesus. "His preaching of the truth brought him into suffering. He did not seek to suffer. When suffering came He accepted it. Suffering was not to Him a method by which he sought to gain an advantage over His enemies or extort a boon from them. It was an incident in His chosen path of righteousness." The Bishops are anxious to make out that the eagerness for suffering and love of martyrdom which some of Gandhi's followers exhibit are not consistent with the spirit of Jesus. The Bishops feel that the appeal of the suffering of Jesus is greatly felt in India. It is the faith in *tapas* which many *Rishis* and many *Buddhas* have sanctified. The belief that through suffering lies the way to salvation is in India as old as time and more powerful than

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time. Salvation through suffering is not a single incident at a certain date in human history but is the ground plan of the universe. The *Rigveda* declares that the whole world rests on the sacrifice of God. This is what the Apocalyptic writers mean by that curious phrase, "the lamb slain from the foundation of the world." Though the idea of victory through suffering attracted the religious consciousness of the west through the crucifixion of Jesus, it has not yet captured it. The Indian knows the significance of the Cross. The Jew may not understand it, the Greek may laugh at it, the Bishops may explain it away but the Indian knows that the path to the joy of heaven is "as the sharp edge of a razor." In spite of the folly and vulgarity of our degenerate days, we have not as yet sunk so low as to drown the truth consecrated by our legends and traditions, cults and mysteries. Suffering is not an incident but the inevitable lot of all who enter into the kingdom of God.

The soundest element in all Jewish literature is that of Providence. Isaiah pictures the suffering of the Servant of the Lord and Jesus made his life a fulfilment of the Servant's mission. He regarded His death as directly connected with the preliminary woes which in current belief must usher in the Kingdom. The Cross

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is no accident in the life of Jesus or an after-thought of God designed to meet an emergency. It is the cornerstone of all creation, the law of the Kingdom. No son of God can be brought to glory except he be crucified. When the sons of Zebidee asked Jesus for places on his right and left in the kingdom, Jesus said unto them, "Can ye drink of the cup that I drink of?" "The Lord scourgeth every son whom he receiveth." Paul's description of the Christ-filled life confirms this view. Calvary is the path by which the whole world must travel to God. "Turn to the heights, turn to the deeps, turn within, turn without—everywhere thou shalt find the Cross" said Thomas a Kempis. Gandhi tells us all that we must agonise to enter the kingdom. It is the comradeship of suffering to which he invites the nation. He has firm faith that the suffering of the innocent works without ceasing for the healing of the nations. (Imitation of Christ, II, 12.

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IV

JESUS AND THE IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT

THE Bishops enlarge on the parallel between this country and Judæa in the time of Jesus. They argue that Jesus did not concern himself with the political struggles around him though the country was seething with unrest. When people tried to carry him off to head a nationalist revolt Jesus would have none of it, for "His ideal was both broader and deeper, and His method of winning acceptance was very different from that of political rebellion."

The yoke of Rome was galling to the Jews and as the centuries passed by, the oppression became more grinding and terrible. The Jews of Jesus' day were expecting a miraculous divine interference to restore them to the kingdom while the zealots persisted in hoping that God would bless their attempts to shake off the yoke. The desperate efforts of the latter culminated in the horrors of the last siege of Jerusalem.

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Jesus believed that the Roman oppression was too bad to last for ever and announced that a new earth and a new heaven would appear if the Jews accepted His method of non-resistance. We see the identity of Gandhi's attitude to Indian nationalists and Jesus' attitude to the Jewish nationalists. Both disbelieved in armed resistance and proposed to build on deeper foundations.

Jesus illustrated the evil which existed in the Roman oppression by three examples which are apparently trivial though really illuminating and offer a remarkable parallel to what Gandhi and his followers look upon as the central defects of the British Government of India. The first evil is giving the blow on the face. It is the stunting of the manhood of the race, the disarming of a whole nation, the emasculation of the country which is now trotted out as the impediment to the grant of swaraj. The stripping a man of his garment represents the economic exploitation of the country which is going on steadily and surely. The suppression of India's industries, the increasing burden of taxation due to an unconscionable military budget and an extravagant civil service, the neglect of nation-building have unchained pestilence and hunger and India's sons are helpless spectators of the

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inhuman sequence of pitiful stumblings and unconscious cruelties*. Mr. Vincent Anderson writes in the Nation. (N. Y.) "Gaunt cheeks, protruding ribs, bloated bellies of children, blear of hunger in women's eyes—these are the outward evidences of an exploitation which makes it absurd to use the same word of the lesser sufferings of the west." The compelling of people to go a mile, the coercing of them to do the bidding of another, refers to the invasion of the soul, the enslavement of the mind. Very few are literate; even these are brought up under a system which has neither ideal imagination nor inspiring purpose. The *elan* of life is stifled, the vital impulses are forced into narrow moulds where spontaneity gives way almost completely to automatism, and passivity and possessive instincts, love of ease and comforts of life are encouraged. If there is enthusiasm it is not for the higher ideals of life but for competitive examinations and council seats. The defect is not so much in the programme as in the spirit. The fact of subjection produces the feeling of dependence. We are to-day content to copy in literature, imitate in life, obey in politics, shut our eyes to God in religion and compromise in crises at the cost of the spiritual.

* See Gandhi's statement before the court.

