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Gandhi and the revolt in India, 1930.

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"GANDHI---AND THE REVOLT IN INDIA."

RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER.

THE TEMPLE, SUNDAY MORNING,

MAY 11, 1930, CLEVELAND, O.

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India today is in revolt. That vast country, in area about two-thirds the size of the whole of Europe, and in population three times the population of the United States, is today in seething unrest. This is not India's first revolt, and it is not likely to be its last revolt. This revolt will undoubtedly be suppressed as all the preceding ones were. But revolts will continue with increasing frequency to occur in India until the Indian peoples obtain self-government within or outside of the commonwealth of British peoples.

This is as certain as the law of gravitation. No alien minority can permanently subject and rule a people of over 320 million souls. Great Britain has been able to do that heretofore because of the backwardness of India, and because of the internal divisions and dissensions among the peoples of India. But in recent years there has grown up a new generation of young Indians who are politically minded and who are trained in the ways of Western thought and action, who are arousing among their people a legitimate national aspiration, and who are trying hard to consolidate the interests and divergent elements in India around a common goal and common objective.

But I believe that this gathering momentum of national sentiment and resentment of foreign rule will prove irresistible. Other backward peoples and internally

divided peoples have won their place in the sun after periods of struggle, and so will India.

The intelligent statesmen of Great Britain who are not blinded by narrow Victorian imperialism, who read the signs of the times, are convinced of it, and they have been advocating dominion status for India to complete self-government. It remains to be seen whether their counsel will prevail or the counsel of the imperialistic die-hards who have not yet realized that the day of empire is over for mankind.

Great Britain can hold India in just one way--in the way that it holds Canada and Australia, and now Ireland: as a free and independent dominion within a voluntary grouping or society under a central British federation.

The story of India's subjection or conquest at the hands of European peoples is not a happy one, and does not shed luster either upon the motives or the morals of the conquerors. In fact, the European peoples, whenever they conquered a native country, brought a blight and a curse upon the inhabitants of that country. Except where the Europeans themselves colonized a relatively empty country, and themselves as pioneers and settlers builded that country, like Canada or Australia, the Europeans proved a devastation and a desolation to the peoples whom they subjected, because they were not concerned in building

for themselves a home in the country of the peoples whom they exploited; they were concerned primarily with getting as much as they could out of that country, draining it of its wealth and of its substance. They stooped to every conceivable form of extortion and exploitation, with the result that these conquered peoples today are no better off - in some instances worse off - than they were before the European peoples conquered them.

The great masses of the population are in a state of economic serfdom. Few of the benefits of Western civilization have come to them, but many of the vices.

Now India in the eyes of the European has always been a glamorous and romantic world. For centuries it tantalized the imagination of the European peoples as a land of mystery, of romance, a land of silk and spices, a land of infinite wealth. So that at the close of the fifteenth century European peoples felt the urge to establish contact with this mysterious world of India. You recall that Columbus set out to find a Western route to India and accidentally discovered America. In 1498 Vasco de Gama reached India. From that time on and for the next hundred years Portugal sent one expedition after another for the purposes of trading with India, for purposes of commerce as well as for conquest, and for one hundred years, through the sixteenth century, Portugal had

a monopoly of the trade of India. In the seventeenth century the Dutch, who at that time were the greatest sea power in Europe, challenged the Portuguese monopoly of Indian commerce and trade and defeated the Portuguese, and established themselves as the first power in India.

But English merchants were also attracted to India, and as early as 1612 the famous East India Company was organized, and for two and a half centuries that company was the channel through which English economic and political expansion in India were carried on. In the eighteenth century the English and the Dutch came to blows over the control of India, and the English succeeded in driving the Dutch from off the mainland and establishing themselves as the sole monopolists and exploiters of India.

For a time the East India Company was satisfied with carrying on just trade in India. It had no military ambition, no desire to conquer territory or to rule India, but before the seventeenth century was over the East India Company had gotten itself deep into the politics of India, was carrying on diplomatic intrigues between one ruler and another, between one province and another, was financing one army to fight another army in India, and was setting up puppet rulers on the various thrones in India, so as to assure for itself certain highly desirable commercial and economic privileges.

From the middle of the eighteenth century to

the middle of the nineteenth century, until the famous mutiny of 1857, the East India Company, backed by British armies, proceeded to establish itself more firmly as a political power in India, and took over the reins of government of one province after another, and as a result uprisings, mutiny and war broke out, and throughout that one hundred years India rang with mutinous uprisings of the peoples in one section or another against the invader. The horrors of the mutiny of 1857, the widespread dissatisfaction, the dangerous temper of the people, convinced the British government that the rule of the East India Company in India must cease, and the following year India became a crown possession of the British Empire, and in 1877, through the machinations of Disraeli, Victoria was declared Empress of India.

Now with the approach of the twentieth century, our century, that spirit of nationalism which molded European political history all through the nineteenth century and through the beginning of the twentieth, that same spirit began to assert itself in India. The new generation of India, modern, educated, enlightened, resented the domination of their country by a foreign power, the economic exploitation, the impoverishment of their country; resented the spiritual subjection of the Indian peoples, and demanded "Swaraj"----self-government--with the co-operation of Great Britain or without. And the struggle

for Swaraj is still continuing in India and will continue until it is triumphant.

This nationalist movement, so steeped in religious faith, has brought to the front many a great leader in India, but by far the most extraordinary, the most fascinating, the most heroic leader of this great religio-nationalist renaissance of India is this ^{Mohatma} ~~Mohammedan~~ Gandhi, called Mahatma--"the great soul." There have been two men who have profoundly influenced great masses of people within our lifetime, enkindled the imagination of millions of people. One is Lenin, and the other is Gandhi; and they are worlds apart, poles asunder in temperament, in tradition, in outlook, in philosophy, and yet both became the spokesman and the revolutionary leader and the worshipped idol of tens of millions, I might almost say of hundreds of millions of people in our generation, and both are likely to live in history long after most of the great political figures of our day have ceased to be even a memory.

