THE COLLECTED WORKS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

XVI

(1919-1920)

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THE COLLECTED WORKS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

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VOLUME SIXTEEN



THE PUBLICATIONS DIVISION

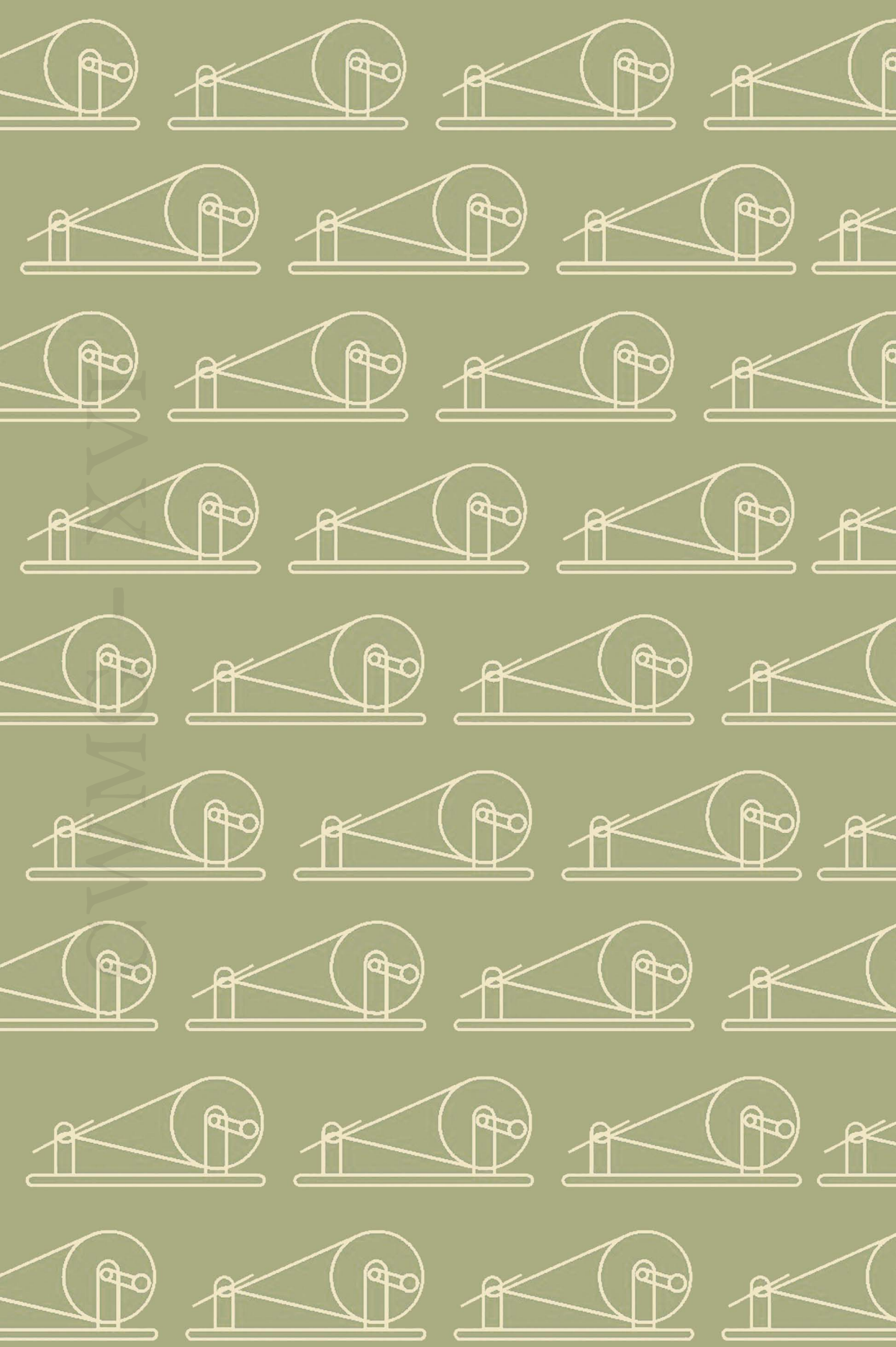
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THE PUBLICATIONS DIVISION
MINISTRY OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

July 1965 (*Shravana 1887*)

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PUBLISHED BY THE DIRECTOR, THE PUBLICATIONS DIVISION, DELHI-6
AND PRINTED IN INDIA BY JIVANJI D. DESAI, NAVAJIVAN PRESS,
AHMEDABAD-14

PREFACE

This volume covers the six months from August 1919 to January 1920. It was a period of uneasy peace following a storm and the foundering of hopes. Gandhiji's overall assessment of the first nine months of 1919 runs thus: "...we are faced with despair everywhere. It was confidently hoped that, at the close of the War, India would get something substantial, but the hope turned out to be false. For aught we know the reforms may not come. Even if they do, they will be worthless. . . . We have to wait and see. The Punjab has been a scene of most revolting episodes. Innocent lives have been lost. . . . The gulf between the rulers and the ruled has been widened." (p. 259). The only silver lining to the "thick dark cloud of despair", according to Gandhiji, was the dawn of satyagraha.

The Rowlatt Act, which had been the cause of the upheaval of April 1919, had not been repealed. Greatly distressed over this, Gandhiji asked: "Is the will of the people to prevail or that of the Government?" (p. 23). For securing its repeal, Gandhiji tried, in the first instance (p. 53), the old method of sustained and orderly agitation and education of public opinion. He recommended a mass petition after the style of the Congress-League Scheme memorial. When the All-India Home Rule League drew up such a petition, he appealed to all the people to sign it (p. 236). Montagu was reported to have declared that the Rowlatt Act would never be repealed. To this Gandhiji's retort was that General Smuts had said the same thing about the Transvaal Asiatic Act in 1909, but the Indians' satyagraha had compelled him to remove the racial bar from the Immigration Law in 1914. Official intransigence stiffened Gandhiji's attitude and he soon realized that the only answer to the Rowlatt Act was civil resistance and that constitutional measures like a petition were totally ineffective (p. 449).

The Punjab occupied the major part of Gandhiji's public activity during this period. He was grieved over the sufferings of the people under the repressive acts of the Government and lent his active support to measures for organizing relief. Time and again he used the columns of his papers to raise his voice against the arbitrary, unjust and disproportionate sentences which were passed on all and sundry. He wrote: "During the whole course of my practice of law, by no means inconsiderable, extending over an

unbroken period of nearly twenty years, I have never come across cases in which capital punishment has been so lightly pronounced on the flimsiest evidence taken down in a most perfunctory manner. . . . " (p. 45).

Examining the Martial Law cases critically, he demanded review, revision and, often, the reversal of the cruel sentences imposed on innocent people. He was convinced that Doctors Kitchlew and Satyapal, the deported leaders, were accused of all sorts of things they had never done or speeches that they had never made (p. 85). It was no joke for him, he wrote, to be outside prison walls when so many in the Punjab were suffering imprisonment for no fault save that of daring to serve their country to the best of their ability (pp. 72-3). The least that could be done in the circumstances was to have an impartial enquiry held into the happenings in the Punjab. Writing on September 7 regarding the appointment of the Hunter Inquiry Committee, Gandhiji hoped that justice would be done and called upon experienced men everywhere to present facts fearlessly before it. On October 2, he urged Swami Shraddhanand, the Arya Samaj leader, to set up a central body to collect and tender evidence.

On October 29, along with C. F. Andrews, Gandhiji met Lord Hunter, the chairman of the Disorders Inquiry Committee, which held its first sitting in Delhi on November 3. Gandhiji wrote to the Lt.-Governor of the Punjab demanding recognition of the right of public bodies to lead evidence before the Hunter Committee. It was also necessary to release the Punjab leaders on parole for this purpose. The Punjab Government's refusal to let imprisoned leaders appear before the Committee amounted, in Gandhiji's opinion, to the denial of a right to which any criminal was entitled. He conveyed to the Punjab Government the decision of the Congress Sub-committee, which was set up to inquire into the Punjab disturbances, to boycott the Hunter Committee. The Congress Sub-committee appointed Motilal Nehru, C. R. Das, Abbas Tyabji, Fazl Hussain and Gandhiji as Commissioners for preparing an independent Congress report on the disturbances. Gandhiji made an extensive tour of the Punjab, addressing gatherings, meeting people and collecting evidence—an experience which he described as 'precious' and shared with the readers of *Navajivan* in a series of "Punjab Letters".

To the widespread discontent over the continuance of the Rowlatt Act was added another grievance. The Muslim demand for the continuance of the Khalif's control over Arabia and the holy places of Islam was one of the issues which dominated the

political landscape during this time. On September 18, Gandhiji addressed the Khilafat meeting in Bombay, which adopted a resolution expressing anxiety over the dismemberment of Turkey and demanded the fulfilment of British promises. October 17 was observed as 'Khilafat Day'. Gandhiji addressed letters to the Press and stressed in *Navajivan* the significance of the 'Day'. He also communicated with important Indian leaders. When official peace celebrations were announced for the middle of December, Gandhiji considered it necessary for Indians to completely dissociate themselves from them so long as the Muslim demand was not granted. The Khilafat claim, he emphasized, was backed by justice, the declarations of British Ministers and the united strength of Hindu and Muslim opinion. Gandhiji made the 'Khilafat' a plank for Hindu-Muslim unity, believing as he did that, if the Hindus befriended the Muslims in the hour of their trial, the two communities would come closer together.

Popular resentment over the Rowlatt Act and its aftermath and the Muslims' apprehensions about the Khilafat notwithstanding, Gandhiji continued to believe in the country realizing its political aspirations with British co-operation. In the first week of December 1919, the Reforms Bill had its third reading in the House of Commons. Gandhiji was against rejecting the Reforms, as they conceded important rights, for which thanks were due to Mr. Montagu. The country had to send honest and competent representatives to the legislature and secure justice vis-a-vis the Rowlatt Act and the Punjab. In the last resort they had the weapon of satyagraha (p. 342). When the Royal Proclamation was issued on December 24, Gandhiji described it as evidence of the British intention to do justice. He considered it the duty of the country to work the reforms in order "to make them a thorough success and thus anticipate the time for a full measure of responsibility" (p. 361). A logical corollary to this was Gandhiji's moving the Reforms resolution at the Amritsar Congress which, *inter alia*, hoped that "the authorities and the people will co-operate so to work the reforms as to secure an early establishment of full responsible government" (pp. 363-4).

The most significant feature of this period, from the point of view of the evolution of Gandhiji's leadership, was his patient effort at educating public opinion on the meaning of satyagraha. The events of April 1919 had convinced him of the absolute necessity of such education. Neither the people nor the Government had understood that Gandhiji conceived satyagraha not merely as a political weapon but as a technique of employing soul-force for

solving all the problems of life. It could be applied for almost any reform in any sphere (p. 123). It meant, in essence, resistance of wrong by quiet and dignified suffering (p. 317). It encompassed the spheres of swadeshi, social reforms and political reforms. The permanence of these reforms was ensured only so far as these were based on satyagraha (p. 260). It was his purpose in life, he declared, to demonstrate that the strongest physical force bends before moral force when it is used in the defence of truth (p. 23). In his reply to the 'Pennsylvanian', Gandhiji emphasized that satyagraha was nothing else but a moral revolution and that civil resistance was only a necessary part of it (p. 49). In his famous rejoinder to Lokamanya Tilak's interpretation of the *Bhagavad Gita*, he affirmed that the law was not to return evil for evil, but good for evil (pp. 490-1).

The record of Gandhiji's testimony before the Disorders Inquiry Committee is an outstanding document. On January 5, he submitted a statement to the Committee in which he gave a brief exposition of the science of satyagraha and the movement against the Rowlatt Act. Referring to the developments in the Punjab and Ahmedabad, he said that he did not believe "there was any revolutionary movement behind the excesses. They could hardly be dignified by the term 'rebellion' " (p. 371). He clarified the purpose of the general hartal in April 1919, criticized the restraint order served on him to turn him "away from a mission of peace" (p. 389), and considered the violence in Ahmedabad and Viramgam as unjustified and the work of "half-educated raw youths" (p. 392). Satyagraha had been suspended not because it was unsuitable to the masses, but because it was not in the right season (p. 416). Gandhiji confirmed that it had been neither the cause nor the occasion of the upheaval (p. 426). After setting out the objections to the Rowlatt Act, Gandhiji declared: "But for satyagraha, India would have witnessed scenes perhaps more terrible than it has passed through" (p. 460).

For India's triple malady of disease, hunger and lack of clothing, swadeshi was his sole remedy. Through swadeshi he hoped to restore to the agriculturists an old-time subsidiary occupation of theirs (p. 8). Through it, he held, every village in India could become self-supporting and self-producing. It was an evolutionary process which would gain strength as the country went forward (p. 482). He looked upon it as a movement which nourished the life of the nation, helped its poor and protected the chastity of its women. It was calculated to bring economic independence to the country in a simple and easy manner (p. 132). But he distinguished

between boycott and swadeshi. The former, he said, was a sign of anger and indicated weakness.

In the midst of all his pressing preoccupations with the Indian situation, Gandhiji still found time, now and again, to educate public opinion through the Press on worsening conditions in South Africa. The passage of the 'Undesirables Ordinance' in the Transvaal virtually amounted to the confiscation of Indians' primary trading and land rights in South Africa. The announcement of a Commission of Inquiry with the possibility of Indian representation on it relieved the gloom, but only a little as its terms were restricted to trading licences. Withal, Gandhiji deprecated the adoption of retaliatory measures by India. A vivid flashback into Gandhiji's motivation in the Kheda and Champaran struggles was furnished in his defence of Sankaran Nair's minute of dissent in the Viceroy's Executive Council. His fearless criticism of executive high-handedness and what he considered judicial irresponsibility brought him into conflict with the Bombay High Court. He did not allow this, however, to deflect him from his arduous duties in the Punjab.

It was during this period that Gandhiji took up the publication of *Young India* and *Navajivan* under his own editorial care. He felt that he had something to give to India which no one else had in equal measure, and wanted to give it through his own journals (p. 92). While using them to educate public opinion on political matters, he made them instruments of social service and the regeneration of national life in all fields. *Navajivan* means "renewal of life", and Gandhiji sought to bring this about by activating the moral energy which the people had inherited through the centuries. In simple, easy Gujarati, he addressed the people directly, argued with them, coaxed and rebuked them as one of themselves. In the process, he freed the language from the artificiality of an exclusive tradition of writing and ushered in a new era in Gujarati literature.

CWMG - XVI

NOTE TO THE READER

In reproducing English material, every endeavour has been made to adhere strictly to the original. Obvious typographical errors have been corrected and words abbreviated in the text spelt out. Variant spellings of names have, however, been retained as in the original.

Matter in square brackets has been supplied by the Editors. Quoted passages, where these are in English, have been set up in small type and printed with an indent. Indirect reports of speeches and passages which are not by Gandhiji have been set up in small type.

While translating from the Gujarati and Hindi, efforts have been made to achieve fidelity and also readability in English. Where English translations of these are available, they have been used with such changes as were necessary to bring them into conformity with the original.

The date of an item where available or could be inferred has been indicated at the top right-hand corner; if the original is undated, the inferred date is supplied within square brackets, with reasons where necessary. The date given at the end of an item alongside the source is that of publication.

References in footnotes to Volume I of this series are to the August 1958 edition. References to *An Autobiography or the Story of My Experiments with Truth* cite only the Part and Chapter, in view of the varying pagination in different editions.

In the source-line, the symbol S.N. stands for documents available in Sabarmati Sangrahalaya, Ahmedabad; G.N. refers to those available in the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi and Sangrahalaya, New Delhi; C.W. denotes documents secured by the Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi; and N.A.I. refers to the National Archives of India.

Textual items, received too late for inclusion in their chronological order, have been given in the Addenda.

The Appendices provide background material relevant to the text. A list of sources and a chronology for the period covered by the volume are also provided at the end.

CWMG - XVI

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

For material in this volume, we are indebted to the Sabarmati Ashram Preservation and Memorial Trust and Sangrahalaya, the Navajivan Trust, and the Gujarat Vidyapith Granthalaya, Ahmedabad; the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi and Sangrahalaya, and the National Archives of India, New Delhi; the Bombay Government Home Department, Bombay; the India Office Library, London; Shri Chhaganlal Gandhi, Ahmedabad; Shri Narandas Gandhi, Rajkot; Shri Narayan Desai, Bardoli; Smt. Radhabehn Choudhri, Calcutta; Mr. A. H. West; the publishers of the books—*An Autobiography or the Story of My Experiments with Truth*, *Bapuni Prasadi*, *Disorders Inquiry Committee Report*, *Mahadevbhaini Diary*, *Mahatma Gandhi*, *My Dear Child*, *Report of the Thirty-fourth Session of the Indian National Congress* and *True Education*; and the following newspapers and journals: *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, *The Bombay Chronicle*, *The Bombay Law Reporter*, *Gujarat Mitra ane Gujarat Darpan*, *Gujarati*, *The Hindu*, *India*, *Indian Opinion*, *Indian Review*, *Kathiawar Times*, *The Leader*, *Navajivan*, *New India*, *The Times of India*, *The Tribune* and *Young India*.

For research and reference facilities, we owe thanks to the All-India Congress Committee Library, the Gandhi Smarak Sangrahalaya, the Indian Council of World Affairs Library, the Research and Reference Division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, New Delhi; the Sabarmati Sangrahalaya and the Gujarat Vidyapith Granthalaya, Ahmedabad.

CWMG - XVI

CONTENTS

	PREFACE	v
	NOTE TO THE READER	xi
	ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	xiii
	ILLUSTRATIONS	xxiii
1	TELEGRAM TO SWAMI SHRADDHANAND (Before 2-8-1919)	1
2	AN APPEAL FROM THE PUNJAB (2-8-1919)	1
3	INTERVIEW TO A JOURNALIST (4-8-1919)	3
4	LETTER TO G. S. ARUNDALE (4-8-1919)	5
5	LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI (4-8-1919)	7
6	LETTER TO MANUBHAI NANDSHANKAR MEHTA (4-8-1919)	8
7	LETTER TO A. H. WEST (4-8-1919)	9
8	SHAKING CIVIL RESISTERS (6-8-1919)	10
9	LETTER TO ABDUL AZIZ (8-8-1919)	13
10	SPEECH AT DECCAN SABHA, POONA (8-8-1919)	16
11	SPEECH AT GUJARATI BANDHU SABHA, POONA (8-8-1919)	18
12	THE ROWLATT ACT (9-8-1919)	22
13	LETTER TO G. A. NATESAN (9-8-1919)	24
14	LETTER TO MOHANLAL PANDYA (12-8-1919)	24
15	NOTE ON LALA LAJPAT RAI'S LETTER (Before 13-8-1919)	25
16	LETTER TO THE PRESS (13-8-1919)	25
17	LETTER TO THE PRESS (14-8-1919)	27
18	SPEECH AT SWADESHI BHANDAR, GODHRA (14-8-1919)	28
19	SPEECH AT WOMEN'S MEETING, GODHRA (14-8-1919)	28
20	SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, GODHRA (14-8-1919)	29
21	SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, GODHRA (15-8-1919)	31
22	SIR SANKARAN NAIR AND GOVERNMENT (16-8-1919)	31
23	WHAT TO DO? (16-8-1919)	36
24	LETTER TO V. S. SUNDARAM (17-8-1919)	38
25	LETTER TO C. ROBERTS (17-8-1919)	39
26	LETTER TO "THE TIMES OF INDIA" (18-8-1919)	41
27	LETTER TO INDRA VIDYALANKAR (18-8-1919)	44
28	LETTER TO P. S. TO GOVERNOR, BOMBAY (19-8-1919)	44
29	ANOTHER SCANDAL (20-8-1919)	45
30	LETTER TO "THE TIMES OF INDIA" (20-8-1919)	49
31	LETTER TO ISHARDAS KHANNA (20-8-1919)	51
32	LETTER TO LALA LAJPAT RAI (20-8-1919)	52
33	LETTER TO LALLUBHAI SAMALDAS MEHTA (20-8-1919)	53
34	LETTER TO C. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARIAR (21-8-1919)	53
35	LETTER TO LADY TATA (21-8-1919)	54

CWMG - XVI

36	LETTER TO DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION, BOMBAY (21-8-1919)	54
37	FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI (21-8-1919)	55
38	LETTER TO P. S. TO LT.-GOVERNOR, PUNJAB (22-8-1919)	56
39	LETTER TO P. S. TO LORD WILLINGDON (22-8-1919)	57
40	LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS (22-8-1919)	58
41	LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING (24-8-1919)	59
42	LETTER TO P. S. TO GOVERNOR, BOMBAY (25-8-1919)	60
43	LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING (After 25-8-1919)	62
44	SIR SANKARAN NAIR AND CHAMPARAN (27-8-1919)	63
45	EXTRACT FROM LETTER TO ABDUL BARI (27-8-1919)	70
46	LETTER TO G. E. CHATFIELD (28-8-1919)	71
47	LETTER TO MRS. CLAYTON (28-8-1919)	72
48	LETTER TO DR. SATYAPAL (28-8-1919)	72
49	LETTER TO "THE TIMES OF INDIA" (29-8-1919)	73
50	"AUDI ALTERAM PARTEM" (30-8-1919)	75
51	LETTER TO THE PRESS (30-8-1919)	78
52	SPEECH AT WOMEN'S MEETING, DOHAD (31-8-1919)	79
53	SPEECH AT WEAVERS' MEETING, DOHAD (31-8-1919)	81
54	SPEECH AT MEETING OF ANTYAJAS, DOHAD (31-8-1919)	83
55	VICTIMS, NOT GUILTY (3-9-1919)	84
56	DR. SATYAPAL'S CASE (3-9-1919)	85
57	LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI (3-9-1919)	87
58	INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA (6-9-1919)	87
59	LETTER TO THE PRESS (6-9-1919)	90
60	TELEGRAM TO P. S. TO VICEROY (6-9-1919)	91
61	OUR AIM (7-9-1919)	92
62	STORY OF KHEDA (7-9-1919)	95
63	FINE ON NADIAD AND BAREJADI (7-9-1919)	98
64	THE PUNJAB SITUATION (7-9-1919)	102
65	UNHAPPY PUNJAB (7-9-1919)	103
66	TURKEY (7-9-1919)	104
67	INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA (7-9-1919)	106
68	SIGNIFICANCE OF FIJI STRUGGLE (7-9-1919)	109
69	NOTES (7-9-1919)	110
70	SPEECH ON SWADESHI, BOMBAY (7-9-1919)	112
71	TELEGRAM TO HOME SECRETARY (After 7-9-1919)	113
72	THE VICEROY'S SPEECH : INQUIRY COMMITTEE (10-9-1919)	113
73	LALA LABHU RAM (10-9-1919)	119
74	SATYAGRAHA (11-9-1919)	122
75	SWADESHI IN A NUTSHELL (11-9-1919)	125
76	LETTER TO J. CRERAR (12-9-1919)	126
77	GUJARATIMAL'S CASE (13-9-1919)	127

CWMG - XVI

78	A SHAMEFUL SIN (14-9-1919)	129
79	HOW TO REMOVE THE BLOT (14-9-1919)	131
80	ADVERTISEMENTS (14-9-1919)	133
81	SWADESHI V. MACHINERY? (14-9-1919)	134
82	TELEGRAM TO SIR GEORGE BARNES (14-9-1919)	135
83	VICEROY'S SPEECH (14-9-1919)	135
84	A DIALOGUE (14-9-1919)	142
85	NOTES (14-9-1919)	144
86	TELEGRAM TO MAHADEV DESAI (15-9-1919)	145
87	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (15-9-1919)	146
88	LABH SINGH (17-9-1919)	147
89	TELEGRAM TO KHILAFAT COMMITTEE (17-9-1919)	150
90	LETTER TO CHHOTALAL TEJPAL (17-9-1919)	150
91	SPEECH ON KHILAFAT, BOMBAY (18-9-1919)	151
92	RESOLUTION AT KHILAFAT MEETING (18-9-1919)	153
93	THE INDEMNITY BILL (20-9-1919)	153
94	LETTER TO G. S. ARUNDALE (20-9-1919)	155
95	NOTES (21-9-1919)	156
96	DISAPPOINTMENT (21-9-1919)	162
97	MORE PUNJAB TRAGEDIES (24-9-1919)	165
98	TO THE PUBLIC OUTSIDE GUJARAT (24-9-1919)	167
99	SPEECH ON SWADESHI, RAJKOT (25-9-1919)	167
100	SPEECH AT WOMEN'S MEETING, RAJKOT (25-9-1919)	168
101	SPEECH AT RAJKOT MEETING (25-9-1919)	169
102	HOW NOT TO DO IT (27-9-1919)	170
103	LETTER OF THANKS (28-9-1919)	174
104	FINES IMPOSED ON NADIAD AND BAREJADI (28-9-1919)	175
105	THE PUNJAB COMMITTEE (28-9-1919)	178
106	REQUEST TO CONTRIBUTORS (28-9-1919)	180
107	FATHER OF THE WORLD [–I] (28-9-1919)	181
108	NOTES (28-9-1919)	183
109	SPEECH AT KATHIAWAR PATIDAR CONFERENCE (28-9-1919)	185
110	SPEECH AT KATHIAWAR PATIDAR CONFERENCE (28-9-1919)	190
111	LETTER TO G. E. CHATFIELD (29-9-1919)	191
112	LETTER TO P. S. TO VICEROY (30-9-1919)	193
113	LETTER TO SHUAIB QURESHI (September 1919)	194
114	THE PUNJAB STUDENTS (1-10-1919)	195
115	NATIVE STATES' SUBJECTS (1-10-1919)	196
116	TELEGRAM TO P. S. TO GOVERNOR, BOMBAY (1-10-1919)	199
117	SPEECH AT ANNIE BESANT FELICITATION MEETING (1-10-1919)	200
118	MESSAGE ON ANNIE BESANT'S BIRTHDAY (1-10-1919)	201
119	SPEECH AT FELICITATION MEETING, BOMBAY (2-10-1919)	202

CWMG - XVI

120	TELEGRAM TO P. S. TO VICEROY (2-10-1919)	203
121	TELEGRAM TO SWAMI SHRADDHANAND (2-10-1919)	203
122	TELEGRAM TO P. S. TO VICEROY (3-10-1919)	204
123	FINING THE LABOURERS (4-10-1919)	204
124	PRAYER AND FASTING (4-10-1919)	206
125	TELEGRAM TO P. S. TO GOVERNOR, MADRAS (4-10-1919)	208
126	TELEGRAM TO ESTHER FAERING (4-10-1919)	208
127	LETTER TO G. E. CHATFIELD (4-10-1919)	209
128	LETTER TO N. P. COWIE (4-10-1919)	210
129	LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI (On or before 5-10-1919)	211
130	FORTHCOMING SESSION OF GUJARAT POLITICAL CONFERENCE (5-10-1919)	211
131	FATHER OF THE WORLD [–II] (5-10-1919)	213
132	NOTES (5-10-1919)	215
133	TELEGRAM TO KISAN SABHA, KHAJAULI (5-10-1919)	219
134	LETTER TO HAROLD MANN (7-10-1919)	219
135	LETTER TO P. S. TO GOVERNOR, BOMBAY (After 7-10-1919)	220
136	WE ARE APT TO MAKE MISTAKES (8-10-1919)	220
137	TO THE SUBSCRIBERS AND THE READERS (8-10-1919)	221
138	SPEECH AT BARODA (9-10-1919)	223
139	TELEGRAM TO P. S. TO VICEROY (10-10-1919)	226
140	LETTER TO THE PRESS (10-10-1919)	227
141	CIRCULAR LETTER (10-10-1919)	228
142	TELEGRAM TO SADIQ ALI (On or after 10-10-1919)	229
143	LETTER TO ABDUL BARI (After 10-10-1919)	229
144	FASTING AND PRAYER (12-10-1919)	230
145	WIDOWS' OUTPOURING (12-10-1919)	232
146	NOTES (12-10-1919)	234
147	TELEGRAM TO C. F. ANDREWS (13-10-1919)	237
148	SPEECH AT GUJARAT COLLEGE, AHMEDABAD (13-10-1919)	237
149	A PUNJAB VICTIM (15-10-1919)	238
150	LETTER TO THE PRESS (17-10-1919)	239
151	LETTER TO RABINDRANATH TAGORE (18-10-1919)	241
152	LETTER TO U. K. TRIVEDI (After 18-10-1919)	242
153	FATHER OF THE WORLD [–III] (19-10-1919)	242
154	GUJARAT'S GIFT (19-10-1919)	244
155	NOTES (19-10-1919)	246
156	LETTER TO WATTAL (Before 22-10-1919)	247
157	LETTER TO A FRIEND (Before 22-10-1919)	249
158	THE SATYAGRAHI LAWYERS (22-10-1919)	250
159	LETTER TO P. S. TO GOVERNOR, MADRAS (22-10-1919)	251
160	LETTER TO REGISTRAR, HIGH COURT, BOMBAY (22-10-1919)	252
161	LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING (23-10-1919)	253

CWMG - XVI

162	LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI (23-10-1919)	254
163	LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING (24-10-1919)	254
164	TO THE PEOPLE OF KATHIAWAR (26-10-1919)	255
165	NOTES (26-10-1919)	257
166	"RING OUT THE OLD, RING IN THE NEW" (26-10-1919)	259
167	MESSAGE TO PEOPLE OF AMRITSAR (27-10-1919)	261
168	PUNJAB LETTER (27-10-1919)	261
169	LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING (27-10-1919)	263
170	LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING (28-10-1919)	264
171	LETTER TO RABINDRANATH TAGORE (28-10-1919)	264
172	SPEECH TO LAHORE STUDENTS (28-10-1919)	265
173	ANOTHER MARTIAL LAW CASE FROM THE PUNJAB (29-10-1919)	266
174	SPEECH AT DELHI MEETING (29-10-1919)	267
175	TELEGRAM TO SABARMATI ASHRAM (31-10-1919)	268
176	LETTER TO SIR GEORGE BARNES (31-10-1919)	268
177	LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING (31-10-1919)	268
178	LETTER TO A FRIEND (31-10-1919)	269
179	LETTER TO THE PRESS (1-11-1919)	269
180	INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS OF INDIA (1-11-1919)	270
181	FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI (1-11-1919)	271
182	FATHER OF THE WORLD [–IV] (2-11-1919)	271
183	NOTES (2-11-1919)	274
184	MESSAGE TO CHRISTIANS (Before 3-11-1919)	280
185	NOTE OF INTERVIEW ON SOUTH AFRICA (3-11-1919)	280
186	LETTER TO JIVANLAL B. VYAS (3-11-1919)	282
187	PUNJAB LETTER (3-11-1919)	282
188	SPEECH AT WOMEN'S MEETING, AMRITSAR (4-11-1919)	286
189	LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING (After 4-11-1919)	287
190	TELEGRAM TO REGISTRAR, HIGH COURT, BOMBAY (7-11-1919)	288
191	LETTER TO SIR GEORGE BARNES (7-11-1919)	288
192	SOUTH AFRICA (9-11-1919)	290
193	FIJI (9-11-1919)	292
194	NOTES (9-11-1919)	293
195	GIST OF LETTER TO LT.-GOVERNOR, PUNJAB (Before 12-11-1919)	293
196	TELEGRAM TO RAOJIBHAI MEHTA (13-11-1919)	294
197	LETTER TO P. S. TO LT.-GOVERNOR, PUNJAB (15-11-1919)	294
198	SPEECH AT FAREWELL TO ANDREWS (15-11-1919)	295
199	PUNJAB LETTER (17-11-1919)	296
200	LETTER TO G. E. CHATFIELD (After 17-11-1919)	302

CWMG - XVI

201	TELEGRAM TO C. F. ANDREWS (18-11-1919)	302
202	BHAI PARMANAND (19-11-1919)	303
203	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (22-11-1919)	304
204	HOW TO PROTECT THE COW (23-11-1919)	305
205	SPEECH AT KHILAFAT CONFERENCE, DELHI (23-11-1919)	306
206	SPEECH AT KHILAFAT CONFERENCE, DELHI (24-11-1919)	307
207	PUNJAB LETTER (25-11-1919)	312
208	SPEECH AT KASUR (26-11-1919)	317
209	LETTER TO VALJI GOVINDJI DESAI (27-11-1919)	317
210	PUNJAB LETTER (About 1-12-1919)	318
211	DURGADAS ADWANI (3-12-1919)	326
212	LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING (4-12-1919)	328
213	PUNJAB LETTER (7-12-1919)	328
214	LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING (7-12-1919)	333
215	LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI (7-12-1919)	334
216	SWARAJ IN SWADESHI (10-12-1919)	335
217	LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI (10-12-1919)	337
218	LETTER TO NARAHARI PARIKH (10-12-1919)	338
219	LETTER TO REGISTRAR, HIGH COURT, BOMBAY (11-12-1919)	339
220	REFORMS (14-12-1919)	341
221	LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING (14-12-1919)	343
222	LETTER TO EDMUND CANDLER (15-12-1919)	343
223	PUNJAB LETTER (About 15-12-1919)	345
224	INDIAN SITUATION IN EAST AFRICA (16-12-1919)	349
225	INDIANS ABROAD (17-12-1919)	350
226	LETTER TO SIR GEORGE BARNES (After 19-12-1919)	353
227	FRAGMENT OF NOTE (After 19-12-1919)	354
228	PUNJAB LETTER (21-12-1919)	354
229	SPEECH AT ALL-INDIA HUMANITARIAN CONFERENCE (28-12-1919)	355
230	SPEECH AT AMRITSAR CONGRESS (29-12-1919)	356
231	THE ROYAL PROCLAMATION (31-12-1919)	360
232	LETTER TO STUDENTS (1919)	362
233	SPEECH ON REFORMS RESOLUTION AT AMRITSAR CONGRESS (1-1-1920)	363
234	TELEGRAM TO HABIBUDDIN (3-1-1920)	367
235	LETTER TO DY. REGISTRAR, HIGH COURT, BOMBAY (4-1-1920)	367
236	STATEMENT TO DISORDERS INQUIRY COMMITTEE (5-1-1920)	368
237	LETTER TO SECRETARY, DISORDERS INQUIRY COMMITTEE (5-1-1920)	372
238	THE CONGRESS (7-1-1920)	372
239	LETTER TO G. E. CHATFIELD (8-1-1920)	377

CWMG - XVI

240	EVIDENCE BEFORE DISORDERS INQUIRY COMMITTEE (9-1-1920)	378
241	LETTER TO THE PRESS (10-1-1920)	461
242	THE CONGRESS (11-1-1920)	462
243	CHILD MORTALITY (11-1-1920)	468
244	LETTER TO JUSTICE RANKIN (11-1-1920)	471
245	LETTER TO SECRETARY, DISORDERS INQUIRY COMMITTEE (11-1-1920)	472
246	LETTER TO SECRETARY, DISORDERS INQUIRY COMMITTEE (11-1-1920)	472
247	LETTER TO REGISTRAR, HIGH COURT, BOMBAY (11-1-1920)	473
248	SPEECH AT ARYA SAMAJ MEETING, AHMEDABAD (12-1-1920)	473
249	LETTER TO ADA WEST (13-1-1920)	475
250	LETTER TO ANNE MARIE PETERSEN (13-1-1920)	477
251	LETTER TO SIR GEORGE BARNES (13-1-1920)	478
252	LETTER TO C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYER (13-1-1920)	479
253	LETTER TO LUCHMAYA (13-1-1920)	480
254	IS BOYCOTT SWADESHI? (14-1-1920)	480
255	THE REFORMS RESOLUTION IN THE CONGRESS (14-1-1920)	483
256	LETTER TO RABINDRANATH TAGORE (14-1-1920)	485
257	LETTER TO SYED HUSSEN IMAM (Before 15-1-1920)	485
258	LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING (On or after 16-1-1920)	486
259	THE HUNTER COMMITTEE (18-1-1920)	487
260	LETTER TO AZMATULLAH KHAN (18-1-1920)	489
261	LETTER TO J. L. MAFFEY (18-1-1920)	489
262	NOTE ON TILAK'S LETTER (After 18-1-1920)	490
263	AN APPEAL TO MADRAS (21-1-1920)	492
264	SPEECH AT MEERUT MEETING (22-1-1920)	494
265	INTERVIEW TO S. W. CLEMES (22-1-1920)	495
266	LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI (After 23-1-1920)	496
267	LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI (After 23-1-1920)	497
268	LETTER TO NARAHARI PARIKH (After 23-1-1920)	498
269	LETTER TO REGISTRAR, HIGH COURT, BOMBAY (24-1-1920)	498
270	LETTER TO S. ALI HUSAIN (24-1-1920)	499
271	LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING (24-1-1920)	499
272	TELEGRAM TO SHAMLAL NEHRU (24-1-1920)	501
273	LETTER TO THE PRESS (Before 25-1-1920)	501
274	OFF THE RAILS (25-1-1920)	503
275	LETTER TO THAKORE (25-1-1920)	506
276	LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING (25-1-1920)	506
277	LETTER TO N. D. SAVARKAR (25-1-1920)	507
278	LETTER TO ASAF ALI (25-1-1920)	508
279	LETTER TO SOMEONE IN MADANPALLI (25-1-1920)	509

CWMG - XVI

280	LETTER TO NARAHARI PARIKH (After 25-1-1920)	510
281	LETTER TO J. B. PETIT (26-1-1920)	510
282	AN AWARD (26-1-1920)	511
283	LETTER TO AZMATULLAH KHAN (26-1-1920)	511
284	LETTER TO MOTICHAND & DEVIDAS, SOLICITORS (26-1-1920)	511
285	LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING (26-1-1920)	512
286	PUNJAB LETTER (27-1-1920)	512
287	THE KHILAFAT (28-1-1920)	517
288	LETTER TO FATIMA SULTANA (After 28-1-1920)	518
289	LETTER TO V. T. AGASHE (29-1-1920)	519
290	LETTER TO SIR GEORGE BARNES (29-1-1920)	519
291	LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING (29-1-1920)	520
292	LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING (30-1-1920)	521
293	LETTER TO K. K. CHANDA (30-1-1920)	521
294	TELEGRAM TO SHAUKAT ALI (Before 31-1-1920)	522
295	LETTER TO NARAHARI PARIKH (On or before 31-1-1920)	522
296	LETTER TO MRS. BROWN (31-1-1920)	523
297	LETTER TO ANANDSHANKAR DHRUVA (31-1-1920)	524

ADDENDA

1	LETTER TO S. R. HIGNELL (7-8-1919)	525
2	LETTER TO J. CRERAR (7-8-1919)	526
3	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (11-9-1919)	527
4	LETTER TO HIRST (October 1919)	528

APPENDICES

I	LETTER FROM G. S. ARUNDALE	529
II	LETTER FROM M. ABDUL AZIZ	530
III	LETTER FROM LALA LAJPATRAI	533
IV	NOTE ON THE KAIRA CASE	534
V	LETTER FROM "PENNSYLVANIAN"	539
VI	ROWLATT PETITION	544
VII	LETTER FROM SECRETARY, HUNTER COMMITTEE, TO MALAVIYA	545
VIII	STATEMENT ON THE PUNJAB BY CONGRESS ENQUIRY COMMITTEE	546
IX	LETTER FROM E. CANDLER	550
X	GENERAL SMUTS' REPLY TO DEPUTATION	551
XI	KHILAFAT DEPUTATION'S ADDRESS TO VICEROY	552

SOURCES	558
CHRONOLOGY	560
INDEX OF TITLES	567
INDEX	570
ERRATA	582

CWMG - XVI

ILLUSTRATIONS

IN 1920	*frontispiece*
FIRST ISSUE OF "NAVAJIVAN"	*facing* p. 224
FIRST ISSUE OF "YOUNG INDIA"	225

CWMG - XVI

1. TELEGRAM TO SWAMI SHRADDHANAND

[Before *August 2, 1919*][1]

SWAMI SHRADDHANANDJI[2]
CARE LALA DHARMACHAND, VAKIL
ANARKALI
LAHORE

WILL CERTAINLY SUPPORT YOUR APPEAL FOR SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR BEREAVED FAMILIES. I PUBLISH YOUR LETTER OR WILL YOU SEND ANOTHER MORE DETAILED. PLEASE REPLY EXPRESS.