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In spite of so much evil, Jesus and after him, Gandhi, assert, 'Resist not evil.' Shall evil then triumph? Is the victim to continue helplessly at the mercy of the injurer? Is he to accept servilely the indignities put upon him? No. Jesus clearly said that we must oppose evil. We cannot continue living in a lie, co-operating with a wrong. This is to stab the soul. To resort to violence is equally ruinous. The victim must effect a spiritual triumph over the evildoer by ridding himself of all lust and greed, anger and hate and enduring suffering at the hands of those who allow these bad impulses free rein. We must expel the wicked forces that stir potentially in our breast. If the victims of evil are to achieve a real triumph over the aggressors, they must first secure freedom from subjection to passions. This method of non-resistance assumes the divine possibilities of men. Beneath the horrible mask of a Judas, there is the potentially divine face of a Jesus. Faith in the better nature of the wrong-doer, in the spiritual principle resident in him which no crime committed by him can wholly crush, requires us to adopt this policy of resisting oppression by love.

The plan of meeting hatred by love is not a mere fancy with which Jesus played but is the governing principle of his life. The manner in

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which the law of retribution, an eye for an eye, is contrasted with the new law of love shows that Jesus was earnest about it. Early in His career when the earthly kingdom to be won by the sword, the method hallowed by the associations of the past, and in agreement with the settled convictions of the Jews who were thinking of noise and battle, and of garments rolled in blood, when the vision of the prophets, the world-wide kingdom Zion, the joy of the wide earth, swept before Him, He resisted the temptation. "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God and Him only shalt thou serve." The method of force is a denial of God. The spiritual basis of the kingdom is consistent only with love and non-resistance. Jesus would not step one hair's breadth out of the path He had seen to be God's will for him. He would have none of armed revolts. "Those that take the sword shall perish by the sword." No subtle sophistry can explain it away. The refusal of Jerusalem to accept His method oppressed Him in His last days. He fondly hoped that His death in obedience to this principle would rouse His generation to the truth of God. So without resisting evil, without any resentment, without any parade, He gave up His life begging His father to forgive the evildoers who know not what they do. In the

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demeanour of Jesus on the Cross, we have a perfect example of how a genuine non-co-operator should behave. He offers no defence, no resistance, takes no step to ward off penalties but allows a judicial crime to carry itself on to its miserable end.

This is the religious way of dealing with evil taught by all the great religions of the world. Buddha said, "Hatred is not conquered by hatred at any time but hatred is conquered by love." The Hebrew precept runs, "Greater love hath no man than this that he should lay down his life for his friend." Whatever the Bishops say, this non-violent method of Gandhi is that of Jesus who asks us to bless those that curse us and despitefully use us. It is faith in this that made it possible for Stephen to bless the men of blood at the very moment when they were crushing him under stones.

It is not right to suggest that Jesus did not concern Himself with the nationalist movement of Judæa. It is true that he made the distinction between the things that are Cæsar's and those that are God's, when His opponents tempted him to question the political sovereignty of Rome. But this does not mean that the kingdom of God belongs to the other world and this earth is given over to satanic misrule. It is this false

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separation between this world and the other, politics and religion that accounts for the self complacency of Christians even when they encourage man's inhumanity to man. To Jesus as to Gandhi, politics is applied religion. Love of neighbour means a constant endeavour to rescue the neighbour from sin and suffering and share with him the good things of the world. The Bishops in their hostility to the present movement seem to justify the spiritual isolation of some religious fanatics who in their devotion to God forget their fellowmen. They are sorry that Gandhi does not attend wholly to God and cease to meddle with the miseries of men. But if we go past the priests to Jesus himself. He would support Gandhi's attitude and condemn the fugitive and cloistered virtue, in Milton's fine phrase, that "slinks out of the race where that immortal garland is to be run for, not without dust and heat." In spite of His universal love, Jesus felt that He had to serve in a special manner the "lost sheep of the house of Israel." When his cherished hopes for Jerusalem were shattered, He bitterly wept over the city "Oh Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets and stonest them which are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her

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chickens under her wings, and ye would not.' It is consoling to know that to imitate Jesus is to take up the cry of our country and assist in removing the burden of our people.

Even as the nationalists of Jesus' day mistook His attitude, so do our workers jeer at Gandhi for introducing religion into politics and attempting to rebuild the nation from its foundations. Now and then he does things which are politically unsound simply because they are religiously sound. He believes that there are issues more vital than the current political ones and employs the compelling forces of politics for the recreation of mind, heart and will. He warns the country that men's minds must be tried by fire before freedom can be won. Heaven puts a heavy price for things of value. What is obtained cheaply is esteemed lightly. No tyranny is easily conquered. We are suffering to-day because we have sinned in the past. Unless we expiate in anxiety and suffering for our past disloyalty to God, we cannot be saved. Freedom is not a matter of good luck. It is not to be gained by mere waiting like the celestial Mr. Micawber for something to turn up. We have to pay the price for it.

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V

The Bishops remind us that Jesus "rated highly the value of stable Government and desired to inculcate a respect for Government in general as necessary to human society." That order is necessary for freedom, that a stable Government is an essential condition of all progress are obvious truths, admitted by all. The non-co-operators are not to-day up against all Government. They are not fighting for no-Government. It is not a question of law *versus* lawlessness but of one form of Government as against a better form of it. While Jesus may admit the need for Civil Government, He does not determine the forms of Government. Jesus would not ask the Jews or any other unfortunate peoples who are groaning under an iron yoke, oppressed, trodden underfoot, overcome with suffering and hunger to be calm and silent, and at best weep while their blood and tears are being drunk in peace by those who call themselves their rulers.