Lenin, the economic determinist, the imperialist, the scientific intellectual; Gandhi, the spiritual mystic, the orthodox Hindu. Lenin, the advocate of force, of the proletarian dictatorship, of blood and iron, of the complete industrialization of Russia; Gandhi, the advocate of non-violence, of love, of forgiveness, whose weapons are not blood and iron but prayers, penance, love,

and whose ideal is the return of India to a more or less primitive, simple, agricultural life. Worlds apart are these men, and yet both seemingly voice the longings, the needs of their peoples, and as a result both have become volcanic powers, dynamic personalities in the life of the world.

Gandhi today is sixty-one years old. He was born of a rather well known family, and his early life was molded by a very devout and pious Hindu mother, whose influence has remained with him throughout life. He married early in life, and as a student left for England to complete his education for the bar. In his autobiography Gandhi tells of the mental perturbation that he passed through contact with the Western world, endangering his faith, his standards of conduct; but he was able, through mind and soul groping, to regain his mental and spiritual equilibrium.

He returned to India where for a time he practiced law in Bombay, and then he went to South Africa, and in South Africa his great career began. In South Africa, where he spent some twenty-three years, he became acquainted with the lot of his fellow countrymen who had settled in South Africa, whose lot was wretched. They were looked upon as coolies; they were regarded with contempt; they were segregated, they were exploited; they were treated very much like the Negroes in the South.

And Gandhi saw in all that a challenge to himself to devote his life to the improvement of his fellow countrymen in South Africa, and so he gave up his career of law and he gave up his life's ambitions and he became a servant of his people.

But how was he to serve his people? And therein the uniqueness of Gandhi's message to his people and to the world consists. He knew that the laws which were weighing down heavily upon his fellow countrymen were unjust, and yet how was he and his fellow countrymen to undo the evil? Was he to call them to revolution? to a resort to arms as we Westerners would under such conditions be tempted to do? Gandhi said, "No. You cannot resist evil with evil. You cannot conquer physical force with physical force. The only way to conquer physical force is by soul force, by spiritual force. You must resist evil by good."

In other words, you must not obey the law, if you know the law is an unjust one, but you must not resort to force in your disobedience. Disobey the law and take the consequences, submit readily to imprisonment, to confiscation, to all kinds of persecution, but do not acquiesce. Don't obey but don't resist through violence.

This was the preaching of his Ahimsa--non-violence--which has informed all of his thinking to the present day. This doctrine of non-violence, of course, is

not new with Gandhi, but no one has given it such clear out definition and made it a technique of revolution as Gandhi has.)

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Gandhi claims that he imbibed his doctrine first from the sacred scriptures of his own faith of Hinduism, and that doctrine was confirmed for him by the teachings of Jesus, for whom he has a high regard and veneration; and he was still more firmly convinced that the doctrine of non-violence is a sound and practical doctrine by the preachings and teachings of the great Russian Tolstoy. In fact, while he was in South Africa Gandhi founded a Tolstoy farm for his disciples, at which school of discipleship he trained men and women in this doctrine of Ahimsa,--in his theory of passive non-resistance, trained them in the technique of non-violent revolution, and trained them how to endure the consequences of civil disobedience. And as a result of his twenty-three years of labor in South Africa Gandhi, by this amazingly new technique of not returning evil for evil, raised his countrymen to a much higher level of prestige and standing in South Africa, forced the enactment of laws which vitally improved the social and economic conditions of his countrymen, and when he left South Africa he carried away with him the admiration and the liking of all the people in South Africa.

Popular opinion notwithstanding, Gandhi never

was an enemy of England; in fact, Gandhi is the enemy of no one; and that is the secret of his remarkable power. Up to 1920 Gandhi believed that India can cooperate with Great Britain. Gandhi believed in the British constitution and the British sense of justice and fair play. In fact, when England was engaged in the Boer war in 1899, and later on in the Zulu war in 1906, and in the World War, Gandhi organized voluntary ambulance corps and aided Great Britain; in fact, he was severely criticized because of this seeming inconsistency in his doctrine of non-resistance. In 1918 he actually urged men to join the army and fight for Great Britain. He realized that he was inconsistent. He is very frank with himself, as he is with all people, and he said that he felt that as long as he lived under a government which is based on force and was ready to avail himself of the facilities and privileges which this government gave him, as long as he was able to do that he felt duty bound to come to the help of that country when it is at war. Once he decided on non-cooperating with that country, and upon renouncing all these privileges, then he would be free to refuse to help that country in time of war; and that non-cooperation and that renunciation soon came, and Gandhi definitely broke with England.

It came as a result of two dramatic instances. One was the Punjab horror, the Amritsar affair, when unarmed Indians,--this time not Hindus but Mussalman Muhammedans,--

were shot down in the public square of Amritsar, and when this unspeakable fellow, General Dyer, in punishment for some indignity which had been offered to an English woman, compelled Indians to crawl on their hands and knees, and had them publicly flogged, and submitted them to all forms of humiliation, the whole of India raised up in protest against these indignities, and for that matter, the whole of the civilized world. Then came what seemed to the Indians the betrayal of the cause of the Muhammedans in the dismemberment of Turkey.

Great Britain had promised the Muhammedans of India that in the Peace Conference Great Britain would see to it that the integrity of the Turkish country, and particularly the integrity of the Caliphate, which meant the integrity of the Muhammedan faith, would be protected. England broke its promise, and Gandhi realized then that cooperation with Great Britain was impossible, it could not be trusted, and he set in foot that non-cooperative movement in India which proved relatively successful in South Africa. He called upon his people not to cooperate with the British administration in India, to refuse to hold office, not to purchase English made goods. His slogan became "Ahimsa (non-violence) Swadeshi (homespun articles, home-made cloth) Khaddar (spun with your own hands at home)."