From a photostat of a handwritten copy : S. N. 6731

2. AN APPEAL FROM THE PUNJAB

Sannyasi Swami Shri Shraddhanandji, writing from Delhi regarding the Punjab, says:

> I have been to the Punjab twice (i.e., since the tragedies of April last).[3] I have been to Amritsar, Lahore, Gujranwalla, Sekhupura and Chachadkhana and heard and seen much. On the 13th April in Amritsar not less than fifteen hundred persons must have been killed. In the other places also many, though not so many as at Amritsar, must have been killed. Of these, hundred were the sole wage-earners of their families. Some have been hanged or sentenced to transportation for life, others have been sentenced to undergo imprisonment for from ten to twenty years. There must be one thousand families in the Punjab which are left only with their womenfolk and children. It is our duty to reach them food and clothing. Pundit Malaviyaji[4] has appealed to the public for one lac of rupees. But I believe that we shall have to support many of these families

[1] "An Appeal from the Punjab" was published in *Young India*, 2-8-1919; *vide* the following item.

[2] 1856-1926; earlier known as Mahatma Munshiram; nationalist leader, Arya Samajist and educationist. He was the founder of Gurukul Kangri, near Hardwar.

[3] The reference is to the disturbances and the martial law atrocities in the Punjab; *vide* Vol. XV.

[4] Madan Mohan Malaviya (1861-1946); nationalist leader, educationist and founder of Banaras Hindu University

for six months at least. If so, we shall need one and a half lacs of rupees. This estimate is based on the supposition that most of those suffering imprisonment will, during that time, have been discharged. If you are in agreement with this proposal of mine, please beg of the rich people of Bombay donations and send the money to me. I shall need also trustworthy volunteers for the work of distribution. You can send such volunteers. If possible, please send four or five such men.

The Swami's appeal is eloquent for its brevity and I hope that it will strike the right chord in many a breast. I hardly think that it needs any commendation from me. There cannot be two opinions about the necessity of support and the duty of the generous public of Bombay. I hope that there will be no question of scruples about supporting the families. That many who lost their lives in Amritsar and elsewhere were innocent cannot be doubted. Their families deserve the support of all without distinction of party or race. The Commissioner of Delhi, it will be remembered, appealed for subscriptions for the families of those who were wounded or shot during the firing on the 30th March last. But if there is any question as to the propriety of supporting the families of those who have been sentenced for doing violence or worse, I would respectfully suggest that the families of such men have committed no crimes and the families of even the worst offenders—persons who are guilty of committing private crimes and, therefore, whose motives are far worse than those of political offenders—deserve public support. Society is bound to support the needy and the indigent irrespective of the character of their pedigree. I trust, therefore, that the wealthy people of Bombay will generously respond to Swamiji's appeal. Quickness is essential in this matter. I have a wire from him saying that money is needed at once. All amounts received will be duly acknowledged. There is another matter equally important in Swamiji's letter. He requires trustworthy volunteers who would go to the Punjab and help him in the work of distribution. I invite the help of those who have the means and the time enabling them to go to the Punjab. The one indispensable quality in such a volunteer is that he will go merely as a trustee to distribute funds under the guidance and directions of Shraddhanandji. He is not to air his political views or to combine two missions in one trip. Real success in national work can only be assured when workers develop the quality of losing themselves in their work to the exclusion of every other work for the time being. By trying to do many things at the same time we succeed in doing

nothing well or satisfactorily and often give occasion for suspicions being raised about our motives. The readers will share my anxiety that the humanitarian work undertaken by the Swami should not be marred by any action of the volunteers who may be selected to proceed to the Punjab.

Young India 2-8-1919

3. *INTERVIEW TO A JOURNALIST*[1]

[BOMBAY,
August 4, 1919]

As soon as he finished his letter, he turned round to me again and asked me what had brought me all the way from Madras. I told him I had come to see Mr. R— off on his way to England and then we fell to discussing the general situation. I asked him whether he had any near idea of resuming civil disobedience. He said it all depended on the Government and what they did to relieve the situation in the near future. He did not want to complicate matters by any precipitate action of his as it might easily lend itself to mask real issues. If the Government do not move in the matter pretty soon, relieve the situation in the Punjab and repeal the Rowlatt Act[2], it will be his painful duty to resort to passive resistance again. Should this contingency arise, he intends to break his internment order on the Madras border as being much the quieter side so

[1] This was published as by "C.R.S." and was preceded by the following remarks: ". . . I went in and found Mr. Gandhi seated cross-legged on his couch, dressed in his usual coarse hand-woven clothes and with his spectacles on, busy writing a letter to some friend of his in Gujarati. The letter-paper, pencil and envelope were apparently of the more common swadeshi type, for I noticed the paper was none too fine, the pencil had to be pressed hard to make an impression, and the envelope would not easily open in the prevailing weather. I noticed also that one of the curls of his spectacles had broken midway and was being held in position by a piece of thread knotted round his head. I was wondering why a fresh curl had not been put in, but soon found a broken curl was not without its uses, as it served well enough for a toothpick on occasions. Well, when Mr. Gandhi looked up from his writing and saw me, his thin ascetic face lighted up with a charming smile as he recognized me, and bade me sit down and excuse him for a few minutes as he finished his letter."

[2] This was one of the two Bills recommended by the Rowlatt Committee in 1918 ostensibly for curbing seditious activity and was passed in 1919, in the face of public opposition. It gave occasion for the Rowlatt Act Satyagraha in April; *vide* Vol. XV.

CWMG - XVI

that there may be no excuse for the Government to set in motion any positive measures on the plea of disorder or violence.

I asked him if he had any special message for the time for the people in South India and any special duty for the satyagrahis.

Yes, I want every man, woman and child to learn hand-spinning and weaving. I want every satyagrahi to help to propagate this work. Let every man learn to provide for his clothing in his house and many of our current problems will resolve themselves. I am asking you to do nothing new. It is not as though you have to skip over the centuries and go to ancient India for this kind of work. Even a few decades back, every village had its hand-looms and the people were wearing only clothes woven therefrom. Spinning was being done normally in every house. It is not *neecha* [mean] work. Ranis [queens] in palaces have done this. If this is resumed again we shall have done well by our country. I am quite hopeful of results. I have already set a thousand looms going in Gujarat and leading people like Mrs. Banker[1], Mrs. Petit[2], Miss Anasuyabehn[3] have taken up spinning enthusiastically. The mechanism is quite simple and a spinning outfit costs only about Rs. 3-8-0 to Rs. 4. The work is easily learnt in a couple of days. For example you will find in the next room Mrs. T. A. Chettiar learning to spin. She has been at it only from yesterday and a few more hours practice will make her quite fit for the work and quite competent to put other people in the way as I expect her to do. . . .[4]

The Hindu 9-8-1919

[1] Mother of Shankarlal Banker, associate of Gandhiji

[2] Wife of J. B. Petit, Parsi philanthropist of Bombay, Gandhiji's friend and host

[3] Anasuyabehn Sarabhai, social worker and educationist; sister of Ambalal Sarabhai, Ahmedabad mill-owner

[4] At this point Madan Mohan Malaviya called on Gandhiji. The latter part of the report which covers the writer's interview with the former is not reproduced here.

CWMG-XVI

4. LETTER TO G. S. ARUNDALE[1]

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
August 4, 1919

DEAR MR. ARUNDALE[2],

I have read and re-read your kind letter for which I thank you. I am publishing the letter[3] in *Young India* together with this reply.

Much as I should like to follow your advice, I feel that I am incompetent for the task set forth by you in your letter. I am fully aware of my limitations. My bent is not political but religious and I take part in politics because I feel that there is no department of life which can be divorced from religion and because politics touch the vital being of India almost at every point. It is therefore absolutely necessary that the political relations between Englishmen and ourselves should be put on a sound basis. I am endeavouring to the best of my ability to assist in the process. I do not take much interest in the reforms because they are in safe hands and because reforms *cum* Rowlatt legislation mean to my mind a stalemate. Rowlatt legislation represents a poisonous spirit. After all, the English civilians can, unless Indian opinion produces a healthy reaction upon them, reduce the reforms practically to a nullity. They distrust us and we distrust them. Each considers the other as his natural enemy. Hence the Rowlatt legislation. The Civil Service has devised the legislation to keep us down. In my opinion, that legislation is like the coil of the snake round the Indian body. The obstinacy of the Government in clinging to the hateful legislation in spite of the clearest possible demonstration they have had of public opinion against it makes me suspect the worst. With the views enunciated above, you will not wonder at my inability to interest myself in the reforms. Rowlatt legislation blocks the way. And my life is dedicated among other things to removing the block.

[1] This was in reply to his letter of July 26, appealing to Gandhiji that, since civil disobedience had been suspended, he should join in working the Montagu-Chelmsford Constitutional Reforms.

[2] Theosophist, and editor of *New India*

[3] *Vide* Appendix I.

CWMG - XVI

Let there be no mistake. Civil resistance has come to stay. It is an eternal doctrine of life which we follow consciously or unconsciously in many walks of life. It is the new and extended application of it which has caused misgivings and excitement. Its suspension is designed to demonstrate its true nature, and to throw the responsibility for the removal of the Rowlatt legislation on the Government as also the leaders (you among them) who have advised me to suspend it. But if within a reasonable time the legislation is not removed, civil resistance will follow as surely as day follows night. No weapon in the Government armoury can either overcome or destroy that eternal force. Indeed a time must come when civil resistance will be recognized as the most efficacious, if also the most harmless, remedy for securing redress of grievances.

You suggest the desirability of unity. I think unity of goal we have. But parties we shall always have—and we may not find a common denominator for improvements. For some will want to go further than some others. I see no harm in a wholesome variety. What I would rid ourselves of is distrust of one another and imputation of motives. Our besetting sin is not our differences but our littleness. We wrangle over words, we fight often for shadow and lose the substance. As Mr. Gokhale used to say, our politics are a pastime of our leisure hours when they are not undertaken as a stepping-stone to a career in life.

I would invite you and every editor to insist on introducing charity, seriousness and selflessness in our politics. And our disunion will not jar as it does today. It is not our differences that really matter. It is the meanness behind that is undoubtedly ugly.

The Punjab sentences are inextricably mixed up with the Rowlatt agitation. It is therefore as imperatively necessary to have them revised as it is to have the Act removed. I agree with you that the Press Act requires overhauling. The Government are actually promoting sedition by high-handed executive action. And I was sorry to learn that Lord Willingdon[1] is reported to have taken the sole responsibility for the—in my opinion unwarranted—action[2] against *The Hindu* and the *Swadesha Mitran*. By it, they have not lost in prestige or popularity. They have gained in both. Surely there are judges enough in the land who would convict where a journalist has overstepped the bounds of legiti-

[1] 1866-1941; Governor of Bombay; later, Viceroy of India, 1931-6

[2] The Government demanded a security of Rs. 2,000 from each of these Madras newspapers and banned *The Hindu* in the Punjab and in Burma.

mate criticism and uttered sedition. I am not enamoured of the Declaration of Rights business. When we have changed the spirit of the English civilian, we shall have made considerable headway with the Declaration of Rights. We must be honourable friends, or equally honourable enemies. We shall be neither, unless we are manly, fearless and independent. I would have us to treasure Lord Willingdon's advice and say "no" when we mean "no" without fear of consequences. This is unadulterated civil resistance. It is the way to friendliness and friendship. The other is the age-worn method of open violence on honourable lines in so far as violence can be allowed to be honourable. For me the roots of violence are in dishonour. I have therefore ventured to present to India the former, in its complete form called satyagraha, whose roots are always in honour.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Young India, 6-8-1919

5. *LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI*

BOMBAY,
Monday [*August 4, 1919*][1]

CHI. CHHAGANLAL[2],

I have your letter.

Bhai Hanumantrao was a member of the Servants of India Society. Look after him; give him a room near Ba's. I have written to him that he may stay as long as he likes.

The bank-note for Rs. 600/- is to be credited to the Famine account. The sum has been received from England. Mention this, too.

Sundaram has reached [home]. It seems now the rains are a little too much.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 6785

[1] In the source, below Monday appear the dates : 3 August 1919, *Shravan Sud* 7, 1975, in a handwriting other than Gandhiji's. In August 1919, however, the first Monday fell on the 4th, which corresponds to *Shravan Sud* 8 in the Indian calendar.

[2] Gandhiji's nephew and associate

6. *LETTER TO MANUBHAI NANDSHANKAR MEHTA*

LABURNUM ROAD,
GAMDEVI,
BOMBAY,
[*August 4, 1919*][1]

BHAISHRI MANUBHAI,

I was in Vijapur last Thursday. There, and on the way, I met thousands of men and women. It was the movement for swadeshi which took me there.

There is a prominent lady from Broach, a widow, in Vijapur. Spinning, and now weaving as well, is being promoted there through her. Her name is Gangabehn[2]. The aim behind this programme is to increase the production of cloth in the country. Women, and men too, who have free time should devote it to spinning and, if they can, to weaving. In this way, it is hoped to restore to the agriculturists an old-time subsidiary occupation of theirs. As part of this programme, at present 125 women spin in Vijapur and, depending on how much they work, earn daily two to four pice or even more. These women did no work before they took this up. Gangabehn and others work for the love of God.

A loom has also been installed recently. I saw that the institution was very much short of space. My request to the State is this. Make one or two acres of land available near the station and immediately get a building ready, in which people may live and work. I am prepared to pay rent for it. If you can see to this, the work there will progress better. If the Maharaja thinks well of this work, I should like him to advise the officers also to help. If I get some encouragement, I am hopeful that, in a very short time, we shall have plenty of cloth produced in Vijapur taluka and the agriculturists and others will have a means of supplementing their income.

This is one matter on which I have to trouble you.

I saw that the passengers in the train were packed like so many goats. The carriages are too few and there is only one

[1] Gandhiji was in Bombay on August 4, 1919, after having visited Vijapur, and later in the day left for Ahmedabad.

[2] It is to her that Gandhiji ascribes the discovery of the spinning-wheel in Vijapur; *vide An Autobiography*, Part V, Ch. XL.

CWMG - XVI

train. That is not enough. I should like you to do something about this, too, if possible.

I beg to be excused for this letter.

Yours,

SHRI MANUBHAI NANDSHANKAR
DIWAN
BARODA

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand : S. N. 6796

7. *LETTER TO A. H. WEST*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
August 4 [*1919*]

MY DEAR WEST[1],

I have just read your letter on my return from Bombay. And as you want me to give you a letter in my own hand, I lose no time lest my reply may be pressed out.

My heart goes out to you in all your mental worries. I am sorry about your mother's death.

When I asked Mahadev inquiring about Devi, there was no letter from her for some time. And as she is a most regular correspondent, I grew anxious.

I do read *Indian Opinion* when I am in the Ashram. What I wanted was what you could not give me through *I.O.*

I am positive that I instructed P[arsi] R[ustumjee][2] long before my second letter. But my post going through many hands at times does miscarry.

Please give Manilal[3] a month's notice and stop editing for him. I quite agree with you that if he has not acquired the habit of writing even now, the paper may stop.

I do not still approve of job or advertisements, but as I do not want to finance Manilal, I have said he could do what he liked on his own responsibility.

[1] Manager, International Printing Press, Phœnix; a close friend and associate of Gandhiji in South Africa; *vide* Vol. IV, pp. 325-6.

[2] *Vide* Vol. XV, pp. 463-6.

[3] Gandhiji's second son

CWMG - XVI

Mr. Andrews[1] is no good for details. He therefore gave me only general information. But I waive your weekly letter, private or public. You will write when you can. About South Africa letter I suggested your name to the *Chronicle*. They will pay you if you could write. I see no harm in your accepting payment.

I am immersed in work as ever. My arrest is reported to be imminent.

The Ashram is increasing. Harilal[2] is in Calcutta. His children are with me. Devdas[3] is just now travelling with me. Chhaganlal and Maganlal[4] are with me. Anandlal[5] is managing the Navajivan Press. The schools and weaving are making steady progress. I wish you could see these things one day with your own hands[6].

With love to you all,

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand : C. W. 4432. Courtesy : A. H. West

8. SHAKING CIVIL RESISTERS

The Hon. Mr. C. Y. Chintamani[7] in his special contribution to *India* of the 4th July says that Sir Michael O'Dwyer[8]

> is said to have declared his intention of taking note of the anti-Rowlatt legislation agitation and passive resistance demonstration before there was any disturbance of peace.

We know what kind of note he took of both the cause and the effect, and we know, too, that he succeeded to an eminent degree in disturbing the peace in the Punjab. And though Sir Michael is no longer in India in body, he is certainly in our midst in spirit. Witness the many Punjab cases that have been discussed in these

[1] C. F. Andrews (1871-1940); British missionary whose humanitarian work in India won him the name "Deenabandhu", i.e., friend of the poor; *vide* Vol. XII, p. 302.
[2] Gandhiji's eldest son
[3] His fourth and youngest son
[4] Chhaganlal Gandhi's brother
[5] Son of Amritlal Gandhi, a cousin of Gandhiji
[6] This is evidently a slip for 'eyes'.
[7] 1880-1941; editor of *The Leader*
[8] Governor of the Punjab

CWMG - XVI

columns. The Martial Law judges will certainly not be to blame if the spirit of civil resistance is not dead either in the Punjab or in India. But the O'Dwyerean spirit has travelled to far-off Burma and touched the Lieut.-Governor of that Province of British India.[1] For, the Chief Secretary to Government of Burma, the A.P.I.[2] informs us, "has written to the two Indian promoters of the All-Burma mass meeting" that was to be held in Burma on the first of August that, whilst there is no objection to the meeting discussing the Reform Scheme in Burma,

> serious objection would be taken if extraneous matters are introduced either under the colour of the published resolutions, or as separate resolutions not on the agenda. In particular,

the Secretary goes on to say,

> the Lieut.-Governor has no intention of permitting meetings at which the adoption of passive resistance is advocated, or at which the policy of Government, in connection with the passing of the Rowlatt Act or the suppression of the recent disturbances in the Punjab, is called in question.

The public of Burma in discussing the political Reforms which should be adopted in Burma are in no way concerned with the events in the Punjab. The Government of Burma have certainly taken time by the forelock. We do not know what happened on the 1st of August in Rangoon nor do we know what reply the Indian promoters of the meeting returned to the Chief Secretary. But it is clear that, so long as the spirit embodied in the words of the letter from which we have quoted remains alive, the Reforms that the people of Burma might get would not be worth having.

But an echo of the spirit is heard nearer Bombay also. We now know, more fully than we did before, the cause of the High Court notice served upon some of the satyagrahi lawyers of Ahmedabad. The notice was prompted by a letter addressed by the District Judge of Ahmedabad to the Registrar of the Bombay High Court. We give the full text of the letter elsewhere.[3] It

[1] Burma became an independent state in 1935.

[2] The Associated Press of India

[3] This is not reproduced here. The District Judge of Ahmedabad had in his letter dated April 22, 1919, raised the question of the propriety of two barristers and three pleaders of Ahmedabad taking the satyagraha pledge. According to this the lawyers undertook "to refuse civilly to obey these laws (viz., the Rowlatt Act) and such other laws as a committee to be hereafter appointed may think fit." The judge considered such conduct inconsistent with their professional status and duties in terms of their *sanad*.

CWMG - XVI

remains to be seen what action the High Court will take when the case is argued before it on the 25th instant. But it is curious the way the District Judge has pre-judged the issue. He considers the activities of the "League"—we suppose he means the Satyagraha Sabha[1]—to be illegal. He does not hesitate to make the impudent suggestion that

> there can be no doubt that the suspension is merely a device to avoid the possibility of punishment falling on the satyagrahis in respect of acts directly or indirectly due to their teaching and influence.

We use the adjective "impudent" advisedly, for the very next paragraph of this precious letter states the belief of the writer that

> the above gentlemen are sincerely and conscientiously under the impression that the Rowlatt legislation is a crime. As they have that impression, I would not blame them for going to the edge of the law to oppose it.

The imputation of an unworthy motive to such men would be ungentlemanly in a stranger, it is unpardonable in one who claims to have the high opinion that the learned District Judge claims to have of the lawyers in question. The last paragraph of the letter clearly discloses the feelings of the District Judge in the matter. He says he has "no power to deal with the two Barristers", and adds, "very likely recent events in Ahmedabad may make it unnecessary to proceed against them", meaning, we presume, that they would be charged and convicted by the Special Tribunal. They have not been charged, it is true. But that was no fault of the District Judge. He had made up his mind that they had committed a criminal breach of the law of the land.

Thus we see that the attempts are being made with more or less vigour to suppress civil resisters. Those who are making the attempt are beating against the wind. The spirit of civil resistance thrives under suffering. Here and there a civil resister so called may succumb and under the pressure of suffering deny his doctrine. But when once kindled it is impossible to kill the spirit

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On this submission, the Bombay High Court served notices on the lawyers, on July 12, in its disciplinary jurisdiction. A copy of the District Judge's letter reached Gandhiji, who published it in *Young India* along with his comments. The High Court gave its ruling in the case against the lawyers on October 15. For Gandhiji's comments on the judgment, *vide* "The Satyagrahi Lawyers", 22-10-1919.

[1] A body formed in Ahmedabad on March 3, 1919, with Gandhiji as President, to organize satyagraha against the Rowlatt Act.

CWMG-XVI

of civil resistance. The only pity of it is these traducers of civil resistance and civil resisters are consciously or unconsciously becoming the instruments for propagating Bolshevism as it is interpreted to us in India, i.e., the spirit of lawlessness accompanied with violence. Bolshevism is nothing but an extension of the present method of forcibly imposing one's doctrine or will upon others. The Government of Burma, the Government of Punjab, the District Judge of Ahmedabad are all in their own way endeavouring forcibly to impose their will upon others, in this case, civil resisters. But they forget that the essence of civil resistance is to resist the will of the wrongdoer by patient endurance of the penalty of resistance. Civil resistance is, therefore, a most powerful antidote against Bolshevism and those who are trying to crush the spirit of civil resistance are but fanning the fire of Bolshevism.[1]

Young India 6-8-1919

9. *LETTER TO ABDUL AZIZ*

BOMBAY,
August 8, 1919

DEAR MR. ABDUL AZIZ,

When Sir Narayan Chandavarkar[2] wrote his open letter to me and the Government expostulated with me upon the then proposed renewal of civil—wrongly called passive—resistance, I respectfully responded by suspension for the time being, and therefore did not attempt any other reply. Your open letter[3] however raises fundamental issues and requires a detailed reply to the various objections to civil resistance discussed in it.

At the outset, I wish to thank you for your kindness in thinking of me. You will be interested to know that I had stalwart Pathans from your district working with me as civil resisters during the eight long years of the struggle in South Africa. One of them was working in a Natal mine. He was severely beaten by his foreman apparently for no other cause than that he had joined the civil resistance movement. Being under the pledge not

[1] This article became, later, a cause for action against Gandhiji for "Contempt of Court"; *vide* "Letter to the Registrar, Bombay High Court", 22-10-1919.

[2] 1825-1923; judge of the Bombay High Court

[3] This was published in *The Pioneer*, 27-7-1919; *vide* Appendix II.

CWMG-XVI

to resist the wrongdoer and yet to disobey his will, he meekly suffered the punishment for disobedience. He came to me and bared his striped back as he was saying, "I have suffered this for the sake of my pledge and you. I am a Pathan and the man who laid his cruel hands upon me would not have gone unscathed any other time." His suffering and that of thousands like him secured, among other things, repeal of the abominable poll-tax of £3 which our poor countrymen, their wives and the grown-up children had to pay annually as the price of freedom for the principal member to reside in Natal without indenture.

You ask me to give up "the idea that wrought the freedom of the dumb labourers of Natal". You wish me to give up the idea that has made Islam a living faith among the great faiths of the world. No evil followed my civil disobedience of the order of expulsion served upon me by the authorities in Champaran in 1917.[1] I claim that my resistance laid the foundation for the partial awakening of the poor ryots of Champaran and the Government of Bihar. How shall I give up an idea which I have treasured for the past forty years and which I have consciously enforced in my own life with no mean success for the last thirty years ?

But you cite the awful experiences of April last. Have you really analysed the situation? The sixth of April was observed from Cape Comorin to Peshawar and from Karachi to Calcutta by millions of men, women and children—an event the like of which has not occurred within living memory. I do not know what happened that day in Peshawar. But I do know that it passed off peacefully in all the chief cities and in thousands of hamlets of India. I suggest to you that it was a striking demonstration of the possibilities of civil resistance. On the 6th, there was no civil resistance actually offered. It was a preparation day. Any other Government in the world would have recognized this incoming new force, would have courageously yielded to it and removed the *causa causans*—the Rowlatt Act. But the Punjab Government went mad. They "dictated" terms to the Government of India and the policy of ruthless repression was commenced. Two leaders were interned and deported. I was prevented from proceeding to what they knew was a mission of peace to Delhi and, if necessary, to the Punjab, arrested[2] and brought under arrest to Bombay and

[1] *Vide* Vol. XIII.

[2] The arrest took place near Delhi on April 9; Gandhiji was released at Bombay the following day.

there set free. And there was a conflagration. I submit that if the Punjab Government had deliberately and with malice aforethought planned an insurrection in the Punjab, they could not have taken more effective steps to do so. And yet such was the efficacy of satyagraha that the whole of India outside the Punjab and three centres in Gujarat remained practically calm in the midst of the gravest provocation. I have admitted my mistake. What was it? I miscalculated the capacity of the people to stand *any* amount of suffering and *provocation.* It *was possible* for the Punjab people to remain quiet in spite of the provocation offered by the arrests I have mentioned. But what happened was beyond endurance. The people of Amritsar could not restrain themselves and brook the deportation of their leaders. Neither you nor I can apportion the blame for what followed. Satyagraha apart, the question will have to be solved whether the people were provoked into madness by the firing or whether the military were provoked to action by the mob.

Be that, however, as it may, how can I abandon the idea of resuming civil resistance because people in April, in some parts of Hindustan, owing to special causes resorted to violence? Must I cease to do right because some people are likely at the same time to do wrong? I admit that the question is not quite so simple as I have put it. All action is controlled by a complexity of circumstances some of which are under the doer's control and the others beyond his control. He can therefore restrain himself only till he has obtained the maximum of control over the surrounding circumstances, and then trust to the Almighty to see him through. And that is exactly what I have done in suspending. I have shown that civil resistance is diametrically opposed to criminal resistance, that it is perfectly compatible with co-operation with and respect for the Government.

You cite Peshawar to show, I suppose, that the people unthinkingly, or actuated by mischievous people, joined the demonstration of the 6th April. They may have done so. My reading of the events is different from yours. Had there been no Rowlatt legislation, there would have been no demonstration, and therefore no handle given to the mischievous elements. The wrong consisted not in the organizing of the demonstration or civil resistance, but in the Government so defying public opinion as to produce an agitation they had little anticipated.

Is not the moral obvious ? The Government must bow to the force of public opinion and retrace their steps. Assuming that the powers of the Rowlatt Act are necessary, they must patiently

cultivate public opinion and adopt such means and powers that enlightened public opinion will tolerate. As it is, they have ignored the advice of their friends and held them up to ridicule by showing their incapacity for influencing the Government on matters of moment. In my humble opinion, your letters, open and private, and those of other leaders, should be addressed to the Government, asking them to right the wrong, not to me, tempting me away from the path of duty. I hope it is common cause between us that the Rowlatt Act which has roused such opposition and which has cost treasures of blood must be removed. If you have a remedy other than civil resistance, by all means apply it, and if you are successful, civil resistance falls away automatically. The period of suspension is the period during which you and all the leaders who dread or disapprove of civil resistance can work with all your might to bring about the desired result.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Young India, 9-8-1919

10. SPEECH AT DECCAN SABHA, POONA[1]

Friday, August 8, 1919

Mr. Gandhi got up amidst loud cheers, and moved the following resolution :

This public meeting of the citizens of Poona, held under the auspices of the Deccan Sabha, hereby places on record its deep sympathy with the British Indian settlers in South Africa struggling for the elementary rights of citizenship, congratulates them on the brave and sustained struggle carried on by them, and assures them of hearty support from the motherland. This meeting further desires to thank the Government of India for their advocacy of the Indians' case and trusts that the Government of India and the Imperial Government will not rest satisfied until full justice has been done to the British Indian settlers in South Africa by the

[1] The Deccan Sabha, Poona, held a meeting of the citizens in Kirloskar Theatre to protest against the Transvaal legislation. In the absence of the President of the Sabha, Sir Hormusjee Wadia, Rao Bahadur Khopkar, retired Deputy Collector and Vice-President, presided.

CWMG - XVI

withdrawal of the Act recently passed and by the restoration of full rights of residence, trade and ownership.

Mr. Gandhi, speaking in Hindi, told the audience that it was impossible for them to have an adequate idea as to how severely the recently passed iniquitous measure had affected the interests of the Indians in South Africa. It was a subject worthy of their serious consideration and it was their duty to help their suffering countrymen in every way. Mr. Gandhi said he had a telegram from Bombay informing him of Sir George Barnes' letter to him wherein the latter promised that the Government of India would give careful consideration to all that Mr. Gandhi had to say and that they were already communicating with the Secretary of State in the matter. He said he was grateful to the Government of India for their sympathetic attitude. The new law, Mr. Gandhi declared, robbed the Indians of their elementary rights such as those of being domiciled citizens of South Africa, trading as others did, holding landed property, etc. He recalled a Poona meeting held in 1896 under the chairmanship of Dr. Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, to protest against a similarly iniquitous enactment.[1] Dr. Bhandarkar on that occasion said that he never took part in politics, nor did he ever desire to do so, but as he was assured that the Indians in the Transvaal were suffering intolerable wrong, he had decided to preside at the meeting with the greatest pleasure. Poona, the speaker reminded the audience, was a great centre of political, social and educational movements and its contribution therefore in the agitation in question should be very substantial. Mr. Gandhi then referred to the encomiums paid to India for her sacrifices in war by Gen. Smuts, on leaving for South Africa, and said that Gen. Smuts recommended in effect that India should be accorded a treatment of equality, and still it was the Union Government, of which he was a member, that was passing the obnoxious legislation. The Indians in South Africa were not, Mr. Gandhi emphasized, asking for political rights from the Union Government, nor were they demanding the right to sit in the South African Parliament. There was, again, no fear of unrestricted immigration into the country. It was a thousand pities that the Transvaalers grudged the Indians even the simple rights to reside and trade, or the right to purchase land with money out of their own pockets. Did it become them to deprive Indians of their bare elementary rights or snatching from the Indians' mouths their scanty morsel? Mr. Gandhi told the audience that the Indians there had now resolved[2] to reply by asking for full civil rights and to resort to civil resistance until those rights were granted. The Transvaalers sought by the new legislation to rob the Indians of rights of trading in the gold area that were

[1] *Vide* Vol. II, p. 136.

[2] According to a report in the Bombay Secret Abstracts, Gandhiji referred to a meeting of Indians in South Africa held on August 4.

expressly given them by a Supreme Court decision. They maintained that the new legislation did recognize vested rights and even attributed to the speaker his having tacitly given his consent to the legislation. It was, said Mr. Gandhi, a downright lie. But they did not rest satisfied with that legislation. Some of them, said Mr. Gandhi, were then striving for excluding the Indians altogether, by asking them to restrict their trade and business to their own locations—which the speaker likened to *Maharwadas* and *Bhangiwadas*[1] in Indian villages—i.e., by asking them to trade among themselves! In conclusion, Mr. Gandhi said that the time had come for Indians in South Africa to resort to the civil resistance that they resorted to some years ago, and which was approved of and blessed by the late Mr. Gokhale.[2] While the Indians there were on the threshold of such a crisis, it behoved them here to understand the question thoroughly, it behoved the Maharashtra people, more than others, as they were noted for their learning and studiousness, to give their serious study to the situation in South Africa and to strive by body, speech and mind to bring about a solution of the question. The resolution was supported by Prof. Kale[3], Mr. Bhopatkar[4], Mr. Deodhar[5], and unanimously carried.

Young India, 13-8-1919

11. SPEECH AT GUJARATI BANDHU SABHA, POONA

[*August 8, 1919*]

These days the theme of my addresses is swadeshi. I save time from other activities and give all of it to swadeshi. It is through swadeshi that we shall get swaraj. When I spoke on "Swadeshi and Swaraj" at Surat,[6] it occurred to me that I should explain to the people how swadeshi would cover all that I had at heart. At the present time, I want to propagate this idea and it is my hope that, in a few days or maybe months, everyone in India, from the Viceroy down to the sweeper, will realize that swadeshi can bring swaraj.

[1] Areas, generally on the outskirts of a town or village, where the untouchables, working as scavengers, were compelled to reside

[2] The reference is to the passive resistance campaign of 1913-14; *vide* Vol. XII.

[3] Prof. V. G. Kale; economist and author, founder editor of *Artha*, a Marathi weekly

[4] L. B. Bhopatkar; editor of *Bhala*, *Lokasangraha* and *Lokamanas*; lawyer and politician

[5] G. K. Deodhar (1879-1935); member, Servants of India Society

[6] *Vide* Vol. XV, pp. 484-90.

CWMG - XVI

To this end, it is imperative that the ideal of swadeshi should be kept pure; it is so great a thing that it should not be debased.

India is suffering at present from afflictions of three kinds:

1. DISEASE : At no time in the past were the people of India afflicted with so many diseases as at present. The number of people rotting with disease in this country is greater than that in all the rest of the world.

2. HUNGER : The simple fact borne out by experience during the past few years is that a large section of the Indian people do not have enough to eat. Sir William Wilson Hunter said categorically forty years ago that three crores in India got only one meal a day, and that too consisting of no more than plain bread and salt. More than this, they got no ghee, oil or chillies. This was our misfortune forty years ago. Every official has been obliged to admit in the blue books that India's poverty is increasing day by day, and the cultivator's lot, especially, is the worst, as they alone know who move in villages. If you inquire of the people in Gujarat, you will know what great difficulty they experience in getting milk. They are hard put to it to get milk even for an infant six months old. Whenever I questioned the people in the villages around Ahmedabad, I was told that, let alone themselves, even their children could get no milk. You will see from this that our present plight is much worse than it was forty years ago.

3. INSUFFICIENT COVERING FOR THE BODY : At present India is also afflicted with a cloth famine. According to Sir Dinshaw Wacha's[1] estimate, four years ago people in India got 13 yards of cloth per head, whereas now they get only 9. That is, there has been a reduction of four yards per head and to that extent our poverty has increased.

When I was working in Champaran two years ago, I had personal experience of women protesting to me, without mincing words, that they did not have even a piece of cloth with which to cover their bare limbs; how, then, [they asked,] could they bathe and wash to keep themselves clean ? My heart bled to see our pure-hearted sisters in such a pitiable condition.

A land afflicted with this triple disease loses the qualities of courage, fortitude and truthfulness. The people of such a country have no dharma in them and I would even employ the term "unmanly" to describe them. Here in India, too, we have been using this term these days.

[1] Sir Dinshaw Edulji Wacha (1844-1936); prominent Indian Parsi politician; President, the Indian National Congress, 1901; *vide* Vol. II, p. 380.

When, with this idea in mind, I questioned people, one reply I got was that dharma should be restored. No doubt we have lost our dharma, but, in the present circumstances, restoring it is quite a difficult job, for it is extraordinarily difficult for a man in utter misery to follow dharma. Only a rare soul can do so. I call such persons yogis. Not all people, however, can become yogis. And thus, for the purity of the *atman*, purity of the body is also essential. "A pure *atman* can dwell only in a pure body." In order to revive the qualities of courage, and so on, this triple affliction should be got rid of. A man who follows dharma in the midst of such suffering I would call a yogi.

For curing the disease, a bold effort, requiring knowledge, is called for. We shall have to sacrifice our time to save people afflicted with such diseases. We should first ascertain whether people go hungry because of their lethargy or because of want. Of food, there is plenty in India; the hungry should have it. But they need money with which to buy it, and it is for want of money that India is poor.