• "The British people value freedom for them-

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selves so much that they feel it is not fair to deny it to those who desire it." Students of history cannot forget that the Irish settlement was proposed after centuries of misrule and abuse, warfare and bloodshed, when all the resources of meanness and malice, cunning and cruelty failed. The Boers of South Africa had to burn their fields bare and exhaust in a three years' war, "the most determined nation in the world" before they could wring self-government from the hands of the people whose hearts are for it. If those belonging to the same stock and tradition were obliged to pass through hell, the Bishops will agree that the Indian patriots who suspect the *bonafides* of Britain are not without justification.

The Bishops point out that the Government of a country is entitled to receive respect and support from the people and has a right to exercise force, if it represents the 'common mind', the general conscience. In India where the Government is alien to the people, the identity of interests between the rulers and the ruled cannot be taken for granted. "It is not for selfishness nor for domination that the British will keep order in India" say the Bishops. That they do so for the exclusive good of India is rather a mystical assumption than a

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critical conclusion. It is true that British rule has conferred great benefits on the country. It has given peace and security, built railways, stretched telegraph wires, encouraged the people to cultivate raw products and trained them to receive manufactured goods from Britain. While the benefits can be traced to the spirit of the times, the evils are those inevitable to alien rule. The cynics sometimes compare the order introduced by the British to the proverbial fattening of the calf prior to its consumption by the owner. The Bishops say and all admit, that "if the British left India now, she would be at the mercy of the ambitions of external enemies, not to speak of the discords of her own people." In other words, Britain who discharged her obligations for 150 years in a spirit free from "selfishness and domination" has done nothing to prepare the country to stand upon its own legs. Does this not warrant a change in the spirit of the administration? Nor can the Bishops understand the deep feeling of humiliation of the classes and the suffering of the masses.

The toad beneath the harrow knows
Exactly where each toothprick goes,
The butterfly upon the road
Preaches contentment to that toad.

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To-day all political bodies are demanding a change in the form of Government. A blank negative is the answer of the Government. If Lord Chelmsford non-co-operated with the people in the passing of the Rowlatt Act, the present Government is imitating him in refusing to hear any demands for extension of Self-Government. There are occasions when disobedience becomes a duty. The use of the word 'trust' with reference to the British Government in India shows that the people for whom the Government is a trustee have the right to protest and resist, if the trust is not discharged. A Government which is not representative of the national will has no right on its side. All Government without the consent of the governed is another name for slavery. The existence of such a Government is illegal according to the law of God and the equity of the civilised world. The orders of such a Government do not possess the sanctity of law. We cannot rightly defend the crawling orders of the Punjab and the arbitrary decree of legislatures passed into law against the express wishes of the people. Even the Bishops cannot invoke divine sanction for devil's work.

The British administrators are invited by the Bishops to uphold law and order and realise

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their responsibilities, not merely as the inheritors of the British tradition but as the custodians of the Christian ideal. So if any officers have any pricks of conscience the Bishops quote scripture and quell their qualms. Well is it said that "the Church is the Tory party at prayer." The anxiety of the Government when its existence is threatened is intelligible. It cannot tolerate its own effacement. Gandhi whose avowed purpose is to spread disaffection against it has courted its wrath. Neither side can grumble since each has acted according to its best light. But the zeal of the Bishops in putting on the mantle of the Jewish priests, and suggesting the repressive handling of one who has suffered much and endured worse things than ever happened to any other leader of humanity is pathetic. They should have known that when Jesus was condemned it was more a trial of the system of things of which Pilate was the representative than of Jesus. The empire of Rome has vanished but Jesus lives. The arrest at Ahmedabad of the Indian leader even as he returned from Ajmere whither he had gone to persuade Muslim divines to his non-violence and his subsequent conviction show that the British empire is being tried before the judgment seat of God and of humanity. There

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is nothing to be surprised at what has happened to Gandhi. The story of the reformers constitutes a very sad chapter in the history of humanity. Contemporary society never gave thanks to its benefactors for their pains on its behalf. Many of the saviours of the world have been the victims of law and order. The poisoning of Socrates, the crucifixion of Jesus, the strangling of Savonarola, the burning of Huss, etc., etc., were all done in the name of law and order. Gandhi may one day shake off his body for the sake of law and order. There is nothing unexpected even in the attitude of the Bishops. They have always stood for traditional order, immutable dogmas, settled society, for bad laws fixed rather than good ones subject to change, for all that old men love and adore and young men dread and deny. They can never understand that law has always been in danger for a better law to come into birth. There is nothing in common between Jesus that "transcendent revolutionary who seeks to regenerate the world from its very foundations" (Renan) and these professional 'pillars' whose contribution to the spiritual growth of the world has been neatly summed up in Paul's caustic comment "They added nothing to me."

VI

The writer was pained to read the following from the servants of the Lord of Peace. "They (the British) are trustees for the progress of India and they will be faithful to their trust even if it means *fighting* for it. *And all that is Christian in them will support them in so doing.*" By means of bombs and bayonets, aeroplanes and machine-guns, these willing tools of imperialist ambitions would like to pay their homage to the crucified Saviour and continue the capitalistic imperialism in India.* A nation's will is outraged, her body is bleeding, solemn covenants are flouted and Indians are asked to accept all this as though it were the will of God over which we have no more authority than over the course of the stars or the motions of the tide. If they ask for change, they are presented with bellicose threats. The Bishops would have been more honest if they had said

* It is refreshing to read Gandhi's statement by way of contrast. "I cannot pull the trigger against my worst enemy." Young India, 9-3-22.