Unfortunately, this movement which swept through India did not stay within the boundaries that

Ghandi had set for it. There ensued, as inevitably there must ensue in great popular movements, violence; first, violence of speech, and then violence of action. Riots took place and bloodshed. A terrific riot took place in Bombay when the Prince of Wales visited it. On the occasion of his visit people were killed, and Gandhi was heartbroken over the affair, because the very heart of his preachings had been ignored by the people he led, and he called off the movement; he disassociated himself from it. He would not win independence for his people in India by violence. The means were as important to him as the end. To him no end, however holy, justifies an unholy means. And as a result of these riots Gandhi himself was arrested and imprisoned. The movement carried on, and in 1930 the non-cooperative movement in India has gained momentum again, and Gandhi is again in prison.

Gandhi set himself a few important tasks, and to understand these tasks is to understand India. His first task was to bring about Hindu-Muslim unity. There are 70 million Muhammedans in India. These Muhammedans differ radically from the Hindus in religion, in race, in outlook. Frequently there is friction between these two groups, and the government is frequently ready to seize upon the opportunity of inflaming hostility between these two groups on the principle of divide et impera--divide and rule. Gandhi has made it one of the chief objectives of his

career to teach his people mutual toleration. One does not have to prove Gandhi is fond of saying the thing one tolerates. The Muhammedan must learn respect for the Hindu practicing his faith, and so must the Hindu learn respect for the Muhammedan practicing his faith. And when in 1924 religious riots broke out between the Hindus and the Mussalmans, Gandhi subjected himself to a twenty-one day fast,--It was shortly after he had gone through a serious operation, to atone for the sins of his fellow countrymen, and to call them back to reason and brotherliness.

The second task which Gandhi has set for himself is to redeem the "untouchables." Hindu India is caste ridden. There are, by and large, four major castes among the Hindus in India. There is the caste of the priest and the scholar, the Brahmin. There is a second caste of the warrior, the governor and administrator; there is the third caste of the agriculturalist and the merchant, the creator of wealth; then there is the Shudra caste, the caste of the laborer. The Shudra is already laboring under disabilities as regards caste standing and privilege. But below the Shudra there is still another caste, or rather an outcast caste,--the Pariahs, the untouchables, whose condition is utterly unspeakable.

They are called "untouchable" because the caste Hindu looks upon the act of touching them as one of

pollution, and he has to purify himself by ablutions when he touches one of these unspeakables; and there are fifty millions of these unspeakables in India. They are the scavengers; they eat the filth and the offal and the leavings. In some parts of India the unspeakable must not walk on the road or the highway but must walk two hundred yards away from it, because the very sight of him is regarded as polluting. Gandhi believes in the caste system because he looks upon the caste system as the natural division of society intended by God and by nature that man should live and work and fulfill his destiny within the sphere in which he was born, but he nevertheless believes that caste does not confer any privileges but is simply a division of labor. In the sight of Gandhi the work of the scavenger may be just as important as the work of the scholar, and he who belongs to one caste has no right to claim any prerogatives or any superiority over a member of the other caste.

And so Gandhi has set himself the task of championing the cause of these unfortunate, these tragic human beings. He meets with them, he dines with them, he teaches them. He has even taken a little untouchable girl into his own home and adopted her as one of his children. He regards untouchability as the curse of India, and looks upon all the evils which have befallen India just reward, just punishment for the crime the Indians have committed

against these unfortunate human beings; just as Abraham Lincoln looked upon the Civil War as just punishment to the American people for having tolerated slavery.

The third great principle of Gandhi in the task which he has set for himself is Swadeshi. One should avail himself of the uses of the services which he finds in his own neighborhood. Buy your commodities in your village, in your province, in your country. Use that which is neighborly to you. That of course means boycott of foreign commodities. Gandhi stated that if one single article of foreign merchandise had not been imported into India, India today would be a land flowing with milk and honey. And if there are any articles which India cannot produce, then the Indians should learn to do without them; for at the heart of Gandhi's teaching is this thought: that the more wealth the more corruption, the more comforts, the more weakening of character and soul. Men should learn to do without; use only the most necessary, the most indispensable things in life. To that extent he is the ascetic Hindu preaching to his people.

Then is the teaching of Khaddar, which means making and wearing only homespun cloth, and that not merely as a means of undermining British economic influence in India, but as a means of providing his people with work. Gandhi maintains that millions of Indians who are agriculturists, farmers, and whose holdings are very small,

indeed,--sometimes no larger than three acres,--can attend to their farming in less than five or six months a year and be, and are, utterly idle during the half of the year. If they can have employment in their home, if they can keep themselves busy during these idle months and supplement their meager returns from the land by some returns from handicraft, that the economic condition of his countrymen would be improved.

And lastly, of course, is the preaching to which I have already referred--the non-violence, non-killing Ahimsa. That requires, my friends, far greater courage than the other type of aggressive resistance and action. To be abused and insulted and not to retaliate, even when you can retaliate with success, requires a self-restraint and a self-discipline which takes on the character of the highest form of courage. "Those who are insulted and do not in turn insult, those who are persecuted and do not in turn persecute,"--these, said our own Rabbis, "are like unto the stars which shine in the heavens."

2/24/57

This is the force which England is facing in India today. This is the amazing personality, compounded of mysticism, of idealism, of primitism, and yet of practical political sagacity and economic wisdom, which is the great soul Gandhi, who is today becoming the symbol of India's revolt.

I want to close by reading from this book of Mr. Andrews'. By the way, I recommend to all of you to read the book called "Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas." I want to read a paragraph about the religious faith of Gandhi, so that you may know whence springs the strength and the spiritual vigor of this man. Gandhi is an orthodox Hindu; he is not a religious reformer. And yet within the framework of Hindu orthodoxy he has developed a spiritual freedom, a tolerance, a universalism which is the crown of mankind today. He says of his religion, of his faith:

"There is an indefinable mysterious Power that pervades everything. I feel it, though I do not see it. It is this unseen Power which makes itself felt and yet defies all proof, because it is so unlike all that I perceive through my senses. It transcends the senses. But it is possible to reason out the existence of God to a limited extent.

"Even in ordinary affairs we know that people do not know who rules or why and how he rules; and yet they know that there is a power that certainly rules. In my tour last year in Mysore I met many poor villagers, and I found upon inquiry that they did not know who ruled this province; they simply said some god ruled it. If the knowledge of these poor people was so limited about their ruler, I who am infinitely lesser in respect to God than

they to their ruler need not be surprised if I do not realize the presence of God, the King of kings.