Swadeshi is needed to fight this state of affairs. By swadeshi we mean protecting our cotton and silk. This is my restricted definition of swadeshi in the circumstances which obtain today. Last year, we paid to foreign countries 56 crores of rupees for cotton goods and four for silk goods. The revered Dadabhai Naoroji used to say that India was being drained of her funds. It is true that a good deal of this money is spent on the military department and in paying pensions; personally, however, I would say that in no other way is so much money drained as on account of the absence of swadeshi. Eighteen crores were paid last year for sugar. There is much drain in other ways which I do not care to mention at the moment. I want to get hold of the trunk and once that is done the drain in other ways will stop by itself. Our first duty then, in the present circumstances, is to follow swadeshi in its restricted meaning; to this end, the three vows which I have given should be kept. Get control of the trade in yarn and you will get the rest easily enough. We are unable today to produce sufficient cloth to meet our needs. Our mills cannot supply as much. We should take steps so that India is enabled to produce things which she does not do at present; this is one problem. I am at present discussing this problem with mill-owners and, in the course of our conversation, Sir Fazalbhai Karimbhai told me that it would take fifty years still before the mills could supply cloth in the required quantity. Should we then wait for fifty years? We see from the report of the Industrial Commission that

in the country one-third the quantity of cloth can be produced through hand-weaving and that, if this industry is developed, things will become easier for us. Mills require machinery and for this we are dependent on others. Foreign countries do not have all that machinery to spare. Some say that it takes a mill one year to obtain one machine and installing it presents much difficulty. Having regard to all these obstacles, hand-weaving seems very easy, for it does not require all this effort. A man of average ability can learn the work in six months' time and one with some intelligence can pick it up in three months. The method of making yarn is altogether simple. I took no more than 15 days to learn it.

A hundred and fifty years ago, we ourselves produced [our cloth]. Every mother in India did the work for the love of God. Traces of this age-old desire of the Indian woman for spinning are still visible. When recently, I went to Vijapur and Kalol, I met nearly 20,000 men and women. In the talks we had, the women told me that this was a good experiment, and an easy one. If they were provided with a spinning-wheel, [they said] they too would work. At present, a hundred and fifty women in Vijapur spin half a maund of cotton daily and, if supplied with cotton, four hundred women are ready to work. The women at Kalol give the same reply. My dear friend Mr. Chettiar came to see me from Madras. When I saw that Mrs. Chettiar had also come, I told Mr. Chettiar that I would detain her for eight days, for it would be quite a good thing if she learned spinning before she left. She accepted my suggestion immediately and left after she had learnt the work. She accepted it not because of her regard for me personally but because she loved the work. This shows that spinning is a hereditary activity with us. Those who read Darwin understand the theory of heredity. If we refuse to take up this work, we shall lose this inheritance. I appeal to you not to give up faith. If we but try, a favourable environment will be created and we shall get back the inheritance we have disowned. Principal Paranjapye[1] said that we would fail in the competition with the rest of the world. But there is no question of competition in this. This is a question, rather, of the economic freedom of peasants and of the poor. The farmer is the father of the world. Take the example of America or Japan. They help the cultivator there. Our Governor, too, is anxious [to know] how the cultivator may be helped. The problem can be solved in accordance with the principles of economics.

[1] R. P. Paranjapye, Principal, Fergusson College, Poona

It is my advice to young people to take up this work. It is easy enough and requires no special effort, nor does it require much intelligence. All that is necessary is some experience. One enjoys greater freedom through this work. The man who spins earns three annas daily, but the man who weaves earns eight annas. Talking to the weavers of Madanwadi in Bombay, I came to know that many of them earned as much as one rupee, even two rupees, daily. This industry is useful to us. It should be widely popularized. Even the educated class should learn a little of the craft. In the same way as every boy in England knows some naval work, we should all learn this work.

If, thus, India understands this *mantra*[1] and starts working as a matter of religious duty, the country's economic condition will improve and hunger and disease will disappear from our midst. Since you understand the idea, it is my prayer that you will put it into practice.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 10-10-1919

12. THE ROWLATT ACT

Mr. Montagu has spoken. He "believes that the powers given to the executive by the Rowlatt Act are necessary". And many friends ask whether, in view of this statement, the Act will be repealed. My answer is that the Rowlatt Act will be repealed in the same manner as Mr. Morley's "settled fact"—the Bengal Partition[2]—was unsettled. General Smuts had emphatically declared more than once that the Asiatic Registration Act[3] would never be repealed. It had to go in the year 1914. Whilst, therefore, I am certain that the Rowlatt Act will go because of my belief in the power of suffering, i.e., civil resistance, to overcome mountains, I cannot help feeling sad that even Mr. Montagu should have to support what is clearly insupportable, alike from the view of the evil in it and for the reason that public opinion has condemned it in unmeasured terms. Mr. Montagu has to resort to bad logic and distortion of facts to sustain his position. Surely

[1] Magic formula, but here "message"

[2] Bengal was partitioned in 1905. Intense public agitation, involving boycott of British goods, ultimately led to the annulment of the Bengal Partition in 1911.

[3] *Vide* Vol. IX, Appendix I.

the powers given to the executive are not necessary *at present*, for the simple reason that the Defence of India Act is still in operation and will be for some months to come. And if the powers are really necessary, they can be given in another and less offensive and more restricted manner. Mr. Montagu is the joint author with Lord Chelmsford of the reforms scheme such as it is. It lies ill in his mouth to defend a measure which can only neutralize what good the reforms may be intended to produce.

But the purpose of writing this is not to argue about the untenability of the position taken up by Mr. Montagu. My purpose is to show that if the Rowlatt Act is to be persisted in, the Government must prepare for civil resistance which shall be perfectly respectful but which shall be unbending. The issue is remarkably simple : *Is the will of the people to prevail or that of the Government?* I venture to urge that a government, be it ever so powerful and autocratic, is bound to yield to unanimous public opinion. It is a bad outlook before us if truth and justice have to surrender to mere physical force, whether it is wielded by an individual or a government. My purpose in life is to demonstrate that the strongest physical force bends before moral force when it is used in defence of truth. If violence had not been offered by the people in April, notwithstanding provocation, the Rowlatt Act would have been withdrawn by now, as certainly as that I am penning these remarks. I still hope that Mr. Montagu, Lord Chelmsford and those who have the power, will perceive that true prestige lies in doing justice and respecting public opinion. But it may happen that they will think otherwise. In that event, I would like those who are interested in the speedy success of civil resistance to prepare the atmosphere for its smooth working. It will be a great trial of strength if we must engage in it. But the result is a certainty. That is the matchless beauty of civil resistance. A people that has no remedy in the last resort for securing redress perishes. The surest and the safest remedy is civil resistance. Europe furnishes a living warning against the method of violence. Peace has brought no rest to that continent. Wherever you look, there are strikes, there is violence and looting. England, the greatest perhaps of all the victors, is not free from turmoil. Victory has brought no satisfaction to the great mass of the people. India has her choice between the broken reed of violence and the unbreakable, peaceful and elevating weapon of civil resistance, i.e., resistance by self-suffering.

Young India, 9-8-1919

13. LETTER TO G. A. NATESAN

BOMBAY,
August 9 [1919]

DEAR MR. NATESAN,

May I thank you for looking after Devdas[1] during his illness and will you please convey my thanks to Dr. Krishnasamy for his great attention to Devdas.

You will not hesitate to criticize my writings and doings when you feel the necessity.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand : G. N. 2931

14. LETTER TO MOHANLAL PANDYA

ASHRAM,
Tuesday [August 12, 1919][2]

BHAISHRI MOHANLAL PANDYA[3],

I am so busy that I get no free time at all and so could not write to you. The figure for cotton was left out merely through oversight. I am now writing to Bombay. You must have seen that it is not necessary for anyone to go to the Punjab. How are things going on there? I cannot be happy unless we have swaraj in Kathlal. Swaraj for Kathlal means that it should meet its own needs in food, clothing and other things. We have lost our way because we did not follow this course. We can achieve such swaraj by our own efforts. You and Shankarlal should dedicate yourselves wholly to that end. You have the capacity and the will, and there are people to help you. I am leaving for Godhra on Thursday. From there I shall leave for Bombay on Friday.

[1] Devdas Gandhi had been staying in Madras since 1918, carrying on work for spread of Hindi.

[2] The letter was evidently written shortly before Gandhiji started *Navajivan* in September 1919. During the year, Gandhiji was in Godhra on August 14, which fell on a Thursday.

[3] A co-worker during Kheda satyagraha; *vide* Vol. XIV, pp. 419-21.

CWMG - XVI

I hope shortly to be able to give a Gujarati paper to the people.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: G. N. 2172

15. NOTE ON LALA LAJPAT RAI'S LETTER[1]

[Before *August 13, 1919*]

This letter[2], though it is clearly from Lala Lajpat Rai and meant for publication, is presumably by an oversight unsigned. In spite of the oversight, I allow it to be published for its intrinsic merit.

M. K. G.

Young India, 13-8-1919; also from a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand : S. N. 6669

16. LETTER TO THE PRESS[3]

[POONA,
August 13, 1919]

I have just received the following cablegram from Mr. Ibrahim Ismail Aswat, Chairman of the British Indian Association, Johannesburg :

> Bill assented 23rd June, promulgated 3rd instant. Restricts companies acquiring further fixed properties and holding bonds as prior to company law. Reaffirms Gold and Townships Acts operating on new licences after 1st May and restricting present traders and successors to particular townships. Deputation waiting His Excellency urging withhold assent on ground class legislation. Government promised another commission during recess investigate Indian question throughout Union as concession (to) the detractors in Parliament. Fear further restrictive legislation. Com-

[1] This note scribbled by Gandhiji on Lala Lajpat Rai's letter appeared below it in *Young India*. The photostat bears, at the top of the letter, the following lines in Gandhiji's hand : "Lala Lajpat Rai's creed. The following has been received."

[2] *Vide* Appendix III.

[3] This was published also in *The Bombay Chronicle*, 14-8-1919, and *The Indian Review*, August 1919.

munity request you appeal Viceroy propose Royal Commission India representing Union (local) Indian (interests). Convened Union Indian Conference 4th August, great success. Decided united action. Many of (the) associations pledged resist any cost—Aswat.

The words in parentheses have been added by me to make the meaning clear. The cablegram bears out what I have said in my letter to Sir George Barnes and what I said at the recent meeting at Poona.[1] The restrictions are clear: (1) no further holding of landed property in the Transvaal; (2) no new trade licences within the area affected by the Gold Law and the Townships Act; (3) the present holders and their successors in title to be restricted as to trade to the townships in which they are now trading.

As I have already remarked, this means virtual ruin of the Indian settlers in the Transvaal. The only means of livelihood to the largest number is trade, and the largest number of Indians is to be found probably within the gold area. If the Act stands, they must die out in the natural course.

In the cablegram, the word "assent" occurs twice. It says the Bill has been assented to and it refers to a deputation that is to wait on H. E. the Governor-General of South Africa requesting him to withhold assent. The second use of the word "assent" refers probably to a clause in the Letters Patent providing for the vetoing of class legislation. The clause is undoubtedly to be used under exceptional circumstances. No one can deny that the Asiatics Act constitutes a very exceptional circumstance warranting the exercise of the Royal veto.

The most important part of the cablegram, however, is the fact that the commission promised by the Union Government is to be appointed as a "concession" to "the detractors" of Indians in the Union Parliament. Unless, therefore, the Government of India take care, there is every likelihood of the commission, like the committee of the South African Assembly, proving to the British Indians a curse instead of a blessing. It is, therefore, not unnatural that the British Indian Association urges that H. E. the Viceroy should propose a Royal Commission upon which both the Union and the Indian interests are represented. Nothing can be fairer than the proposal made by Mr. Aswat. I say so because, as a matter of right, no commission is really needed to decide that Indian settlers are entitled to trade in South Africa where they like and hold landed property on the same terms as the European settlers. This

[1] *Vide* "Speech at Deccan Sabha, Poona", 8-8-1919.

is the minimum they can claim. But under the complex constitution of this great Empire, justice is and has often to be done in a round-about manner. A wise captain, instead of sailing against a headwind, tacks and yet reaches his destination sooner than he otherwise would have. Even so, Mr. Aswat wisely accepts the principle of a commission on a matter that is self-evident, but equally wisely wants a commission that would not prove abortive and that will dare to tell the ruling race in South Africa that, as members in an Empire which has more Coloured people than white, they may not treat their Indian fellow-subjects as helots. Whether the above proposal is accepted or some other is adopted by the Imperial Government, it must be made clear to them that public opinion in India will not tolerate confiscation of the primary rights of the British Indian settlers in South Africa.

M. K. GANDHI

Young India, 16-8-1919

17. LETTER TO THE PRESS[1]

August 14, 1919

Following close on the heels of the cable[2] from South Africa comes one from Fiji which reads as follows :

> Indian Imperial Association regrets Government postpone cancellation Indian indentures. Association strongly protests prays immediate abolition indenture.

I thought, after the Viceregal pronouncement[3] about Fiji, that we had seen the last of Fiji indentures with which Messrs Andrews and Pearson have made us so familiar. It is evident from the cablegram that the Government in Fiji Islands had decided upon immediate cancellation, and that they have now altered their decision and intend postponing the cancellation. It is to be hoped that the Government of India would throw some light on this change of programme. The public are entitled to view with strongest suspicion any postponement of the cancellation of indentures.

The Bombay Chronicle, 15-8-1919

[1] This was also published as a note in *Young India*, 16-8-1919, and *The Indian Review*, August 1919.

[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

[3] On April 12, 1917 the Viceroy had put a ban on emigration of labour to Fiji for the duration of the War.

CWMG - XVI

18. SPEECH AT SWADESHI BHANDAR, GODHRA

August 14, 1919

Before the interview[1] was performed the opening ceremony of the store [Swadeshi Bhandar]. A silver lock and key locally made were presented to Mr. Gandhi. The owners, who have taken up the enterprise purely from a public standpoint, asked Mr. Gandhi to announce that they would not charge more that $7\frac{1}{2}$ p.c. on the cost price of the goods in Godhra, i.e., the price in Bombay and the railage and packing. This applies only to the articles required for the Swadeshi Vows. The store was opened before a large audience. Mr. Gandhi said the enterprise depended for its success on the integrity of the managers and the patriotism of the Godhra public.

Young India, 20-8-1919

19. SPEECH AT WOMEN'S MEETING, GODHRA

August 14, 1919

The women's meeting came off at 4 p.m. Over one thousand women must have been present at the meeting. Mrs. Jerbanu Merwanji Kothawala, the accomplished wife of Khan Saheb Kothawala, presided. The following is the precis of Mr. Gandhi's address to the ladies :

Mr. Gandhi said he was grateful to Mrs. Clayton for her presence at the gathering and he was sure he had his audience with him in expressing the sentiment. After briefly introducing Mrs. Clayton to the ladies present, the speaker said swadeshi was that spirit in them which required them to serve their immediate neighbours before others and to use things produced in their neighbourhood in preference to those more remote. So doing, they served humanity to the best of their capacity. They could not serve humanity neglecting their neighbours. Similarly with their wants. They were bound to supply them through the agency of their neighbours and therefore preferred their labour and wares to those of others. India abandoned swadeshi a hundred years ago and had consequently become comparatively poor and helpless. They were well able to supply all their cloth and to supply the world's market to a certain extent when they were observing the law of swadeshi. During that period, the majority of the women of India spun yarn as a national duty and the men wove the yarn so spun. Now the 21 crore peasants of India had at

[1] This was given at Godhra by Clayton, the Collector, to local leaders on the question of forced labour.

least four months out of the year thrown on their hands. They did not shirk work. They had none to occupy their time and to supplement their earnings from cultivation. Swadeshi therefore was a question of finding a subsidiary industry for their farmers. No country in the world could prosper that had one-third of time of the vast majority of its inhabitants lying unutilized. Moreover, there were other men and women who had many hours in the day at their disposal. If these idle hours of the nation were fully occupied in producing yarn and weaving it, they could manufacture the whole of their cloth and thus save crores of rupees going out of the country every year. The condition of success was that cultured men and women took up spinning and weaving. The poorer people would follow their example. Lady Dorab Tata, Lady Petit and Mrs. Jayji Petit had promised to learn the art of spinning and introduce it to their sisters. Mrs. Ramabai Ranade proposed to introduce the music of the spinning-wheel in her Seva Sadan. Mrs. Banker worked six hours a day and produced fine yarn and made of it a gift to the nation. They could expect no less from the sisters of Godhra. Mr. Gandhi did not hesitate to recommend it to his European friends. One such sister had already undertaken the work. He hoped that those who did not need pecuniary assistance would make it a point of honour to give at least one hour a day to the nation for producing yarn. As an encouragement in this direction, he called upon his hearers to pledge themselves henceforth not to buy foreign cloth. Every village of India would thus become self-supporting and self-producing, so far as the two main wants of life—food and clothing—were concerned.

The chairwoman exhorted the ladies present to help the movement in the direction Mr. Gandhi indicated. Mrs. Clayton said she was glad she was able to be present at the meeting. She always was in favour of home industries.

Young India, 20-8-1919

20. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, GODHRA

August 14, 1919

The women's meeting[1] was followed by a brief recess.

The Vanita Vishram was visited at 6.30 p.m. The public meeting came off at 9.15 p.m. There was a very large audience. It was held in open air. Mr. Gandhi's address dealt with the religious and the economic aspect.

At the outset, he said he was deeply grateful to Mr. Clayton for presiding at the meeting. He knew and appreciated the condition under which he had accepted the invitation of the organizers. And he would endeavour faithfully to carry out the compact. To him the economic and the religious aspects of

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

swadeshi were far more attractive than the political, and as it was his dream that all, from the Viceroy down to the sweeper, should accept swadeshi, he was desirous of conducting swadeshi propaganda from the economic and religious standpoints. He was thankful too that Mr. Clayton had permitted the officials to be present at the meeting. To him the religious aspect was all sufficient. That elementary religion which was common to mankind taught him to be kind and attentive to their neighbours. An individual's service to his country and humanity consisted in serving his neighbours. If that was true, it was their religious duty to support their farmers, their artisans, such as weavers, carpenters, etc. And so long as the Godhra farmers and weavers could supply the wants of the Godhra citizens, the latter had no right to go outside Godhra and support even (say) the Bombay farmers and weavers. He could not starve his neighbour and claim to serve his distant cousin in the North Pole. This was the basic principle of all religions and they would find it was also of true and humane economics. India was suffering from a triple curse, the curse of disease —disease not of a normal but of an abnormal kind, the curse of want of food, and, lastly, that of want of clothing. All proceeded largely from the same cause —poverty, and poverty was due largely to the economic drain. They gave to the producers outside India in 1917-18 the enormous sum of sixty crores of rupees. And they had not in any measure worthy of consideration provided the millions of our spinners and weavers with any other occupation. The whole of the labour thus unwillingly set free was running to waste like a mighty torrent of water. The evil could only be corrected by their reversion to swadeshi and by rehabilitating their spinners and weavers in their former honourable occupation. He sought, in this gigantic task, the help of the officials, the millionaires and the other leaders of society. It was the most urgent need of the country. They had twenty-one crore farmers. His own experience and the experience of authoritative writers showed that they had nearly four months of the year lying idle on their hands. This was a huge economic waste. No wonder that they were poor. Swadeshi therefore was the problem of inducing and enabling the farmers to take up the supplementary industry of spinning and weaving. Their shastras and the history of spinning and weaving throughout the world showed that the queens down to their maids considered it an honour to spin cotton. Weaving was largely specialized. In those halcyon days when their mothers spun for the nation, they were able to produce the finest muslin. They could still regain the lost art and with it the lost prosperity. But one thing was needful for the people: to insist on getting only swadeshi cloth and on producing it themselves, as far as possible. In the Punjab, thousands of women of high birth spun their own yarn and got it woven by professional weavers. The swadeshi vows were designed to create a taste for swadeshi. They must not be ashamed of coarse cloth. As a matter of fact, there was more art about hand-spun and hand-woven cloth, however coarse, than about machine-made cloth, however fine. But art apart, they were bound by every tie of honour,

every consideration of prudence and economics, to wear what cloth every village could produce and be satisfied with it, till their skill, industry and enterprise could produce a better quality.

At the close of the proceedings, the chairman said he was glad to be able to preside at the meeting. He thanked Mr. Gandhi for his instructive address and exhorted the audience to support home manufacture. A vote of thanks to the chair brought the meeting to a close.

Young India, 20-8-1919

21. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, GODHRA

August 15, 1919

Mr. Gandhi then addressed a crowded meeting of the public on the situation in the Punjab. He briefly reviewed the events of April last and said that it would be a blot upon British justice if the sentences and convictions, many of which he believed were bad, were not reversed. It would be a greater blot on their patriotism if they did not insist upon an impartial investigation of the whole of the proceedings in the Punjab. The speaker did not doubt that such a committee would be appointed in the near future. He asked his hearers too to subscribe to the fund opened for the relief of the sufferers in the Punjab. A resolution was then passed calling upon the Government to appoint an independent committee to inquire into the causes of discontent and to review the convictions and sentences and asking the public to support the Punjab fund.

Young India, 20-8-1919

22. SIR SANKARAN NAIR AND GOVERNMENT

It is difficult to understand what possessed his fellow-members of the Viceregal Executive Council to attempt a refutation of Sir Sankaran Nair's irrefutable notes on Kaira and Champaran. They have exposed nothing but their own incapacity to understand or appreciate their colleague's view-point. By their reply to Sir Sankaran's notes, they have demonstrated the "wooden" nature of the bureaucratic system. In trying to discredit Sir Sankaran Nair, they have evoked from him crushing rejoinders and still further discredited themselves. If I have understood him rightly, Sir Sankaran Nair successfully endeavoured to prove the inelasticity of the present system and to answer the charge that the Congress or the educated Indians did not represent or care for the interests of the masses.

Let me take the Kaira affair. I propose to deal with the note[1] from the Bombay Government.

> The Governor-in-Council considers that the account given by Sir C. Sankaran Nair is so misleading that some authoritative correction of the views therein conveyed is essential before communication to the Secretary of State or Parliament.

They set about the work by sympathizing with Sir Sankaran over the difficulties of dealing with "so complex and specialized a subject" as the Land Revenue system. I respectfully submit that this is a highly misleading statement. There is nothing complex and specialized about the Land Revenue system except in so far as the administrators have made it so. Sir Sankaran has left 'the complexity and specialization' to the specialists and merely dealt with the main principles which even a layman can easily understand. I had had to undergo the torture of going through the bewildering Revenue Rules and their amendments made from time to time, which, I would fully grant, can only be remembered and recalled, as occasion may require, by specialists. But those rules are really devised not for the relief of distress but for ensuring a scientific, rigorous and regular collection of land-tax levied almost to the highest margin. And I would freely admit further that it will tax even the great ability of Sir Sankaran Nair if he had to find out how best to collect revenue from cultivators who can ill afford to pay. But not much ability was required to understand the simple problem whether there was failure of crops in Kaira in the year 1917, and whether the damage done by the excessive rains was such as to entitle the ryots to relief by way of suspension. The Bombay Government's note frightens the laymen,—and in this category must be classed the Secretary of State and the Parliament—by authoritatively saying that the resolution submitted to the Legislative Council and referred to by Sir Sankaran was "thoroughly impracticable". The impracticability consisted in the Hon'ble Mr. Kamat proposing that "the expert agency of the agricultural department" should find the anna valuation. The Government ask the reader on their mere *ipse dixit* to consider this very practicable suggestion as thoroughly impracticable. The Hon'ble Mr. Kamat suggested a comparatively independent—though still Government—agency, to do the work instead of an interested Government agency, viz., the circle inspectors, and other officials in the lower ranks whose very promotion depends upon their ability to make full

[1] *Vide* Appendix IV.

collection of the revenue even by "coercive" measures. In further proof of Sir Sankaran Nair's "misconception of fact and policy", the Government criticize his acceptance of my testimony "based on the mere statement of interested cultivators". As the framers of the note claim to be specialists having an intimate knowledge of the Revenue Department, I find it difficult to characterize this passage. I can only say that they have been ill-served by their subordinates. If the cultivators, whose statements I accepted, were interested in one way, the circle inspectors, as I have already shown, were far more interested the opposite way. The note omits, however, to mention that I did not rely upon the evidence of interested cultivators but checked their statements, in some cases, where it was possible, with my own eyes, in all cases with the evidence of disinterested and respectable men who were not concerned for their own sake in securing a suspension of the revenue collection. I thus applied a threefold test and I venture to say that, when the same evidence was given in thousands of cases by thousands of men and women, it was impossible to question that testimony, and the Government, in order to support the interested statements of their officials and in order also to be able to collect the revenue which they wanted, were obliged to discredit not only the testimony of the villagers concerned but that of practically the whole of the Kaira population. Any authority, in any shape or form responsible to the people, would have recoiled from any such imputation. Under our system, however, the word of the Government has come to be regarded with superstitious awe and it has to be accepted as the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth even though large masses of people require to be damned for that purpose. The Government summarily reject Sir Sankaran Nair's appreciation of the past economic situation of the tract. I challenge the framers of the note to go through the villages of the district, and find out for themselves from the dumb testimony of the dilapidated buildings in the villages and say, with hands on their hearts, what evidence those buildings bespeak. The Government then take delight in being able to say that the agitation in Kaira did not have "any considerable effects on the measures of relief actually sanctioned", and that the result was not to "leave the decision as regards payment of the Government demand to the *raiyats* themselves". I can only say so much the worse for the Government and the broken word of their accredited officers, one of whom, in the presence of nearly two hundred people including myself, said that suspension would be granted in cases of poor cultivators and that the question of inability on the ground of poverty would be

decided in consultation with the leading men of villages.[1] This was confirmed by the Collector of the District. That suspension was confined to the fewest cultivators possible, that the orders of suspension were suppressed from the public for over a month and that they were only discovered when the department was at its wit's end as to what to do, even after having sold the cattle of absentee cultivators, attached and removed their jewellery, imposed *chothai* fines, attached valuable crops worth a few thousand rupees for a paltry balance and after the statement of the Commissioner that he did not need, like his ignorant audience, the binding effect of a vow to make good his threat, that he would sell their crops, confiscate their holdings and never restore the names of the contumacious holders, is a tale too thoroughly discreditable to require any further elaboration, and I feel sorry that the new Governor, who has given evidence of his anxiety to hear both sides and to be as impartial as he can, has been, no doubt unconsciously, made a vehicle for passing to the Imperial Parliament a note that is brimful of misleading statements, and innuendoes. I never took advantage of this so-called concession, meaning the orders discovered in June. I merely made use of the knowledge gained at Uttersanda, and, as befits a satyagrahi, stopped the struggle. Had I prolonged it, I would have been guilty of contumacy, incivility to the Government and indifference to the distress of those whom I had the privilege of guiding. In the note[2] informing the people of the result, my colleague and I thus described the whole settlement:

> The Mamlatdar of Nadiad at Uttersanda, on the 3rd day of June issued such orders, whereupon the people of Uttersanda, who could afford, were advised to pay up. Payments have already commenced there.
>
> On the foregoing order having been passed at Uttersanda a letter was addressed to the Collector stating that, if orders like the one in Uttersanda were passed everywhere, the struggle would come to an end, and it would be possible to inform His Excellency the Governor on the 10th instant, the day of the sitting of the Provincial War Conference, that the domestic difference in Kaira was settled. The Governor has replied to the effect that the order like the one in Uttersanda is applicable to the whole district. Thus the people's prayer has at last been granted. The Collector has also stated in reply to a query about *chothai* orders that the orders will not be enforced against those who may voluntarily pay up. Our thanks are due to the Collector for this concession.

[1] *Vide* Vol. XIV, p. 414.
[2] *Vide* Vol. XIV, pp. 416-8.

CWMG-XVI

We are obliged to say with sorrow that although the struggle has come to an end, it is an end without grace. It lacks dignity. The above orders have not been passed either with generosity or with the heart in them. It very much looks as if the orders have been passed with the greatest reluctance. The Collector says : "Orders were issued to all Mamlatdars on the 25th April that no pressure should be put on those unable to pay. Their attention was again drawn to these orders in a proper circular issued by me on the 22nd of May, and to ensure that proper effect was given to them, the Mamlatdars were advised to divide the defaulters in each village into two classes—those who could pay and those who were unable to pay on account of poverty."

If this was so, why were these orders not published to the people? Had they known them on the 25th April, what sufferings would they not have been saved from ? The expenses that were unnecessarily incurred by the Government in engaging the officials of the district in effecting executions would have been saved. Wherever the assessment was uncollected, the people lived with their lives in their hands. They have lived away from their homes to avoid attachments. They have not had even enough food. The women have suffered what they ought not to have. At times they have been obliged to put up with insults from insolent circle inspectors, and to helplessly watch their milch buffaloes being taken away from them. They have paid *chothai* fines. Had they known the foregoing orders, they would have been saved all the miseries. The officials knew that this relief of the poor was the crux of the struggle. The Commissioner would not even look at this difficulty. Many letters were addressed to him, but he remained unbending. He said: "Individual relief cannot be granted, it is not the law." Now the Collector says : "The orders of April 25, so far as they related to putting pressure on those who were really unable to pay on account of poverty were merely a re-statement of what are publicly known to be the standing orders of Government on the subject."

If this is really true, the people have suffered deliberately and through sheer obstinacy! At the time of going to Delhi, Mr. Gandhi wrote to the Commissioner requesting him to issue orders to the above effect, so that the good news could be given to His Excellency the Viceroy. The Commissioner gave no heed to the request.

"We are moved by the sufferings of the people, we perceive our mistake and in order to placate the people we are now prepared to grant individual relief "—the officials could have generously said all this and endeared themselves to the people, but they have obstinately avoided this method (of winning them over). And even now relief has been granted in a niggardly manner, involuntarily and without admission of mistake.

It is even claimed that what has now been granted is nothing new. And hence we say there is little grace in the settlement.

The officials have failed to be popular because of their obstinacy, because of their mistaken belief that they should never admit being in the wrong and because of their having made it a fetish that it should never be said of them that they had yielded to anything like popular agitation. It grieves us to offer this criticism. But we have permitted ourselves to do so as their friends.

Thus, if the end was without grace, the Government, in their persistence in their self-congratulation upon the manner in which they succeeded in drawing all but the last drop, turn their action into a criminal blunder. Their note leaves untouched the contention of Sir Sankaran Nair that the tendency of the present system of Government is too scientific to be human and therefore tyrannical, and that justice has been generally wrung from an unwilling bureaucracy by persistent agitation carried on by the much-maligned educated class mainly through their annual assembly and its offshoots.

I must refer to Champaran in another issue,[1] reluctant as I am to revive memories of painful events. But the extraordinary attitude taken by the Government makes it incumbent upon me as the only person, barring my colleagues, capable of placing the facts before the public, to do so.

Young India, 16-8-1919

23. *WHAT TO DO?*

That the Rowlatt Act must not stand in the face of the opposition of the whole country is or should be clear to everyone who has any regard for national honour. As I have said so often, to secure its repeal is more important than the passing of the Reforms Bill. It will be an object lesson in self-government without a parliamentary statute. We must obtain the repeal by orderly agitation. What is an orderly agitation? If it is meetings, resolutions and memorials, it will be said, we have already had these in abundance. The argument will not be without force. But governments have short memories. If there are no meetings and no resolutions, there will be officials enough to say that the people do not desire repeal of the Rowlatt Act nor do they bother about

[1] *Vide* "Sir Sankaran Nair and Champaran", 27-8-1919.

CWMG - XVI

it. Though it was well known that the silence over Mr. Horniman's deportation was deliberately brought about to restore quiet and equilibrium, there were not wanting responsible people to infer that the absence of noise over the deportation was due to the people's acquiescence in the 'violence' of the authorities.

It is moreover certain that the Act is not going to be repealed without serious and sustained effort. My implicit belief in the certainty of repeal is based upon the equal certainty of serious and very powerful agitation going on in the country. The belief is also based upon my conviction that the Act is harmful to the free growth of the people. I would even contemplate with comparative equanimity isolated revolutionary crime rather than see a whole people living under the terror of an Act like the Rowlatt Act. It deals with effects, leaving the cause severely alone. It arms the police and the executive with arbitrary and demoralizing powers. An executive that asks for extraordinary powers is as a rule to be distrusted. Extraordinary powers are asked by those who wish to cover their inefficiency or inability to cope with an evil. It is like an unskilled surgeon wanting to use the knife where a lancet in a skilled hand would do equally well. Often extraordinary powers are taken to cover wrongs done by authority, as I fear was done by the Punjab Government in April. History would have been written differently if the Central Government had asked the Punjab Government to deal with the situation in the ordinary manner. It is said that in two places at least the Governor told the police that the latter would be held responsible if any disturbance took place in their jurisdiction. Believing then, as I do, that the Rowlatt Act is bad in every respect and that nothing bad can outlast honest effort, I entertain no misgivings about the Act being repealed long before the expiry of the time limit. But that honest effort during the suspension period consists in meetings, memorials and resolutions. I respectfully appeal to the leaders who have advised me to suspend civil resistance to do their duty. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar even said that methods other than civil resistance were open to the people. Will he and the other leaders give the lead? In addition to their work, I suggest a memorial, after the style of the Congress-League Scheme Memorial[1], to be signed by thousands of people. Such memorials, as the late Mr. Ranade used to say, have an educative value and are quite useful for the purpose of focussing public opinion. Moreover, when civil resistance was started,

[1] *Vide* Vol. XIV, Appendix I.

I was told that it was premature, we had not exhausted all the other means at our disposal. I ventured to say we had. Adoption of the programme suggested by me avoids the possibility of a repetition of the charge of premature resumption of civil resistance, if unfortunately it has to be resumed. From every point of view, therefore, I feel that we should for the time being revert to the old method of agitation and education of public opinion, always insisting on speakers confining themselves to facts, avoiding declamation or inflammatory language. A proper explanation of the Rowlatt Act is itself its severest condemnation.

Young India, 16-8-1919

24. *LETTER TO V. S. SUNDARAM*

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
August 17, 1919

MY DEAR SUNDARAM,

Please write legibly. It is better to write a clerical hand than a fashionable hand.

You must recite some hymn, Sanskrit or Telugu, to send you to sleep. You must be ashamed to own a weak body.

When are you going to Miss Faering? I had a brief note from her. Tell her I am not writing in reply.

Have your people commenced to learn spinning?

I had your wire about Devdas. You may contribute articles to *The Hindu*, *Swadesh Mitran*, etc., on the progress of swadeshi and spinning as you saw it here. Do not write laudatory articles but mere facts. They are more eloquent than anything else.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand : S. N. 3199

CWMG - XVI

25. LETTER TO C. ROBERTS

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
AHMEDABAD,
August 17, 1919

DEAR MR. ROBERTS[1],

I write this to you rather than to Mr. Montagu because I do not wish to worry him when he is already over-weighted with other worries and because I do not enjoy the privilege of knowing him so well as I have of knowing you.

When I was about to renew civil resistance, I felt I ought to send Mr. Montagu a personal cable[2] which I did. I have written to him too on the subject.[3] He sent a confidential reply to the cablegram through the Governor of Bombay. The reply strongly dissuaded me from resuming civil resistance and said that, if it was a mistake for me to have embarked upon it, it would be a crime to resume it. It added that I ought to know that the Act would not be repealed or withdrawn. So far as the "crime" is concerned I must commit it, if I am driven to it, and take the consequences. For I must frankly say that I remain unrepentant. It is my firm belief that nothing but civil resistance can replace criminal resistance. And it is surprising that Mr. Montagu, with his very fine imagination, should not have seen the simple beauty of the absolute efficacy and the necessity of civil resistance. However, time will do its work and show that it was not civil resistance that was responsible for the circumscribed violence of the people in April. In the Punjab, the people were goaded into violence. In Ahmedabad, they went mad to think that one who had served them was arrested without reason. All the other parts of India remained perfectly calm. My admission of my mistake is limited to the underrating of the forces of evil pervading both the Government and the people.

What however pained me most was Mr. Montagu's message that I must know that Rowlatt Act was not going to be repealed. I know nothing of this absoluteness about the non-repeal of

[1] Charles Roberts, Under-Secretary of State for India; *vide* Vol. XII, p. 528.

[2] *Vide* Vol. XV, p. 387

[3] *Ibid*, pp. 367-8.

CWMG - XVI

the Act. I know that I shall give all I have towards securing its repeal. It was conceived in unworthy distrust of the people; it was brought forth amid the universal opposition of Indian opinion and it was nurtured in repression. This is enough to condemn it. Does Mr. Montagu propose to inaugurate reforms in the midst of a people whose pride has been deeply wounded, whose opinion flouted and many of whom have been wrong[ly] tried and convicted? Is that a fit prelude to liberal reforms? Should they not be heralded by a repeal of the Act?

And what is the Rowlatt Act? It is an Act from start to finish designed to rob the subject of his liberty without the slightest necessity for it. Revolutionary crime is (or was) admittedly confined to such a small area that it is an insult to the people to fling in their face a repressive measure like the Rowlatt Act.

I would therefore like to paraphrase Mr. Montagu's warning and say that, if it was folly to have passed the Rowlatt Act in the face of Indian opposition, it is a crime to continue it, notwithstanding the persistence of such opposition.

Will you please read this letter to [Mr.] Montagu when you find he has leisure to listen to it?

Pray remember me to Lady Cecilia Roberts and tell her that both Mrs. Gandhi and I often think with gratefulness of her overwhelming kindness to us both during my severe illness in 1914.[1]

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat of the copy in Gandhiji's hand : S. N. 6806

[1] This was when Gandhiji spent a few months in London on his way home to India; *vide* Vol. XII.

CWMG - XVI

26. LETTER TO "THE TIMES OF INDIA"[1]

BOMBAY,
August 18, 1919

THE EDITOR
THE TIMES OF INDIA
[BOMBAY]

SIR,

No possible exception can be taken to the impartial manner in which your South African correspondent has given a summary of the Indian position in the Transvaal in your issue of the 18th instant. He has put as fairly as it was possible for him to do both sides of the question.

It is not the additional "brown burden on the top of the black one" which agitates the European Colonists in South Africa, but the crux of the whole question is, as your correspondent puts it, "that South Africa cannot be run economically with the Indian in it, and the white people who have made the country, cannot be expected to commit race suicide". This is not the problem that presents itself to the Boer living on the Veldt to whom the Indian trader is a blessing, nor to the European housewife in the big towns of the Transvaal who depends solely upon the Indian vegetable-vendor for the vegetables brought to her door. But the problem presents itself in the manner put by your correspondent to the petty European trader who finds in the thrifty and resourceful Indian a formidable rival, and with his vote, which counts a great deal, and with his influence as a member of the ruling race, he has succeeded in making his own economic problem a race problem for South Africa. In reality, the problem is whether the petty trader for his selfish end is to be allowed to override every consideration of justice, fair play, Imperial policy and all that goes to make a nation good and great.