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that they were trying to realise the gospel according to the fifth evangelist which believes in amending the world's wicked existence by absorbing it into the British Empire. The war mentality is still persisting. Brute force which has made the world a shambles and darkened life around us is in the saddle; nay, it has never been out of the saddle. A Europe prostrate and stricken has not been enough to convince men of the futility of force. The Bishops however need not be told that to fight is not to destroy, to crucify is not to annihilate. The present writer has sufficient faith in the good sense of Britain and has absolutely no doubt that Indian claims will receive recognition at no distant date. But if Diehards get into the helm, they may become mad and try to reconquer India by the sword. That will be a time which will try men's souls. We hope the country will have sufficient faith and strength to stand by the gospel of Gandhi. If it develops the strength to be content to die, if it can offer the true Christ-like non-resistance, if it does not become so 'infidel' as to believe that God has relinquished the Government of the world, then it may be desolate, it may be wounded, it may be oppressed but it shall not die. India made purer by the suffering of death may yet be crowned

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with glory and honour. Jesus is our pledge that God is no idle spectator of the darkness of the world but will carry all things through into light. If by accepting love and truth India passes out of existence, it does not matter. Civilisations may pass away, empires may crumble, but God's truth remains. Gandhi says, "God is even though the whole world deny Him." My Christian friends will recognise in Gandhi the sufferer, the true image of Jesus. Those who wear His official uniform and brandish the big stick have become cogs in the imperial machine and are walking arm in arm with that great patriot Barabbas. They are unwittingly raising a fog of falsehood and mystifying our minds. We have tried the Christianity of the Churches for nearly 20 centuries. Let us now try the religion of Jesus which is a complete denial of the practice of Christendom. Nietzsche asked, "What did Christ deny?" and answered, "Everything which to-day is called Christian." Tolstoy wrote, "There is not only nothing in common between the Churches as such and Christianity except the name, but they represent two principles fundamentally opposed and antagonistic to one another." Gandhi is interpreting for the whole world the true meaning of Jesus "

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message of love and non-resistance. He believes that the fire of love will melt even the 'hard fibre' of the Britisher. He is in the line of succession from the Christian martyrs who carried their faith in God to the amphitheatre and the leopard, and to the stake where they were burned alive. An English lady of Calcutta wrote the other day, "His patience and his work are like the spring that lies hidden far below. No matter what the world may preach, God will give him a harvest greater than he expects. Millions are watching and judging him. But there is one above all watching and judging each struggle in his daily life, and when his toil and struggle are over, his work and name will live for ever." Another English Missionary lady put it to him thus, "I believe that you have caught the central idea and spirit of His message and are applying it far more correctly and consistently than we have done as a people and I believe that the Indian people are this day showing who is the real Master of their hearts because you show Him to them more truly than we do." Such is the verdict of all thoughtful Christians whose minds are not obsessed by prejudices.

The pastoral letter concludes with the need for reconciliation. If the Bishops cease talking

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shibboleths of empires and trusts at the altars of which millions of God's creation have been slain and utter the healing words of the peacemaker whose livery they wear, they will help to ease the situation. If they have any faith in the regenerating force of love which alone can bind broken hearts, let them instead of asking for a little more 'brutality' ask for a little more sympathy towards India as His gracious Majesty King George V did. The economic depression has brought about a tremendous mass upheaval though as yet it has not developed into a red revolution. People are already feeling that a wasting sickness is worse than a devouring fever. Let this fact be noted. The war fought to make the world safe for freedom fired men's hopes and the later disappointment is acute. No amount of coercion can kill the will for freedom. The reforms have been tried and found wanting. They have added to the cost but taken away from the well-being. The ministers are blinking like owls left in the middle of the Indian Ocean with freedom to reach the shore as best they might, bearing their own expenses. Moderates and Extremists, Hindus and Muhammadans, all are asking for the abolition of Dyarchy, Provincial autonomy, responsibility in the Central Government and

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early Indianisation of the army and the Civil Service. The problem of the hour is not a hairsplitting discussion to be accomplished in the cloisters as to whether the struggle for *swaraj* is Christian or not but an adequate and responsible recognition of and adaptation to the new facts and relations. The India of the present day is a challenge to the Christians of Britain whether the faith in them is vital or dead. It calls for generous statesmanship and not slipshod opportunism which changes from hour to hour, from expedient to expedient. Only the grant of a new constitution to India determining the stages towards complete *swaraj* to be attained in a decade or two can restore the impaired prestige of Britain and bind India fast to her. Will the Bishops promote such a true Christian reconciliation between India and England? The Government of the country will have to realise the truth of Burke's dictum, "Magnanimity in politics is not seldom the truest wisdom; a great empire and little minds go ill together." Will Lord Reading with his watchwords of justice and equality treat India in that spirit? She has been considered equal to the other parts of the Empire so far as death in the battle-fields of Europe was concerned. Will she be considered equal in problems of life and polity?

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Surely the world is not wide enough for two kinds of equality. Will Lord Reading rise to the occasion and be true to his creed? Did not Isaiah say, "When ye come to tread my courts, who has demanded this of you? Go wash you, make you clean. Put away the evil that is in your hands. Cease to do evil, learn to do good." And later on, "That ye let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke?" Will he remember these solemn words that have been ringing down the ages finding their echo in millions of human hearts? Who knows what is contained in the manuscripts of God?