"Nevertheless I do feel, as the poor villagers felt, that there is orderliness in the universe; there is an unalterable Law governing everything and every being that exists or lives. It is not a blind law; for no blind law can govern the conduct of living beings; and thanks to the marvellous researches of Sir J. C. Bose, it can now be proved that even matter is life.

"That Law, then, which governs all life is God. Law and the law-giver are one. I may not deny the Law or the Law Giver because I know so little about It or Him. Just as my denial or ignorance of the existence of an earthly power will avail me nothing, even so my denial of God and His law will not liberate me from its operation; whereas humble and mute acceptance of divine authority makes life's journey easier even as the acceptance of earthly rule makes life under it easier.

"I do dimly perceive that whilst everything around me is ever-changing, ever-dying, there is underlying all that change a Living Power that is changeless, that holds all together, that creates, dissolves and re-creates. That informing Power or Spirit is God; and since nothing else that I see merely through the senses can or will persist. He alone is.

"And is this power benevolent or malevolent?

I see it as purely benevolent. For I can see that in the midst of death life persists; in the midst of untruth, truth persists; in the midst of darkness, light persists. Hence I gather that God is Life, Truth, Light. He is Love. He is the supreme Good. But He is no God who merely satisfies the intellect, if He ever does. God, to be God, must rule the heart and transform it. He must express Himself in every smallest act of His votary. This can only be done through a definite realization more real than the five senses can ever produce. Sense perceptions can be, and often are, false and deceptive, however real they may appear to us. Where there is realization outside the senses it is infallible. It is proved, then, not to be extraneous evidence, but in the transformed conduct and character of those who have felt the real presence of God within.

"Such testimony is to be found in the experiences of an unbroken line of prophets and sages in all countries and climes. To reject this evidence is to deny oneself. This realization is preceded by an immovable faith. He who would in his own person test the fact of God's presence can do so by a living faith; and since faith itself cannot be proved by extraneous evidence, the safest course is to believe in the moral government of the world, and therefore in the supremacy of the moral law, the law of Truth and Love. Exercise of faith will be the

safest where there is a clear determination summarily to reject all that is contrary to Truth and Love."

And this last sentence about evil in the world. "I confess (says Gandhi) that I have no argument to convince through reason. Faith transcends reason. All I can advise is not to attempt the impossible. I cannot account for the existence of evil by any rational method. To want to do so is to be co-equal with God. I am therefore humble enough to recognize evil as such; and I call God long-suffering and patient precisely because He permits evil in the world. I know that He has no evil Himself; and yet if there is evil He is the author of it and yet untouched by it.

"I know, too, that I shall never know God if I do not wrestle with and against evil, even at the cost of life itself. I am fortified in the belief by my own humble and limited experience. The purer I try to become the nearer to God I feel myself to be. How much more should I be near to Him when my faith is not a mere apology, as it is today, but has become as immovable as the Himalayas and as white as the snows on their peaks?"

This is the force which is now agitating India.

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1. India is in revolt a vast continent, in area about $\frac{2}{3}$ the size, the whole of Europe, and in population $\frac{2}{3}$ the entire pop. of Europe. is in seething unrest. This is not the first Indian revolt. In all likelihood it is not the last. This revolt will be put down by force & arms, as all those which preceded it. But revolts will continue with increasing frequency in India, until that country achieves its pol. independence without any outside the Br. Commonwealth of nations. This is as certain as the law of gravitation. No foreign minority can permanently subjugate and rule a people of 320 million souls. Br. rule in India has been made possible and was continued because of the backwardness, the ignorance, and their internal divisions. But increasingly the Indian workmen ~~are~~ ^{are} are a class of educated and pol. trained men & women who are arousing and directing the best nat. authorities, their people, and who are working for the consolidation of the nat. interest, ~~the~~ all the varied elements of India in face of the foreign invader. The gathering momentum of an aroused nationalism, and resentment of foreign econ. exploitation, will prove irresistible. Other backward and divided peoples have, after much struggle, ~~found~~ ^{found} their place in the sun. So will India. The intelligent students of Eng. who are not blinded by narrow Tory imperialism, are fully conscious of it. They are advocating a policy of minimum statutes for India, and the fullest measure of self-govt for the people. It remains to be seen whether their counsel will prevail, or the counsel of unfeeling Sir-hands who ~~are~~ will not realize that the day of Empire is over - Br. can hold India only as the West Canada, N.S.W. or Ireland - as an vassal & fee-land member of a society of nations in a union of Br. States -

2. The story of its conquest & exploitation by Eur. nations is not a happy one, and does not reflect much credit upon the ^{motives of} conquering peoples. They took little benefit to the native populations. Except where the ^{as pioneers & settlers} colonized relatively empty lands, and so built up the country - as in Canada or Australia, they came as a plague and a curse upon the host and peoples - & ~~tempted~~ to oppression, extortion, exploitation and drained the ^{vital} ~~material~~ & ^{the} ~~spirit~~ of the natives. They did not improve their econ. lot. They reduced them to a ~~state of~~ ^{semi} feudal serfdom. They gave few of the benefits, w. civilization & many of its vices. The masses are in as sorry a plight as their own before the coming of the Eur. & in some cases worse -

3. India was always a glamorous, fabbed land for the Eur. & tantalized them. It was believed to be fabulously rich - a land of luxury, romance and mystery. ^{up to 15c.} ~~up to 15c.~~ ^{previously unknown} - Then urge to reach India. ^{Columbus} Vasco de Gama in 1498 actually reached India. For a 100 years thereafter, all thru 16c. Portugal sent one expedition after another to hunt upon "commerce, conquest and ^{curiosities} ~~curiosities~~ and for 100 yrs had a monopoly of Indian trade. In 17c. the Dutch, who had become greatest maritime power in world, disputed Por. monopoly of Indian trade, and established their supremacy there. England, too, ^{was} ~~was~~ English merchants were also attracted by this land of milk & honey and as early as 1602, the East India Co. was established which for 2 1/2 centuries was the channel for Eur. expansion in India. The 18c. saw ^{England} ~~England~~ the Eng. ^{dispute} ~~dispute~~ the Dutch from the Indian mainland, as well as the French who had established sea port settlements there.