In support of the gradual but certain squeezing-out process, what has been called the Smuts-Gandhi agreement has been pressed into service. Now that agreement is embodied in two letters and two only of the 30th June, 1914:[2] the first one addressed to me on behalf of General Smuts by Mr. Gorges, Secretary for the

[1] This was reproduced in *Young India*, 20-8-1919, *The Hindu* and *New India*, dated 22-8-1919.

[2] *Vide* Vol. XII, pp. 438-9 and Appendix XXVI.

Interior, and the second my acknowledgment of it bearing the same date. The agreement, as the letters conclusively show, is an agreement on questions which were the subject of civil—in the correspondence described as passive—resistance. The settlement stipulates only for an extension—never a restriction—of existing rights, and, as it was intended only to cover questions arising out of civil resistance, it left open all the other questions. Hence the reservation in my letter of the 30th June, viz:

> As the Minister is aware, some of my countrymen have wished me to go further. They are dissatisfied that trade licences, laws of the different Provinces, the Transvaal Gold Law, the Transvaal Law 3 of 1885, have not been altered so as to give them full rights of residence, trade and ownership of land. Some of them are dissatisfied that full interprovincial migration is not permitted, and some are dissatisfied that, on the marriage question, the Relief Bill goes no further than it does.

In this correspondence, there is not a word about the Indian settlers not getting trade licences or [not] holding fixed property in the mining or any other area. And the Indians had a perfect right to apply for and get as many trade licences as they could secure and as much fixed property as they could hold, whether through forming registered companies or through mortgages. After a strenuous fight for eight years, it was not likely that I would give away any legal rights, and if I did, the community I had the honour to represent would naturally and quite properly have dismissed me as an unworthy, if not a traitorous, representative.

But there is a third letter, totally irrelevant considered as part of the agreement, which has been used for the curtailment of trade rights. It is my letter of the 7th July addressed to Mr. Gorges.[1] The whole tone of it shows that it is purely a personal letter, setting forth only my individual views about "vested rights in connection with the Gold Law and Townships Amendment Act". I have therein stated definitely that I do not wish to restrict the future action of my countrymen and I have simply recorded the definition of "vested rights" I discussed with Sir Benjamin Robertson on the 4th March, 1914, saying that by "vested rights I understand the right of an Indian and his successors to live and trade in the township in which he was living and trading, no matter how often he shifts his residence or business from place to place in the same township".[2] This is the definition on

[1] *Vide* Vol. XII, pp. 443-4.
[2] *Vide* Vol. XII, p. 371.

CWMG-XVI

which the whole of the theory of evasion of law and breach of faith has been based. Apart from the question of irrelevance of the letter, I claim that it could not be used, even if it could be admitted as part of the agreement, in the manner it has been. As I have already stated on previous occasions, there was a prospect of an adverse interpretation of the Gold Law as to trade licences, and there was the tangible difficulty in getting land or leases of buildings and it was by the most strenuous efforts that Indians were able within Gold Areas to retain their foothold. I was anxious to protect the existing traders and their successors *even though the legal interpretation of the law might be adverse to the Indian claim.* The vested right, therefore, referred to in my letter of the 7th July was a right created in spite of the law. And it was this right that had to be protected in the administration of the then existing laws. Even if, therefore, my said letter can be incorporated in the agreement, by no canon of interpretation that I know can it be said to prevent the Indians *morally* (for that is the meaning of the charge of breach of faith) from getting new trade licences in virtue of the law of the land. Indians openly and in a fair fight gained in their favour a legal decision to the effect that they could obtain trade licences against tender of the licence fee even within the Gold Area. To this they were perfectly morally entitled. There cannot be any question of a legal breach. Their trade rivals would long ago have made short work of any legal breach. Lastly, supposing that the law was adverse to the Indian claim, my definition could not be pleaded to bar any agitation for amendment of the law, for the whole of the settlement, in the nature of it, was of a temporary character; and the Indians, as definitely stated in my letter of the 30th June, "could not be expected to rest content until full civic rights had been conceded". The whole of the plea, therefore, of breach of faith is, I venture to submit, an utterly dishonest and shameless piece of tactics, which ought not to be allowed to interfere with a proper adjustment of the question.

M. K. GANDHI

The Times of India, 19-8-1919

27. LETTER TO INDRA VIDYALANKAR

BOMBAY,
Shravan Sud 6 [*August 18, 1919*]

DEAR INDRA,

I am cleaning up my office and I see there is a letter from you. I think I have replied to it. In case, however, you have not received the reply, please let me know and I shall try to write to you.

MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a photostat of the Hindi original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 4856. Courtesy: Chandragupta Vidyalankar

28. LETTER TO P. S. TO GOVERNOR, BOMBAY

LABURNUM ROAD,
GAMDEVI,
BOMBAY,
August 19, 1919

DEAR MR. COWIE[1],

I see from the papers that His Excellency will be in Bombay tomorrow. When I last had the pleasure of waiting on him, he told me that he would grant me another interview, this time for the discussion of swadeshi. This is, therefore, merely to serve as a reminder to His Excellency. I am in Bombay till Friday next and I want to be absent practically the whole of next week if I can. Naturally, however, I shall suit myself to His Excellency's convenience. If, therefore, I can secure the appointment before I leave Bombay, I should feel very grateful.[2]

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat of a handwritten copy : S. N. 6815

[1] Private Secretary to Sir George Lloyd, Governor of Bombay

[2] Cowie replied on August 22, stating that the Governor was preoccupied with a conference on housing but would see Gandhiji before leaving Bombay, if possible.

CWMG - XVI

29. *ANOTHER SCANDAL*

It is my unpleasant duty to present another batch of cases to the reader from the Punjab which reveal a state of things that is utterly unbearable. It is to be wished that H.E. the Viceroy will end the growing anxiety by appointing the promised Committee of Inquiry without delay. Mr. Montagu has said from his place in the House of Commons that at least two out of the three judges of the Punjab Special Tribunals were judges of the High Court of three years' standing. The public have been recently informed that, where the members were not High Court judges, they were eligible for that high post. The poignancy of the sorrow that the atrocious injustices, such as I have had the painful duty of exposing, have caused is increased by the knowledge that the perpetrators of these injustices are judges in whose judgments the people have been accustomed to put the utmost trust. This unevenness of temperament can only be accounted for by the supposition that the trained judicial intellect of the judges must have suffered temporary aberration by the events of the Punjab. The desire to secure for Englishmen almost absolute immunity from physical harm from the "natives", by inflicting exemplary punishments on someone or other, appears to have been the master passion overruling discretion, wisdom and justice. It is not possible for me to understand the judgments that have come under my notice on any other hypothesis. These reflections are caused by a perusal of the judgment and the evidence in the Hafizabad case. The full text of the judgment and the evidence material to the case to be examined will be found printed elsewhere in this issue. During the whole course of my practice of law, by no means inconsiderable, extending over an unbroken period of nearly twenty years, I have never come across cases in which capital punishment has been so lightly pronounced on the flimsiest evidence taken down in a most perfunctory manner, as appears to me to have been done in the Hafizabad case.

The case has been sent to me in regard to only one of the nineteen accused tried, viz., Karamchand, the 19th accused, a student of the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College. But I have no hesitation in saying that there was no evidence before the Court to warrant a conviction against any of the accused for waging war. The judges had a choice of offences for conviction.

The accused were charged under Sections 121, 147, 307, 486 (?), 149 of the Indian Penal Code. Section 147 relates to rioting, carrying with it a maximum penalty of two years' imprisonment. Section 149 renders members of an unlawful assembly liable to the same penalty as any other member thereof. Section 307 relates to attempts to murder, carrying the maximum penalty of ten years. Section 486 appears to be an erroneous copy; it has no relevance to the evidence led before the court. It was thus easy enough to convict on any of the milder sections if the judges had so chosen. They however "scented" war in every act of the crowd during those three or four days of April.

Whilst therefore it is clear to me, as I hope it will be clear to every impartial student of the case, that the charge of "waging war against the King" is unsustainable in the absence of the specific evidence against the other accused, it is difficult to form a conclusive opinion as to their cases on the minor charges. I cannot however conceal from myself or the reader the very strong suspicion that the full text of the evidence[1] will not disclose any ground for the statement of the judges to the effect that "the orators had incited the crowd to take immediate and vigorous steps to overthrow the Government by raising as much opposition to it as possible". Nowhere have I seen any attempt during those days of April to "overthrow the Government".

But I must confine myself to the case of Karamchand. These are the full remarks in the judgment about him:

> Karamchand, No. 19, was peculiarly guilty. He brought down the news of the Lahore riots. He gave a most garbled account of it. And by representing that the Lahore crowd had succeeded in beating the military, he gave the Hafizabad crowd reason to believe that their insurrection would be successful.

"We think," the judges proceed, "that these four men deserve the extreme penalty." The three men who are bracketed together with him for capital punishment are supposed to have been among the active assailants of Lieutenant Tatam. Not so Karamchand, as is clear from the passage from the judgment just quoted.

Let us look at the evidence against the accused. Two of the prosecution witnesses who were on the train that carried Lieutenant Tatam have given only identifying evidence. They are un-

[1] The report of evidence in the case Gandhiji had received from Karamchand's father; *vide* "Letter to Ishardas Khanna", 20-8-1919.

able to say that Karamchand himself did anything at all. Prosecution witness No. 5 first identified Karamchand 18 or 20 days after the 14th April. Witness No. 6 identified him 10 or 18 days after the said date. Both the witnesses, it is admitted, were utter strangers to Karamchand. The gravamen of the charge against Karamchand is, not that he did anything on the 14th, but that he brought some news from Lahore on the 11th. This is the exclusive evidence about Karamchand given by the Head Master of the D. B. School:

> Karamchand is a student of the D.A.V. College, Lahore. I saw him on 11th evening. He was talking about the riots of Lahore that the people are being fired upon with a machine-gun at Lahori Gate are not retreating

(I have taken the sentence exactly as it occurs in the original copy before me).

> He was going to say more but I stopped him. I advised him that it is not good to say such things at Hafizabad. He was my old pupil. 6 or 7 people were present. This was outside the town on footpath. He was excited. I left on the 12th.
>
> Cross-examination—Accused does not belong to Hafizabad. He went away when I warned him. I had not asked him what had happened at Lahore.

Prosecution witness 27 gave evidence corroborating that of the Head Master. This is all the evidence against Karamchand. It stands out clear as daylight that Karamchand's alleged talk about the Lahore riots took place on the 11th, that he spoke outside the town on a footpath in the presence of 6 or 7 people and that he stopped as soon as his old schoolmaster advised him to do so and went away; and that he does not belong to Hafizabad. I hold that the judges' paraphrase of the above evidence is totally unwarranted. There is nothing in all the evidence about Karamchand to show that the crowd near the railway station on the 14th was the same as the 6 or 7 people before whom he talked outside the town on the 11th about the Lahore riots. One fails to see what peculiarity the judges found in Karamchand's case. Let me note here that the Head Master and the corroborating witness give us no information regarding Karamchand's doings or whereabouts on the 14th April. Even if, therefore, Karamchand was present on the 14th April at the station, so far as the evidence enables one to see, he was a silent spectator of the cowardly conduct of the mob. But Karamchand says he was not there. He says he went to his village on the 12th. He produced four witnesses to prove that

he was in his village, Udhoki, on the 14th April. I venture to suggest that there is just as much probability of Karamchand and his witnesses having told the truth as there is of the two witnesses for the prosecution being mistaken about the identity of Karamchand, regard being had to the fact that they had never seen him before, that they were taken to the jail to identify him 10 or 18 days after the event and especially when they never saw Karamchand doing anything active. Add to this the fact that the prosecution witnesses were only for a few minutes in the midst of the crowd and whilst, according to the evidence of the Crown, stones were being thrown at the first-class compartment. It is not justice to sentence a man to be hanged on the very inconclusive testimony as to identity. Karamchand's father gives me further details to prove that the former was at his village on the 14th April. Naturally I am unable to make use of this—extraneous, though important—evidence to prove his innocence. The father says in his letter that Karamchand's sentence has been commuted to 10 years' rigorous imprisonment.[1] He is naturally not satisfied with it. I hope that His Honour the Lieut.-Governor of the Punjab will study the case personally and, if he does, I doubt not that Karamchand will be discharged. I hope, too, that his co-accused who were sentenced to be hanged are at least alive, so that their cases may be reviewed by the forthcoming Committee of Inquiry.

We, who are living in this Presidency, cannot but contrast the Punjab proceedings with those at present going on in Ahmedabad. Nothing that was done in Hafizabad could surpass the wicked and wanton cruelty of the mad mob at Viramgam. And yet this tribunal, I am thankful to be able to note, has carried on the enquiry with judicial calmness, giving every opportunity to the counsel for the defence to bring every fact to light and have not found it in their hearts to impose the capital punishment on a single person in that case. So far as I know, its judgments have not provoked much hostile criticism, whereas almost every judgment of the Punjab tribunals that has come to light has been subjected to the severest comment. Only the promised Committee of Inquiry can solve the discrepancy. Meanwhile, I hope the public will demand full and unconditional discharge in cases of palpable injustice like that of poor Karamchand.

Young India, 20-8-1919

[1] The term was later reduced to one year; *vide* "Letter to P.S. to Lt.-Governor, Punjab", 22-8-1919.

CWMG - XVI

30. LETTER TO "THE TIMES OF INDIA"[1]

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
August 20, 1919

THE EDITOR
THE TIMES OF INDIA

SIR,

You will perhaps permit me to reply to "Pennsylvanian" 's well-meant advice to me. I am aware that many Englishmen honestly hold the opinion "Pennsylvanian" does, and I thank him for providing me with an opportunity for removing some of the misunderstanding that exists about satyagraha.

"Pennsylvanian" has commended to me the example of his illustrious countryman, Abraham Lincoln. I have endeavoured to the best of my ability to translate into my life one of his sayings, namely,

> Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith, let us, to the end, dare to do our duty as we understand it.[2]

"Pennsylvanian" rightly insists on a "moral revolution". Now, satyagraha is that and nothing else. Civil resistance is but a part, though a necessary part, of it. Its root meaning is "insistence on truth at all cost". Life-satyagrahis are under the pledge of absolute adherence to truth, non-violence, poverty and chastity. An institution is at present in existence at which practically the whole of the programme sketched by "Pennsylvanian" is being carried out.[3] English and American friends have visited it. I invite "Pennsylvanian" to visit it and report upon it to the public. He will find there that men and women belonging to all stations in life are living on terms of perfect equality, that the unlettered receive literary education in so far as the daily toil permits it, and

[1] This letter, also published in *Young India* and *New India* of 23-8-1919, was written in reply to an open letter in *The Times of India*, a few days earlier, in which the writer, "Pennsylvanian", had appealed to Gandhiji to concentrate his efforts on the improvement of society by a ceaseless propaganda for social education and revenue reform. For the text, *vide* Appendix V.

[2] These are the concluding words of Lincoln's address at Cooper Institute, New York City on February 27, 1860.

[3] The reference is obviously to the Satyagraha Ashram founded by Gandhiji at Sabarmati in 1917.

CWMG - XVI

that the lettered members do not hesitate to take up the pickaxe and the shovel. He will find there that, besides agriculture, the inmates are under the obligation to learn the art of spinning and weaving. By exploring the records of its past, he will discover that its members helped with medicine the people of the surrounding villages during the influenza epidemic, that they helped the famine committee to distribute grain among the poor, that they distributed again for the same agency several thousand rupees against manufacture by the needy weavers and thus added to the production in the country, that through their labour several women, who were but the other day earning nothing, are able, by spinning cotton during their leisure hours, to earn a few coppers daily. In short, he will find that [some] of the items in the comprehensive programme sketched by "Pennsylvanian" are being worked there to the utmost extent of the capacity of the satyagrahis. This is the silent moral revolution going on in our midst. It suffers by advertisement and it is not without some hesitation that I have placed before the public the constructive work that is being done by life-satyagrahis.

Let me add further that the advent of satyagraha has, to my knowledge, weaned many an anarchist from his blood-thirsty doctrine. He has found that secret societies and methods of secret murder have brought nothing but a military and economic burden on this unhappy land, that it has tightened the coil of the Criminal Investigation Department, and that it has demoralized and wrecked the lives of hundreds of youths who have been led astray by it. Satyagraha has presented the rising generation with a new hope, an open road and an infallible remedy for most ills of life. It has armed that generation with an indestructible and matchless force which anyone may wield with impunity. Satyagraha tells the youth of India, self-suffering is the only sure road to salvation—economic, political and spiritual.

For the most part, satyagraha *is* "evil resistance" and "civil assistance". But sometimes it *has* to be "civil resistance". Here I must call to my assistance another illustrious countryman of "Pennsylvanian", Henry Thoreau. He asks,

> Must the citizen ever for a moment, or in the least degree, resign his conscience to the legislators?

He answers,

> I think that we should be men first and subjects afterwards. It is not desirable to cultivate a respect for the law so much as for the right.[1]

[1] *Civil Disobedience*, 1849

I think that the position taken up by Thoreau is unassailable. The only question is that of the remedy to be applied for vindicating the rights of conscience. The remedy in vogue is that of inflicting violence on those who wish to wound your conscience. Thoreau in his immortal essay shows that civil disobedience, not violence, is the true remedy. In civil disobedience, the resister suffers the consequences of disobedience. This was what Daniel did when he disobeyed the law of the Medes and Persians. That is what John Bunyan[1] did and that is what the *raiyats* have done in India from time immemorial. It is the law of our being. Violence is the law of the beast in us. Self-suffering, i.e., civil resistance, is the law of the man in us. It is rarely that the occasion for civil resistance arises in a well-ordered State. But when it does, it becomes a duty that cannot be shirked by one who counts his honour, i.e., conscience, above everything. Rowlatt Act is legislation that affects the conscience of thousands of us, and I respectfully suggest that an appeal should be addressed by Englishmen to the Government that they withdraw an Act that hurts the self-respect of the nation and that has roused such unanimous opposition, rather than that I should be asked to refrain from civil resistance in respect of it.

I am, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

The Times of India, 22-8-1919

31. LETTER TO ISHARDAS KHANNA

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
August 20, 1919

DEAR SIR,

I have your letter with the judgment and the evidence in the case of your son Karamchand. Please let me have copy of the petition submitted to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor. Why did you not give evidence in the case to support the statement that your son was not in Hafizabad on the 14th April? Please send me also copy of the full text of evidence. Please let me know

[1] John Bunyan, (1628-1688); English thinker and preacher; author of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, *The Holy War*, etc.

also what happened to the three others who were sentenced to be hanged.

Yours sincerely,

From the typewritten office copy : S. N. 6814

32. LETTER TO LALA LAJPAT RAI

August 20, 1919

DEAR LALA LAJPAT RAI,

I was delighted to receive your letter[1]. I considered it to be so valuable that I have published it.[2] It has served to remove misconceptions about your views. The letter was unsigned. I considered that it was an oversight. I would like you, if you will, to develop your views and give me a detailed letter for publication.[3] It is to me intolerable that one like you should have to remain outside India at the present moment.[4] In my opinion, the place of every true Indian is in India. The doctrine of satyagraha, i.e., resistance without violence, requires as much strength as it can receive. In my opinion, it will not only solve India's problems but it will solve the world's problems.

I take it that you get *Young India* regularly.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

[1] *Vide* Appendix III.

[2] *Vide* "Note on Lala Lajpat Rai's Letter", before 13-8-1919.

[3] The letters Lala Lajpat Rai wrote in response to Gandhiji's request were published in *Young India*, 12-11-1919, 26-11-1919 & 17-12-1919.

[4] He was at the time in America from where he returned in 1920.

CWMG - XVI

33. LETTER TO LALLUBHAI SAMALDAS MEHTA[1]

LABURNUM ROAD,
GAMDEVI,
BOMBAY,
Shravan Vad 10, 1975 [*August 20, 1919*]

DEAR FRIEND,

I have not troubled you any time, but today I cannot help it. Perhaps you are not altogether a stranger to the case of Manilal Jadavji Vyas. He is a subject of the Rajkot State. He had a business in Karachi. He signed the satyagraha pledge in March or April. In May, the Commissioner at Karachi deported him from British India under the Act of 1864. The man wrote to me and appealed to the Bombay Government. The latter has confirmed the order. You will find this action of the Government commented upon in *Young India*. I take it that you read it. If you don't get a copy, let me know and I shall see to it that you do. If you choose, you can do much in this matter. I should like you to.

From a handwritten copy of the Gujarati original : S. N. 6810

34. LETTER TO C. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARIAR[2]

LABURNUM ROAD,
GAMDEVI,
BOMBAY,
August 21 [*1919*]

DEAR DEWAN BAHADUR,

During the suspension of civil resistance, I feel that there should be sustained agitation to remove the Rowlatt Act. I suggest that a reasoned memorial may be sent by leaders either to the Viceroy or to Mr. Montagu. I am moving the leaders here. But some of them think that even to send a memorial may jeopardize reforms! Will Madras lead?

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

[1] Diwan of Bhavnagar State

[2] C. Vijayaraghavachariar; leading lawyer of Salem; presided over the Nagpur session of the Indian National Congress in 1920

35. LETTER TO LADY TATA

LABURNUM ROAD,
[BOMBAY,]
August 21, 1919

DEAR LADY TATA[1],

No apology was necessary regarding the spinning-wheel. I am sorry you remained without one so long. If you would send your car about noon (Friday), I shall send one machine and some dressed cotton with Govind Baboo who will be able to give you a few tips about spinning and keeping the machine in order, if you could give him a little time.

I shall treasure that story about the Governor. It is too good to be hawked about. You need not therefore fear publicity. God willing, your prophecy shall come true.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

36. LETTER TO DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION, BOMBAY

BOMBAY,
August 21, 1919

DEAR SIR,

I had occasion to visit Godhra last week and, during my stay there, to visit the Stewart Library. I found that several newspapers were regarded as undesirable for being placed on the library table. I venture to suggest that the list of undesirable newspapers is quite arbitrary. I find, for instance, that *Young India* is prohibited. Now, that paper is today being published under my close supervision and I make bold [to] say that it is a journal which could be placed in the hands of a child. It was prohibited on the 19th June, 1917. Since that day it has undergone many vicissi-

[1] There is no indication whether this was Lady Ratan J. Tata or Lady Meherbai Tata.

CWMG - XVI

tudes. There is *The Mahratta*[1] also under the ban. It is one of the oldest established English weeklies largely read in Indian circles. The *Gujarati* again is one of the oldest Gujarati papers. One may not agree with the policy of these journals, but I cannot help saying that it is a serious matter to withhold a journal from a public library for its policy. I have simply chosen a few examples from the list. So far as I know, not one of the newspapers listed can be objected to on any defensible ground. In my opinion, assuming that there should be censorship as to the periodicals, the matter should be placed in the hands of a Library Committee chosen by the local residents, of which your local representative may be an ex-officio member, with the strict understanding that a newspaper or a book may be excluded only if, in the opinion of the Committee, it offends public morals.

I trust that you will give this very important matter your earnest and early consideration.[2]

I am,

Yours faithfully,
M. K. GANDHI

Young India, 17-9-1919

37. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

[BOMBAY,]
Shravan Vad 9 [*August 21, 1919*]

Why should anyone take offence at the publication of Lala Lajpat Rai's letter[3] ? It was written to be published. The letter adds to his stature. We, on our part, should patiently listen to any criticism that may be made.

Lalaji's letter was really meant to be published. What it says about Hardayal is public knowledge. Men have grown so timid that they fear even their shadows. I think, by publishing the letter, I have opened the door a little for Lalaji's return to India.

[1] One of the two papers founded and edited by Bal Gangadhar Tilak in Poona.

[2] In a reply dated September 13, Gandhiji was informed that the order excluding the periodicals mentioned by him had been cancelled.

[3] *Vide* Appendix III.

In a very short time, satyagraha will have ceased to be a purely Gujarati word.

[From Gujarati]
Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. V

38. LETTER TO P. S. TO LT.-GOVERNOR, PUNJAB

LABURNUM ROAD,
GAMDEVI,
BOMBAY,
August 22, 1919

TO
THE PRIVATE SECRETARY TO
HIS HONOUR THE LIEUT.-GOVERNOR OF THE PUNJAB
LAHORE

DEAR SIR,

It is my painful duty to bring to His Honour's notice another case of patent failure of justice. I refer to the case of Karamchand, one of the accused in the Hafizabad batch. I understand that His Honour was pleased to commute the death sentence to ten years' imprisonment and subsequently ten years to one year, but in a case where there is not a tittle of supportable evidence against the accused, it would be agreed that nothing but full discharge can meet the ends of justice. I therefore venture to commend this case for further attention and trust that His Honour will be pleased to order young Karamchand's discharge. I enclose herewith copy of *Young India* containing my analysis[1] of the judgment, together with the full text of it and the evidence bearing on Karamchand's case. I understand that young Karamchand has been recently married and that his father is broken-hearted over his son's unmerited incarceration.

Yours faithfully,
M. K. GANDHI

Encl. : 1, (Copy of *Young India*)

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S.N. 6819

[1] *Vide* "Another Scandal", 20-8-1919

CWMG-XVI

39. LETTER TO P. S. TO LORD WILLINGDON

LABURNUM ROAD,
GAMDEVI,
BOMBAY,
August 22, 1919

DEAR SIR,

I write this for submission to His Excellency on a somewhat personal matter of urgency.

Probably the name of Miss Esther Faering, of Danish extraction and, up to recently, if not still, working as Superintendent of a Girls' School belonging to that mission in Tirucoilur, has been brought to His Excellency's notice. It was probably two years ago that she, along with another Danish lady[1], visited my Ashram at Ahmedabad. Both the ladies took a special fancy for the Ashram and its ideals. Miss Faering has since then met me three or four times and she has visited the Ashram, I believe, once after her first visit. She has been a fairly regular correspondent and I believe she is attached to me like a child to its father, simply because, in her opinion, I represent in action the ideals she would fain enforce in her own life and is ever trying to. She loves India as her own motherland and I know it would be a terrible wrench to her if she is ever banished from India, as she dreads she might. Latterly, it seems she has been a suspect, very much shadowed. It was her intention some time ago to leave the Danish mission, if she could. I think I succeeded in weaning her from the desire. I told her that it was her duty to fulfil her contract with the mission, so long as she was permitted to do so. I have just heard that she is no longer in the mission. If this is true and if she is permitted, I would be pleased to take her into the Ashram where she would be associated with me in my non-political work. I believe her to be as truthful and straight a person as is to be found anywhere. She ever lives in the fear of God and does her best to live a Christian life. As her desire is to pass her life mostly in the midst of the people of India, I advised her to become naturalized. I know she took steps in the direction and I revised for her the petition for naturalization. But I do not know whether she has sent it. I can only hope that His

[1] Anne Marie Petersen

CWMG - XVI

Excellency will meet her and form the same opinion about her that I have. If any undertaking is required about her, it can be easily given. If an assurance is necessary, I wish to assure His Excellency that I have not the slightest desire to avail myself of her services in the political field. As probably Lord Willingdon is aware, the largest part of my work is social and moral or religious. My most intimate associates take hardly any part in my political work. The inmates of the Ashram are engaged in agricultural, industrial and educational work, and if Miss Faering comes to the Ashram, she will take part in these activities, and if need be, I will undertake, in no other.

Miss Faering knows nothing about this letter but I am sending her a copy for the consolation that I am not unmindful of my duty to her as a privileged friend, as also for her endorsement of the undertaking I am promising herein.

I tender my apology for troubling His Excellency on a matter of a partly personal nature.

Yours faithfully,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of a copy : S. N. 6823

40. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

LABURNUM ROAD,
GAMDEVI,
BOMBAY,
August 22, 1919

MY DEAR CHARLIE,

I have most disquieting news about Miss Faering from Sundaram. I asked him specially to go and see her. He has been there and he tells me she is no longer in the Danish mission and that she is in distress lest she might have to leave India. It would be almost death to her if she is forced to do so. Here is a copy of my letter to Lord Willingdon. I feel most keenly about her. Will you not immediately go to Madras and do what you can to prevent her banishment?

I am more and more becoming convinced of the correctness of the non-violence doctrine. The greater the possession of brute force, the greater coward does the possessor become. Fancy moving the contemptible machinery of the C.I.D. to watch over the doings of one of the most harmless persons living. I would be riddled by bullets a hundred times rather than, in trying to be

bullet-proof, be party to injuring innocent people, whether in body or mind.

Today our Government stops at nothing. It does not require a philosopher to understand the utter futility of physical force. But you may not agree with my conclusions or inferences. I do want you to agree with me that it is just as important to do our best to protect Miss Faering from harm as it is for me to resist the Rowlatt Act with my life and for you to be at Shantiniketan.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

Enclo : 1

From a photostat of a typewritten copy : S.N. 6822

41. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
August 24, 1919

MY DEAR CHILD,

Sundaram's letter about you had made me very gloomy. My heart goes out to you in your sorrow. But I know that if we trust in God when we are weakest, somehow He makes us strong. Deep down in me therefore there is the feeling that all would be well with you no matter what happens to you. I could not, however, restrain myself from writing to the Governor. Here is a copy of my letter[1] to him. If you are free, you would come down at once to the Ashram. I want to write to Mr. Bittmann but I shall await reply to this. You will know the rest from my letter to the Governor. If it does not represent the situation correctly in any way, you will please let me know. You will be an unworthy child if you will not let me know your pecuniary wants.[2]

With love,

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat of the original in N.A.I.; also *My Dear Child*, p. 37

[1] *Vide* "Letter to P. S. to Lord Willingdon", 22-8-1919.
[2] Esther Faering's salary from the mission had been stopped.

CWMG - XVI

42. LETTER TO P. S. TO GOVERNOR, BOMBAY

As at Laburnum Road,
Gamdevi,
Bombay,
August 25, 1919

DEAR MR. COWIE,

I see that I may not get an interview with H. E. for some time.[1] I am however anxious to get some pronouncement on swadeshi from H. E. as early as possible. I, therefore, propose to present for H. E.'s consideration my conception of and arguments on swadeshi. I do hope he will make time for reading it and, if possible, be pleased to comply with my request made at the end of the argument.

Swadeshi

Swadeshi as conceived by me consists in producing cloth enough for the wants of India and in distributing it; and for the purpose of stimulating home production, it consists in inducing people to pledge themselves to the use of swadeshi cloth only, the right being retained where necessary to continue the use of foreign cloth at present in possession of the pledgee/votary. The swadeshi is conceived only as a religious and an economic necessity; and although it is fraught with political consequences of a lofty, moral type in order that all may take part in it, the swadeshi propaganda is restricted to the religious and economic aspects only.

Swadeshi goods can be produced either through spinning and weaving mills or by hand-spinning and hand-weaving. At the present moment, we are concentrating on hand-spinning and hand-weaving.

Argument

We are so doing because the need of the peasantry, i.e., 73 p.c. of the population, is an industry supplementary to agriculture. This population has nearly four months in the year practically idle on its hands. A hundred years ago, the majority of the women of India spun yarn either for profit or for pleasure and

[1] Gandhiji had asked for an appointment; *vide* "Letter to P. S. to Governor, Bombay", 19-8-1919.

CWMG - XVI

thousands upon thousands of professional weavers wove cloth enough for home consumption. Whether the same can be done today, or not, it is unnecessary to inquire. It is beyond question that if these millions of peasants can be induced to take to spinning and weaving, it will materially decrease the economic drain and enable them to supplement their earnings. My own experience in several centres and among hundreds of women tells me that they are glad enough to revive the occupation of spinning and to get a few coppers. I know that they were a blessing to many poor women of Vijapur during the late famine. About 150 women, in that village alone, are today spinning about half a maund of yarn per day and getting on an average three pice each, enough for them to buy milk for their children. I consider hand-spinning and hand-weaving as an automatic famine insurance. Only last Friday I was surprised to find Miss Latham of East Khandesh telling me that the women of that district were pining for some home occupation that would enable them to turn a few honest coppers. All that is necessary is to provide them with cheap spinning-wheels and with dressed cotton. Arrangements have already been made on a limited scale to supply both these things. Both men and women are taking up the idea eagerly, but the thing can move far more rapidly if the movement receives patronage from high places.

Request

I, therefore, request as follows :

1. H. E. may be pleased to give us a letter for publication approving of the swadeshi movement and especially of the introduction of hand-spinning and hand-weaving.

2. The Registrar of Co-operative Societies may be authorized to encourage hand-spinning and hand-weaving and devise means therefor.

3. Collectors and other officials may be advised to encourage the movement and especially to encourage the cultivators to take up hand-spinning and hand-weaving.

4. And if it is not a presumption, I would respectfully ask H. E. on my behalf to secure Lady George Lloyd's patronage for my spinning classes. Several titled ladies are, with a view to encouraging the industry among the poor classes, taking spinning lessons. I would consider it an honour to be allowed to present a spinning-wheel to Her Excellency and to send her a lady teacher

or to give her the lessons myself. I may mention that the art of spinning is incredibly simple to learn.[1]

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat of the typewritten copy : S. N. 6826

43. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING

[After *August 25, 1919*][2]

MY DEAR CHILD,

You have been writing fairly regularly but I have been unable to do so. You know the reason why.

The pain I suffered was really nothing. Chhotalal made more of it than was deserved. I am taking all reasonable care of the body.

I take it that there is no hurry about your giving a final answer to the Board or Mr. Bittmann. Yours is a difficult case. I am most anxious that you should be absolutely true and faithful to the Board and that they should not in any way feel that you had done anything unworthy. Shall I write to Mr. Bittmann (am I spelling his name correctly? I have not your letter by me) even as I wrote to the Governor?[3] Your service to India should be rendered as a true Dane and a Christian. You are serving because your Christianity prompts you to do so. And it

[1] On September 1, Cowie replied that the Governor would write back in a few days' time. Gandhiji seems to have pursued this matter, *inter alia*, in a second letter, on September 16, but this is not available. On October 7, he received a reply from the Private Secretary to the Governor as follows : "I am desired by His Excellency to reply to your letters of 25th of August and of the 16th of September in which you express your desire to know His Excellency's views in regard to the swadeshi movement. His Excellency is in complete sympathy with any movement calculated to advance the cause and welfare of Indian national production so long as these assist Indian industry to compete favourably with other great rival producing countries. His Excellency's views on the fiscal questions are, I believe, well known to you and his view is that the proper solution of the fiscal question coupled with better facilities for economic and technical education are the best methods of assisting Indian industrial development. His Excellency will be interested to watch the progress of your new paper *Navajivan*. As regards your remarks regarding the additional police at Nadiad and the case of Mr. Manilal Vyas, His Excellency wishes me to assure you that he has given the fullest consideration to these cases."

[2] This was in reply to the letter dated August 25 in which Esther Faering had expressed her desire to stay in India and serve the country as much as she could.

[3] *Vide* "Letter to P. S. to Lord Willingdon", 22-8-1919.

CWMG-XVI

is not enough that you feel so, it is necessary that your people should realize it through your love, humility and nobility. I do not know how best it can be done. Anyway your letters to them should be gentle, true and charitable—never harsh, bitter or reproachful. After all, yours in a way is a rebellion and it can only be justified by success in the religious sense of the term, even as Daniel's and Bunyan's were justified.

I am glad you are keeping well. Are you comfortable? You will be a bad child if you fail to express your wants to me. If you are in need of money, you will not hesitate to tell me so.

It is a strange phenomenon—everybody wanting to learn English. You should satisfy their desire within bounds. Do tell me a little more fully as to who wants it.

With love,

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat of the original in N.A.I.; also *My Dear Child*, pp. 38-9

44. SIR SANKARAN NAIR AND CHAMPARAN

The argument on either side—his colleagues on the one and Sir Sankaran himself on the other—is the same as for Kaira. Sir Sankaran has argued that the bureaucracy took action only when it was moved by the driving force of the Congress, in other words, educated Indians. His colleagues have argued that the bureaucracy has been ever vigilant of the interests of the masses whom educated Indians have never represented and for whom they have cared little. Further, the case for bureaucracy, so far as Kaira is concerned, is that, in the first place, they did nothing at all for the cultivators because they did not believe in their grievance, and secondly, if it be argued that something was done, it was done not because the Hon'ble Gokuldas and other educated Indians, and, in the last stages, Mr. Gandhi intervened, but because it was what they would have done without any such intervention. In the Champaran case, the grievance is admitted, but it is stated on behalf of bureaucracy that Mr. Gandhi's intervention did not in any way affect the course of action. Sir Sankaran Nair's contention in both the cases is that whatever was done by the bureaucracy was wrung from them by the strenuous effort of educated Indians who have ever held the interests of the masses dear to their hearts.

CWMG - XVI

I hope I have been able to show clearly that the grievance of the Kaira cultivators was real, and that whatever was given was after a very tough fight, and that the smallness of the relief granted was evidence of the smallness of the bureaucratic mind. In Kaira, again, the grievance was not of long standing and there was callous indifference even at the fountainhead. Lord Willingdon, well-intentioned himself, allowed himself to be ruled by his unbending councillors who were immediately concerned with the Kaira affair. My task, therefore, in dealing with Kaira was easy enough. In Champaran, the grievance was old. The contest was three-cornered, in which tremendous interests were arrayed against the *raiyat*. But I am happy to be able to bear testimony to the fact that the head of the Government, Sir Edward Gait, was a strong man, who ruled instead of being ruled by his councillors and who did not hesitate to use his strength on behalf of the *raiyats* to the best of his ability. Had there been any other or less sympathetic or less strong ruler, the course of history would have taken a different, and a tragic, turn. The consequences would have been disastrous. It is, therefore, painful for me to criticize the Bihar Government Note on Champaran in answer to Sir Sankaran Nair's minute of dissent. They do not deny the grievance, but they claim that they were waiting in order to be able to redress the grievance for the result of the settlement operations they had undertaken and that my intervention was practically of no consequence. My position in dealing with the matter is rendered difficult by reason of my having been a member of the Committee of Inquiry. I may not make use of records which were placed before the Committee by the Government, but which naturally have not been published as part of the Committee's report. I must confine myself, therefore, to the published reports only. The Bihar Note makes much of the settlement operations. I venture to submit that the settlement operations had little to do with the very large issues involved. According to the Bengal Tenancy Act, which is applicable to Bihar, these operations automatically take place at stated intervals with a view to regulating the enhancement of rent payable by each individual tenant to the permanent holder. The permanent settlement of Bengal has brought little permanence to the *raiyats* amongst whom the vast permanent holdings are parcelled out. In Champaran, the majority of permanent holders are European planters. They are like Rajas; although they are not clothed by law with any civil or criminal jurisdiction over the *raiyats*—their tenants—they succeed in exercising practically both jurisdictions over the abjectly helpless tenantry of Champaran.