APPENDIX

THE Bishops say in the course of the Letter:—

S. Paul was never more deeply moved than when he began a section of his second letter to the Corinthians with the words, "Now I, Paul, myself entreat you through the gentleness and reasonableness of Christ. . . ." However acute our own feelings however acute the feelings of those whom we address, we should do well if we always endeavoured to reach them through "the gentleness and reasonableness of Christ." It must be ourselves who speak, fallible men forming human judgments. But the best way from one heart to another is through the gentleness and reasonableness of Christ. We, Bishops gathered in our Synod, would endeavour to write a letter to the Christians under our charge, and to any others who may care to read it, with the object of setting forth anew that gentleness and reasonableness of Christ, in such a way as may guide them to think justly and sanely about the present situation in India.

AN HISTORICAL PARALLEL

The days when Jesus was on earth and the country where He lived present a remarkable parallel to our own days and this country. Judaea was a Province

APPENDIX

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of the Roman Empire, governed by a Governor sent from Rome. Galilee (a part of the same country) was governed by a native chief under the suzerainty of the Emperor. There was a violent Nationalist party among the Jews and also a moderate party which was content with the Roman sway. The forces behind the Nationalist party were national religion and pride of race. Into these circumstances Jesus was born, and born a Jew.

We would first draw attention to the attitude which Jesus took up towards these circumstances, when He came before the public as a teacher and preacher. He paid very little attention to the political struggles around Him. This was not because He was not aware of them. There was at least one Nationalist among His twelve Apostles. In His own preaching our Lord used words and phrases familiar to Nationalist circles, and Nationalist hopes began to centre on Him. Indeed, at one time the people tried to carry Him off to head a Nationalist revolt. But He would have none of it. His ideal was both broader and deeper, and His method of winning acceptance for His ideal was very different from that of political rebellion. We would invite attention to each of these two points, His teaching and His method, and thirdly, to the attitude which He took up towards the Imperial Government.

(1) THE TEACHING OF JESUS

Jesus said He came as the bearer of good news. The good news was the Reign of God. It was come already and it was coming more and more. If men would change their ideals, and set themselves to obey God as King and to understand and love Him as Father, they and society could be redeemed. The Kingship and Fatherhood of God occupy the centre of the preaching of Jesus. From these central ideas He went on to preach the brotherhood of man and the love which they owe the one to the other. To Him "*Thou shalt love the Lord Thy God with all thy heart*" carries as a consequence "*Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.*" The choice of the word *neighbour* is significant. He does not say, Thou shalt love thy kinsman, nor thy fellow-tribesman, nor thy co-religionist, but thy neighbour, as thyself; that is, every one who in the providence of God comes near to thee to receive thy help. Thus our Lord's mission was the reconciliation of man to God and the reconciliation of man to man. God is love. At the centre of all being is love, and He has intended love to extend to the outmost circumference of all being, binding together all men in mutual helpfulness and co-operation. The Father's love which goes out equally to each soul of man, ought to commend every soul to the respect and love of every other. So our Lord Himself felt and acted, and by deed as well as word emphasised the duty of help-

ing the weak, the sinful, the outcaste and the despised.

It is clear at once that this message of Jesus is not even primarily directed towards the saving of individuals. He was laying anew the foundations of human society. Human society cannot be founded on jealousy and hatred, but only on co-operation and love.

(2) THE METHOD OF JESUS

Such was the teaching of our Lord, what then was the method by which He sought to gain acceptance for it? It has attracted much attention in India of late because it is claimed that it was the same as the "non-violent" method of a famous Indian politician. It may therefore have a special interest for our readers if we examine the method of Jesus with some care.

Our Lord sought nothing in His hearers but free and unforced conviction. He set Himself to persuade. He used no intimidation. He did no violence of any kind to the wills of men. He was possessed of supernatural powers, but He would not use them to overbear men's freedom. He refused to impress men by mystery as sternly as He refused to subdue them by armed force. He came with the naked word of truth and the pure power of the Spirit, and to His utterances He often added the refrain, half-comment

and half-warning. "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear."

His preaching of the truth brought Him into suffering. He did not seek to suffer. When suffering came He accepted it. It was remarked that at His trials before the High Priest and before the Roman Governor, at first He would not answer, and when He did answer He made no attempt to defend Himself. He suffered without recrimination, without resentment and without parade, willingly for the truth's sake, and, as we Christians believe, for the sake of all mankind. The appeal of His suffering has always been great. It is intensely felt in India to-day, and very rightly. But we would draw attention to the fact that Jesus never sought to suffer. Suffering was not to Him a method by which He sought to gain an advantage over His enemies or extort a boon from them. It was an incident in His chosen path of righteousness. It was an incident which He knew would melt the hearts of some who were His enemies. Yet He did not hurry it. He exposed the hypocrisy and wickedness of the religious leaders of His country, but He did not challenge their authority. So far as we know He said nothing about the wickedness of the Roman Government, and certainly He never challenged its authority. Similarly the early Christians did not challenge the Government, even when it was hostile. They only disobeyed such orders of Government as involved their denying Christ. But they

knew that they were not fighting men but the spiritual power of wickedness. Men might be won by gentleness and reasonableness and they opposed them as little as was consistent with principle. The Church decided that Christians who courted martyrdom were not to be honoured as martyrs. For suffering is not good in itself but only if it comes unavoidably to a soul set upon the righteousness of God.