at first policy of East India Co. was trade only - unarmed
trading. It had no military or ~~naval~~ ^{naval} operations, or Terr. conquest.
But by c. 1800 policy had changed. It entered deeply
into politics, the rising & falling powers, caused in
pol. intrigue for sale; imm. privileges - sided one faction
against another, put support under certain things -
and by middle 18c. ^{there was the rising of spirit in India} ~~began to take part~~
in ~~its own~~ ^{its own} ~~name~~ ^{name} into its own hands - The East India
Co. ~~threw~~ ^{threw} ~~it~~ ^{it} with the mil. power of B. Co. back, it did not
hesitate to stop to all power, ~~even~~ ^{even} ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~pol. intrigue~~
and unanimity, and to econ. extortion. Soon there were
uprisings, murders, war. For a long period up to the fatal
mutiny 1857 India was ruled by untrained one uprising
after another against the foreign invaders, brutally suppressed
by superior military equipment & still in the year following
the mutiny 1857 - India was ruled over by the British
Queen (in 1877) Queen Victoria, then the pol. Ministers,
Minister - was made Empress of India.

4. With the approach of the 20c. The nat. movement
gained headway in India - A new gen. ; Educ. Ind.
had seen, many of them trained in Eur. universities,
who were no longer controlled by the Sup. Eur. Centralization -
arose - demanded self govt - They ^{resented} ~~wanted~~ very young
2. Conquered people, being ruled & patronized looked down upon.
They were a proud & ancient people - long dominated - but now
came to life again - They saw the rule of the foreign what
it was - trained in the university, university, university university

The struggle for Swaraj began - and has continued to this day -
Movement has produced many capable Indian leaders. None as
extraordinary & inspired, and such heroic mold as
Mahandas Karamchand Gandhi, called Mahatma - "Great
Soul" - There are only 2 men who in 20c. exercised such
an amazing influence on men, & ^{women} an admiration akin to
admiration & worship - Lenin & Savarkar - ~~that they~~ ^{They} are in
outlook & temp. & phil. worlds apart - as far apart as the
Heaven and Earth from the Indian - and yet ~~there~~ ^{but} ~~the~~ [&] both in his
day & Savarkar today, have been the spokesmen ^{of the} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~the~~
of whole races & eras - I - the Econ. debater, the materialist,
the advocate of force, the dictator, the sc. intellectual, socialist.
the power, orthodox Hindu, the spiritual mystic, the ascetic,
the advocate of non-violence. I - the man whose weapon
was blood & iron ^{robust ideal} ^{prob. dictatorship} & the
^{abstract} industrialization, the whole, the new - Gandhi - when
wreathed in non-resistance, prayer & fasting - & when
ideal is forgiveness, love, & the return of India to a
simple, primitive agricultural life. Each man
spoke the need & yearning ^{& tradition} of his race - Each man
was a volcanic force!

6/1) B. 61 years ago - prominent family - Early trained by his devout Hindu mother - Married early - Goes to England to complete education - Studies law - His rel. beliefs unswerving & his standards unchanged by contact with W. civil. - but regains his sp. & intellect. equilibrium - Returns to Bombay - early struggle as a lawyer - And in 1893 goes to S. Africa - as attorney for an Indian client who had been in S. Africa - Career as Champion Indian begins there - Regarded as "Cortis" - socially

Overjoyed - Econ. down-brodden - He looks about for means to
improve their conditions. He develops Keweenaw & Am-Resistant.
He has imbibed that doctrine from his own sacred Hindu Scriptures -
Confirmed by a teaching of Jesus Christ - and reinforced by
the teaching of Tolstoy. ^{The thing done by him is what you} These 3 molded his thought & his life.
He goes up career - above poverty - & devoted himself to serving his fellowmen -
- Resist not evil - You cannot overcome evil by evil. - only way
to meet phys. force is by soul force - Let the body endure
the suffering inflicted - keep the soul apart & unobscured -
If a law is unjust - do not obey it - do not resist it
by violence. Endure prison - compensation - any punish-
ment which our magistrates will inflict on you -
only do not obey it!

(1) In S. Africa he founded a "Tolstoy Farm" - a
school of discipleship where his followers were trained
into doctrine of Keweenaw, Am-Resistant, & taught to
how to endure then to carry on -

(2) He organized very effective anti-disobedience campaigns
in S. Africa for 23 years & later this amazing weapons
brought victory. Many anti-imperialist reforms legal & econ.
upon affecting the Indians were introduced. He raised
the prestige of the Indian, his countryman - & when in 1915
he left S. Afr. to return to India - he carried with
him the affection & the praise of all India & S. Africa.

7) Pop. opinion, not withstanding, Gandhi is not an enemy, the English.
He is an enemy, yes, to the 70 years he advocated cooperation
with the British. He believed in the B. Constitution - In British justice
and fair play, while in S. Afr. & during the war, he was a
neutral ambulance corps. And again in the year 1946

and the world was - He actually used ~~even to join the~~ ^{even to join the} ~~army~~ ^{army} during the world war - pacifist tho he was -
There was a glaring inconsistency in his position - He realized it -
But he felt that so long as he lived under a system of joint
bond on face & voluntarily partook of many facilities and
privileges it created for him, he was bound to help that
just to the extent of his ability when it was engaged in
a war. He non-co-operated with that sort of
recognition to the utmost of his capacity, the privilege
it offered him -

8/ That renunciation & non-co-operation soon came.
The Alfred Dreyfus ^{The whole of world's civil. could} ~~of India~~ ^{was outraged in 1919}
by the Punjab horrors ^{The Amritsar affair} - where defenceless crowd was
maded with bullets, where Indians were compelled to
crawl on their bellies - & publicly flogged - Quit
what whacked the friends - Then came the Alfred peace
treaties which dismembered Turkey, after Ery. had promised
Moh. & India to respect integrity of Turkey & the Talifato