In this, they differ in no wise from Indian permanent holders. But, as I said in one of my earliest notes[1] submitted to the Government, in the course of my independent investigation, "whilst there can be no doubt that the latter (meaning the planters) have inherited a vicious system, they with their trained minds and superior position have reduced it to an exact science." These landlords have been given by the Bengal Tenancy Act the right, under stated circumstances, to enhance rents, with an equal right to the tenant to seek reduction under certain other circumstances. As might be well imagined, reduction would be a rare thing. Enhancement is an actuality haunting the tenant throughout his life. And the settlement officer's chief business is to revise these rents, re-survey the plots occupied by each tenant and to investigate some of the disputes between landlord and tenants incidental to the tenancy. Beyond this, the settlement officer cannot go. He had no jurisdiction to investigate or decide upon any of the most important issues that were before the Champaran Committee for decision. My own investigation was confined only to grievances that were common to the majority of the Champaran *raiyats* regarding which no settlement operations were necessary, because no individual investigation was required or called for. These grievances forced themselves on my notice as soon as I set my foot in Champaran, and I was not there many weeks before I had overwhelming evidence to prove them. The chiefest of them was practically of a hundred years' standing. It had reduced the *raiyats* to the position of mere serfs. This was the indigo grievance. It was called the system of *Tinkathia* cultivation of indigo under which the *raiyats* were obliged to set apart a certain portion of their holding chosen by the landlord on which he had to grow indigo and later any other crop that the landlord required him to grow, and this he had to sell to his landlord at a price which hardly paid him for his labour. Let the report of the Committee speak upon it :

> The conditions under which indigo is grown by the tenants for the factories has in the past been the cause of disputes on several occasions, and though we do not consider it necessary to enter into the history of these disputes, we cannot explain the causes of the present unrest without giving some account of the system. In essentials, it does not appear to have varied during the last 100 years.[2]

[1] This refers to his report of May 13, 1917, to the Chief Secretary, Government of Bihar and Orissa; *vide* Vol. XIII, pp. 385-90.

[2] *Vide* Vol. XIII, Appendix XI.

During these hundred years, whenever the grievance became unbearable, the *raiyats* sought relief by open violence. Each time there was rioting, there was only a patchwork done. The violence made their position, as a matter of fact, much worse than before. The planters were able to bring the armed authority of law to their aid to quell it and the grievance which gave rise to violence was almost totally forgotten. Sometimes punitive police was imposed upon the *raiyats*, and the only consolation that the latter were able to take for their madness was a little rise in the price they received for indigo. But the forced growing of indigo and all the misery that it meant, continued without abatement, and the hold of the planters upon the *raiyats* grew tighter. And when they found that violence was useless, they tried resort to law courts with as little success as attended their efforts at rioting. Sometimes they would get an equitable ruling, but in the unequal struggle they were bound to be worsted. With the unlimited resources of the planters, the slender purse of the *raiyats* had a poor chance. The records of the law courts of Champaran are there any day to support my statement. The settlement officer could see or say nothing regarding this double failure. I state with all the emphasis that I can command that the story of the last hundred years of the Champaran *raiyats* is also the story of the failure of the authorities either to understand the inwardness of the situation or to grapple with it. Every *raiyat* gave them a terrible warning, but to no purpose. They tampered with the problem, never went to the heart of it. And had it not been for my appearance in Champaran, had I not insisted on my right to remain there in the face of tremendous difficulties, and had I not brushed aside the advice of some friends to obtain a solution through law courts, and, what is more, had I not gone to the *raiyats* themselves to find out what they wanted, I make bold to say that the great relief that the Bihar Government gave would never have been given. They would never have had the courage to blot out the curse of forced indigo. They knew that it was a curse, they knew that although the *raiyats* could not express it in words, it was the *Tinkathia* that ate into the very vitals of the community, and sapped their moral and material strength. The Bihar Government are not ashamed to say that the majority of the Bihar Legislative Council, as ignorant as themselves, rejected the resolution brought forward by the only councillor who knew what he was talking—I mean, Babu Brijkishore Prasad—one of the truest men of Bihar. The Government ought to have known then that the settlement officer could throw little light on this burning question. Indeed, had there been no settlement operations, there

would probably have been no *Sarahbeshi*—enhancement of rent in lieu of indigo. I admit that the settlement officer himself was a courteous and sympathetic officer desirous of doing his duty; I admit also that because of his impartiality he succeeded in giving justice to the *raiyats*, when other officers would have failed; but he could throw no more light, because he was a settlement officer, than he otherwise would have done on the many questions that the Committee had to decide. It was not his province. The comprehensive recommendations of the Committee are based, not upon the evidence of the settlement officer, but upon the records that were in possession of the Government, most of them bearing a date prior even to the date on which the settlement officer began his operations. All the vices of forced indigo, which the Committee has brought to light, were already known to the Government. The opposite question, therefore, arises: why did they not abolish the system before? There were several settlement operations before the last one; why did they not avail themselves of these operations to redress the grievances dealt with by the Committee? I do not wish to burden the reader with a detailed list of the grievances found by the Committee to exist. I content myself with saying that the Committee could have dealt with every one of them without the settlement, and what is more to the point, on the question of *Sarahbeshi* and *Tawan*, if the Government had listened to Babu Brijkishore's voice in the wilderness, the *raiyats* would have been saved the robbery in the shape of *Tawan*, and the veiled robbery in the shape of *Sarahbeshi*. I must explain these two terms for the edification of readers outside Bihar. *Tawan* was the so-called damages taken by the lease-holding planter from his tenants for commutation of the indigo obligation *at a time when the planter did not need indigo*. *Sarahbeshi* was an increase in rent taken by permanent holders *under the same circumstance*. So *Tawan* and *Sarahbeshi* are the same as if a party to a supposed contract, finding it to be burdensome, releases himself from the burden, and takes damages in [to] the bargain from the other party for his own release. Under ordinary conditions, he who wants a release pays for it. That the *raiyats* also wanted it is beside the point. They were helpless. The Bihar Government almost give away their case when they say:

> the position was further complicated by the fact that the system was based on contracts between the planters and the *raiyats*, and interference in an elaborate system of contractual relations is obviously a matter of extreme delicacy, and no Government could venture on such interference except on the clearest proofs of necessity. Mr. Gandhi's intervention, by bringing the discontent of the *raiyats* to a head and thus threatening

> the district with an outburst of lawlessness, compelled the Government to anticipate the programme which it had mapped out, but by that time the information which the local Government had always insisted on as being essential had been collected by the settlement staff, and it was only because they had this information at their disposal that the Committee were able to bring their labours to so speedy a conclusion.

It is true that my presence in Champaran brought the discontent of the *raiyats* to a head; had they not been granted relief, they would certainly have ceased to labour for the planters, which they were in no way bound to. But I deny that my intervention threatened the district with an outbreak of lawlessness, —if by lawlessness is meant that of *raiyats*; for my presence, I say without hesitation, was the greatest restraining force against any such outbreak. My condition with the *raiyats* was that I would leave them the moment they resorted to violence. I mixed with thousands of them, and I do not know a single instance in which my presence had any but the most sobering effect upon the *raiyats*. I deny also that it was "because the Committee had the information contained in the Settlement Records that they were able to bring their labours to so speedy a conclusion". As a matter of fact, the planters never ceased to agitate for my expulsion during my stay in Champaran. I make no complaint about it—I made none then. But in declining to remove myself or my Bihar friends from Champaran, I had often to address the Government and myself the question whether, since it was their duty to deal justly by every subject, they would not of themselves redress the grievances of Champaran *raiyats*; and this is what I said, on the 31st[1] May, in one of my letters to a Government official:

> Cannot the Government secure that freedom? This is a natural exclamation. My answer is that they cannot, in cases like this, without such assistance as is afforded to them by my mission. The Government machinery is designedly slow. It moves, must move, along the line of least resistance. Reformers like myself who have no other axe to grind but that of the reform they are handling for the time being, specialize and create a force which the Government must reckon with. Reformers may go wrong by being overzealous, indiscreet or indolent and ignorant. The Government may go wrong by being impatient of them or over-confident of their ability to do without them. I hope, in this case, neither catastrophe will take place and the grievances, which I have already submitted and which are mostly admitted, will be effectively redressed. Then the planters

[1] This is a slip; the letter was dated May 20; *vide* Vol. XIII, pp. 404-6.

CWMG-XVI

will have no cause to fear or suspect the mission of which I have the honour to be in charge, and they will gladly accept the assistance of volunteers who will carry on the work of education and sanitation among the villagers and act as links between them and the *raiyats*.

It is not without great grief that I have felt compelled to criticize the Bihar Government note, but I cannot help feeling sad that, in their anxiety to sustain a bad cause, they should have belittled a mission that was in no sense political—a mission that was undertaken solely in the cause of humanity, and a mission that included not merely the removal of the grievances of the *raiyats*, but which included the devising of methods for their education, their sanitation, and their general uplift, whether with or without the help of the Government and the planters. That constructive programme, although other activities have claimed my attention, has not yet stopped. Here and there, volunteers are still conducting their schools among the *raiyats* in face of heavy odds. The local Government know this, and they know also that I had endeavoured to keep the mission outside the political arena. I kept its doings as much from the public press as was possible for me to do; and I would not still yield to the temptation of publishing the many letters I had the privilege of writing to the local Government on behalf of the *raiyats*. The Government of India very much resemble a man cutting the very branch on which he is sitting. Sir Sankaran Nair has stated the obvious truth. In support of it he brought forward two most telling illustrations. It would have been graceful and dignified if they had at least remained silent, if they could not have acknowledged it.

Young India, 27-8-1919

CWMG - XVI

45. EXTRACT FROM LETTER TO ABDUL BARI[1]

ON THE TRAIN,
EN ROUTE TO BOMBAY,
August 27, 1919

I fear that it is not yet time for asking for the [Ali] Brothers' release. We have to be satisfied with the orders for maintenance money. I do not think our efforts will succeed until the Turkish peace terms are disclosed.

In my message[2], I sent you my thoughts in the matter. I fear that the matter is already settled; if the reports contained in the English newspapers are true, I believe that there will be international control over Constantinople and partition of Thrace. I am already in communication with His Excellency the Viceroy. I know what the Mohammedans feel, but I have no status to voice specially their feelings. The time for joint and firm action on our part is now. There will be deep disappointment and resentment after. But it will be to no purpose; everything is possible now, nothing *after* the publication of the terms. I feel most keenly the awful position and I feel deeply humiliated that we are seen to be so careless and negligent. Violence now or after is no remedy. I know you are ever preaching against it. But much greater activity on the part of many is necessary. Satyagraha is the only remedy that cannot be taken after all is done, when we do nothing while the tragedy is being enacted before us. Satyagraha is a matter of soul and the soul never sleeps, never rests and acts when it must, come what may. In the dignity of Satyagraha in action lies the future of Islam, the future of India and parenthetically, the future of the Ali Brothers.

N. A. I. : Home, Political—A, October 1919, Nos. 426-440

[1] This has been extracted from the Secret Censor's report; the letter was obviously intercepted. In his letter of August 4, Abdul Bari had expressed anxiety about the condition of the Ali Brothers and the need to acquaint Government with the people's true feelings regarding them, and sought Gandhiji's advice as to a deputation to the Viceroy for presenting a memorial.

[2] This was apparently sent on June 20.

CWMG - XVI

46. LETTER TO G. E. CHATFIELD

LABURNUM ROAD,
GAMDEVI,
BOMBAY,
August 28, 1919

DEAR MR. CHATFIELD,

In view of H. E. the Governor's pronouncement that he would like by every means in his power to encourage decent house building on behalf of the mill-hands and such other workers, Anasuyabehn has thought of a suggestion which she thinks I should place before you. There is a certain survey number being Govt. property situated outside Delhi Darwaja on the Dudheshwar Road in the limits of Dariapur Kazipur. This number is Revenue Survey No. 441. If it can be given on a long lease, she will be prepared, in conjunction with some of the labourers, to build suitable lodgings for them and a school for their children. The idea is to locate the school and the houses on the same piece of ground. I understand that several mill-hands are ready to put up their savings for the promotion of the scheme. You may not know that she is already conducting one or two co-operative societies in conjunction with Mr. Ewbank, Registrar of such societies. Her societies having achieved a fair measure of success, she is anxious to proceed a step further and make with your help the experiment above described. If the proposal commends itself to you, as I hope it will, and if you wish to discuss the matter further with Anasuyabehn, you have but to drop her a note and she tells me she would see you. If, on the other hand, you would far rather discuss it with her and me jointly, rather than carry on a correspondence, on hearing from you I shall give you the exact date of my coming to Ahmedabad.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. G.

[PS.]

I reach Ahmedabad on Monday next.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S.N. 6827

47. LETTER TO MRS. CLAYTON

LABURNUM ROAD,
GAMDEVI,
BOMBAY,
August 28, 1919

DEAR MRS. CLAYTON[1],

I hope you received the *precis* of my address in Godhra as I had promised. A lady teacher has been sent to Godhra to open a spinning class. Will you not encourage the class by taking up spinning yourself? The lady, Mrs. Desai, who is at present in Godhra, has been teaching Lady Dinshaw Petit. I do not want you to give much time to spinning, but even if you spun for half an hour a day, it would be your free offering to the poor and the needy.

Will you please remember me to Mr. Clayton and tell him how much I appreciate his prompt issue of notice regarding *veth*[2].

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S.N. 6828

48. LETTER TO DR. SATYAPAL

LABURNUM ROAD,
GAMDEVI,
BOMBAY,
August 28, 1919

DEAR MR. SATYAPAL[3],

I was delighted to see your letter. I shall certainly attend to the matter as fast as I can. Will you please convey to all the leaders that at the present moment the situation in the Punjab occupies a predominant position in my thoughts and actions, and assure them, especially the ladies whose husbands are at present undergoing unmerited incarceration, that I shall leave no stone unturned to secure justice. It is no joke for me to be outside the prison walls when so many leaders of the Punjab are suffering

[1] Wife of the Collector of the Panch Mahals District in Gujarat

[2] Forced unpaid labour

[3] Congress leader of the Punjab; took an active part in the Rowlatt Act agitation

CWMG - XVI

imprisonment for no fault save that of daring to serve their country to the best of their ability.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S.N. 6829

49. LETTER TO "THE TIMES OF INDIA"[1]

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
August 29, 1919

SIR,

I know that it can only be by patient efforts that one can hope to remove the ignorance that must necessarily attach to all questions arising a few thousand miles from us. "Eureka" 's letter published in your issue of the 28th instant is a case in point. He has raised many issues. I propose to confine myself only to the South African. The question before the public today is not one of emigration but that of the livelihood and status of those who have legally settled in South Africa, and neither Lord Sinha nor H.H. the Maharaja of Bikaner could give away inherent rights of citizens of the Empire, nor did they do any such thing. Indians have settled in South Africa for over 50 years; they are not known to have lowered the standard of living. Will "Eureka" please remember that the first Indian settlers were imported by the Europeans of South Africa ? I refer to the introduction of indentured Indians. I said in 1894, as I repeat now, that it was a criminal blunder on the part of the greedy Europeans of Natal to have imported indentured labour from India at miserably low wages when they had 400,000 stalwart Zulus in their midst who would gladly have worked if the employers had not wanted to make enormous profits. Can South Africa, with any right on its side, starve the descendants of the original settlers and the brethren out of existence ?

It is purposeless for me to go into the question how and by whom South Africa was won; but let me correct "Eureka" by informing him that it was aid sent from India under the late Sir George White which saved Ladysmith and which probably turned the fortunes of war. Let me further inform "Eureka" that the 10,000 troops that Sir George White took with him included many Indian

[1] "Eureka" had written advising Gandhiji not to agitate about British Indian rights in South Africa and argued that Indians had practically nothing to complain of as only Europeans had fought for and retained South Africa.

followers who were just as indispensable for the military operations as any soldier. Nor is this all. When the fate of Ladysmith trembled in the balance, when the late Lieut. Roberts, fighting against heavy odds, lost his guns at the battle of Colenso, I had the honour to be in charge of the ambulance corps of nearly 1,200 Indians, free and indentured, literate and illiterate, drawn from all classes.[1] Some of the men who are now in peril of losing the means of their livelihood had the privilege of bearing the stretcher that carried the dying Lieutenant. The corps served too at the reverse of Spionkop. We were engaged to work without the range of fire, not because we had objected but because the authorities would not risk our lives, as we were not trained for military operations. But Col. Gallway sent the message that, whilst we were not obliged to work under fire, General Buller would be glad if we could remove the wounded that were lying at the Field Hospital at the base of the hill. There was danger of the Boers descending from the hill. Without the slightest hesitation and indeed with gladness for the opportunity, every one of the men with me responded to the call and removed the wounded to the base hospital at Frere Camp, a distance of 24 miles. The wounded included the late General Woodgate and the brave officers under him. The English newspapers and the politicians were so enthusiastic about this purely voluntary work of the Indians that even laudatory verses were composed, whose refrain was "We are sons of the Empire after all". Are these Indians of whom these verses were written now to sing "We are helots of the Empire after all", for that is what Indian settlers in South Africa would be totally reduced to if the English and the Indian public of India do not make a great effort to ward off the impending calamity. In my opinion, the case for the European traders of South Africa is so hopelessly bad that it has only to be persistently, truthfully and calmly exposed to the whole of the Empire and it must fall to pieces.

I am, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

Young India, 3-9-1919

[1] *Vide* Vol. III, pp. 163-9 & 174-6.

CWMG - XVI

50. "*AUDI ALTERAM PARTEM*"

The public have recently received many a shock from the Punjab and I had hoped that we shall be spared rude shocks regarding the events of April from any other quarter. But the papers received from Nadiad and published elsewhere provide disillusionment. On the 21st of April last, the Collector of Kaira wrote to the Nadiad Municipality as follows:

> I have the honour to address the Municipal Board of Nadiad as representative of the people of the town, and in the first place to convey to them through the Board my appreciation of the very general respect for law and order which they maintained during the period of strain and excitement which is now happily passed away; special thanks are due to those of the leaders who used their influence in the direction of moderation.

It is on these people, the readers will be surprised, an additional police is to be imposed in connection with the very incidents on which they have been congratulated. And the expenses are to be collected from the *Patidars* and the *Banias* of Nadiad and landowners of Barejadi. To my knowledge, the Collector, who was during the period of disturbance stationed at Nadiad, was in close touch with the leaders who were acting in co-operation with him and who were no less successful than the Collector himself in preventing any disturbance whatsoever in Nadiad. Nobody can be more sorry than I for the derailment. I have in the strongest language possible criticized before a large Nadiad audience the dastardly act and the cowardice of the actors in hiding themselves. I have spoken freely to them about the miscarriage of justice, in this instance on account of the perpetrators themselves, by reason of the absence of evidence. There is no doubt about a conspiracy of silence on the part of the actors. But it is one thing to condemn offences, it is a totally different thing to punish men who cannot be proved to have had any connection with the guilt. I know that some of these *Patidars* and *Banias* have strained every nerve to get hold of the real offenders and to induce them to confess. And the Collector knows this too. Why should they be fined for assistance they have given? Out of a population of 31,483 in Nadiad, 6,093 men are *Patidars*, 3,652 are *Banias*. Should these men be punished because a few ruffians in a fit of madness go to the station and pull down the rails? There is absolutely

no connection established between the *Patidars* and the *Banias*, and the perpetrators of the crime. The very instructive papers I am able to publish show the real reason. The Inspector-General of Police, without a tittle of evidence, has the audacity to say regarding the various crimes:

> In so far as the investigations have proceeded, it appears that each was a separate manifestation of the spirit of lawlessness that has been diffused in the Kaira and Ahmedabad districts by the teachings of Mr. M. K. Gandhi and his followers.

This is on a par with the argument that because a crow sat upon a branch and the branch fell, it was the crow that did it. My teaching has been before the country for the last four years and the only pity is that I am without much following. If I had a staunch band of followers in appreciable numbers, I would make lawlessness impossible, and the Inspector-General of Police would have little work left for him to do. My teaching is, "Follow truth at any cost and never do violence to person or property." There was no lawlessness whilst my teaching was being actively enforced in Kaira or amid the thousands of mill-hands in Ahmedabad. They did not hurt a fly. The recklessness running through the Collector's letter out-rivals that of the Inspector-General of Police. One of his grounds for advising imposition of the additional police and communal responsibility is:

> The derailment was undoubtedly caused by Nadiad people who will shortly be placed before the special tribunal. They are mostly *Patidars*.

The letter from which this is taken is dated the 26th May when the men arrested were not even tried and yet, with amazing self-assurance, he states that the derailment was caused by Nadiad people, mostly *Patidars*. There was no necessity for this indecent haste. In one breath as the record shows, he himself suggests:

> I will deprecate any appearance of haste in arriving at a conclusion as cases are pending before the special tribunal in respect of all the offences and the results of these trials may affect the issue. If, for example, in any particular case, the ringleaders are convicted and adequately punished, it may be a question whether it is necessary or desirable to impose any additional police at all.

And in the next paragraph but one he recommends communal responsibility before the trial. The other ground given by him is really the crux. The Collector says:

CWMG-XVI

> This offence is clearly the direct outcome of the persistent agitation against Government which has been going on among the people of Nadiad for some years and, to my personal knowledge, since the beginning of 1918. Nadiad is the centre of the agitation in the district. It was the head-quarters of Mr. M. K. Gandhi last year during the passive resistance movement—a movement of opposition to the payment of Government dues—and thus directly calculated to undermine, as it did in fact undermine, all respect for the officers of Government and for Government itself.

This is a misleading statement. I deny that respect for the officers of the Government, or for the Government itself, was at all undermined by the movement I had the privilege of leading, unless the Collector means to convey that the people ceased to fear the *Ravanias*, the *Talatis* and the *Mukhis*.[1] When I went to Kaira, I found that many people were in constant terror of these petty officials and I am glad to be able to testify that these very men now no longer fear them or even the higher officials. I advised them to distinguish between respect and fear, and I would challenge the Collector to show that any of the men who took part in the movement, whilst they ceased to fear, showed the slightest disrespect to authority. I submit that it is wrong to punish people unheard. The people of Nadiad, and specially the *Patidars* and the *Banias*, who are the parties concerned, and the landowners of Barejadi ought at least in decency to be called upon to show why they should not be fined Rs. 22,000, because that is what the order amounts to. Moreover, it is dishonest to fasten the guilt of a dozen drunkards of a big town on a whole population when the real cause of punishment is not the crime but the political activity of the people.

The paragraph regarding *Banias* is too amusing to cause indignation. But I cannot help pitying the Collector of Nadiad for his ignorance of the true situation; for I know Mr. Ker well enough to understand that he does not wish to do wilful injustice. I have no doubt he believes that I, being a *Bania*, leagued with Messrs Talati and Shah to mislead the *Patidars* into offering civil resistance. The fact, however, is that it was only a month ago that I understood Mr. Shah was a *Bania* and it was the Collector's letter under discussion which enables me to find that Mr. Talati is also a *Bania*. Up to the present moment, I had taken him to be a *Patidar*. I have not gone about the world preaching satyagraha because I am a *Bania*. My life companions in the development of satyagraha are Europeans and Indians

[1] Various revenue officials

drawn from all the corners of India. Satyagraha is a soldierly instinct, and *Banias* are largely associated with money-making rather than with fighting for a cause. Hence I have had the fewest co-workers from among fellow *Banias*. My purpose, however, in dealing with the personal matter is to show how cruelly isolated the officials remain from us and thus deprive themselves of opportunity of knowing the people and, therefore, of serving them truly. I hope that His Excellency the Governor will with his usual application personally investigate the matter. In my humble opinion, no additional police is required in Nadiad, but if it is considered by the Government that it is required for public safety, I claim that no case has been made out for making the *Patidars* and *Banias* of Nadiad and the landowners of Barejadi pay for it. It is not the payment that wounds, but the unmerited slur cast upon men without being heard.

Young India, 30-8-1919

51. LETTER TO THE PRESS[1]

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
August 30, 1919

SIR,

It has been my misfortune from time to time to report to the public deaths of Indians who have worked for and served India in far-off South Africa. One of the ablest of them, a cable from Mr. Rustomjee tells me, has just departed this life. His name was Dawood Mahomed. Mr. Dawood Mahomed rose from the ranks. He never received any English education. I am not sure that he passed through more than two standards in a vernacular school in India. But his versatile ability and perseverance gave him such a wonderful grasp over languages without any book-learning whatsoever, that I have known him hold discourses with people in Tamil, Hindi, Creole, French, Dutch and English, besides his mother tongue, Gujarati. His native wit made him a popular speaker. He was as keen a politician as he was a merchant. And when the critical moment for decision came, he threw in his

[1] This letter was released generally to the Press on the death of Dawood Mahomed. It was published in *The Hindu*, 1-9-1919, *Young India*, 3-9-1919, and *Indian Opinion*, 17-10-1919.

lot with the South African civil resisters, crossed the border and together with other merchants of note presented himself for arrest for crossing the sacred border of the Transvaal.[1] Having carried on an extensive business with European business houses, he was well known to many Europeans and, owing to his great ability, commanded their respect. And I am happy to be able to testify that for him, who was used to a luxurious life and who was at the time 50 years old, to have risked imprisonment for the sake of conscience was an act which raised him still further in the estimation of his many European friends rather than otherwise. It was a privilege for me to find men in South Africa drawn from the commercial class giving freely of their time, their money and even voluntarily risking loss of personal freedom, by undergoing imprisonment, and property. Mr. Dawood Mahomed was one of the best among these. He was President of the Natal Indian Congress for a number of years and known to Indians all over South Africa. In my humble opinion, though India knew him not, she has every reason to be proud of having produced Dawood Mahomed. Indians in South Africa badly needed his service at the present moment. They are the poorer for Mr. Dawood Mahomed's death and, may I add, poorer also for the death of that brave statesman, General Botha[2]. The duty of India is, therefore, all the greater to see that the interests of her sons struggling for freedom are fully protected.

I am, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

The Bombay Chronicle, 1-9-1919

52. SPEECH AT WOMEN'S MEETING, DOHAD[3]

August 31, 1919

In the afternoon, Mr. Gandhi addressed a meeting of women on swadeshi and the importance of hand-spinning. Hundreds of women attended the meeting. The following is the gist of Mr. Gandhi's address:

The protection of dharma is in the hands of women as men, being too much engrossed in worldly cares, often forget it and

[1] *Vide* Vol. XII, p. 203.

[2] Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa (1910-19) he passed away on August 28.

[3] One of the principal towns of the Panch Mahals, a district in Gujarat.

sometimes neglect it. It is for the women to protect it as dearly as their children. Hence, I have ever believed that the salvation of India lies in the elevation of her women. Swadeshi is a great dharma which has been forsaken by most of the women of Gujarat. None who neglects a neighbour can serve a distant man. He who serves his neighbour serves the world. It is irreligious to neglect our own artisans and encourage the foreign ones. For a century we have been guilty of that sin through the stress of various circumstances. As a result, we have deprived our own artisans of crores of rupees and transferred them into foreign hands. And hence it is that India is suffering from starvation. Our greatest needs are only two, viz., food and clothing. Fortunately, the food we eat is produced in our own country. But the cloth that we wear comes mostly from foreign countries. As a result, we sent away sixty crores of rupees last year to foreign countries. This is a matter of great shame. It is our duty to be free from this position and the easiest way to do so is to do exactly as we did a hundred years ago. Women should mainly take to spinning, while men must weave. I have met hundreds of women since the launching of the swadeshi movement, and some of them have told me that they used to spin cotton, or that their mothers did so. My own mother used to spin yarn and wear coarse cloth, though she could afford to purchase finer cloth and she did so simply out of love of it. Spinning was not then regarded as a mean occupation. Even queens in royal families used to spin out of pure love of it or out of fellow-feeling. It behoves our sisters in Dohad to revive that ancient and holy art. I do not ask that a poor woman should give up her own present honest calling and take to spinning. What I say is that as spinning is a simple and beautiful art and can be learnt easily, it can be taken up and left off at will. If our poor sisters do a little spinning in their leisure hours, they can have a little income of their own, and give an impetus to a most essential indigenous handicraft. In order to spread widely the gospel of swadeshi, women's earnestness is very essential. Everyone of you should decide henceforth to wear swadeshi clothes. To spin daily some quantity of yarn at least for the sake of your country must be your next resolve. If the women of Dohad would but make up their minds, all their clothing could be obtained from Dohad itself. Not only that the people of Dohad will be free from the trouble of importing cloth from abroad but most of the money they spend on cloth will flow into the pockets of the women and weavers of Dohad. It requires some little sacrifice to bring about this result. We shall have, for

the time being at least, to rest content with coarse cloth woven by our people and be thankful to God, and banishing all idleness, should work the wheel in our moments of leisure. I hope that every woman will be interested in this work.

At the close of the meeting, many women expressed a desire to begin spinning immediately and some who knew the art volunteered to teach it to the new aspirants.

Young India, 10-9-1919

53. SPEECH AT WEAVERS' MEETING, DOHAD[1]

August 31, 1919

I am much pained to see [some][2] *Antyaja*[3] brothers [standing away from others]. I have studied Hindu religion [according] to my lights and I try to carry out its principles so far as I can. I believe that no nation can really progress without religion. But I cannot believe that there is any religion in regarding it a sin to touch any particular community. To me even to *think* that it is pollution to touch any creation of God is sinful. To me it is the height of irreligion to look upon every custom as part and parcel of religion. Customs may be good or bad. I think it to be a bad custom not to touch the *Antyajas*. A little thinking would show that it is improper not to touch them on the score of their occupation. If their occupation is dishonourable, ask them to leave it off. If it is a sin to sweep our latrines, have done with it, and imagine the plight of your town under that circumstance. Every mother removes the excreta of her child, she does it with pleasure and thinks it to be her duty. And all of us bow to our mothers. I do not use the language of exaggeration when I say that the *Bhangi* also likewise deserves our obeisances. If it is argued that *Bhangis* are a dirty people, that they eat meat and drink, I may say that we touch many who do such things, and that we do not refuse to associate with men and women who are dirtier than the *Antyajas*. I do not want to put the prejudice of untouchability on

[1] In the afternoon, Gandhiji addressed a meeting of weavers who had come from Mewar and settled there. The audience included a number of Mohammedans and *Antyajas*.

[2] Words in square brackets are supplied from the report of the speech in *Navajivan*, 7-9-1919.

[3] Literally the "last-born", the "untouchables"

a level with food and marriage regulations based on caste distinctions. The latter is a matter admitting of differences of opinion. For it is a question of choice. We are not bound to subscribe to promiscuous inter-dining and intermarriage. But to regard any of God's creatures as untouchable appears to me to be a sin. I wish that the Hindus of Dohad may be free from this sin.

I see also some Mussulman brethren before me. Both of us (meaning Hindus and Mohammedans) are one. We have common joys and common sorrows. There can be no cause for strife amongst us. Hindus cannot do without Mussulmans nor can Mussulmans do without Hindus. That is our experience. If a feeling of only serving one another is created, the feeling of bitterness between the two communities will automatically vanish. Hindus should respect the feelings of Mussulmans and Mussulmans, of the Hindus. That is what we owe to ourselves. Both the questions—that of the suppressed classes and of Hindu-Moslem unity—come under swadeshi which says, "Thou shalt serve thy neighbours first."

But really speaking, I have made digression, though advisedly. At present, my main work lies in the propagation of swadeshi as regards cloth. We are never going to be economically independent without accepting swadeshism in its fulness. The old craft has not yet vanished from Dohad. It can still boast of clever men and women and skilful artisans. You can prepare the cloth that you want with a little labour and I hope you will do it. I have held conversation with the weavers. They have already pledged themselves to weave hand-spun yarn and I am sure that they will make good their pledge. What can be nobler than that the weavers of Dohad should weave the yarn spun by the women of Dohad and the people of Dohad should put on that swadeshi cloth?

Young India, 10-9-1919

CWMG - XVI

54. SPEECH AT MEETING OF ANTYAJAS, DOHAD

August 31, 1919

The words of Mr. Gandhi on the matter of untouchability went deep into the hearts of the people. Brahmins, Vaisyas and Mussulmans all filled up the *Antyaja* quarters before Mr. Gandhi reached there and were sitting cheek by jowl. All the cloth woven by the *Antyajas* was exhibited in a picturesque manner. The following is the substance of the address delivered at the *Antyaja* quarters.

I am immensely pleased whenever I come in contact with an *Antyaja* member or get an opportunity of visiting them in their own place. It has been my custom to practise what I believe. Hence to come in contact with and touch the *Antyajas* is with me an object lesson. It is my request to the *Antyajas* to keep patience. The Hindu atmosphere is changing, though slowly but steadily. Even the orthodox Hindus have begun to realize the sin of untouchability, and it is very probable that this sin will not last long. I also wish that the *Antyajas* should make great efforts to remedy their own shortcomings. When I was at Godhra last year, many *Antyajas* decided to give up their habit of drinking. I also wish the *Antyajas* of this place will follow suit. It is my hope that all of you will evince great enthusiasm for weaving and act as you have promised me. There are difficulties in the way of weaving hand-spun yarn, but if you go on weaving with patience undismayed by failures, I feel sure that you will improve your own condition as well as that of your country. Mr. K. N. Desai, the well-known merchant of your place, has consented to supply you with hand-spun yarn. He will buy up the cloth woven by you at a reasonable price.

Young India, 10-9-1919

CWMG - XVI

55. *VICTIMS, NOT GUILTY*

The readers will recall our Lahore correspondent's remarks about the Ramnagar cases. I have a file of papers in these cases, but I was unprepared to discuss them until I got at least the text of the judgment. This is not before the readers. The able petition on behalf of Lala Karamchand—not the same as the lad Karamchand who was sentenced to be hanged—presented by his old mother Ganga Devi shows in the graphic language of his son Devidas's letter that the accused in the case are 'victims, not guilty'. If the simple narrative of Lala Karamchand's son be true, and I think there is no reason to doubt its accuracy, the whole proceedings were a farce. They constituted not a legal trial but a mockery of it. The accused, twenty-eight in number, were all tried together, the trial was finished in one day during which altogether 150 defence witnesses were examined, the accused were not informed of the charge against them except through the mouths of the prosecution witnesses. How the judge could examine so many witnesses in a day passes comprehension. In spite of repeated applications copy of notes of evidence or of the statements of the accused is not furnished. The only inference is that no notes were kept.

Why were these cases rushed so? The accused were arrested eight days after the alleged offence. Order was completely restored throughout the Punjab by that time. The trial took place on the 22nd May, five weeks after the alleged offence. There was no occasion, then, for indecently rushing through the trial.

On the 17th April, a police officer notes in his diary that all was quiet, save that there was a partial hartal. It is rightly suggested in the papers that mention would surely have been made in the diary of any serious offence. The offence alleged is not such as could be committed in secret. It is stated to have been openly committed. Here at least there is enough to throw doubt on the prosecution story. But the Judge had no doubt about it!

The story of the prosecution is varied from time to time. Five maunds of fuel said to have been required for burning His Majesty's effigy became reduced to a few straws!

At best all but one of the accused appear to have been mere spectators.

These facts are common to all the accused. I have been supplied also with the papers regarding Lala Daulatram. The

facts therein set forth tally with those furnished in Lala Karamchand's case. I am convinced that twenty-eight innocent men have been ignorantly condemned. They should be set free.

Lala Karamchand is an old retired servant. He has never taken part in politics. For years past, he has been passing his time between Ramnagar and Hardwar, devoting it to religious pursuits. Lala Daulatram is the son of one who has rendered meritorious service to the Government for a long period. In fact, the whole family seems to belong to the official class. It is cruel to think that such men should have been so shamelessly punished.

The judgment is self-condemned. It breathes vindictiveness and anger. The rejection of the defence evidence, the explaining away of the weak points in the prosecution, the punishment of solitary confinement, the heavy fines point unmistakably to loss of balance and unfitness to judge. The cases are now before His Excellency the Viceroy. Let him do unto these humble men even as he would wish to be done unto himself, if he were in their place.

Young India, 3-9-1919

56. DR. SATYAPAL'S CASE

Dr. Satyapal's statement, which is published in another column, shows what a gross injustice has been done in his case as in that of Dr. Kitchlew[1]. They had to be absolved from any participation in the violence that occurred after their arrest. What violence there ever was in Amritsar took place after they were arrested. They were, therefore, accused of all sorts of things which they had never done, of speeches they had never made. Dr. Satyapal's clear, emphatic and courageous statement is a categorical denial of the whole string of charges against him. He shows clearly that the speeches he made were incorrectly reported by the C.I.D. officials, and that every time he spoke, he preached the gospel of truth and non-violence, and unceasingly warned the people against losing their temper and going in for any excesses.

I have purposely refrained from printing a spirited letter addressed to me by Dr. Satyapal's father in which he gives his own impressions of the case. I cannot, however, resist the temptation of quoting some of the facts stated in it. For instance, he says :

[1] Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew (1887-1963); Barrister and Congress leader of the Punjab

CWMG - XVI

> At first, it was not the intention of the Government to prosecute Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal who had been deported on the 10th April and, therefore, his (the approver's) confessional statement before the Magistrate of Amritsar did not incriminate them. But as soon as there was a change in the intention of the Government, an additional statement by way of an 'improvement' was obtained which implicated both of these gentlemen.

