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there." Gandhi did not wait; he wrote instead to Tolstoy for verification of its authenticity. Dr. Mehta discussed another problem in his 29 September letter: "It is that they want to print it along with an answer. It should not be printed with a rejoinder!! All these matters I will settle before I leave this place. It should be done according to our wishes."<sup>24</sup> Clearly the persons who transmitted the letter, like Tarak Nath Das himself, disputed Tolstoy's views, but Dr. Mehta wanted it to receive a friendly introduction, which he encouraged Gandhi to write. Dr. Mehta considered the letter so important that he recommended its simultaneous publication in England, South Africa, and India, for maximum effect, and promised to bear the printing costs personally.

Tarak Nath Das had asked Tolstoy for help in securing the freedom of India, but Tolstoy declared that the ills of all nations stemmed from that neglect of religious teaching which was only too clear in Das's newspaper, which bore at its masthead the same Herbert Spencer quotation employed by *The Indian Sociologist*. Tolstoy presented a dissertation on the perversion of love by power, both in the old religions and in the newer "scientific" philosophies, and declared that Das had been deceived by his English teachers:

With a light heart and in the twentieth century you, an adherent of a religious people, deny their law, feeling convinced of your scientific enlightenment and your right to do so, and you repeat (do not take this amiss) the amazing stupidity indoctrinated in you by the advocates of the use of violence — the enemies of truth, the servants first of theology and then of science — your European teachers.

You say that the English have enslaved your people and hold them in subjugation because the latter have not resisted resolutely enough and have not met force by force.

But the case is just the opposite. If the English have enslaved the people of India it is just because the latter recognized, and still recognize, force as the fundamental principle of the social order.<sup>25</sup>

Therefore, he concluded, "it is not the English who have enslaved

<sup>24</sup> Mehta to Gandhi, Sept. 27, 1909. S.N. 5097, and Sept. 29, 1909, S.N. 5101, both in Gujarati. Translated by Mr. Sharad Pandya of the Gandhi Smarak Sangrahalaya Samiti, New Delhi.

<sup>25</sup> Tolstoy, Leo, *Recollections and Essays* (London, 1937) 426f.

the Indians, but the Indians who have enslaved themselves."<sup>26</sup> What the Indians and all oppressed peoples need is not more government or education or machinery or science, but love.

On the voyage home, Gandhi did the translation but wrote two prefaces for it, one in Gujarati and one in English. He called it "Letter to a Hindoo," and gave it a subtitle, "The Subjection of India — Its Cause and Cure," reflecting Carpenter's words. He pointed out that Tolstoy commended nonviolence and opposition to the Japanese style of industrialism and militarism, laying stress on the necessity of personal commitment and action. "If we do not want the English in India we must pay the price," he declared, and the price would be nonresistance and noncooperation: "Do not resist evil, but also do not yourselves participate in evil."<sup>27</sup> For his Gujarati readers he added a brief introduction to Tolstoy and his philosophy:

An oppressor's efforts will be in vain if we refuse to submit to his tyranny. ... Slavery consists in submitting to an unjust order, not in suffering ourselves to be kicked. Real courage and humanity consist in not returning a kick for a kick. This is the core of Tolstoy's teaching.<sup>28</sup>

#### D. HIND SWARAJ

On the same homeward voyage, Gandhi composed his most powerful book, *Hind Swaraj, or Indian Home Rule*. It was the most imaginative, intense and idiosyncratic of his writings, and the one in which he carried his rejection of the West to lengths he never again reached (or so I believe). All of the disgust and disillusionment of the recent weeks in London, fortified by the thought of Carpenter and Chesterton and above all Tolstoy, and brought to a fine edge by his encounter with the radical anarchists, took shape in this work. It would be the longest writing Gandhi ever composed in a single sitting, a pamphlet of about 80 pages divided into 20 chapters. Unlike the carefully worded petitions and depositions for the government, this was an articulation of the man himself, and it was written in the language

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 427.

<sup>27</sup> *CWMG*, X, 4.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.