9/ realized that cooperation with England was impossible.
He could not trust it - Added to there was the Law
standards ^{guaranteeing} ^{① Exploitation} ^{Mr. resources for benefit}
of India ^{② As an ex-military} ^③ ^④ ^⑤
most experience in world for which Mr. was paying
③ Traffic in opium & drugs for revenue purposes ④
Reference legislation to suppress freedom of expression
⑤ Widespread treatment of Indians in the dominions -

9. Organized non-corp. Swadeshi Movement in 1920
- urged his followers not to hold peace with guilt - not
to purchase foreign goods - to refrain from buying
foreign this slogan was Ahimsa - non violence
Swadeshi - Buy only goods made in your own country
and Khaddar Spin with your own hands

(a) swept the country. Unfortunately planning not as help
needed - Non-violence ^{movement led to violence & other things} led to violence & to riots
to short-stud. Masses lost control & cos - at
times great Prison of walls - riots broke out at
Bombay - Gandhi - called off Swadeshi Followers
was not ready for it - Hunger arrested & sentenced
to prison.

10. The Struggle has now been resumed again - and
again G. is in prison - But his movement goes on -

11. Gandhi has set for himself the following tasks in life
as a way of helping his unfortunate country

(1) Hindu - Muslim Unity. 70 m. Mus. 250 Hindus -
many sources of friction bet. them. Govt is not slow to
take advantage of these pol. Expedient - The Hindu nt.
Hindu images, idolatry, many deities, elaborate ritual.
The Musl. is strictly monotheistic, opposed to all forms of idolatry.
To the Hindu cow is sacred. Musl. frequently sacrifice
cow. Musl. is a purely rel. Hinduism is not. Rel.
Hindu inter-dining & intermarriage with Mussalman -

Gandhi - has sought to reach Tolstoy, who does not have
to approach what our friends - remember them
(Common Sorrow & Common Joy - Udhi)
1924

(2) Untouchables - (4 Castes) - + Namasudras -
Pariahs - outcast - One belonged to Congress & now
Any no race - reduced to depest physical & mental
degradation - They are ^{-suffering} ~~scarcely~~ filthy with
50,000,000 of them. (Negroes)

G. Whelan in Caste - 'natural division of labor in
this cycle, existence. Not try to get rid of it - also
not join intermarriage bet. castes - But caste is
division of labor - not mark of superiority - Challenge
Caste "Untouchables" - Meet with them - share with
them! (Adopted still for) (Ours!)

(3) Swadeshi - ~~India for Indians~~ - ~~matter~~ One
should avoid luxury of the west & service, his manual
manufacturing - One should buy the concentrated products
in his village, his, country - "If not a single article
imported - milk & honey" - Boycott foreign goods -
many things we cannot get in India - also without them!

(4) Khaddar - Spin with your bare hands - & wear nothing
but home-spun garments - Tolstoy for exposed illnesses
& well-being, farmer doing more with 5 paise - Holding small
zones - idle - Subsidizing Cottage industry

⑤ Ahimsa - "Non-Killing" - You may not feed - Not Acquiescence
but not violent - Far greater courage - Superiority
without retaliation - only the good - Even to
animals!

⑥ Fearlessness -

⑥ Great Rel. Nationalism - Respect Ind. Institutions - Con-
stitution - Indian dialect - M. institutions - Ind.
culture - War against Evil & W. Civilization

12/ this religion p. 43 ✓

This is the force & the faith of the Ganges that
England faces in mortal combat to-day.
Against such numbers & faith & regeneration
~~the~~ all the crimes of the world cannot
avert!

The TEMPLE BULLETIN

THE TEMPLE

East 105th St. and Ansel Rd.
CLEVELAND, OHIO

Abba Hillel Silver, D.D.
RABBI

Rabbi Leon I. Feuer
Minister of Religious Education

SUNDAY, MAY 11TH, 10:30 A. M.

RABBI SILVER

will speak on

"GANDHI—AND THE REVOLT IN INDIA"

Friday Evening Service
5:30 to 6:10

Sabbath Morning Service
11:15 to 12:00

THE PUBLIC IS WELCOME

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The Temple Bulletin, published weekly from the middle of September to June, by Tifereth Israel Congregation, E. 105th Street at Ansel Road, Cleveland, Ohio. E. E. Wolf, Pres.; Emanuel Einstein, Treas.; Rabbi Leon I. Feuer, Editor. Subscription price, 50 cents per annum.

Entered as second-class matter, Dec. 11, 1925, at the Post office at Cleveland, Ohio, under the act of March 3, 1879.

Music for Sunday Morning, May 11th

Organ

Prelude (10:15 A. M.)

Vivo Giocoso Rogers

The Swan Saint Saens

Where Wild Judea Stretches

Far Stoughton

Postlude

Chorale—The Glorious Day

Has Now Dawned Bach

Paul Allen Beymer

Anthems

Father, Thy Children Bow in

Adoration Sullivan

Thou Who Sendest Sun and

Rain Chadwick

Will Open Allied Jewish Campaign

Rabbi Silver will open the first Allied Jewish Campaign to be launched in the United States, in Detroit on Sunday evening, May 11th. Rabbi Silver will leave Cleveland immediately after his Sunday morning service and will speak in Detroit that evening.

Rabbi Silver has also accepted an invitation to address a Jewish National Fund Mass Celebration in Chicago on May 15th.

To Address Cornell University

On Sunday, May 18th, Rabbi Silver will be the guest of Cornell University. In the morning he will preach at the Sage Chapel, in the presence of the faculty and students of the

University. He will also address the University Vesper Service. In the afternoon Rabbi Silver will be the guest of the Cornell United Religious Work, a student organization, at a tea and informal discussion and in the evening he will address the Jewish men on the campus, under the auspices of the Hillel Foundation.

T.W.A. Annual Meeting and Symposium

The Temple Women's Association closed a successful year of activities with another splendid symposium meeting on Thursday, May 1st. Mahler Hall was filled to capacity. After the reports, the excellent presidential message of Mrs. Jos H. Gross and greetings by Mrs. Charles Freund, President of the State Sisterhoods, the symposium followed with the reading of two fine papers on the Rothschild Family by Mrs. Herbert Goulder and Mrs. Myron Metzemaum. One act of "The Five Frankforters" was also presented.