(3) JESUS AND THE IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT

We have already remarked that the teaching of Our Lord was essentially social. He knew well that in days to come it would affect societies and Governments. The Government of His day corresponded but little to His ideals. The greatest of them was the Roman Empire. In Judæa it was represented by a bad man and a tactless ruler. It is all the more striking to observe Our Lord's attitude towards the Imperial Government. His countrymen resented that Government as alien, and not unjustly regarded it as oppressive. He refused, as has already been remarked to be a party to any attempt to overthrow it. But He went further than that. Words of His are recorded which can only be explained if it is recognised that He rated highly the value of stable Government, and desired to inculcate a respect for Government in general as neces-

sary to human society. His countrymen asked Him whether they were to stop paying taxes to the Roman Government. He replied with a decided negative; "Pay to Cæsar the things that belong to Cæsar, and to God the things that belong to God." He well knew the unpopularity of the answer. Soon after that His countrymen brought Him before the Roman Governor on a charge of sedition. He was scourged and afterwards examined by Pilate. There He stood, bleeding and aching from an unjust punishment. Yet, even then, His words were all of gentleness and reasonableness, and strangest of all, one of His replies acknowledged in most explicit terms the divine source of the authority, under which He was suffering. Pilate's power, He said, "was given him from above," that is, from God; and though Pilate was sinning in punishing an innocent man, yet one of Pilate's motives was the maintenance of that Roman peace and order without which the world of that time would have been a chaos. He freely gave him credit for that motive. While He explicitly stated that the wrong which Pilate was inflicting on Him was a sin, He laid emphasis on the fact that Pilate though acting wrongly, was acting wrongly in a great cause, the cause of something which is part of the plan of God for humanity, the cause of order.

These passages are not isolated. They are the record which happen to have been preserved of a part of our Lord's teaching which must have made

a deep impression on His disciples, as is demonstrated by the words of S. Paul (Romans xiii. 1 to 7) and S. Peter (1 Peter ii. 13 to 17).

We have elaborated these three aspects of the history of Jesus Christ, His central teaching, His method and His attitude towards the Roman Government, because we wished so far as possible to exhibit His gentleness and reasonableness in His own way. He is the best exponent of Himself. We would now add some words of application to our own days and our own Christian people.

ON HATRED NOTHING GOOD CAN BE BUILT

The greatest danger of the present moment in India is the rising flood of hatred. You can no more build on hatred than you can build on a flood. It sweeps away everything that has any value for man. It is race hatred which now in India threatens to submerge all that has been laboriously built of social order, economic prosperity, political progress and even religion. Race hatred is instilled into the minds of men, educated and uneducated, up and down the land, by an industrious campaign of slander. Slander is always the sign of the power of evil at work. Not without cause does the word *devil* mean the slanderer. We are distressed to find race-jealousy, race-suspicion and race-hatred even within the fold of the Church, where the Spirit and

the example of Christ should have made these things impossible. In the Church at least it is clear that all of us have the same aims and our final object is one. We cannot build the Temple of God on race-hatred. We entreat you all brethren, by the gentleness and reasonableness of Christ to pluck out this root of bitterness from your hearts, if it be there, and, if it have as yet gained no lodgment in them, to beware lest in these evil times it may be sown there and grow up to your destruction.

And to all the citizens of this great country we would say the same thing. You cannot build the glory of the Motherland on race-hatred.

We all need a motive power to enable us to repel the assaults of hatred in our hearts. As our Lord taught, there is only one such motive power. It is the love of God. Contemplate God loving all His children with an equal intensity: as you feel God's love touching you, remember that it goes forth to that man whom you are tempted to hate. As you own God as your Father for His love's sake, so for the same love's sake learn to own that man as your brother.

THE DANGER OF CONTEMPT

Hatred is usually provoked by injuries of some sort, real or fancied, experienced or anticipated. The British who form a large part of those whom we are now addressing, are puzzled by the outburst

of race-hatred among the Indians. The British are conscious that they have conferred great benefits on India. They have protected her against foreign foes. They have protected her people against themselves. Not much more than a century ago India was a welter of dynastic ambition, private oppression, rapine and violence, in which neither person nor property was secure. The walls built round thousands of villages testify to that terrible fact. But the walls have long since fallen into ruin. There are no gates in the gate-ways, or, if they remain, they are never closed. What is the reason of this? The security and peace given by British rule. The British expect Indians to be grateful for this. But instead of gratitude, they now find hatred. Is there any cause of this hatred for which the British are responsible, and which they can therefore remove? We would ask British Christians to consider whether they do not often feel, and sometimes show, contempt for the Indians. Contempt is a powerful provocative of hatred. There is plentiful occasion for misunderstanding between the races in the obvious fact that many of the virtues which they respectively admire and cultivate are different and many of the vices which they loath and avoid are also different. But if we are to come to a good understanding the two races must look away from these things. Neither race must allow itself to become obsessed by concentrating its attention on the incapacity of the other in certain things

which it regards as most important in life. The members of each race must learn to look straight up to God, the common Father who made them both, and means them both to serve Him in different ways in the world, and loves every person in both races as if He had made no other person in the world.

If any one seeks a motive-power against the temptation to contempt, let him contemplate God as He looks upon the person who seems contemptible. Let him learn the respect of God for each human person. God has put His creative power into the making of each person; He has endowed him with that freedom of will which is a copy of God's own freedom; He has spent the whole force of His love not in compelling Him to do right, but in wooing him to it. If God cares so much for each human personality, who are we to despise it?