If this allegation is true, it is a severe reflection on the methods of [the] prosecution and it vitiates the whole of the proceedings. Again, this letter says :

> Dr. Satyapal was restricted from public speaking, etc., on the 29th March. The Commissioners have sentenced him to transportation for life on the ground that he was a member of a conspiracy formed for disseminating sedition. But it is curious to the highest degree that he did not even attend the meeting of the 30th March—not to say of his having addressed the meeting—as held by the judges, and it is the meeting in which sedition has been said to have been disseminated in pursuance of that conspiracy.

It is true that Dr. Satyapal signed the handbill convening the meeting that was held on 30th March. That was on the 28th March. But if there was any conspiracy, it became one not on the 28th but on the 30th. A platform ticket agitation carried on by Dr. Satyapal in January and February last was shamelessly brought into the trial to prejudice him, an agitation that was entirely harmless and successful, and about which Dr. Satyapal even received thanks from the station authorities.

The letter concludes :

> For your information I may mention that Dr. Satyapal offered himself for military service in 1915 and was granted a temporary commission as a lieutenant, I.M.S. He was posted at Aden where, under very trying circumstances, he worked for one year to the satisfaction of his superior officers who gave him eulogizing testimonials at the time of his departure. In 1918 he again volunteered for service but the arrangement fell through. During the influenza and malaria epidemics he did his level best in his humble way to mitigate the suffering of his fellow-townsmen, and was awarded non-official sanads. It is indeed a befitting sequel to be convicted under section 124 A after such a record of services to the Government and public both.

As I have already observed, the Lahore and Amritsar cases are not cases in which a commutation can carry any merit or give satisfaction. It is not mercy that the distinguished accused ask for. It is justice that they seek and on which public must insist. Reduc-

CWMG - XVI

tion in the sentences is a blind, however unintended it may be. It must not be allowed to lull the public to sleep. There can be no contentment unless there is a complete and honourable discharge for the leaders of Lahore and Amritsar.

Young India, 3-9-1919

57. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI[1]

ASHRAM,
Bhadarva Sud 9, September 3, 1919

If we go on irrigating the field, we may have the crop one day. Ignorance is also a kind of darkness, a species of untruth. It cannot, therefore, withstand knowledge or truth.

[From Gujarati]
Bapuni Prasadi

58. INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Mr. Montagu's reply to the deputation[2] that waited on him on the South African question is reassuring so far as it goes. It is a matter for great satisfaction that he will secure Indian representation upon the Commission, provided, of course, that that representation is equal to that of the anti-Asiatic party and provided further that the Commission has no power to diminish the existing rights of British Indians, and provided further that the Asiatic Bill just passed remains in abeyance and that the Commission is given the power to recommend its withdrawal. The resolution of the managing committee of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association published in another column runs along the lines suggested by us.

Past promises, considerations of equity and justice, the exemplary conduct of the Indian settlers of South Africa, their contribution to the late South Africa war, at the time of the Zulu rebellion and the European war, make an overwhelming case against any diminution of existing rights. The Commission, in order to be just and effective, can only contemplate the relaxation, if not total removal, of the present restrictions for which the justification is the

[1] Gandhiji's nephew

[2] This was led by Surendranath Banerjea, on August 28; *vide* also "Indians in South Africa", 7-9-1919.

strong prejudice only against Indians on the part of the European traders. But such unreasoning prejudice may be pleaded as a cause in a system of government that is inefficient and corrupt. The Imperial Government to be truly Imperial must have, under certain circumstances, be they ever so rare, powers of effective intervention for the protection of weaker interests. It is therefore not possible for Indian public opinion to accept Mr. Montagu's dictum that an exercise of the veto is politically unfeasible. The veto is not merely a moral check but, in exceptional cases, it must prove a very material and tangible check upon excesses and upon injustice. The Empire to hold together must have some basic principles from which no member dare depart. If Mr. Montagu is convinced, as he apparently is, of the injustice of the Asiatic Act and of its controverting the principles of the British Constitution, where is the difficulty about vetoing the Act? The utmost that can happen is that South Africa may secede from the Imperial partnership. Surely it were a thousand times better that South Africa should cease to be a member of the Empire than that it should corrupt and undermine the whole of the Imperial fabric. It is infinitely better that the Empire has fewer partners than there are, but all working together in the same upward direction than that it should, by coquetting with legalized confiscations and such other immoralities, sow the seeds of its own disruption. And, after all, selfishness, greed and injustice are handmaids of cowardice. There is no reason to fear that a wholesome and timely exercise of the Royal veto will create any great stir in South Africa. The late Sir Henry Parkes, if my recollection serves me right, did issue a threat of secession or some such thing when the late Mr. Chamberlain dared to veto the Australian Immigration Restriction Act containing a racial bar.

But I am free to confess that so long as milder measures are available, the extreme remedy of vetoing ought not to be applied. It is undoubtedly like a strong blister causing great though momentary pain, and, therefore, to be sparingly used. The proposed Commission, if there is a strong Indian representation upon it, should prove effective enough for the purpose to be attained. The thing, therefore, for the time being is to concentrate public opinion upon a strong Commission and a proper safeguarding reference under which it should act.

It was a great relief to find Mr. Montagu not falling into the Reciprocity trap prepared by Sir William Meyer, let me hope, in a hasty moment. I am sorry Mr. Banerjea so easily fell into it. It is murdering the language to use so good a word as reciprocity

for so bad a cause as the one under notice. If we must go in for a bad thing, we must at least recognize it by its correct name—which is retaliation. Personally, I do not believe in retaliation at all. It always in the end returns with redoubled force on the retaliator. But as *The Times of India*, which is rendering signal service to the cause of our countrymen in South Africa, very rightly points out, retaliation miscalled reciprocity can serve no earthly purpose in the present case. "Its main objection is its utter futility," and if we ever embark upon this very unpractical method, it will be hailed with satisfaction by the anti-Asiatic party in South Africa, and we shall be cursed by the hundred and fifty thousand Indians whose very existence is at stake. One may retaliate when the stake is good. It is terrible to think of it when it is men and women who constitute the stake. What comfort can it be to our countrymen in South Africa for India to be able to send back a steamer-load of cargo from South Africa, to refuse to send to South Africa a few tons of coal and to shut the gates of India in the face of a stray South African tourist as against the banishment—for that is virtually the goal of the anti-Asiatic party—of a hundred and fifty thousand Indian settlers, or at least their reduction to helotry. The issue was stated by the late Sir William Wilson Hunter in clear and unmistakable language in 1896 or '95. Writing on this very question of British Indians in South Africa, he said, are they or not to enjoy the full status of British citizens in His Majesty's Dominions? It cannot be solved by the make-shift of retaliation or reciprocity by whatever term it is recognized. It can only be solved by correct statesmanship and correct conduct on our part.

Young India, 6-9-1919

59. LETTER TO THE PRESS[1]

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
September 6, 1919

THE EDITOR
THE BOMBAY CHRONICLE

SIR,

I had the privilege of being a guest of Maulana Abdul Bari Saheb of Firangi Mahal some time ago. We on this side of India, barring the Mohammedans, know little of this great and good man. He is one of the foremost religious preceptors in Islam and has thousands of followers all over India. His unassuming and truthful nature turns his opponents into friends when they begin to understand him. He and I discussed many problems of mutual interest, in the course of which I told him that so far as I could interpret Hindu opinion, I had no doubt that it would be solidly for the Mohammedans in the very difficult task of securing justice on the Turkish claims, difficult because the question was burdened with so many European complications that the Allied Powers might in a weak moment fail to decide it on grounds of justice alone. He said to me with calm deliberation, but without any hesitation, "If we do not help you and do justice to you, Hindus, I for one cannot claim nor even take for my fellow-religionists your active help." I said, "Surely, you do not for one moment consider that I have spoken in any spirit of bargaining. The question that is behind the thought you have just now expressed, viz., that of cow-killing, can be decided on its own merits and can await solution, for the ripening of true friendship between us and for an impartial discussion." He immediately intervened as soon as I had finished the sentence and said, "Please excuse me. I know you want to help, because our cause is just and because we are children of the same soil, and not because you want any *quid pro quo*. But do we not owe a duty to ourselves? Islam will fall to pieces if it ever takes and never gives. It must be faithful above all. The nobility of our creed (he used the expression *khandani*) requires us to be strictly just to our neighbours. Here it is a question of taking

[1] The letter appeared under the caption "Hindu-Muslim Unity". *Young India*, 10-9-1919, reproduced it as from *The Times of India*.

CWMG - XVI

service. The Hindus will judge our faith, and rightly, by our conduct towards them. That is why I say: if we take from you, we must give to you.'' I have only given the tiniest bit of the wonderful conversation I had with a priest who combines in him learning, true wisdom and humility. The Maulana has been true to his word. I know ever since this conversation, he has been preaching amongst his followers and friends the necessity of abstention from cow-killing and today of all days, one of the most sacred of Islam, he has thought of the Hindus and sent me the following telegram :

> In celebration of Hindu-Muslim unity no cow sacrifices in Firangi Mahal this Bakrid—Abdul Bari.

To which I have sent the following reply:

> Delighted with your great act of renunciation. Pray, accept Id Mubarak.

Would to God that all of us, Hindus, Mohmmedans, Christians, Parsis, Jews, belonging to all races, have the same virtue of charity, justness and breadth of vision. The world will surely be the better for it.

Yours, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

The Bombay Chronicle, 9-9-1919

60. TELEGRAM TO P.S. TO VICEROY

BOMBAY,
September 6, 1919

DOES REFERENCE DISTURBANCES COMMISSIONERS INCLUDE POWER INVESTIGATE JUDGMENT AND RECOMMEND CANCELLATION OR REVISION OF SENTENCES.[1]

GANDHI

Bombay Government Records

[1] The Assistant Private Secretary, in his letter of September 7, quoting Gandhiji's above telegram, informed him that it had been transferred to the Home Department of the Government of India for disposal.

CWMG - XVI

61. OUR AIM

When I undertook to supervise the editing of *Young India*, it occurred to my friends and me whether it would not be more proper for me to run a Gujarati newspaper than to spend my time on writing English articles, revising them, thinking over them and summarizing them. A more important question, however, was—how could I serve India best?

I saw then that it was clearly my duty to continue *Young India*. I know I can use my knowledge of English for the service of the people. But my friends felt, and so did I, that it was necessary for me to run a Gujarati paper as well. Favourable circumstances presented themselves. I have owned a press. I ran *Indian Opinion* for a long time,[1] though I did not allow myself to be known as its editor. This is the first occasion when I appear in public as an editor. I have welcomed it, but I am nervous. I am fully aware of the responsibility I am undertaking. This is not South Africa. There I used to manage things somehow. But here? There is no lack of newspapers. Of writers there are many. My command of the language is severely limited. Having stayed out of India for twenty years, my information about Indian problems is bound to be inadequate. This is no mere language of modesty but a vivid picture of my condition.

Despite these limitations of mine, I clearly see that I have something to give to India which no one else has in equal measure. With much striving I have formulated some principles for my life and put them into practice. The happiness I have found that way, I think, I have not seen in others. Many a friend has testified to this. It is my sincere aspiration to place these principles before India and share my happiness with her. A newspaper is one means to that end.

For me, satyagraha is not a mere copy-book maxim : it is my very life. To me nothing but truth has any interest. I am convinced that the country can never benefit by untruth. In any case, I am firmly of the view that, even if untruth should seem profitable for the time being, we must not abandon truth.

I have been a seeker of this truth ever since I began to understand things. I have been trying to practise it for 40 years.

[1] From 1903 to 1914; H.S.L. Polak was the declared editor.

CWMG - XVI

Even so, I know that I have not attained perfect harmony in thought, word and deed.

What does it matter, though? The more we strive to realize an ideal, the farther it recedes. To pursue it the more vigorously is the only object worthy of endeavour. We may stumble and fall, but shall rise again; it should be enough if we did not run away from the battle.

In the course of my seeking I have come by innumerable gems, which I want to place before India. *Navajivan* is intended to be a sort of advertisement for them.

I saw, during my pursuit of truth, that it was our duty to give willing obedience to laws. But I also saw, while doing this duty, that it was equally a duty to disobey a law if it fostered untruth. What form should such disobedience take? We should suffer the penalty for the breach of law involved in acting according to the truth. This is known as civil disobedience. Who is qualified for such disobedience and which law should be considered as fostering untruth cannot be decided by laying down definite rules. Experience alone will help one to decide. For that we need both time and means. Let *Navajivan* be the means.

Even when fighting in circumstances none too favourable to them, the satyagrahis were able to maintain amicable relations with the officials, for in satyagraha there is no room for anger or ill will. Truth has its effect on the other party, with the result that he harbours no distrust. This ensures mutual respect and amicable relations between the two parties though they fight. *Navajivan* will show with facts and arguments that, in India too, though fighting in regard to matters on which we differ from the officials, we may still co-operate with them on others.

But satyagraha is not limited to the relationship between the rulers and the ruled. For social reform, too, it is a priceless weapon, one without a parallel. The condition of women, our many evil customs, the difficulties which arise between Hindus and Muslims, the hardships of the "untouchables"—a great many of such problems can be solved in this way. *Navajivan* will therefore discuss these matters whenever occasion arises.

The agitation against the Rowlatt Act was an object lesson in satyagraha. Hence *Navajivan* will keep it alive before the public. I have no doubt that the Act will be repealed before its time, for I have full faith in truth and in the strength of the satyagrahis.

It is my conviction that India's economic regeneration lies only through swadeshi. Swadeshi promotes dharma. No country

has ever prospered, or ever will, by turning its back on dharma. *Navajivan* will, therefore, work strenuously to propagate the idea of swadeshi.

If anyone asks why, if I wished to serve India, I should not pour out my soul through English, I would say in reply that, being a Gujarati by birth and way of life, I can serve India best only by identifying myself completely with the life of Gujarat. Even from a business point of view, I think I can put my gifts to the best use if I take Gujarat as the main field of my activities. Moreover, to whom should I address my message in English? *Navajivan* will take every possible occasion to show that it is in vain that we are so infatuated with English. I do not mean to say that English has no place at all in our studies or in our life. I only insist that our present use of English is indiscriminate.

India lives in farmers' huts. The weavers' skill is a reminder of India's glory, and so I feel proud in describing myself as a farmer and weaver. I wish to see *Navajivan* reach the farmers and weavers in their huts and dwellings. I want it to be in their language. Hence *Navajivan* will always describe the joys and sorrows of the farmers and the others in their language. If the farmers continue to live in fear, buried under heavy debt, if they are diseased in body, I see nothing but ruin in store for India.

I will always pray to God that in every home women read *Navajivan.* Who will preserve dharma, if not women? What would be the fate of the future generation if the women remain in a state of ignorance and darkness and know nothing about India's plight? *Navajivan* will, therefore, arouse the women and will try to awaken the men to a sense of their duty towards them.

These are but a few of my aspirations. To summarize what I have said, I shall state that *Navajivan* will be so run as to see that the animosity between the ruler and the ruled is replaced by friendship and the distrust between them by trust, that there is unity of heart between Hindus and Muslims, that India achieves economic freedom and that, all over the country, there is nothing but love. The universe exists in love. Even destruction is a preparation for creation.

This is a rather ambitious programme. Maybe. I shall however cling to the assurance in the scripture that no effort in this direction is ever wasted.[1] A pessimist may ask : can a message of this nature be ever delivered to an illiterate India, especially when

[1] *Vide Bhagavad Gita*, II, 40.

there are repressive Press laws in force? Who does not know from experience that love can break the chains of ignorance? Why should love—truth—fear the Act? The manager, the editor, the assistant editor, and the other members of the *Navajivan* set-up have pledged to tell the truth exactly as they see it without fear of the Press Act. *Navajivan* will never hesitate to say what needs to be said for fear of forfeiting security or exposing its staff to personal risks. But in telling the truth, it will not depart from courtesy. *Navajivan* will contain no careless statement, no unnecessary adjective. In fact, truth needs no embellishment by way of adjectives. The art which lies in a plain statement of facts is not to be found in facts disfigured by superfluous adjectives.

I pray to God that the mothers and the learned men of Gujarat welcome and bless *Navajivan* and that *Navajivan* may deserve their blessings!

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 7-9-1919

62. *STORY OF KHEDA*

To the many services to his credit, the Hon'ble Mr. Gokuldas Kahandas Parekh[1] has added one more by writing a note on the Bombay Government's reply to Sir Sankaran Nair's minute[2]. The note is a long one; we shall therefore content ourselves with giving the main points made by the Hon'ble Mr. Parekh. Sir Sankaran Nair had said that it was the educated classes and their organ, the Congress, which had been responsible for whatever reforms there had been and the relief that the people had succeeded in obtaining from the Government. Officials have always accused the educated classes of being indifferent to the condition of the masses and argued that they could not be accepted as the leaders of the people. Replying to this charge, Sir Sankaran Nair has mentioned the two convincing instances of Champaran and Kheda agitations, showing that in both these places people's rights had been defended by the educated and that relief had been obtained from officials with the utmost difficulty. Replying to the points about Kheda, the Government stated that whatever relief it gave it did on its own, advanc-

[1] Member, Bombay Legislative Council. Along with Vithalbhai Patel, he took interest in moving the Government to adopt a considerate stand on the question of Kheda farmers.

[2] *Vide* Appendix IV.

ing several arguments in proof. The Hon'ble Mr. Parekh's note is in reply to this. The reader will now be able to follow the summary below.

1. In all the districts of Gujarat, except the Panch Mahals, land revenue collection has been ordered at the maximum rate, that is, the Government is collecting twenty per cent of the average annual produce.

2. Before 1907, the Government never remitted land revenue or deferred its collection even in bad years. It was after the second of the two Famine Commissions which were appointed, that is after the Commission of 1901, that the Government framed rules for this purpose. Even this measure of justice was offered after agitation by the people.

3. During the 1899 famine, there had been many complaints against the tyranny of officials in Broach and Surat districts. The question was also raised by members in the Bombay Legislature. The Government had declared the complaints to be unfounded. In the end, one of the gentlemen who had made the complaints toured these districts and conducted a private inquiry and collected and published evidence. This obliged the Government to order an inquiry. Mr. Maconochie was appointed the inquiry officer and he found most of the complaints justified. Ultimately, the Government was obliged to notify rules for remission and suspension in 1907.

4. The Bombay Government has stated that no failure of crops was known to have occurred in the years preceding the Kheda agitation. Citing instances from the Government reports, the Hon'ble Mr. Parekh has shown conclusively that cultivators in Kheda district had been suffering losses all along from 1911 to 1916. With the help of the same reports, he shows that the Government had to resort to increasing pressure on the people, such as the auctioning of their cattle and household chattels, to realize land-revenue dues.

5. Failure of crops was not all that the people of Kheda district had to bear; the plague and other similar diseases were also endemic among the cultivators.

6. In 1917, excessive rains had damaged the *bajra* crop as also the *bavta* and *kodra* crops. Subsidiary crops had also been damaged by rats and, at some places, paddy as well.

7. The Hon'ble Mr. Parekh has argued from this that revenue officers, from the highest to the lowest, take no account of people's sufferings and do not stop revenue collection even if people have to incur debts or sell their cattle in consequence.

8. There are no rules for determining the percentage of the crop-yield; only rough estimates are made.

9. Because members of the Home Rule League chose to describe the Government as the servant of the people, they incurred the displeasure of the officials and the latter discounted the genuine grievances of the people of Kheda, saying that these had been magnified by outsiders.

10. The Government note makes it appear that Mr. Parekh himself and the Hon'ble Mr. Patel had approached the Collector in a legal capacity. The fact is that both of them, being residents of Kheda, had gone in their capacity as leaders and without fees, to show that they shared the people's suffering.

11. The Government's charges against the Gujarat Sabha were unfounded. The members of the Sabha are respectable gentlemen and they are fully entitled to work in Kheda. Its sphere of activities is the whole of Gujarat.

12. The view that the Government does a favour every time it suspends land revenue collection is not correct. The basic principles of such suspension were laid down by the Central Government. Rules have been framed in keeping with these principles and it is not open to officials to disregard them at will.

13. It was incumbent on the Bombay Government to have appointed a committee following the inquiry by the Hon'ble Mr. Parekh, the Hon'ble Mr. Patel, the Servants of India Society and Mr. Gandhi. Its failure to do so is nothing but sheer injustice; had the Central Government not intervened, the people of Kheda would not have had even the relief they got.

Mr. Parekh has thus, with unanswerable arguments, lent strong support to Sir Sankaran Nair's minute and exposed the fallacies of the Bombay Government. What is surprising is that, despite the weakness of its case, the Government should have clung to it so desperately. Much like a coir rope that will not be untwisted even when burnt,[1] the Government, though in the wrong, is not prepared to admit its error, increasing by this refusal the distance between the ruler and the ruled.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 7-9-1919

[1] Gujarati saying

63. *FINE ON NADIAD AND BAREJADI*

The *Patidars* and *Banias* of Nadiad and the landowners of Barejadi are in trouble. A Government Resolution has been published ordering the stationing of additional police, under section 25 of the District Police Act, at Nadiad and Barejadi for a period of one year, and the recovery of the expenditure on this account in Nadiad from the *Patidars* and *Banias* of that town and, in Barejadi, from the landowners of Barejadi and Nandej. The expenditure in Nadiad has been estimated by the Government at Rs. 15,556 and that in Barejadi at Rs. 6,028. The general rule is that the person to be punished should be informed beforehand and given an opportunity to explain why he should not be punished. Still more just, the accused should be duly prosecuted and a court's judgment obtained. But the Government did neither. Orders of fines have been passed against the accused without any prior intimation to them. Even this information about the fines has come out because papers were sent to the Nadiad Municipality for effecting recovery of fines.

Let us now go into the genesis of the fine.

It originated with the letter, dated June 7, from Mr. Robertson, the Inspector-General of Police, and the letters of May 16 and 26 from Mr. Ker, the Collector of Kheda. Prior to this, on April 21, in a letter addressed to Shri Gokuldas, the President of the Nadiad Municipality, Mr. Ker had congratulated the people of Nadiad in the following words on their preserving peace :

"I have the honour to convey my appreciation of the respect for law and order which the people of Nadiad showed during the period of strain and excitement, now happily over."[1] We are entitled to assume that, since the Collector chose to convey his views through Shri Gokuldas Talati[2], he, too, was included among the people complimented. But the ship changed course on May 16. Between April 21 and May 16, consultations had taken place between the Collector, Mr. Robertson and Mr. Pratt, the Commissioner of Northern Division. At the instance of Mr. Robertson, the Collector supplied the number of additional police required and, on May 26, addressed a long letter to the Commissioner suggesting that the expenditure on account of the additional police force should

[1] *Vide* "*Audi Alteram Partem*", 30-8-1919.

[2] He later gave evidence before the Disorders Inquiry Committee.

be recovered from *Patidars* and *Banias* of Nadiad. The principles which he accepts in paragraph 2, he violates in paragraph 3. In paragraph 2 he states :

> I will deprecate any appearance of haste in arriving at a conclusion as cases are pending before the special tribunal in respect of all the offences and the results of these trials may affect the issue.

Nevertheless, in paragraph 3, he says that it had been decided to impose a fine on Nadiad. The Nadiad cases had not concluded by the 26th. They had not even been heard. The Court pronounced judgment on them on August 12. And yet the decision to impose a fine on Nadiad was reached on May 16. In paragraph 4 of his letter[1] the Collector gives five reasons for imposing the fine:

> 1. The derailment was undoubtedly caused by Nadiad people. They are mostly *Patidars*.
>
> 2. This offence is clearly the direct outcome of the persistent agitation against Government which has been going on among the people of Nadiad for some years. Nadiad was the headquarters of Mr. Gandhi last year during the passive resistance movement, a movement directly calculated to undermine, as it did in fact undermine, all respect for the officers of Government and for Government itself.
>
> 3. The *Patidars* of Kaira district affect to despise the *Banias* as their clerks, but the agitation against the payment of land revenue, organized by the latter, became popular with the *Patidars* as it held out to them the prospect of some advantage. When things came to a head the active part was naturally taken by the more enterprising *Patidars*, while the *Banias* remained in the background. Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Gokuldas Talati and Mr. Fulchand Shah are all *Banias*.
>
> 4. The people of Nadiad were given an opportunity of assisting in bringing the offenders to justice. Except for the perfunctory offer of a reward of Rs. 500, they have done nothing; no leader of the Nadiad public has given me any information worth having. It is clear, thus, that they have not taken the opportunity which was offered to them, and that they have done nothing to absolve themselves of responsibility.
>
> 5. Special blame attaches to *Banias* for two reasons : first because the leaders who created the spirit of opposition to Government belong to that community and secondly because by closing their shops all the shopkeepers, who are mostly *Banias*, gave the signal for commotion and excitement to the unruly elements. In Nadiad the first hartal took place on April 6 without any reason whatever and thus prepared the way for the disturbances of the 11th.

[1] The letter was published in *Young India*, 30-8-1919.

One thing which stands out from the reasons given above is that the great crime of Nadiad was to have harboured Mr. Gandhi and allowed itself to be made the headquarters of the satyagraha campaign. As regards the first reason, the Collector has usurped the functions of a judge, for, before the Court which was entrusted with the Nadiad cases had pronounced judgment on them, he decided, himself, that the people of Nadiad were guilty, especially the *Patidars*, but, according to paragraph 2 of his letter, this was not sufficient reason to justify a fine on them. The third reason has been advanced specially to victimize the *Patidars* and the *Banias*. If the former had merely been duped by the latter, the penalty should have been imposed exclusively on the latter. The fact of the matter is that neither the revenue agitation nor the political movement was carried on by any one community, but all communities had a hand in it.

We see that, throughout India, Hindus and Muslims took equal part in the strike. Mr. Gandhi has made it clear in an article in *Young India* that he had not entered this and other similar movements as a *Bania*. It was from Mr. Ker's letter that he first discovered that Mr. Gokuldas Talati was a *Bania* and only a month ago he came to know of Mr. Fulchand being one. In holding the *Banias* and *Patidars* guilty, the Collector has done injustice to himself, to them and to the other communities. We are sure that, instead of being pleased that the *Patidars* and the *Banias* had been singled out for the fine, the other communities must have felt insulted, for how can those who have taken equal part in public work with these two communities tolerate the charge that they have not? Finally, while considering this reason, we should state that, if Mr. Gandhi's movement was the cause of the crimes in Nadiad, he alone deserved the fine of Rs. 15,000 and other punishments. A well-known Calcutta newspaper, *Englishman*, expressed itself to this same effect, and rightly, while commenting on Mr. Horniman's deportation. The fourth reason given by the Collector reflects on his sense of justice. It simply means that the people of Nadiad were held responsible because they refused to do the work of the C.I.D. According to the principle followed in it, at any place where a crime has been committed, if the criminal is not apprehended or, after being apprehended, is acquitted and if the people have not helped to apprehend him or, having tried, have failed in their efforts, the people themselves should be fined. The fifth reason has been advanced to prove the responsibility of the *Banias*. A part of it is covered in the third reason; the remaining part is to the effect that, though there was no reason for doing so,

the *Banias* closed their shops and the others had, therefore, to follow suit. Both the premises are false. It is an undeniable fact that people all over India had joined in closing their shops. In saying that the shops were closed when there was no reason for doing so, the Collector has been incredibly blind; for, at the suggestion of Mr. Gandhi, shops were closed everywhere and a fast kept to mark the commencement of satyagraha, and he seems to have forgotten altogether that, had the Government not committed the serious blunders it did between April 6 and 11, the events which shook India between April 10 and 15[1] would not have occurred. The Government had no reason whatever to arrest Mr. Gandhi while he was proceeding to help in preserving peace. The people could not tolerate it that, notwithstanding this, he was arrested; strikes followed everywhere, and even excesses. What court shall sit in judgment over the acts of the Government? Even so, the Collector could have expressed his view; in failing to do this he has done injustice to the people of his district when he should have exonerated them.

It now only remains to be considered what the people of Nadiad and Barejadi should do. We fail to see any need for stationing additional police at either place. The excesses committed by the people at these two places and elsewhere cannot be condemned strongly enough. They only betrayed the people's madness. Instead of gaining anything, the people as a whole suffered. Their money went up in flames. They were made to pay a fine and satyagraha was brought into disrepute. The repeal of the Rowlatt Act, which was in sight, will need still more efforts. It is also a matter of shame for us that the guilty in Nadiad have remained undiscovered. It is, however, one thing to admit that in Nadiad we have done wrong things as the Government has in the Punjab, and quite another to submit to punishment inflicted without regard for justice. The principle that no one who has not been proved guilty should be punished must remain inviolate. Keeping it so is to the advantage and benefit of both the ruler and the ruled. We find English books on law again and again quoting judges to the effect that it is better that a hundred guilty persons escape than that even one innocent man should suffer. This is truth. We must cling to this principle. Accordingly, we strongly advise the people of Nadiad to make unremitting efforts to see that they don't have to pay the fine, to draw up petitions stating the facts

[1] The reference is to the widespread disturbances in the Punjab, Ahmedabad, Nadiad and Bombay.

and send them on to the Government. No separate argument is necessary for Barejadi. Its case is even stronger than that of Nadiad. If the landowners of Barejadi are to be held responsible for what happened at the station, why should they not be held responsible also for the incidents at the Ahmedabad and Viramgam stations? Until it has been established that they were in fact connected with the incidents at the station, they certainly cannot be held responsible. They, too, should send a petition. We hope that the two places will get full help from other parts of Gujarat in this matter, and we entreat the Government to withdraw the unjust orders it has passed against Nadiad and Barejadi.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 7-9-1919

64. *THE PUNJAB SITUATION*

The thundering clouds have burst at last. The much-discussed Punjab Commission has now been appointed. It consists of Lord Hunter, Mr. Rankin, Mr. Rice, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Sahibzada Sultan Ahmed and Sir George Burrow. The Commission will inquire into the causes of the disturbances which broke out in April in the Punjab and other places, and into the steps which were taken to control them and will make recommendations. The Commission will commence its sessions next month. We gather this from the speech of His Excellency the Viceroy at the opening of the Legislative Assembly. Lord Hunter was Solicitor-General of Scotland in 1910-11. Mr. Rankin is a Judge of the Calcutta High Court. All Gujaratis know Sir Chimanlal Setalvad. Sahibzada Sultan Ahmed is a brother of Sahibzada Aftab Ahmed Khan, a member of the India Council. He was in the Justice Department of the Gwalior State for a long time; Mr. Rice is a member of the Services and was for several years Chief Secretary in Burma. Sir George Burrow is a Major-General. Thus we find persons from all fields appointed on the Commission as members. It must be said that a good balance has been maintained. Only experience will show whether the members prove themselves independent. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad is a friend and pupil of that able leader, the late Sir Pherozeshah[1]; hence we may take it that he will remain impartial and independent. What we know about Sahibzada Sultan Ahmed is not much and the same can be said

[1] Sir Pherozeshah Mehta (1845-1915); President, Indian National Congress, 1890, 1909; *vide* Vol. I, p. 384.

about the other members. As Lord Hunter comes from an outside atmosphere, we may hope that he will display the qualities of firmness and impartiality which a chairman ought to possess. That the work of the Committee will be generally open to the public will go a long way in ensuring justice. Whether or no we get justice will, ultimately, depend largely on ourselves. There is no doubt that members of the Commission cannot but do justice if everywhere experienced men give evidence before it. If the people fearlessly present the facts as they know them, we are confident that the truth about the atrocities perpetrated in the Punjab will fully come out. From the published speech of the Viceroy, it can be inferred that the terms of reference of the Commission include a review of the sentences already passed. But the position will be known more definitely by and by.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 7-9-1919

65. UNHAPPY PUNJAB

On one side, we hear of injustice in case after case in the Punjab; on the other, stories of the people's sufferings reach us from Swami Shraddhanandji. A young student named Karamchand was sentenced to be hanged, without any evidence, as has been shown in *Young India* by an analysis of the published record of the case. Fortunately, the young man was not hanged, and now he has been given one year's imprisonment. But, in such cases, the reduction of a sentence cannot be taken as evidence that justice has been done. Where no offence has been committed and a guiltless person is declared guilty, to show mercy by reducing the sentence is like plundering someone's property and then returning a part of it to him by way of kindness. The nation asks, or rather those guiltless persons who are undergoing prison terms ask, not for kindness but for justice. If they are in fact guilty, in the case of crimes such as those alleged against them, we have no right to ask for mercy nor is the Government bound to show any. Let us take the case of Dr. Satyapal himself. The information his father has given in his letter to Mr. Gandhi is so painful that it makes a man's hair stand on end. Dr. Satyapal served the Government well during the War. At the time of the alleged conspiracy, both Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew and Dr. Satyapal were under restraint orders prohibiting them from speaking in public. More-

over, Dr. Satyapal was not even present when the conspiracy is supposed to have been hatched on March 30. Before he was arrested, no violent incidents had taken place in Amritsar. Even the report of Dr. Satyapal's speeches produced before the Court was false. Thus, without any substantial evidence, sentences have been passed on able leaders. In these circumstances, it is certain that the people will get no justice without an independent inquiry and will not be satisfied without one. The nation cannot tolerate such injustices. We hope that the Government will soon appoint an Inquiry Committee and end the discontent prevailing among the people.

Even if this is done, it will still be necessary to provide relief to those whose dear ones have been hanged or are suffering imprisonment. With the help of volunteers, the Sannyasi Swami [Shraddhanand] is active, sharing with the afflicted families in their sufferings. Plenty of money is needed for this work. Already about a lakh of rupees has been offered in Calcutta and one lakh in Bombay. According to Swamiji's calculations, yet more money will be needed. The accounts given by him have been published in the papers. We hope that all Gujaratis will contribute their mite to this meritorious cause. We trust everyone will give as much as he can.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 7-9-1919

66. TURKEY

The Turkish question concerns eight crores of Indian Muslims; and a question that concerns nearly one-fourth of the nation must concern the whole of India. It is impossible that one of the four limbs of the nation be wounded and the rest of the nation remain unconcerned. We cannot be called one nation, we cannot be a single body, if such a wound has no effect on us. Hence it is the duty of all, Hindus and Muslims alike, to understand the main points of the Turkish question. It is Turkey's demand and the demand of our Muslim brethren in India that the territory of Turkey as it was at the start of the War in August 1914 must remain inviolate, and this demand has been forcefully presented by leading Muslims in England. Quoting the words of the Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George, they have shown that he, too, had agreed to respect this sentiment. President Wilson also

CWMG - XVI

gave expression to similar views. His fourteen principles and five points also imply this. The other nations involved in the War have had their rights preserved to a large extent. What is Turkey's fault then? The issue still remains to be settled but there are hints in the British Press which create doubt in the mind of every Muslim. They fear that Turkey, that is the Muslim world, will not get justice from the Allies, and that the Turkish Empire will be dismembered.

This is no ordinary problem. The problem of the Turkish Empire involves a serious issue for Islam. Islam makes no distinction between the secular and the religious. The Turkish Sultan is himself the holy Khalifa of Islam; and, if the Sultanate disappears, then according to the Muslim faith the Khalifate will lose all meaning, so strict are the injunctions of the Koran. Hence this has become a serious religious issue for all the Muslim nations.

As he set foot in Bombay, the Maharaja of Bikaner[1] said that Mr. Montagu and Lord Sinha[2] were giving full attention to this question. They say even Lord Chelmsford[3] kept writing strongly about it to Mr. Lloyd George. But merely writing in strong language is not likely to do any good. We believe that Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford owe it, as a duty, to see that the Muslims get the justice to which they are entitled, or, as a mark of protest against the injustice, to give up their posts as Secretary of State for India and as the Crown's Representative [in India].

It is the duty of Muslims to present their case before the world peacefully but firmly and stick to it unflinchingly. There should be no exaggeration in it; nor should it be so presented as to leave room for bargaining. They should demand only that without which, it may be said and proved, the Islamic way of life would lose its meaning. Where it is a question of ethics, that is, of religion, where the deeper emotions are concerned, there can be no scope for compromise, give and take or bargaining. Truth can be only one, and ultimately all see it as such. Turkey's case has justice on its side, the pledge of a British Minister and President Wilson's promise. If the Allies' claim that they fought to protect

[1] Indian representative at the Peace Conference

[2] Lord Satyendra Prasanno Sinha (1864-1928); lawyer and statesman; Under-Secretary of State for India, 1919-20; Governor of Bihar and Orissa, 1920-21; first Indian member of Viceroy's Executive Council

[3] Viceroy and Governor-General of India, 1916-21

the right of small States against injustice has any substance in it, then neither Turkey nor the Muslims nor any of us have reason to feel suspicious. But he alone can shake off suspicion who works on tirelessly. Like the Muslims, the Hindus and the other communities also have their duty to do. If they regard the Muslims as their respected neighbours and brethren, they should extend their full support to the latter's demand which concerns their religion. All those born in India have to live and die together. No community can rise at the cost of another, or preserve its rights if it permits those of others to be sacrificed.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 7-9-1919

67. *INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA*

The outcome of the deputation which the Hon'ble Surendranath Banerjea led to the Secretary of State for India on the South African [question] may be regarded on the whole as successful and we can now hope that our fellow-countrymen in that far away land will get justice without having to resort to satyagraha by way of civil disobedience. Mr. Montagu has admitted that our case is perfectly just and assured us that the Commission to be appointed in South Africa will have Indian representatives. If the representatives appointed are in truth representatives and if the four conditions laid down by the Imperial Citizenship Association are fulfilled, we shall have no need to worry over the outcome of the Commission. The conditions are: (1) that there should be an equal number of Indian and white representatives, (2) that the Commission should have no power to reduce the existing rights, (3) that the Commission should have the power to recommend the withdrawal of the law just passed for depriving [Indians] of land and trade rights and (4) that this law should remain in abeyance pending the recommendations of the Commission. The conditions are as necessary as they are reasonable. Our countrymen fear that the Commission has not been appointed to ensure them justice by granting them further rights but to eliminate them from the whole of South Africa, or permit them to stay on only as helots, as has happened in the Transvaal. The best form which popular agitation on this issue can take at present is to secure Indian representation [on the Commission] on these conditions.