All the officers were re-elected for another term. The following were elected to the Board for a three year term: Mesdames H. Auerbach, S. Bloch, Raymond Deutsch, Sidney Dryfoos, Leon I. Feuer, S. Flesheim, Geo. Furth, Robert Gries, Milton Koblit, Jos. Lehman, Jos. Mendelsohn, Max Sackheim, S. P. Schoenberger, Jacob Singer, Sam Vactor. Mrs. Sam Hartman was elected to serve an unexpired term of two years.

The year was one of many achievements for the organization. The T. W. A. this year contributed over \$3000 to various philanthropic institutions in addition to maintaining three Hebrew Union College Scholarships amounting to \$1300. A large open meeting, teas for its members, the musicale and a study group in Jewish current events were some of the features of the formal program. The Tuesday Sewing Groups met regu-

(Continued on page 4)

OUR EIGHTIETH ANNIVERSARY WILL BE CELEBRATED

Sunday Morning, May 25th, 10:30

The Anniversary Service

—o—

Monday Evening, May 26th

Anniversary Dinner—Hotel Cleveland

Speakers

FELIX M. WARBURG

NEWTON D. BAKER

More of the Story of the Temple

In telling the story of the growth of the Temple from its humble beginnings to its present position as one of the great liberal congregations of America, it is interesting to record some of the steps toward reform which were made by the early organizers. The transition toward reform was not a hurried process, but a slow, gradual development which took place not without difficulty and struggle. A suggestion made in 1859 that two traditional prayers be left out of the service met with great opposition but was carried. The suggestion, however, to abolish the ceremony of the priestly blessing was vetoed. In 1861 a radical step was taken with the introduction of family pews, choir and organ. The same year the question of abolishing the second day holiday services was raised and tabled. It was not until six years later that this was finally done. In 1866 the reform prayer book, the "Minhag America" of Dr. Isaac Mayer Wise, was adopted, but not until after a serious struggle, during which a number of members resigned from the congregation. The first Confirmation Service was held in 1868, a class of eight boys and eight girls being confirmed. In 1869 a motion to remove hats in the Temple was passed. The final step toward reform was taken with the introduction of the Sunday lectures by Dr. Hahn in 1886.

The coming of Rabbi Gries to Cleveland and the building of the new Temple at Central Avenue and East 55th Street marked the beginning of a period of great organizational activity in the life of the congregation. A number of subsidiary organizations came into existence, including the Temple Society, which conducted university extension classes and popular lectures; the Temple Women's Association; and the Temple Alumni Association. Under the leadership of Rabbi Gries the Temple developed into the first Institutional Synagogue in the United States, sponsoring a varied program of activities, including lectures, clubs, athletics and other educational and recreational features. The organizing ability of Rabbi Gries also reflected itself in the initiation of other organizations, not directly connected with the Temple, but which owed their existence to his leadership, such as the Cleveland Council of Jewish Women, the Educational League, the Council Educational Alliance and the Jewish Religious Education Association of Ohio, of which Rabbi Gries was the first president and which is now presided over by Rabbi Feuer.

In June, 1917, Rabbi Gries retired from active service and Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver was installed as rabbi of the Temple. Since that year the congregation has experienced a tremendous growth, and a number of significant changes have taken place. The most important of these was the building and dedication in September, 1924, of our present magnificent house of worship, generally regarded as one of the most beautiful religious structures in the country. The membership of the Temple has increased from 850 to 1600 families and the enrollment of the Religious School from 863 to 1283.

1924, the year of the dedication of the new Temple, witnessed the introduction of the Friday Evening Vesper Services, the organization of the Temple Men's Club and of the Temple High School Department. The teaching of the Hebrew language was introduced as an integral part of the work of the entire school. That year Mr. Solomon Bluhm was appointed Director of Religious Education and Activities.

Rabbi Silver joined with Rabbi Wolsey in founding the Normal School for the training of religious school teachers, now the Jewish Teachers' Institute, and was largely instrumental in establishing the Bureau of Jewish Education, whose president he has been since its inception.

In 1927 Rabbi Leon I. Feuer came to the Temple to assist Rabbi Silver and to assume charge of the educational work of the Temple. The Religious School was departmentalized, the Junior High School holding its sessions on Saturday morning instead of Sunday morning. On November 5th of that year the traditional Saturday Morning Service was reintroduced.

In 1929 a new and radical experiment in Temple life was inaugurated when the annual meeting of the congregation adopted the New Temple Policy, aiming at the intensification of the religious and cultural activities of the Temple and the elimination of the purely recreational. Thus Tifereth Israel once again demonstrated its pioneering spirit, being the first congregation in the United States to attempt a definite formulation of the function and place of the synagogue in modern American life.

(Continued from page 2)

T.W.A. Annual Meeting

larly with a splendid attendance each week. The work of these groups enabled the Sisterhood to make its many philanthropic and educational donations. The various committees functioned effectively in their respective fields of work. One hundred and twenty new members were enrolled in the Association during the course of the year.

Jewish Book Week

In line with a nation-wide movement the Temple Library is holding a Jewish Book Week from May 11th to May 18th. The latest works in Jewish fiction, drama, biography and history will be displayed. The Temple Library is a rich treasure house of Jewish literature. Members of the congregation are invited to visit the Library during Jewish Book Week and familiarize themselves with what it has to offer.

Temple Religious School

Total enrollment, including the High School, 1283.

Number of pupils, kindergarten through 9th grade, 1150.

Average attendance, 93½%.

The following classes had 100% attendance: Kg. B, Miss Pikkell; 3D, Miss Savlan; 3F, Miss Curtis; 4A, Miss Hurwitz; 4C, Miss Bremson; 5A, Mr. Kane; 6E, Miss Hurwitz; 8B, Miss Gans; 8D, Mrs. Rettenberg; 9A, Mrs. Reich; 9D, Mrs. Blum; 9E, Mrs. Cole; 9F, Miss Rubin.