TRUE NON-VIOLENCE

The method of Christ is attractive to every noble soul. His respect for the personality of men, His refusal to *overawe* or cajole or bribe or compel, His exhibition of the truth about God in its simple beauty, His faith in its power or draw out the trust and affection of men, His patience, His willingness to suffer, all these things appeal to everything that is best in India. This very fact gives great influence to anyone who even remotely resembles Christ in

his methods. But here we must entreat those whom we address to test the claims of those who profess to imitate Christ. His was the perfect non-violence of the true Reformer. The real non-violence does not make artificial distinctions between one kind of violence and another. To attempt to drive men to adopt one's opinions or join one's party by intimidation or bribery is just as alien from His method as to try to do so by blows. The true Reformer knows, as Christ knew, that nothing is worth having but the willing conviction of a free mind.

But method is not all. The man who can truly claim to be a follower of Christ must not only imitate His methods; he must share His ideals. "Try the spirits whether they be of God." Christ's method would have been nothing but the consistency of a good and amiable man, unless it had been employed to draw men to real knowledge of God and to the revolution in the living of life which that real knowledge must cause. For it is a revolution when in any part of the world the age-long barriers of tribal exclusiveness, class-exclusiveness; caste-exclusiveness, race-exclusiveness are thrown down, and brother-love begins to be extended to every neighbour. We recognise with admiration that Mr. Gandhi is following in his steps of many great religious Reformers in India in denouncing the bar of untouchability. But that bar cannot be removed by mere advocacy of its removal, however disinterested and however non-violent. It

will never be removed till the clear light of the knowledge of God as universal King and impartially loving Father has penetrated the hearts of the people of this land.

THE USE OF FORCE BY GOVERNMENTS

To admire Christ's method of persuasion without violence is easy to every noble-minded man. And in proportion as a man finds that easy, he finds it very difficult to think that the State or the Government of the State may, or must, use the method of coercion by force. We realise that this difficulty is acutely felt in India to-day. There is another difficulty of recognising the value of Government in general. This seems to be found all over the world at the present time.

The reasonableness of Christ is nowhere more apparent than in the fact that while He gave His whole life to the work of the religious Reformer, and followed its methods exclusively, He recognised clearly and explicitly the value of Government and the justification of its very different methods. He is not recorded to have stated at large the grounds of this recognition. S. Paul calls upon his Roman correspondents to recognise in rulers "God's ministers to them for good," regarding good deeds, and executing wrath on people who do evil, and exhorts them for that reason to pay "tribute to whom tribute is due; custom to whom custom, fear to whom fear,

"honour to whom honour." It is clear that our Lord and S. Paul following Him, recognise the value of Government, its right to receive respect and support, and its right to exercise force. According to both of them the same God, who inspires the prophet, establishes Governments, and their different methods are parts of His provision for the gradual ennobling of human life. To some this statement seems to involve an irreconcilable contradiction. Yet it is not so. Both the work of the prophet or reformer and the work of Government are necessary to human progress, but in different ways. The prophet changes the minds of individuals, so that eventually the common mind of a nation will be changed. Government represents the common mind when it has been made up and guards its decisions against those who do not accept them. The prophet calls men to advance in moral goodness; the Government preserves for them the advances which their fathers made. The prophet provides good motives for the life of man; Government provides good conditions for it. Therefore the prophet must wait till bad or ignorant men accept his motives for he has no other chance of success; his only object is to turn wills and to change minds. On the other hand Government cannot wait till bad or ignorant men have spoilt the conditions of life for all their countrymen and Government is primarily concerned, not with men's wills but with their actions, and by restraining, even by force, the

actions of bad or ignorant men it can prevent the young and the weak from being perverted by bad example and give the good a chance of setting the tone of society. Thus the prophet must wait and Government often must not wait. The exhibition of public justice cannot be delayed without sacrificing public justice to morality. The maintenance of order cannot be neglected without sacrificing public freedom. Yet the prophet needs to stand on the platform of existing public morality in order to urge us onward to higher ideals. And similarly the prophet can effect but little for society, if those whose hearts he touches are not free to put His teaching into practice.

ORDER AND FREEDOM

This brings us to another question of this day. Men are perpetually contrasting order and freedom as if they were contradictories. They are complementary. Order is necessary to freedom and freedom is the object of order. It is not difficult to see how order is necessary to freedom. Freedom depends on stable Government. Without Government, or under a feeble Government, no one is free but the strong and the wealthy, and they are only free till they go down before the stronger and the wealthier. To destroy Government or to enfeeble it is the worst service any man can do to freedom.

On the other hand the object of a good Govern-

ment in maintaining order is to provide to every citizen all the freedom that he ought to have. Now every citizen ought to be free to do every good thing which he is capable of doing, and which is serviceable to the community. This is true freedom. No citizen dare ask any more. No citizen can rightly ask to be free to rob another of his true freedom. The Government intervenes representing the power of the community, to guard the true freedom of every citizen, so that the whole community may be enriched by the fullest development of all the citizens. This is the effect of the maintenance of order by good Government.