We are sorry that Mr. Surendranath Banerjea walked into the trap laid by Sir William Meyer. It was good that Mr. Montagu did not do so too. We trust that Sir William Meyer laid the trap of "reciprocity" in a hasty moment and unintentionally. What it amounts to is that, if in the end our countrymen in South Africa fail to secure justice, we should punish the whites of South Africa. That is, if ever a white tourist happens to come this way, he should be refused entry into India and should be debarred from acquiring land here and the export of a ton or two of coal, if even that much, from India to South Africa should be stopped. Even from a practical point of view, this suggestion serves no purpose. If there is no discourtesy in saying so, acting on it would be like the barking of dogs at an elephant from behind. The whites of South Africa will welcome it, of course. South Africa's trade with India is so insignificant and South African whites settled in India are so few that this kind of retaliation by us will be pointless. We shall not only make ourselves ridiculous by advancing such a suggestion but also invite upon ourselves the curses of our countrymen. A hundred and fifty thousand children of India settled there will have to come away, leaving their property behind, or live on merely as helots. What comfort can it be to them that the export of a few tons of coal to South Africa will have been stopped or that a stray white from there will be denied entry into India? *The Times of India*, which has been ably advocating this cause, has also ridiculed Sir William Meyer's suggestion.

If we go deeper, we shall see that any act of retaliation, even if severe enough in comparison with the original wrong, only recoils upon the person who resorts to it. What the hand does but hurts one's own heart.[1] An injustice can never be cured by another in return. Injustice cannot remove injustice. Even if a hundred and fifty thousand whites were settled in India and we could pass against them, and did in fact pass, the same kind of laws as obtain in South Africa, how would that prevent the ruin of the hundred and fifty thousand Indians? The principle of tit for tat is based on the assumption that the other party is deterred from doing injustice when we have the ability and the will to pay him back in his own coin. This does indeed happen sometimes. It is well known, however, that the total result does not advance the cause of justice; for, countless men have acted on

[1] Gujarati saying

the age-old principle of a tooth for a tooth and an eye for an eye, but injustice has not yet disappeared. Besides, far-sighted writers in the West, too, have been saying that, despite the great advance of science in Europe and the opportunities for education which exist there, hatred and injustice have not diminished. We have direct evidence of this before our very eyes. But we have strayed from the subject. That we can see no meaning in Sir William Meyer's suggestion even from a practical point of view—as a means of retaliation—is sufficient to show that it deserves to be rejected.

Mr. Montagu has stated that an exercise of the veto is politically unfeasible. "Veto" signifies the power retained by the King to disallow a law passed in any Dominion of the British Empire. Mr. Montagu's statement amounts in effect to saying that the Dominion of South Africa is so strong and enjoys such freedom that, if the King's Ministers advised him to disallow the law passed by it and if the King accepted such advice, there would perhaps be a commotion in the Dominion. This means merely that a partner in the British Empire would secede from the partnership. In this Empire even the weakest person should be protected from injustice and if, in the process, any of the partners secede, the result should be wholly welcome. The British Empire cannot—no Empire can—endure if it holds even its weakest subjects as slaves for ever, as mere hewers of wood and drawers of water. An Empire that would last has therefore no choice but to abandon those parts of it that always act in opposition to its aims. As a matter of fact, there is no strong reason to believe that the whites of South Africa will raise an outcry if the veto is used. Injustice, immorality and the like are always cowardly and timid. To start with, such fanatics make a great show of strength and finally yield before the force of justice. The anti-Indian movement in South Africa is based on such rank injustice that, if the Imperial Government were to display even a little strength, it cannot survive. To ensure that the Imperial Government displays such strength, only one thing needs to be done. If we raise a dignified but powerful protest and act likewise with strength on behalf of our countrymen overseas living their lives in difficult conditions, we shall strengthen the hands of the Imperial Government and enable it to secure justice for them.

Though we have shown that the the Royal veto can be used effectively, we must confess that it is a weapon which must be used sparingly. We believe, as Mr. Montagu does, that a Royal Commission will secure justice. At the present time, therefore,

we must concentrate on efforts to see that everything goes well with the Commission.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 7-9-1919

68. SIGNIFICANCE OF FIJI STRUGGLE

A number of issues are involved in the Fiji problem but, for educating public opinion at present, it is essential to know only one thing. Indentured labourers emigrated from India to Fiji in 1877. To speak plainly, indentured labour means a state of semi-slavery. This meaning is not given by us; it is a phrase used by the late Sir William Wilson Hunter to describe Indian indentured labourers. From that day to this, the outrages committed on the womenfolk of the Indian labourers have been possible simply because of our lethargy or, maybe, our ignorance. We have before us the testimony of the good Mr. Andrews that each woman has to serve three males.[1] These three are indentured labourers; there may be others occasionally. We have translated Mr. Andrews' language, but the readers will easily guess the meaning of the word "serve". A telegram to Mr. Gandhi from Fiji demands that this monstrous outrage should stop. The Fiji Indians say in the telegram that it seems the hope that the Fiji Government will end the present system of indenture will be belied. They fear that the Government has given up the idea of abolishing indenture. If it is abolished, our helpless sisters will be saved from dishonour or, at any rate, we shall be free of the responsibility. It is plainly our duty to see this done. So long as we are ignorant of the snake under our bed, we can sleep in peace, but only till then. The moment we become aware of the presence of the venomous companion, we get alarmed; we should react in similar fashion to indenture in Fiji. So long as we were ignorant of the horrible conditions of our sisters living in Fiji, we could rest and sleep in peace. But now? It is a sin to keep quiet even for a moment.

[1] Andrews had waited on the Secretary of State for India, Edwin Montagu, when the latter was in India during March 1918, and placed before him the official medical report of the Fiji Government. " 'When one indentured Indian woman,' ran the damning admission, 'has to serve three indentured men as well as various outsiders, the result as regards syphilis and gonorrhoea cannot be in doubt.' 'That settles it,' said Montagu. 'Ask what you like.' On January 1, 1920, the last indentured labourer was free." *Charles Freer Andrews*, p. 123

When the whole of India understands this, the immorality in Fiji will not go on for an hour longer. There are lawyers who ask how we can end lawful contracts of indenture, how we can put pressure on the Fiji whites. There can be only one answer to this. A law contrary to morality, a law which upholds immorality, is no law. To respect such a law is to be a partner in immorality. How did it ever happen that a law which served as an instrument of immorality continued to this day? This is a pertinent question. We hope an appeal will reach the Government immediately from every village and town of Gujarat, demanding that the system of indenture in Fiji be abolished forthwith. Mr. Andrews has fixed December 31 as the final date for its abolition. He does not have the power of a government in his hands; but he has greater power than that : the solemn voice of his grief-stricken soul. We wish every man and every woman hears this voice and does his or her duty.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 7-9-1919

69. NOTES

Security from "Navajivan"

The monthly *Navajivan*, it may be said, was looked upon with kindness, but the weekly *Navajivan* has not succeeded in remaining worthy of the same kindness. Every newspaper, when changing the frequency of publication or the press, etc., has to make a new declaration and, on that occasion, indeed at any time, the magistrate is authorized to demand security or, if a security has already been taken, even to increase its amount. The *Navajivan* having become a weekly, a declaration had to be made, and the magistrate sent the following order.[1]

Has the *Navajivan* lost its freedom because Mr. Gandhi has accepted its editorship?

Forced Labour in the Panch Mahals

We often hear it said that the evil of forced labour is more prevalent in the Panch Mahals than in any other district. The matter even went to the Court once. The thing came in for a good deal of discussion at the political conference in Godhra.[2] Now

[1] This is not reproduced here. It demanded a security of Rs. 500.
[2] *Vide* Vol. XIV, pp. 48-66 & 68-70.

the issue has been settled, so far as the Panch Mahals is concerned. Congratulations are due to Mr. Clayton, Collector of the Panch Mahals, for the circular he has issued, as also to the office-bearers of the Godhra Home Rule League. It was, indeed, very good of Mr. Clayton to have announced his decision soon after his discussion with the local Home Rule Committee. He has made it clear in his order that no one is bound to serve an official at anything less than the prevailing rate of payment and that, if any official brings pressure on the people or harasses them, he will render himself liable to disciplinary action. What has happened is an illustration of how the officials and the people can, by joint discussion, solve such a complicated problem as that of forced labour. We hope complaints of forced labour in the Panch Mahals will now disappear and that the officials will fully respect Mr. Clayton's orders. We would also suggest, at the same time, that people should render proper services to the officials when paid for at the market rate. It is our duty to help Government officers and make things easy for them when they are out touring. The officers' duty is not to commandeer services from the people but secure them by polite request and against full payment. Flattery, servility and fear should for ever be shunned; but impudence and rudeness are to be shunned as much.

The Late Sheth Dawood Mahomed

Everyone must have read the life sketch of the well-known South African leader, Sheth Dawood Mahomed, which Mr. Gandhi wrote for the papers.[1] There is no doubt that his death is a great loss to the Indians of South Africa. It is not surprising that the whole of Gujarat should be proud of him, considering that he was born in a village near Surat. His shrewdness and his ability in affairs were such that, had he been born in Europe, he would have become a famous figure. India barely knows him. One who, though illiterate, rose from an ordinary condition and handled business of lakhs, who trained any number of men for business and spent his old age in the service of the people, gave a good education to his son and, by his ability, gained control over thousands of people—what more could he have done to become famous? Many a famous man has acquired fame without deserving it, and many who never acquired fame have served the people and lived for God. We send our condolences to

[1] *Vide* "Letter to the Press", 30-8-1919.

CWMG - XVI

the family of Sheth Dawood Mahomed and to the Indians of South Africa.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 7-9-1919

70. SPEECH ON SWADESHI, BOMBAY[1]

September 7, 1919

Some people have been saying that the cry of swadeshi has been taken up all over India, but I don't believe this. I get letters from many places telling me that, if I went to open stores there, the people would start using swadeshi cloth. That, however, does not happen. It will come about only if people first make up their mind firmly to do so. One gentleman said that we should manufacture cloth finer than English or Japanese cloth and sell it cheaper. But this is not possible. It we want to spread the movement for the swadeshi vow, we should put up with the hardships which follow for the time being. No cloth anywhere in the world can stand comparison with what I am wearing. Surely, the *Bhagavad Gita* doesn't say that we should dress ourselves in delicate Japanese fabrics. Every shastra says that only our own dharma can save us, and it is our dharma, in our country, to wear cloth made by our workers in their homes, singing hymns as they work. We should accept what our mother gives us, be it plain bread and no more, and to offer thanks to her. This is our first duty. It is undeniable that we don't have enough cloth for all. We should so work as to start a spinning class in every home; we should then have a mill in each home. We shall need no money for this; we need incur no expenditure. If you all want India to prosper, this is the best way. I don't believe that there is anyone who will give up fine dresses straightway and take to wearing khadi. If the young people take up [this work], we shall gradually succeed in improving our condition. We should think before embarking on anything. I place before you this idea which has come to me, hoping that all of you will take it up. The Government, however, has clipped my wings and confined me to Bombay Presidency.[2] If the men and women of this Presidency alone take up the work, they will be able to meet the needs of

[1] The occasion was the opening of the Gujarat Swadeshi Store.

[2] An order was served on Gandhiji on April 9, prohibiting his entry into the Punjab; *vide* Vol. XV, p. 207.

the whole of India. If the swadeshi movement were flourishing in India as we want it to flourish, we would have swaraj this very day. But, friends, it is not. I am indebted to you for your having listened to what I had to say. In the end, I only pray that God should prosper the enterprise of these friends.

[From Gujarati]

Gujarat Mitra ane Gujarat Darpan, 14-9-1919

71. TELEGRAM TO HOME SECRETARY

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
[After *September 7, 1919*]

TO
THE SECRETARY
HOME DEPARTMENT
SIMLA

COULD YOU PLEASE WIRE REPLY MY ENQUIRY ADDRESSED P.S.V.[1], AND TRANSFERRED BY HIM TO YOU, REGARDING INTERPRETATION REFERENCE LORD HUNTER'S COMMITTEE.[2]

GANDHI

From a photostat of the handwritten draft : S. N. 6866

72. THE VICEROY'S SPEECH : INQUIRY COMMITTEE

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the time of the opening[3] of the session of the Imperial Legislative Council is naturally a very important pronouncement, coming as it does after very troublous times through which we have just passed and from whose effects we have hardly emerged. The fact of the actual appointment of the Commission gives relief, though I observe that the Indian Press is not over-enthusiastic upon the personnel or upon the fact that it is not a Royal Commission, but it is one that is to report to

[1] *Vide* "Telegram to P. S. to Viceroy", 6-9-1919.

[2] Gandhiji received on September 16 a telegram from the Deputy Secretary, Government of India, saying that "the intentions of Government will very shortly be made public. The Government of India cannot intimate them to you in advance."

[3] This was on September 3, at Simla.

Delhi. In my humble opinion, a commission appointed from Delhi can be just as effective as a Royal Commission. And Royal Commissions have been known in our own times to have been perfectly abortive. Lord Morley, when he was in active service, used to say that his experience of them was so unhappy that he did not believe in them at all. He became an unwilling party to them because it was an English weakness. In a case, however, like that of the Punjab, an inquiry is the necessary sequel. We need not, therefore, complain of the inquiry not being a Royal Commission, but we have every right to examine its personnel and, though Lord Hunter does not enjoy a world-wide reputation, it need not be doubted that he has a reputation to lose. After all, he must be pre-eminently Mr. Montagu's choice and I would hesitate to distrust his choice or his intentions, even though he has quite unjustly and unwarrantedly put in an energetic defence of some of the measures adopted or approved by the Government of India. Nor may one cavil at the appointment of the other members. We in Bombay, however, can derive the greatest satisfaction from the appointment of Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, not because he is a Bombay man but because he is an able advocate and what is more, because he is a pupil and an ardent follower of the late Sir Pherozeshah Mehta. We may trust him to act as fearlessly and as impartially as the late Sir Pherozeshah Mehta and to hold his own against odds. His appointment, moreover, furnishes perhaps an indication of the desire of the Government of India to secure impartial men who have not formed, or rather expressed, opinions one way or other. We have a right to expect Sahebzada Sultan Mahomed Khan to do no less. And I would take leave to add, too, that where Englishmen have not formed preconceived notions or where they have not gone, as all of us sometimes do go, mad over some things, they dispense fearless justice and expose wrong even though the perpetrators may be their own people. I would, therefore, respectfully suggest suspension of judgment over the personnel of the Commission. Trust it and respond to the Viceregal appeal for a calm atmosphere.

I derive, however, much greater satisfaction from the knowledge that, after all, the securing of a proper finding by the Commission is in the largest measure dependent upon our countrymen in the Punjab. If those who know the facts will come forward fearlessly to tell the truth and if there are no degraded beings in the Punjab ready enough to sell themselves for the sake of personal gain, we need have no misgivings. Our case is so excellent, the injustices that have been already brought to light are so glaring that we

need not fear an abortion if the people of the Punjab will but do their duty. Why was there justice done in the case of Champaran? It was primarily and principally because the poor, ground-down ryots of Champaran dared to tell the truth. Will the free people of the Punjab do less? There can be but one answer. But we must help them and we shall best do so, not by spilling ink over showing the weakness of the personnel of the Committee or over its not being a Royal Commission, but by concentrating ourselves upon seeing that there is no espionage either on the one side or the other, that the people of the Punjab are permitted to have a free atmosphere to work in, and there is comfort in the thought that the ever-vigilant and ubiquitous Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviyaji is there, assisted by Sannyasi Swami Shri Shraddhanandji and the indomitable Pandit Motilal Nehru. We need not fear the consequences.

It is noteworthy that the Committee is to investigate not only the affairs in the Punjab, but also in this Presidency. There should be no difficulty in our being able to show the real causes of the discontent as also the happy distinction, on the whole, between the aftermath here and the Punjab. There is one more thing about the Committee before it can be dismissed from consideration. What is the meaning of the reference to the Committee? It seems to me broad enough to cover an examination of the judgments of the Punjab Special Tribunals, whether the Special Commissions or the Martial Law Courts, and to include the power for the Committee to recommend total or partial remission of sentences. But we may not leave anything understood on a matter so vital as this. We must therefore have this point satisfactorily cleared up some way or other.

As regards the Indemnity Bill, though I think that it would have been graceful, even tactful, on the part of the Viceroy not to have mentioned the Indemnity Bill in the same breath as [the] Commission, I submit it is well to suspend judgment till we have seen the full text of the Bill proposed to be introduced by the Government.

Rowlatt Act and After

I now come to the debatable part of the Viceregal speech on the events of April. These are H. E.'s words :

> Last session certain hon'ble members during the passage of the Rowlatt Bill gave me warnings of an almost minatory character that if that Bill passed into law there would be agitation of a serious nature. I think the hon'ble members will realize that no Government could deviate from a

policy which it regarded as essential on account of any threat of agitation. However, there were those who thought that it was necessary to make good this threat, and as a consequence, the deplorable events occurred which are to be the subject of an enquiry. It is not my intention to discuss these events but I would point out this that it is easy to minimize their gravity. After the disorders have been put down no one who had the responsibility of dealing with them is likely to forget the issue which they had to face. Murders and arson were committed, telegraph wires were cut, railway lines were torn up and for some days my only sure communication with the Government of the Punjab was by means of the wireless. Ocular proof of the gravity of the situation with which we were then faced and of the damage done is still manifest in many of the districts which suffered, and to anyone who would attempt to minimize the trouble I would say : 'Go into these districts and see for yourself the vestiges of senseless destruction which are still there.'

What does the Viceroy mean by "the minatory character" of the warnings given by the Indian Councillors ? Is a warning 'minatory' when it is actually carried into effect? Is His Excellency not going too far in prejudging the issue that is to be submitted to the Commission of his own creation ? The warning was that of friends. It was open to the members to make good their warnings by creating an agitation in the country that could tell upon the Government and it would have done so already, had the Government hastily and foolishly not precipitated complications. Why does His Excellency tack the violence after the 10th of April on to the orderly, religious and clear agitation that culminated in the day of humiliation and prayer on the 6th of April ? Is it not permissible to us to retort that the Government found that their pet Act was slipping out of their hands, that they went mad and, setting aside their own previous knowledge and canons of propriety, resorted to disorderly acts which brought about the regrettable violence and consequent loss of innocent lives, both European and Indian? It is for the Commission to judge the issue whether the Rowlatt agitation brought about the mob violence or whether the Government incensed the mob to violence. I respectfully suggest that inasmuch as he of his own showing gave the Punjab Government a blank card and even issued orders on their recommendation, His Excellency stands in the same box as the Punjab Government to be judged by the Commission.

His Excellency has done gross injustice to me by tearing from their context words of mine and applying them to a different situation altogether. His Excellency has not read the whole

of my speech before the Ahmedabad audience on the 14th of April in which the passage quoted by him occurred.[1] It was due from him to the public and me to have sent for the speech and read it. He would then have seen that my speech applied only to the events in Ahmedabad which I was able to investigate personally. That speech would have shown to him, as it would show to him now, that my remarks refer to Ahmedabad and Ahmedabad alone, not even to Viramgam or Kaira, for of these I knew nothing then. I wish wholly to dissociate myself from holding the view imputed to me by His Excellency the Viceroy. I still know nothing definite at first hand of the Punjab and of "educated or clever men" in that province.[2] Whilst, therefore, I alter nothing of my speech in Ahmedabad, I form no judgment about the Punjab. I have, however, received sufficient evidence from the Punjab to show me that the Punjab Government have resorted to measures that nothing can condone.

CLEMENCY

The talk of clemency comes with ill grace, and comes upon a public that asks for no clemency, no mercy, but asks for simple justice. If there has been a plot really to wage war against the King or to overthrow the Government, let those who are found guilty by a properly constituted court be hanged. I have certainly no desire that Lala Harkishen Lal, Pandit Rambhuj Dutt Choudhri, Dr. Kitchlew, Dr. Satyapal and some other men of ripe years, being well-known public men, should be saved from the gallows if they have incited directly or indirectly the mob to violence and plotted against constituted authority. Let the Commission decide, and there will be time enough to talk of clemency, if there is to be any. If the Government of India are sincerely desirous of doing justice, let them set all the political offenders free, save those men who were caught red-handed in the act of violence and have unquestionably been found guilty of the offence they might have committed. If His Excellency wishes really to see justice done, and nothing more, but nothing less, let him follow what was done by

[1] For the text of this speech: *vide* Vol. XV, pp. 220-4.

[2] The Viceroy had said in the course of his speech: "It is my desire now and it is that of His Honour the Lt.-Governor of the Punjab to exercise clemency towards the unfortunate misguided men who were led away, by some 'educated and clever man or men', to use Mr. Gandhi's words, to commit outrages." *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, quoting this in its issue of 6-9-1919, took exception to the statement and asked that Gandhiji should, if he believed in this assertion, disclose the source of his information or else contradict the Viceroy.

the Government of South Africa.[1] When, as a result of the Satyagraha struggle in South Africa a Commission was appointed there, some of my fellow-prisoners and I were discharged from prison on the advice of the Commissioners, with the deliberate intention that they and I might be able to help the Commission to a right judgment by leading evidence on behalf of those whom we represented. I hope that if His Excellency cannot see his [way] to follow the South African prece[dent] of his own accord, the Commission will strongly advise him to do so.

South African Situation

It is now my pleasant duty to come to those portions of the Viceregal speech which are not open to exception. His Excellency's pronouncement on the South African question is satisfactory so far as it goes. Sir Benjamin Robertson who is already personally known to General Smuts can, in many respects, by his tact and diplomacy, smooth the way for a just and honourable settlement. I take it naturally that whilst Sir Benjamin Robertson will go as a representative of the Government of India to put their case before the South African Government and generally to assist the Commission to be appointed, Mr. Montagu's announcement that two representatives on behalf of the Indian interest will be appointed on the Commission stands intact, and that we shall soon have the names of proper representatives announced. I venture entirely to associate myself with the sentiments expressed by H. E. the Viceroy that "it behoves us to see that our words and actions are not such as may embitter the existing sentiment and make a settlement more difficult."

Fiji Indentures

The announcement about Fiji, too, is unexceptionable, indeed highly satisfactory, and we are entitled to hope that before long, and certainly before the year is out, we shall see the last of the indentures in Fiji.

But we may sleep neither over the South African nor the Fiji question. We must agitate, until the degrading immorality of Fiji is wiped out and the impending destruction of Indians in South Africa is averted beyond doubt.

Young India, 10-9-1919

[1] The reference is to the appointment of the Solomon Commission by the Union Government of South Africa in December 1913; *vide* Vol. XII, p. 272.

CWMG-XVI

73. *LALA LABHU RAM*

Bad as are the cases from the Punjab which it has been my misfortune to examine from time to time, that of Lala Labhu Ram is no better. Isolated cases of injustice will happen [in] the best regulated society and [under] a model Government. But when injustice becomes the order of the day, it is time for honest men not merely to protest against it but to withdraw their support from a system of Government under which such organized injustice is possible, unless that system is changed and systematic injustice becomes an impossibility. I have no desire to exaggerate the picture. Nothing can be further from my intention than to exacerbate the relations between the two races. And if I could prevent exacerbation by remaining silent, I should do so with the greatest gladness. But I should fail in my duty if I did not draw the attention of the Government to injustices as they come under my notice. They are like poison corrupting the whole system. The poison must be expelled or the body perishes.

What is this case of Lala Labhu Ram then? The reader had the facts of the case last week. The evidence for the defence does not appear to be complete and yet it seems to be the whole of the evidence received by Lala Labhu Ram's solicitors. It is quite possible that that evidence was not recorded, for does not the judgment of the Court commence with the pregnant sentence : "The evidence for the defence is worthless"? In one place the notes of evidence contain the remark: "Cross-examination for accused No. 9. Nothing relevant" ! The judges might have considered the defence evidence too as irrelevant. Fortunately, one has the exhaustive petition of Mrs. Labhu Ram to fall back upon. It must be accepted as a correct statement of the evidence in the absence of contradiction.

Mr. Labhu Ram is not a poor student lad like Karamchand or a petty trader like Jagannath. He is a Civil Engineer; he belongs, says Malandevi, "to a very respectable and loyal family of Lahore. Several relations of his occupy responsible positions in the service of Government." He finished his studies in Glasgow. He returned from England in 1912. He was for some time State Engineer in the Poonch State,

> where he not only discharged his professional duties to the entire satisfaction of his superiors but materially helped the authorities in recruiting work. He was not a member of any political society or of any Samaj or Sabha

> nor did he even take part in any propaganda of any kind whatsoever. He was not in the habit of attending any lectures even. He took no part whatever in the recent hartal.

I have dealt with Mr. Labhu Ram's position in society somewhat fully, because the case at the worst turns upon the credibility of witnesses. Several of the accused, of whom Lala Labhu Ram was one, pleaded an alibi and, as I have had to remark in connection with one case, courts always look upon the defence of alibi with considerable distrust. It is, therefore, necessary to dispose of the case at its worst and give the Court credit for fairness in weighing evidence. I submit then that unless the Court has overwhelming and unimpeachable testimony against that of Lala Labhu Ram, who said he was not present at the Badshahi Mosque meeting and who was respectably supported, the Court was bound to accept his evidence and grant him an honourable discharge. In such cases the status of the accused is a material consideration in coming to a decision, and I claim that Lala Labhu Ram enjoyed a status in society which should have stood him in good stead.

But the reader may dismiss the plea of respectability from his mind. It would not be perhaps an unfair reasoning on the part of the opponents—the upholders of the Punjab proceedings—to say that, when the very best of men in the Punjab were under severe suspicion and were drawn into the turmoil of April last, the question of respectability should be ruled out of account. But the Punjab Commissions have gone infinitely further and in many cases, as the reader of these pages has by this time seen, ruled out practically the whole of the defence. Mr. Labhu Ram was arrested on the 20th April, i.e., eight days after the day of the alleged offence. He is supposed to have been one of the hundred men who were charged with a simultaneous assault on one of the police officers. He was not known to this officer before, nor was there a single prosecution witness who had known the accused at all intimately before. Identification is difficult at best of times. It is most difficult, if not almost impossible, when it is a matter of picking out men from an excited crowd of several thousands. Mr. Labhu Ram's name does not occur in the police diary in which the names of the assaulters were noted down. Out of 11 prosecution witnesses 6 had nothing to say about the accused Mr. Labhu Ram. "Witnesses," says Mrs. Labhu Ram,

> who identified the petitioner's husband are police employees or interested in them. Most of them have appeared as prosecution witnesses in other Martial Law cases also.

This is a most damaging statement, if it is true. It means that they were professional witnesses. One would think that, as the accused was arrested eight days after the event, there would be some explanation given by the prosecution of the delay. This is what the petitioner says about it :

> The name of the petitioner's husband not having been entered in the diary of the complainant, it is not stated how and when the Police came to know of his complicity.

This is a sample of the case for the prosecution. The case for the defence is overwhelming.

> Dr. Bodhraj, a well-known physician of Lahore, Dr. Bholaram and his compounder gave evidence that Labhu Ram was busy with them in connection with the treatment of his ailing son at the time of the alleged assault.

The reader will be shocked to know that Mr. Labhu Ram's sentence of transportation, with forfeiture of property has been commuted to 14 years. Though I can appreciate and fully share a wife's sorrow and agony over an unmerited separation from her husband and, therefore, while I understand Mrs. Labhu Ram's position in asking for a commutation, if a complete discharge might not be possible, I am unable to derive the slightest satisfaction from the fact of the commutation. Mr. Labhu Ram is not a child. He is a man of the world, of culture and fully aware of his responsibility. If he took part in a cowardly assault on an inoffensive man who was but doing his duty, he deserves stern justice and no mercy. For to the crime of an assault he has added that of deliberate perjury. If, therefore, his case is not true, it is not one for mercy, and if it is true, justice would be hardly satisfied when he is discharged.

I do not deal with the monstrous method of the Court in taking judicial notice of a "state of rebellion". It is really an abuse of legal terms to consider the state of Lahore on the 12th of April as one of rebellion and a martial proclamation of the Government to be a document for judicial notice in the manner it has been. The evidence before the Court does not sustain a charge of waging war against the King. Only recently the people of Liverpool went much further than the Badshahi Mosque meeting. But the long-expected Commission has now been appointed, and if the reference includes the power to revise the sentences, the members of the Commission will have an opportunity of pronouncing upon cases like Mr. Labhu Ram's. But I submit to the Punjab Government as also to the Government of India that, in cases where the recorded evidence itself shows a patent miscarriage

of justice, they are bound in honour to discharge the accused without hiding themselves behind the Commission.

Young India, 10-9-1919

74. SATYAGRAHA

[*September 11, 1919*][1]

I notice so much misunderstanding still prevailing about satyagraha, both among ourselves and the British, that, though I have written and spoken at great length about it, I think it necessary to say something more even at the risk of repeating myself.

The word "satyagraha" was coined in South Africa to describe a certain mode of action. The great fight in which our brethren there were engaged was at first known, even in Gujarati, as "passive resistance". I once spoke about this struggle to a British audience;[2] the English chairman on the occasion observed that the helpless Indians, without a vote and without arms, had no alternative to "passive resistance". The chairman was a friend of mine. He stated his view in all sincerity of heart, but I felt humiliated. I knew for a fact that the struggle carried on by the Indian people in South Africa was no expression of their weakness. The community there had deliberately chosen that particular form of struggle. When it was my turn to speak, I corrected my friend's idea and explained that a struggle such as was carried on by the South African Indians could never be carried on by the weak and that I saw greater courage in that way of fighting than what the soldier needed.

When I was in England in connection with that very struggle, I saw that the suffragettes would set buildings on fire or assault officers with whips, and this sort of struggle, too, they described as passive resistance, and the public knew it by that name. In the struggle carried on in South Africa, there was no room at all for such assaults.

Hence I felt that there was a great danger in describing the struggle in South Africa as passive resistance. In South Africa itself, I could not think of an English word which could become current. At the meeting of Englishmen mentioned before, I used

[1] The article first appeared in the Pateti (Parsi New Year) Number of *Sanj Vartaman*, a Gujarati evening newspaper of Bombay. In 1919, Pateti fell on September 11.

[2] *Vide* Vol. IX, pp. 243-4.

the expression "soul force" to describe our struggle; but I had not the courage to use it always to denote our struggle. Intelligent English friends also realized the inadequacy of the expression "passive resistance", but they could not give me another expression. "Civil resistance" describes the struggle perfectly. The phrase occurred to me by chance only a few days ago and I have been using it in English. "Civil resistance" is wider in meaning than "civil disobedience", though it suggests less than "satyagraha".

Moreover, I saw in South Africa that our struggle had pure truth and justice in it and the force we employed was not brute force but soul-force. In however small a measure it may have been, it was yet soul-force. We do not find such force employed by animals. Besides, there is always some energy of the soul flowing through truth and so we started describing the struggle in South Africa as satyagraha.

Thus, there is no exaggeration in asserting that the term satyagraha had its origin in the idea of purity. We shall be able to understand now that satyagraha does not consist merely in a civil disobedience of law; often, it may consist in not committing such disobedience. When we feel it to be our duty to commit civil disobedience, when we feel that not to do so would be a blot on our manliness and a degradation of the soul, satyagraha can consist only in such disobedience. Such satyagraha may be employed not only against the Government but also against society; it can be employed as between husband and wife, father and son, friend and friend; in short, this valuable weapon may be used for almost any reform in any sphere. It is a weapon which sanctifies both him who wields it and him against whom it is employed. Its rightful use can never have an untoward result. It is invariably attended with success. If people employ *duragraha* in the name of satyagraha and unpleasant consequences follow, the latter is certainly not to blame.

Such satyagraha is often resorted to in families, whether people know it or not; that is, if a son feels that his father has been unjust, he does not give in to the injustice but cheerfully bears the punishment the father may mete out to him and, in this way, he ultimately succeeds in winning over the father, even if he were a formidable one, and securing justice from him. But, slaves of inertia that we are, we hesitate to apply this law outside the domestic sphere. Hence it is that I have considered satyagraha in social and political matters a new experiment. The late Tolstoy[1]

[1] For the correspondence between Gandhiji and him, *vide* Vol. IX, pp. 444-6 & 593.

was the first to draw my attention, in a letter of his to me, to its being such.

It is the belief of many that satyagraha can be used only in matters concerning religion. My wide experience proves just the contrary. By employing it in other spheres, we introduce religion into them and by doing so we succeed the sooner in fact and save ourselves from no end of hypocrisy.

It is my firm conviction that some of the most imperceptible laws of economics are at work in satyagraha. In this sense I believe satyagraha to be a practical method. Maybe it will take some time before people accept it as such, since, being a new method in the sense indicated above, they may not understand it. Is it any wonder, besides, that, when we are working for the best results, the thing should take some time? When satyagraha has become an accepted method in India, political and social reforms, which at present take such a long time to bring about, will be effected in a much shorter period; the distance between the rulers and the ruled and their distrust of each other will disappear and in their place will grow love and trust. It will be the same, we may be sure, as between the different sections of society.

Only one thing is necessary to ensure that the method spreads widely among the people. I feel convinced that, if the leaders understand it in its purity and place it before the people, the latter will respond readily. In order to understand it rightly, one must have faith in truth and non-violence. There is no need to define truth; of non-violence I do not demand any very exacting interpretation in this context. We should bear no ill will towards those from whom we wish to obtain justice; we should not seek our end by using violence against them or causing them any injury, but through courtesy, though remaining unshaken in our resolve; this is all I mean by non-violence here and only so much of it is necessary for bringing about reforms of this kind.

All our activities will take on a new form when the people have accepted satyagraha. We shall spare ourselves much fuss, all too many pompous speeches, petitions and resolutions and much scheming. Personally, the social, economic and political progress of the nation, which I see in satyagraha, I can see in nothing else.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 14-9-1919

CWMG - XVI

75. *SWADESHI IN A NUTSHELL*

[*September 11, 1919*]

What Is Swadeshi?

Mr. Gandhi puts his position regarding "swadeshi" in a nutshell in the Pateti number of the *Sanj Vartaman*:

Swadeshi restricts all Indians to the exclusive use of articles made in India. It contains our economic independence; swadeshi therefore means fiscal autonomy. Without fiscal autonomy swaraj has no meaning; swadeshi therefore may be called swaraj also.

But India is in such a ruined condition that we are not in a position to produce all our necessaries. It is, therefore, open to us to restrict swadeshi only to the most pressing of our necessaries.

The most pressing of our necessaries is clothing, and hence swadeshi consists, at present, in restricting ourselves to the use of cloth produced in India.

This swadeshi is a religion and it is not only for the Hindus or for Bombay; it is for all India and for all residents of India, Hindus, Mussulmans, Parsis, Christians, Europeans or Asiatics [men and women][1].

How to Promote Swadeshi?

1. By taking a vow to use exclusively swadeshi cloth.
2. By helping in and increasing the production of cloth, as we do not at present produce cloth sufficient for our needs.
3. It is the duty of every one of us to help in the production of cloth, be we rich or poor. The rich may do by means of mills, but for the poor there should be means suitable to themselves wherewith they may help in this great work. These means are our old spinning-wheels and handlooms.

If every woman understands it to be her duty to devote all her spare hours to spinning cotton, we can have yarn at the price of cotton.

If every man devotes all his spare hours to weaving hand-spun yarn, we can have cloth at the price of cotton.

Every man and woman can learn both these arts. Spinning takes a week to learn; weaving eight weeks.

A spinning-wheel costs 4 rupees. A handloom costs from 25 to 40 rupees. Both these can be easily made by our carpenters.

[1] The words in square brackets have been taken from *Navajivan*, 14-9-1919.

CWMG - XVI

Those who cannot spin cotton gratis can get 3 annas for spinning a lb. of yarn. Those who cannot weave yarn gratis can get one anna at least for weaving a yard of cloth 24 inches broad.

I wish no one will raise the question of despair, viz., when and how can the whole country engage itself in spinning and weaving?

If every reader determines to spin and weave himself, he will give to the country at least the yarn that he has spun and woven.

And why should we not expect others also to muster the same courage and patriotism that is in us. [If we are good, the whole world is good; likewise, if we are industrious, the whole world will be so.]

As a result of the present movement about 2,000 wheels are working and about 200 weavers have begun to weave afresh.

Lady Tata, Lady Petit, Mrs. Jaiji Petit and other ladies have already begun or are to begin spinning. So many of our Hindu sisters have learnt the art that it would be invidious to mention names.

I ask every reader to bethink himself of his duty.

Young India, 13-9-1919

76. LETTER TO J. CRERAR

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
September 12, 1919

DEAR MR. CRERAR,

Your letter has followed me to the Ashram. I was wondering why I was not receiving a reply, but I felt that you must have mis-read the letter[1]. I thank you, however, for your reply[2]. In view of your letter, I certainly refrained from publishing the article in question. I may, however, state that I saw it reproduced, I believe *in toto*, in some newspaper or other.[3] The document too,

[1] It referred to the Government's ban on the publication, of any matter relating to the terms of peace with Turkey which was likely to cause excitement in India. For the text of the letter, *vide* Addenda.

[2] Crerar had written: "I am not in possession of the document, but his statement at the end of his article that there was any disposition on the part of the Conference to ridicule arguments based on Muslim sentiments is opposed to all known facts of the case and its publication in India would be calculated to produce a totally erroneous impression."

[3] Marmaduke Pickthall's article on Turkey was published in the *New Age*, 10-7-1919.

CWMG - XVI

quoted by Mr. Pickthall, I observe, was reproduced in the English Press.

Yours sincerely,

J. CRERAR, ESQ.
SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT
JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT
POONA

From a photostat of the handwritten office copy: S. N. 6850

77. *GUJARATIMAL'S CASE*

Gujaratimal is a lad eighteen years old, having received no more than Middle School education. At the age of sixteen he got himself appointed as a dresser in the Military Department. After working for about a year in Multan Cantonment, he went to Egypt and spent one year there, also on service. He subsequently returned to the Punjab, taking one month's leave. He reached Madhranwala, his native village five miles from Hafizabad, on the 8th April. He remained at his village getting his shop repaired. But

> to our astonishment some policemen came there on the 16th with warrants issued against him, and prosecuted him accordingly, leaving us in utter amazement, for we could not understand what the matter was.

Thus writes the seventy years old father of Gujaratimal. This is not one of those cases in which a stranger can arrive at a firm decision merely on reading the evidence, which was reproduced in the last issue of *Young India*. It will be remembered that the case of Gujaratimal is one out of nineteen tried together. I had occasion to analyse the judgment in the case in connection with that of Karamchand,[1] and all I have said about that judgment naturally applies in this case, as in that of the lad Karamchand. But upon reading the evidence, it is not possible to come to a positive conclusion that the defence of alibi was completely established. The whole of the evidence, as the reader must have observed, has been taken in such a scrappy manner that one is unable to know what has been omitted. It is also clear from the evidence that the prosecution witnesses are mostly policemen or connected with the police, and that the accused were not arrested red-handed, but most of them were arrested some time

[1] *Vide* "Victims, Not Guilty", 3-9-1919.