Sunshine Fund

The collection of the Sunshine Fund for the week was \$39.59.

The Study of the Wise

The proper study of a wise man is not how to die, but how to live.

A man who desires to help others by counsel or deed will refrain from dwelling on men's faults, and will speak but sparingly of human weaknesses. But he will speak at large of man's virtue and power, and the means of perfecting the same, that thus men may endeavor joyously to live, so far as in them lies, after the commandment of reason.

BENEDICT SPINOZA.

A man should so live that at the close of every day he can repeat: "I have not wasted my day."—*The Zohar*.

The University on Mount Scopus

(From an article in "The New Palestine" by Prof. Julian Obermann, on the fifth anniversary of the founding of the Hebrew University.)

The Hebrew University is these days celebrating the fifth anniversary of its existence. In Jerusalem the celebration was marked officially by the opening of the University Library. Considering the endless and formidable chain of circumstances which led up to them, both the anniversary and the opening are most noteworthy events.

I cannot speak of the Hebrew University without a certain breathlessness. Somehow I cannot dissociate it from its momentous historic surroundings. I saw Jerusalem for the first time when the University buildings on Mount Scopus were already erected, towering white and bright above the Holy City. It was my privilege for a short time to teach in one of these buildings when they were first made available to students. Whatever I taught—I learned infinitely more. Whatever I may have given—my reward was out of all proportion to it. For nearly a lifetime I had studied the Judaism of the past. Here, in and around the Miklalah and the almost legendary exquisiteness of its scenery, I was given a perception of a Judaism of the future.

Is it not as though the prophecies of Micah and Isaiah were about to come true? As though the time of fulfillment of their predictions, however venturesome and unrealizable, were none the less at hand? Is not Mount Scopus loftier than all the hills around? And do they not flow unto it from among all the nations, all the tongues, all the lands of the earth? Is it not as though out of Zion is once more to come forth instruction, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem? Is a reality of shortcomings and discord and spiritual starvation to be overcome by the dreams of prophecy?

Behold, in a less confused, not necessarily distant future, a world center for the study of the science of Judaism!

Next to being a world center of the science of Judaism, the Miklalah is the University of Palestine. Parallel to the central faculty of humanistic sciences is a central faculty comprising such natural sciences as are applicable to the particular needs of the Holy Land. Tropical medicine, agriculture, technology, geography and geology—each of these fields has an institute and a laboratory of its own. Instruction and research in all institutions and laboratories are so conducted that they are of immediate service to the physical welfare of Palestine. Every citizen of Palestine, whether Jew, Moslem, or Christian, is equally entitled to a place in classroom and laboratory. Here Jewish and Arab students meet in their eagerness to make modern science serve the country which they both so vehemently love, just as they meet in departments of humanistic studies on the ground of learning to understand the problems of their racial, historical, religious, cultural relations. For by now some of the most learned sheikhs of Palestine—always provided that they are personally and academically fitted to teach in a secular and non-partisan Hebrew university—are holding chairs in the departments of Arabistics and Islamology of the Miklalah. The Hebrew University has become the Alma Mater of Palestine's youth; the intellectual meeting-ground of her citizens; the source of knowledge and education and science in Palestine.

But its main and foremost function remains that of Alma Mater to world Jewry; the highest seat of Jewish learning; a center cultivating the understanding of a Judaism without adjectives and attributes. Young rabbis of every denominational shade, after having completed their theological studies at this or that seminary in the Diaspora, come to the Hebrew University to spend the period of their post-graduate work. Here they receive an insight into Jewish values unmarred by the necessities of "adjustment" and "adaptation". Here they are subjected to experiencing the spirit of Hebrew life and Hebrew thought and Hebrew culture, free from the routine of the Galuth. Here, under the unerring guidance of science and learning, they gain an understanding of the Bible obtainable only in the land of the Bible. And from here they bring back to their

congregations a message that cannot fail. They will have lost some of their fluency of speech, some of their social alertness and elasticity, some of their belief in doing the regular thing. But they will have acquired a glowing message. A new heart and a new spirit has been imparted to them. They have beheld the wonders of ancient Israel and of historical Judaism, and they are determined to preach the inalienable message of this Israel and Judaism. Now that they speak with the power of experience and the authority of firsthand knowledge, their congregations listen to them with eyes and ears wide open. What they say captivates the old and kindles the hearts of the young; a message Hebrew in tongue and in spirit. Thus the Hebrew University has become the Alma Mater of the Jews of the world. The streams of her instruction reach the Jews of all lands through the mediation of those who have drunk at her living source. Thus from Zion comes forth Torah, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.

A vision? A dream? Yes. But if you go to Jerusalem and walk up to Mount Scopus and see what has been accomplished in five years, you perceive that the realization of that vision and that dream has already begun. It began on that day of April, 1925, when men from all over the world, united by no other ties than those of spirit, gathered in Jerusalem and laid the foundation for a Hebrew university on a bare hill.

The Temple Gratefully Acknowledges the Following Contributions:

To the Floral Fund

Mrs. Frances Strauss

In memory of Mr. Sam Scheuer

To the Library Fund

Miss Bertha Goldsmith

In memory of Edith L. Weglein

Mrs. Morris Woodle and

In memory of Mrs. Sarah G. Lichtig

Mrs. Dave Sandrowitz

Mr. and Mrs. Harold
Schwartz

In memory of mother, Mrs. Etta Schwartz
and sister, Mrs. Ella Rudolph

To the Scholarship Fund

Mr. and Mrs. B. F. Klein

In memory of Mr. Jacob Firth

Mr. and Mrs. B. F. Klein

In memory of Mr. Morris N. Halle

Mrs. S. P. Schoenberger

In memory of Mr. Louis Lyons

Mrs. S. P. Schoenberger

In commemoration of the birthday of Ella
Lyons Rudolph

Clarice and Charles E. Auer-
bach

In memory of grandparents, Mr. and Mrs. Isa-
dore Eisenman

Mrs. Fannie Morris

In memory of mother, Celia Levison