The manner in which it carries out this duty is strictly parallel to the manner in which God administers His physical laws. He has designed certain physical laws. We are free to comply with them or not to comply. If we comply, the reward of our obedience is some kind of success or power; health, it may be, or the command of natural forces. If we do not comply, whether from ignorance or defiance, we are punished with loss, it may be of health, or of some other power or advantage. In either case God guides us to a knowledge of His will. Now God's moral laws He has largely entrusted to men to administer. So far as the common mind of man has understood God's moral laws, it has embodied them in the laws of States. Men are actually free to obey these or to disobey. But the State is not indifferent to the way in which they

use their freedom. So long as men will keep these laws, they are rewarded with liberty of action. When they break them either in defiance or ignorance, they are punished or restrained. In either case men are clearly shewn what is right or wrong in the opinion of the general conscience. And that general conscience represents just as much as men at any time and place believe that they certainly know about the moral laws of God. To that extent the officials of the State are indeed the ministers of God, and represent Him in His character of King.

THE OFFICIAL AND HIS DUTIES

Many of those whom we address are British officials. We put before them this high view of their position and duties. We know that it is not strange, nor will it seem unreasonable to them. Centuries of administration on behalf of a Government which was coming ever closer and closer to the highest convictions of the community, have made the British people conscious of this high calling of the administrator. But this is not merely a British tradition. We believe it is fundamentally Christian. We invite all officials in India to renew their constancy and courage by remembering that they are ministers of God and to keep their ideals high by the thought that they are acting for Him. We know well the strain and the difficulty of their task at the present time. We pray God to give them the

strength not to weary of it and the heart not to give it up in disgust.

But this theory of the divine origin of law and the divine sanction of this administration seems to cause difficulties to the Indian mind of to-day. We therefore ask Indians to consider what we have said about the words and example of Jesus, and to remember that He could recognise that Cæsar had a mission from God as well as Himself. Cæsar passed away, but what Cæsar typified will never pass, and that is the Civil Government which is necessary to man at any stage of civilisation. But a Government has rights, methods and duties different from those of the moral reformer or any other private citizen. We appeal therefore to Indians when they judge any official of whatever race, not to fall into the confusion of demanding that he should act according to the methods of a prophet or reformer. The greatest of prophets and reformers recognised that the ruler's duties and methods were different from His own.

UNJUST SUSPICION

There are some misunderstandings and suspicions which have a very large part in exciting and maintaining race-hatred. But they might be dissolved by reasonableness. One is the suspicion that the British in India talk about the maintenance of order, but are really aiming at curtailing or destroying

Indian freedom. We would call upon Indians to remember that, if they have lately learned to love freedom, the British loved it long ago, and from their long experience of it they know that the only security of freedom is a stable Government. It is not for selfishness nor for domination that the British will keep order in India. It is because they know the necessity of order and the horrors of chaos. They will refuse to be responsible for allowing all India to become like Malabar or like Russia. They are trustees for the progress of India and they will be faithful to their trust, even if it means fighting for it. And all that is Christian in them will support them in so doing. They will be paying to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's. They will be doing their bounden duty towards the sovereignty of law which is one part of the Reign of God.

On the other hand we appeal to Indians to have no fear for their prospects of attaining self-government. They have not to do with an Imperial Power like that of Rome. That power had no intention of relaxing its hold over its subject peoples. The British Empire is pledged to extend self-government amongst its Dominions. Particularly it is pledged to India. It is pledged because the British people value freedom for themselves so much, that they feel it is not fair to deny it to others who desire it. Suspensions are disseminated about the *bona fides* of the British Government. These suspicions are groundless. But not only so; they are also irrele-

vant. The matter rests not with the British government but with the British people. The cause of Indian self-government is safe in the hands of the British people, because their hearts are for it. The British may give self-government slower than their present leaders desire but we appeal to their justice to believe the British will be acting on grounds of experience and prudence, not of malice or insincerity. And in any case is it reasonable to plunge India into chaos, and possibly war, merely because of that delay, when the goal of India's ambitions is secure?

One more suspicion we may notice. It is that the British are remaining in India for their own advantage when it would be best for that country that they should leave it to carve out its own destiny. It is clear to all who have studied the politics of the day, that if the British left India now, she would be at the mercy of the ambitions of external enemies, not to speak of the discords of her own people. The wisest sons of India agree in this political judgment. We assume therefore that the British must stay in India for the sake of India, and men should set their minds to make the best of the situation which that necessity creates.

RECONCILIATION

We have said so much because the duty lies heavy upon us that we should attempt the task of

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reconcilers, and that because our Master's mission was one of reconciliation. But in closing we must revert to His message of reconciliation. It had its centre of gravity not in men but God. There is no peace, true and permanent, but the peace which comes of the glad submission of men's wills to the sovereignty of God. There is no brotherhood real and sincere, but that which comes of the reflection in men's hearts of the love of God. It is to God that we entreat all men in India to turn for deliverance from their present troubles. That message Jesus Christ brought with power, because in Himself He perfectly reflected the nature of God. For that reason He drew and draws men. His teaching is attractive, His person is attractive. He intended to set to work in the world a third fountain of attraction. He meant His followers to be attractive. We would press this point on our fellow Christians in India to-day. We Christians ought to be attractive to the non-Christian world. The gentleness and reasonableness of Christ should shine out in us. These attributes should not be merely read of as the attributes of an historic Person. They should be felt and seen everywhere as the attributes of His followers to-day. May we ask our brethren Indian and British to ponder these things? You are the representatives of the Great Reconciler. Let Him reconcile you among yourselves; let Him make you His willing agents in His work of reconciliation.

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