CWMG - XVI

after the affair. Certainly Gujaratimal, who is said to have been the principal speaker and one of the assailants, was not arrested red-handed, but two days after the date of the alleged assault. Gujaratimal was sentenced to be hanged. His sentence was subsequently commuted to transportation, and still more subsequently, according to what his father has heard, to seven years' rigorous imprisonment. It is a serious matter to sentence a lad of eighteen years, who denies his guilt, who denies having been present at the scene itself and who has only lately rendered service to the Crown, to be hanged on the strength of the very questionable evidence of identification by witnesses of no standing.

To these observations I would add a summary of the facts supplied by the father of Gujaratimal, and respectfully submit that if the facts supplied by the father be true, he is entitled to a complete discharge without further investigation. And even without those, the whole case requires a thorough investigation. The father says:

> on the 23rd May, i.e., five weeks after the event, the Deputy Commissioner of the District ordered all the residents to assemble in one place to be identified by the prosecution witnesses, and Lieutenant Tatam.

Gujaratimal was also among the crowd. Now comes the most material part of the father's statement.

> At this occasion none of the prosecution witnesses Nos. 3,4,7,8,9, 15, 16,18, 19, who afterwards gave evidence against him could identify him, nor even Lieutenant Tatam.

If this is true, Gujaratimal has certainly been wrongly convicted. And what shall we say of the value of all the identification evidence when we read such a shocking deposition as this of prosecution witness No. 13 :

> Mr. Tatam identified Karam Singh, Jiwan Kishen, Mul Chand. Mr. Tatam even pointed me out as one of the assailants, and when the Deputy Commissioner said that I was Tehsildar, Mr. Tatam said that the man he remembered was fatter than I.

If this is true—and the prosecution surely cannot question its truth —this is a circumstance which must raise gravest doubts about the value of the identification evidence led by the prosecution. The father adds that prosecution witness No. 3 says that Gujaratimal delivered an oration at the station, whereas P. W. No. 16 says that it was Gian Singh who delivered it. This discrepancy can be proved from the recorded evidence. Again the father says, pro-

secution witness No. 15, who could not identify Gujaratimal on the 3rd May, said at the trial that Gujaratimal carried a flag, etc. The father has submitted already several petitions to the authorities. He is a man of poor circumstances. The accused is an insignificant lad. In my opinion, therefore, the case becomes all the stronger for a searching inquiry. His Excellency the Viceroy was pleased to say in his speech:

> For those cases which have come before the Government of India, I have no hesitation in claiming that they received the most careful consideration, and that orders were passed with the greatest possible dispatch.

The letter before me says that the father has petitioned His Excellency also. It is not impertinent to inquire what was the result of the "most careful consideration" given to the most damaging statements made in the father's petition. If his statements were considered to be worthless, he was, and still is, entitled to know on what ground the decision was based.

Young India, 13-9-1919

78. A SHAMEFUL SIN

[*September 14, 1919*][1]

TO MY SISTERS:

I want to talk to you on a matter simple and yet of very great importance, a matter on which depends, and without which is impossible, the salvation of India. Man in his stupidity may forget his duty towards woman, but should that prevent woman from doing her duty towards her sisters?

I have received a letter from Dohad giving news which is shameful to us all. The correspondent writes that the women of the *Dhed* community there who cannot procure work which may be done at home go out for labour, which they procure at the price of their chastity. The male members of these women's families —craven creatures—know this fact, but are sleeping over it. I have used the word *Dhed* for this community, but they are weavers. I do not know why some weavers are known as *Dheds*. But if we always keep in mind the sad fact that, in spite of their clean calling, these people are regarded as untouchables, some of us are sure some day to be free from the sin of untouchability. As women

[1] The Gujarati original was published in *Navajivan*, 14-9-1919.

for want of other work have to go out for labour, so also have men. Hence, when they saw that I was ready to supply them with yarn, they pledged themselves to do no other work than weaving, provided I guaranteed to them a regular daily supply of a maund of yarn. My correspondent further informs me that the chief reason why they took this pledge was their knowledge of the immorality I have referred to. You may rest assured Dohad is not a solitary sink of this iniquity. When I was in Umreth, I was told that most of the women there added to their little income by winnowing pulses for merchants. They have to go to them to receive and return the pulses and there they have to put up with all sorts of indecent jokes and abuse. It has been my misfortune to hear this tale of woe at numerous places during the course of my four years' wanderings throughout India. It seems to me that a hundred years ago, when millions of our mothers used to spin cotton, such things must not have been happening. I therefore beg to request my wealthy and educated sisters that, if they are anxious to protect the chastity of their poor sisters, they must take a prominent part in the movement for handspinning and handweaving. I do not desire at this place to repeat all the arguments why I prefer these occupations to any other. Suffice it to say that spinning has been regarded as an ancient, noble calling which even queens made their own. It is very easy to learn spinning. Any ordinary carpenter can make a spinning-wheel. If millions of our sisters work the wheel, all the yarn they may produce can be consumed in India alone. And that being almost as useful as food-stuffs, spinning cannot be regarded as a temporary occupation. It does not require great physical labour and it can be left off and taken up at will and hence it is an occupation to fill our leisure hours with. If some good women were to take up this work, they would be able to put an end to the enormities I have mentioned above. They will thereby be ensuring for some of our sisters suitable work for want of which they may have to seek other work in which their chastity is jeopardized.

Sister reader, even if you be rolling in wealth, you are bound to protect the chastity of your poor sisters. I have pointed you out the royal road. I hope you will think over it this week : I hope to show next week the various ways in which every woman can help in this work.

Young India, 17-9-1919

CWMG - XVI

79. *HOW TO REMOVE THE BLOT*

[*September 14, 1919*][1]

TO MY SISTERS:

Last time I showed by some illustrations how, on account of our negligence, idleness or indifference, our poor sisters fall an easy prey to temptation for want of some independent work.

It is quite proper that we are horrified at the plight of thousands of our sisters in far off Fiji. For that we are accusing the Government of Fiji and asking the Government of India to make strenuous efforts to put a stop to the indentures which breed immorality in Fiji. To do so is our clear duty. But what are we doing for the women, more numerous than in Fiji, suffering before our very eyes?

For removing the blot nearer home we do not need to pass resolutions demanding justice from Government. For that we ourselves have to work to the utmost of our capacity. Every one of you, sisters, has to find out a remedy to end this evil. It is the object of this paper to help you in thinking out the remedies.

As we found last week, the best protection for the chastity of our poor women, and to tell the truth, of all women, is the spinning [-wheel]. Perhaps you will say, "we can understand that for poor women, but what have other women to do with the spinning-wheel?" There is a proverb among us, a very good proverb, that, "an idle man ruins himself and his country". I can say from my own experience that idleness feeds our passions. If our monied sisters were to devote their leisure to some useful work instead of gossiping or some other needless activity, they would engage their mind, hands and feet in a fruitful manner and [if] they were to take to spinning, they would serve a double purpose. A sister became a widow only a few days ago. She came to know of the work of spinning. As she cannot go out of her house for at least one year, belonging as she does to a good family, she has taken up the work of hand-spinning. Within six days she has been able to send half a pound of fine spun yarn. It is her devout wish that she might be able to spin enough yarn for her family before she leaves the widow's corner.

[1] This is in continuation of the preceding item.

But I have digressed. We are considering how to help poor women who go astray on account of force of circumstances. If you are able to devote all your time to the work of reclamation, you would go to the villages, find out what your poor sisters are doing there, teach them, if they do not know, how to spin, supply them dressed cotton, paying them the labour [charges] for spinning it into yarn. The Bombay Swadeshi Sabha has undertaken the work of supplying cotton and, in a short time, many places will be selected for that purpose. The local Sabha also has opened such a branch and provides facilities for supplying such cotton. I do confess that all cannot give all their time for such work. Those who can devote only [a few] hours and are not in a position to [leave] their own native village or city [may] well take care of their own locality. Large-hearted women cannot be satisfied with merely taking care of themselves. They must infect others with their purity. Hence, such sisters will try to understand and better the lot of their neighbours. They may open a club for spinning in their own locality, supporting and instructing their less fortunate sisters.

If you cannot do that much, if you do not believe in your capacity for persuading your other sisters or have no heart for it, you can at least learn spinning for yourself and, by doing that work for a fixed period every day, you can set an example to your other sisters and, if you spin your yarn free of charge, you can to that extent help your poor sisters by making it possible to pay them a higher rate. You will see in *Navajivan* from time to time examples of sisters who have already begun such work. It is my hope that you would all take part in such a movement according to your capacity—a movement which nourishes the life of the nation, which helps its poor, which protects the chastity of its women and which is calculated to bring economic independence to India in a simple and easy manner.

Young India, 1-10-1919

CWMG - XVI

80. ADVERTISEMENTS

[*September 14, 1919*][1]

We have reproduced this letter because the criticism Shri Khandwala makes is also made by other friends. Shri Khandwala's fear is unnecessary. Labouring under the false belief that advertisement can be secured by money alone, the correspondent believes that swadeshi articles will not get support from *Navajivan*, which accepts no advertisements. Money is not at all required to spread information as to the place of getting a thing when it is needed by the country. When the scope of *Navajivan* is properly known and its workers organized, it will be our endeavour to bring to light the obscure industries of our country in these columns even at some expense to the proprietor, if necessary. When advertisements are inserted by payments, it is well-nigh impossible to control their matter or language. Of the various advertisements that have come under our notice, ninety-nine per cent are totally useless. The advertisements that are most paying relate to medicine and it is our belief that the deceitfulness and obscenity that are often found in such advertisements are harmful to the country. We know many friends who have contracted disease by using advertised medicines. Who has not been deceived by advertisements regarding other things? It is our mistaken belief that we get newspapers cheap because they take advertisements. It is forgotten that the things that are advertised are bought by the readers and it is the readers who have ultimately to pay for the advertisement charges. The price of medicine does not lie in the drug so much as in the bottle, the cork and most of all in the advertisement. Hence, sometimes, we pay one rupee for a medicine worth a pice only. If there were no system of advertisements, we are sure to save at least half the price.

Young India, 24-9-1919

[1] The first two sentences of this and the following item have been taken from *Navajivan*, 14-9-1919, in which they originally appeared in Gujarati.

81. *SWADESHI V. MACHINERY?*

[*September 14, 1919*]

In reply to a correspondent, Mr. Gandhi expresses his views about the compatibility or otherwise of machinery with swadeshi :

I have observed that this doubt is felt by many people, and accordingly I have given the reply too. Pure swadeshi is not at all opposed to machinery. The swadeshi movement is meant only against the use of foreign cloth. There is no objection to wearing mill-made cloth. But I do not myself wear mill-made cloth and in the explanations to the swadeshi vow I have certainly suggested that it should be the ideal of every Indian to wear hand-spun and hand-woven cloth. If, fortunately for India, crores of people happen to translate this ideal into practice, the mills may perhaps have to suffer some loss. But if the whole of India makes that pure resolve, I am sure that even our mill-owners would welcome that resolve, respect its purity and associate themselves with it. But it takes long to outgrow inveterate habits. There is thus room in the country for both the mill industry and the handloom weaving. So let mills increase as also spinning-wheels and handlooms. And I should think that these latter are no doubt machines. The handloom is a miniature weaving mill. The spinning-wheel is a miniature spinning-mill. I would wish to see such beautiful little mills in every home. But the country is fully in need of the hand-spinning and hand-weaving industry. Agriculturists in no country can live without some industry to supplement agriculture. And in India, which is entirely dependent on favourable monsoons, the spinning-wheel and the handloom are like *Kamadhenus*[1]. This movement is thus intended in the interests of 21 crore peasants of India. Even if we have sufficient mills in the country to produce cloth enough for the whole country, we are bound to provide our peasantry, daily being more and more impoverished, with some supplementary industry, and that which can be suitable to crores of people is hand-spinning and hand-weaving. Opposition to mills or machinery is not the point. What suits our country most is the point. I am not opposed to the movement of manufacturing machines in the

[1] Kamadhenu is the mythical cow which bestowed anything one wished for.

CWMG - XVI

country, nor to making improvements in machinery. I am only concerned with what these machines are meant for. I may ask, in the words of Ruskin, whether these machines will be such as would blow off a million men in a minute or they will be such as would turn waste lands into arable and fertile land. And if legislation were in my hands, I would penalize the manufacture of [labour-saving][1] machines and protect the industry which manufactures nice ploughs which can be handled by every man.

Young India, 17-9-1919

82. TELEGRAM TO SIR GEORGE BARNES

AHMEDABAD,
September 14, 1919

SIR GEORGE BARNES
SIMLA

MANY FRIENDS QUESTION MY INTERPRETATION VICEREGAL PROGRAMME MERIT REGARDING SIR BENJAMIN ROBERTSON PROCEEDING SOUTH AFRICA. DOES SIR BENJAMIN'S APPOINTMENT REPLACE MR. MONTAGU'S STATEMENT ABOUT TWO REPRESENTATIVES ON FORTHCOMING SOUTH AFRICAN COMMISSION OR ARE THEY STILL TO BE APPOINTED. IF SO CAN YOU GIVE INDICATION THEIR NAMES. PRAY REPLY.

GANDHI

From the original pencil draft in Gandhiji's hand : S.N. 6484(b)

83. VICEROY'S SPEECH

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the time of the opening of the session of the Legislative Council deserves attention. Generally, such speeches have something to tell us. But in this speech there is more to think over and act upon than to learn. From among the many points covered in the speech, for the present I wish to draw the people's attention only to the following : (1) the problem of Turkey, (2) the problem of the Punjab and, incidentally, that of the Commission and of Indemnity, (3) the problem of South Africa and (4) that of Fiji.

[1] The source is damaged. These words are taken from the Gujarati version.

CWMG - XVI

Problem of Turkey

I am sorry to say that the most disappointing part of the entire speech of the Viceroy is that which refers to the problem of Turkey. In reporting the speech telegraphically, newspaper correspondents say that out of the 55 minutes which the Viceroy took to read out his speech, he took hardly a minute over the sentences which referred to Turkey. I should admit that even in a minute the speaker can say much, that is, can make an important point. But in these sentences which the Viceroy took a minute to read out, I find nothing but disappointment. His Excellency has stated that he had done his best to see that the fullest possible expression was given to the feelings of Muslims, that not only had the Government of India made strong representations to the Imperial Government, urging the views of the Indian Muslims, but that these views had also been presented directly to the Peace Conference by our representatives. Moreover, lest sufficient weight might be not attached to their words, three prominent Muslims, selected to accompany these representatives of ours to the Peace Conference, had also been associated with them. Indian Muslims [he said] might rest assured that their feelings had been fully conveyed. His Excellency has in this way evaded an important question. What comfort can it be to the Muslims that he did his best to convey their feelings? It is not only the Muslims who feel on this issue, but the Hindus too, their blood-brothers. Let us hope that the Viceroy conveyed their feelings as well. Even if he has, what does it profit us? What one would like to know is whether the British statesmen have made this question their own. That they have advocated the cause of the Muslims does not mean much. Do they feel in the matter as the Muslims feel? And if they do, the question is, what stand are they going to take before the Peace Conference? To give a hungry man full opportunity to say that he is hungry is like branding a man who has sustained burns. Muslims do not want vakils to express their feelings. They want water to quench the fire of their suffering. And the Viceroy has provided no reply to the important question whether the British statesmen are ready to give them this water or whether the Muslims will get it. It is the duty of the people and of the leaders, as also of the Maharaja of Bikaner, to have this matter clarified.

The Punjab

In his reference to this issue, the Viceroy has taken no account of the people's feelings. Just as, at the time of the passing of the

Rowlatt Act, popular feelings were brushed aside as so much rubbish, so now His Excellency has dismissed the agitation which followed in much the same manner, and has laid down a principle which I very much hope the people will fight. That principle is this : "The members of this Council will agree that no Government should deviate from a policy which it regards as essential, on account of any threat of agitation." The right principle, as against this, one which recognizes public opinion and exalts both the rulers and the ruled, is this : "All governments must abandon a policy against which people carry on a sustained agitation." That is why I have been saying all along that, so long as the Rowlatt Act exists on the Statute Book, that is to say, so long as the Government stubbornly persists in its opinion in opposition to public opinion, even the best Reforms imported from England are worthless. It is, therefore, essential that the people make Herculean efforts to demolish the fearful principle laid down by the Viceroy. Even history is against His Excellency. I need not go far into the past for instances. The reductions in the sentences against Babu Kalinath Roy, Lala Radhakishan and others, held in high respect in the Punjab, are due to popular agitation. We have no reason to doubt that the policy considered essential by the Government was to pass heavy sentences and to uphold them. Had Lala Goverdhandas not come from the Punjab, had we not known about Kalinath Roy and others and had public resentment not been expressed with one voice throughout the country, I am sure there would have been no reduction in these sentences. But the Viceroy seems to think it humiliating to submit to public opinion. In the West the officials have to submit to public opinion, whether they like it or not, as we learn in our schools and read in the papers. If the Viceroy believes that in India submitting to popular opinion is a humiliation for the Government, we can easily show to him that this is his delusion. Poets have sung praises of Ramachandra for abandoning Sita in deference to public opinion,[1] not publicly expressed, and that is what has made him a revered figure right to this day. Unless and until respect for public opinion is revived in India, the people will not be contented

[1] According to the last book of Valmiki's *Ramayana*, believed by modern scholars to be a later addition, Rama, when he was king of Ayodhya, came to know that some of his subjects thought ill of Sita for having lived in the custody of Ravana, her abductor. On his orders, she was taken to the forest and abandoned on the banks of the Ganga, where she found shelter in Valmiki's hermitage.

and happy. If the principle laid down by the Viceroy is not only his personal view but that of his Government as well, the latter ought to change it and the people will see to it that it does.

But His Excellency did not stop with laying down this principle. He said that those who had held out threats of agitation thought it necessary to carry out their threats and unhappy results followed. In saying this, His Excellency has acted as judge, though he himself has appointed a Commission to see that justice is done. It is the Commission which will decide whether the violence was the result of the agitation or of the serious mistakes of the Government. It is surprising that, in the face of this, the Viceroy should assert that the painful events which occurred were the result of the agitation.

"Educated and Clever Men"

I must also say that the Viceroy has done me an injustice. In my speech in April about the incidents in Ahmedabad, I had said that those incidents would not have occurred if some educated and clever men had not had a hand in them. Everyone who reads the speech will see that my words did not apply to any other place. I still adhere to what I said, but the Viceroy had no right to apply my words to any place other than Ahmedabad. He did apply them to the Punjab, however. I still know nothing about the Punjab at first hand. From my study of some cases there which have come to my knowledge, it is clear to me that, despite incitement by any number of educated and clever men, the violence which broke out would never have broken out were it not for the serious errors of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, whether he did all that he did deliberately or otherwise. When, on April 6, people all over India, in cities and in small villages, fasted and observed a hartal, we witnessed a peaceful and solemn demonstration such as we have never known in the country at any time in the past. Hundreds of thousands of men and women proved to the world that we are one nation, that we suffer with one another and that we are swayed by the same emotions. Till this date, however, people had done nothing particularly reprehensible. The demonstration on the 6th incensed the Punjab Government and Sir Michael O'Dwyer committed a series of inexcusable blunders. This provoked the people and they too made mistakes. The Commission will judge these incidents, not by the standard of satyagraha but by standards which are universally accepted in the West in these days and, instead of deciding whether or not people made mistakes, will decide who committed the first mistake.

COMMISSION

His Excellency the Viceroy has informed us in his speech that a Commission has been appointed for the purpose. I have seen criticism regretting that this is a Committee and not a Royal Commission, and that some injustice has been done by the refusal to appoint a Royal Commission. It seems to me that there is no great difference between a Royal Commission and a Committee appointed by the Viceroy. The appointment of a Royal Commission is notified in England and the Commission submits its report to the Imperial Government. In the present case the appointment of the Committee is notified by the Government of India and it will submit its report to the Viceroy. Even so, the members of the Commission appointed in India cannot be nominated without the consent of the Secretary of State for India. We have had experience of Royal Commissions having been appointed, which proved unavailing, and of local Committees having been appointed and of justice done by them. To me, therefore, there seems to be no great difference between a Royal Commission and a Committee appointed by the local Government. The outcome of the Committee's labours depends in some measure on the members who constitute it. Examining these names, we see that, though we cannot be enthusiastic over all the names, we cannot say, on the whole, that the members are biased men or that they are not men of independent judgment. The Chairman is Lord Hunter. He is not a man of Imperial standing, but he was Solicitor-General of Scotland and we have, therefore, no reason to fear that he will hesitate to express independent views. As for the other members, we have a standard of reference by which to judge them, and that is Sir Chimanlal Setalvad. We have no reason to criticize his appointment; on the contrary, we would enthusiastically welcome the Committee if all the other members were of the same calibre. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad is an advocate of established reputation and, what is more, takes part in public life. He was also a follower, a supporter and a friend of an able man and lover of freedom like Sir Pherozeshah Mehta. We may, therefore, trust to his acting impartially and fearlessly in doing justice and carrying others with him as well. If, thus, from Bombay they have selected an independent-minded and capable leader, we may assume that in selecting others too a like standard has been followed, more or less. Sahibzada Sultan Ahmed is a brother of Sahibzada Aftab Ahmed Khan, a member of the India Council. However, what the Committee's report is will depend on us, that is, on our

brethren in the Punjab. If they come forward to tell the truth without fear and if no Indian comes to give us false evidence to further his own base interests, we need have no fears about the Committee's report. Though the Committee can hold secret sessions for reasons which may appear sufficient to it, it will generally take evidence in public. It will have, thus, to base its report only on this evidence. In some of the cases in the Punjab, the injustice has been so patent that even an illiterate person can see it. What other opinion can the Committee express about them? I should admit that I entertain no fear about what its report will be. The only fear is about our ability to lead evidence properly. Personally, I do not have this fear either, and want the reader, too, not to have it. The Hon'ble Madan Mohan Malaviya, Sannyasi Swami Shri Shraddhanand and the brave Pandit Motilal Nehru have taken upon themselves to collect evidence and there is no reason, therefore, to fear that evidence would not be presented properly. Thus, instead of concerning ourselves with what kind of a Committee it is, we should really direct our attention to how we can place all the facts before it. It is also for us to see that the question whether the Committee's terms of reference include a review of the judgments already pronounced and the sentences already passed is clarified beyond doubt. Though the Viceroy's words seem to imply as much, any doubt on an important issue like this must be removed. The reader will remember that the Committee is not only for the Punjab, but that Bombay province is also included in the scope of its inquiry. We shall, therefore, have to prepare for it. To me it seems that we need to give our main attention to obtaining an unambiguous statement of the Committee's terms of reference and preparing ourselves for presenting our case to it.

"INDEMNITY"

And now remains the question of "indemnity". Indemnity means the immunity of officers against civil or criminal proceedings for their actions. The Viceroy has said that they intend to introduce in the present session a Bill granting such immunity and there has been a good deal of protest against this. Even telegrams have been sent to the Viceroy on behalf of certain public bodies to say that such an Indemnity Bill ought not be passed before the Committee's report is published. I wish to place before readers my understanding of a law of this nature. The officers should not be held personally responsible for their actions under Martial Law. Even apart from Martial Law, officers are not liable to criminal

or civil proceedings for any orders passed by them under the ordinary law, even if those orders are subsequently proved to be wrong or to have been passed out of prejudice or malice. The Government may, however, hold a departmental inquiry and can dismiss them, but they cannot be made answerable in any court of law. Acts under Martial Law are always protected through special legislation and everyone accepts this as a general principle. That is why I say that we need have no fear if the Government wants to pass an Indemnity Act right now. We should allow the Bill to be passed if its provisions are unobjectionable. We do not want to send to the gallows the officers who gave or issued wrong orders and the judges who wrongly passed death sentences. Even if we ask for such power, we shall not get it. They will remain immune against such punishment. Every State needs such protection. Even when we come to enjoy swaraj, the State will retain this power. The officers will then too commit grave mistakes and the public will get excited; even under swaraj the people will resort to violence; if the spirit of pure satyagraha has not come to prevail in India by then, there will be Martial Law and firing, followed by appointment of Commissions. Even under swaraj Indemnity Acts will be passed to protect the authority of the State. But then, as now, the actual provisions will need to be looked into. About this Bill, too, I would therefore say that, rather than complain that it has been brought in prematurely, we had better have a careful look at its provisions. For instance, we may not object to a clause providing that the officers who issued orders for firing would not be liable to prosecution for murder or that they could not be sued for damages. But we should strenuously oppose any provision making such officers immune against departmental inquiry or dismissal for misconduct or incompetence. We should also oppose a provision to the effect that all sentences and orders, whether just or unjust, would remain and could not be modified. These are only some illustrations. Thus, my humble view is that we are only justified in opposing undesirable provisions in the Bill.

SOUTH AFRICA

His Excellency's pronouncement on this question will not be considered unsatisfactory. The decision to send Sir Benjamin Robertson to present our case is a welcome one. His presence there cannot but have a powerful effect on the whites of South Africa. The cables we have received from that country suggest that the white traders there are still bent on mischief and complain that the new law is not being properly administered. In

these circumstances, the presence of a representative of the Indian Government will prove useful on issues of this kind. According to my understanding of His Excellency the Viceroy's pronouncement, the representatives referred to in Mr. Montagu's announcement will also be appointed. If these representatives are strong and independent men, I have no doubt that they can be very effective and the injustices from which our countrymen suffer will be very much mitigated.

Fiji

The Viceroy's announcement about Fiji is entirely satisfactory and we can now hope that, before the year is out, the conditions in which our sisters suffer outrage will have disappeared, and the indentured labourers will have been set free from their bondage. We need not believe, of course, that with the ending of the system of indenture, the immorality which has taken root will disappear forthwith. The ending of the system will absolve the Government and the people from the ever-increasing blame which is being laid at their door. For the past, of course, our shame remains.[1]

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 14-9-1919

84. A DIALOGUE[2]

We publish here a dialogue exactly as it took place only a few days ago. To make it interesting to the readers, some of the sentences have been broken up and the picture of Hind Devi has been touched up a little. Except for these changes, the questions and answers are reproduced exactly as they occurred. The value of the dialogue lies in the fact that it actually took place. The names of the speakers have been purposely left out.

A : Jai Sachchidananda. I wonder if you recognize me?
B : You did not have this ochre robe on then!
A : True, father, I was initiated into this dress by a certain mahatma.
B : Did you not give any thought to the matter?

[1] A similar but brief article appeared in *Young India*, 17-9-1919.

[2] Though the "Letter to Mahadev Desai", 15-9-1919, would appear to throw some doubt as to the authorship of this article, it is attributed to Gandhiji in *Gandhijinu Navajivan*, a compilation of his articles in *Navajivan* from 7-9-1919 to 12-3-1922, published during Gandhiji's imprisonment in 1922-24.

CWMG - XVI

A : I had faith in the mahatma. I used to reflect a little on religion, and so I knew that what the mahatma advised could be done.
B : Do people reverence you when they see you in this dress?
A : Yes, father, they do, to be sure.
B : Are you worthy of such reverence?
A : Oh, no ! How can I claim that I am ? I am full of attachments and aversions.
B : You beg for alms, no doubt?
A : Yes, I do.
B : Do you say anything when receiving the alms?
A : Not much, but occasionally I do preach.
B : Have you done any study?
A : Only a little. I have read a few shastras in Prakrit.
B : Are you happy leading such a life?
A : I wish I were! This is an idle quest in which I am engaged. I would certainly do what is good for me. Can you show me the way?
B : I should very much like to ask you to discard this dress, and that is easily done. But now it is better to think how best you may live so as to be worthy of it.
A : Indeed, that would be best.
B : I know well enough that you are a devotee of Hind Devi.
A : That certainly is my ambition.
B : Have you beheld the Goddess?
A : I do not catch the point.
B : Do you have a mental picture of Hind Devi ?
A : I have not thought about the matter.
B : I fancy that the Goddess wears a sari made in Japan. The sleeves of her satin blouse made in Paris are bordered with Parisian lace. On her forehead is a small vermilion mark made with imported stuff. On her wrists are English bangles. In her right hand are spikes of *bajri*, glittering like gold and of *jowar* with grains like pearls. In her left hand is a bit of rotten, dusty cotton thread. The Devi has the colour of the wheat near by; her face is downcast; she looks as if she had been crying. Around her, her children, evidently famished, are with painful slowness working in the fields. On the left are spinning-wheels covered with white ants; the cotton-strings round the wheels have snapped, the spindle-holders are about to drop down; around her are seated our womenfolk, dozing. A few weavers are engaged in weaving bits of cloth.
A : Yes, that is a faithful picture of the Goddess.

CWMG - XVI

B : Do you understand, then, what the Goddess is saying to both you and me ?
A : To be sure, that we must work.
B : Yes, of course, it is that. He who performs no *yajna*, does no physical work, is a thief. That is what the *Gita* says.[1] But don't you think the Goddess is telling us something more than that?
A : Oh, do tell me, yourself.
B : From her looks, the Goddess seems to appeal to us that we should help her to be rid of those foreign garments, to clean the spinning-wheels for those sleepy women and set them spinning again.
A : What you say sounds as true as gold.
B : Well, then, we shall succeed in determining what you should do, so that you may live as befits your ochre robe. Many a sadhu dishonours his robe. These are a burden on the nation; you will surely admit as much!
A : No one can deny it.
B : Then, you should learn spinning and weaving, teach them to others and so ensure their and your regeneration. Your spinning-wheel will preach for you.
A : Indeed, I feel I have been rather hasty in donning this robe. My intention was good, but now I shall lose no time to pick up spinning and weaving.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 14-9-1919

85. NOTES

The Transvaal Asiatics

The news received last week from the Transvaal adds fat to the fire. At a Congress of the representatives of municipalities in the Transvaal, merchants' associations, trade unions and other institutions, a resolution was passed to the effect that the administration of the anti-Asiatic laws was slack and needed tightening up. The Congress has protested against giving citizenship rights to Asiatics. It has, moreover, decided to establish a South Africans' league, in other words, an association of the whites of South Africa. The object of this association will be to acquire the immovable property

[1] III, 12

CWMG-XVI

at present owned by Asiatics after paying them reasonable compensation and to take all possible measures to eliminate skilfully the Asiatics living and doing business in the Transvaal.

Another telegram received from Pretoria is also suggestive of the feelings of the whites. Representatives of municipalities, merchants' associations and other institutions gathered at a mammoth meeting, where the question of the Transvaal Asiatics was discussed. The chairman painted a dark future for South Africa if the problem remained unsolved. The meeting passed a resolution moved by Mr. Munnik, to the effect that the ever-increasing influence of Asiatics held a serious threat to the economic and social life of the Transvaal whites. Hence immediate legislation to solve the problem was advocated.

The Cape Times, severely criticizing Mr. Montagu's reply to the deputation which waited on him under the leadership of Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, says that the Secretary of State for India was not well-informed about the difficult and delicate problem in the Transvaal. The paper reminds him that the Government had cast all its weight against the amendment moved by Mr. Collins to the law recently passed in the Transvaal in which he sought to prevent Indians from carrying on trade in any part of the Transvaal. Mr. Montagu should have made it clearer to the deputation that the Union Parliament had very much appreciated India's help to the Empire and should have detailed with greater understanding the difficulties experienced by the Government of South Africa in solving the Indian problem.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 14-9-1919

86. TELEGRAM TO MAHADEV DESAI

AHMEDABAD,
September 15, 1919

MAHADEV DESAI
CARE DR. JIVRAJ
BHATWADI
BOMBAY

PRINT CORRESPONDENCE RE LIBRARIES.

GANDHI

From a copy of the original: S. N. 6877

87. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

Monday [*September 15, 1919*][1]

BHAISHRI MAHADEV,

I have your letter. We do not get the *Social Reformer* and so I do not read the criticism in it. Write to Natarajan and tell him that he should arrange, without fail, to send a copy to the Ashram. This time, please send the copy yourself.

Herewith the Director's note. I have sent a telegram about publishing the letters. You ought to have sent the criticism on *Navajivan.* You should send the comments which appear in every issue. Whether I am ill or well, so long as I busy myself with *Navajivan's* editorship, I cannot do otherwise, can I, than ask to see comments on it.

We can get *Young India* printed here in some other press. I feel every moment how necessary it is to bring out both papers from the same place. I am trying to see if this can be done.

You should translate Gomati's article. I think it is wonderful. "A Dialogue" is on a lower level, but it is an important piece. It is a salutary thing for sadhus. Goddess India's picture especially, simply refuses to disappear from before my eyes. The printing errors are so insignificant as to be readily pardoned. The workers did not have an hour's rest.

Take care of your health. Nanalal's[2] article applies to you. His ideas also deserve to be presented in English.

Nanalal has not understood me at all. He simply does not comprehend satyagraha. My *tapascharya*[3] has been inordinately praised and my *brahmacharya*[4] extolled to the skies. I myself feel that both are imperfect. One who started sex gratification with his wife at the age of 15 and continued to indulge in it fairly often for 30 years, what praise does such a one's *brahmacharya* merit? It is like the cat which, after having killed several hundreds

[1] The letter seems to have been written on the Monday following the appearance of "A Dialogue" in *Navajivan*, 14-9-1919; *vide* pp. 142-4.

[2] Eminent Gujarati poet (1877-1946). The reference is to the article "Decay and Renewal in National Life", which was serialized in *Navajivan*, starting with its first issue dated September 7. The article stressed the need for fulness of joy in national life.

[3] Self-suffering accepted as moral discipline

[4] Purity of mind and body in regard to sex

CWMG - XVI

of mice, decided to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca. It is Devdas, rather, who seems to be observing *brahmacharya* worth speaking of. I set no great store at all by my *tapascharya*. It seems to come easily to me. My truthfulness, I feel, is peculiarly my own. My ahimsa[1] is an intense feeling and the satyagraha born of a blending of the two is indeed indescribable. How can Nanalal understand it? You have been trying to understand it. Both these things in me are growing stronger every day. I do not know how far they will take me. Nanalal's poem gives no idea of this at all. It shines with his love, but gives no evidence of spiritual understanding. *Tapascharya*, *brahmacharya* and so on are the means and satyagraha is the end. Truth is the same thing as *moksha*[2]. Anyone who does not display *agraha*[3] for *moksha* is no man; he is only a brute.

You have had more than you bargained for and so let us stop here.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I am in agony without Sorabji's will. Kindly free me from it. Where can it be? There is another telegram from Rustomjee Sheth.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11406

88. LABH SINGH[4]

> No mere reduction of sentence, it is most humbly submitted, can be a consolation to Your Excellency's memorialist or in an adequate measure will right the wrong that has been done him or meet the ends of justice.

This is an extract from the latest petition of Mr. Labh Singh, Barrister-at-Law. I am sure this petition will not fail to evoke from the reader both sympathy and admiration; sympathy because of the wrong that has been done him and admiration because the

[1] Concern for all life and refraining from injuring any of its manifestations. The term is usually translated as "non-violence".

[2] Deliverance from phenomenal existence, regarded as the supreme end of life

[3] Literally, firm insistence. Gandhiji has in mind the second element in *Satyagraha*, the first, *satya*, meaning truth.

[4] The title in the original carries the suffix: "M.A., LL.B. (Cantab), Barrister-at-Law."

CWMG - XVI

jail has not broken the spirit of the young Barrister. He asks for no mercy; he pleads for justice, if he can secure it. But in spite of H. E. the Viceroy's remarks to the contrary, the spirit of justice is moving so slow and there seems to be such a disinclination even in the high quarters to do real justice that one almost despairs of getting it. Look at Sir Edward Maclagan's speech in reply to the Hon'ble Pandit Malaviyaji's resolution for the appointment of a Commission. He recalls the warning of the Viceroy against the temptation "to minimize the events of last April". "I do not think", His Honour proceeds, "that even while the disorders were in progress, people outside the Punjab fully realized the extreme gravity of the situation." He adds,

> Had it not been for the rapidity with which the disturbances were made, had they been allowed to proceed but a little further than they did, the lives and property of all classes of people would have been in the most imminent danger.

This is merely begging the question and anticipating the verdict of the Committee of Enquiry. Regarding the sentences, His Honour again begs the question by saying that the findings of the Special Courts should be accepted because "they represent the unanimous conclusions, in each case, of three experienced officers". But the unanimity and experience are beside the point when behind them lies a temporary aberration of the intellect. His Honour, however, attempts to silence his critics by saying,

> Although I have examined many cases, I have not found one in which I felt justified in impugning the substantial correctness of the finding of the Court.

In the face of this emphatic opinion I despair of securing or expecting justice either for Mr. Labh Singh or for any of the great Punjab leaders, who are at present adorning the Punjab jails. I do however feel tempted to say, with due deference to the Lieut.-Governor of the Punjab that, if he has not found a single case for challenging the correctness of the findings of the Special Courts, of all the many cases that have come before the public, it has not been my good fortune to find many judgments to inspire confidence in their correctness. Let me illustrate my point by taking this very case of Mr. Labh Singh. He is not a man of straw. This is the full text of the Judges' remarks in his case :

> Labh Singh, accused 4, took an active part in the inception of the agitation against the Rowlatt Act and was present at meetings of the 12th and the 13th. On the latter date, he is said to have at first opposed the commission of acts of violence, but finally agreed. He was seen in

> several places with the mob on the 14th but appears to have rendered assistance to the authorities on that date. We find him guilty under section 121, I.P.C.

The whole of this judgment, the reader will find reproduced in the issue of *Young India*, July 30th. I ask where is, in the above remarks, anything but good, said even by the Judges about Mr. Labh Singh, except the expression "but finally agreed"? On the Judges' own showing there was nothing indictable in the acts prior to the 12th April. The whole of the conviction is based upon the uncorroborated testimony of an approver, notwithstanding the fact that there was incontestable evidence to show that he "endeavoured to render assistance to the authorities" (I am quoting the Judges' words) after the supposed approval by him of acts of violence. But, in order to accept the approver's testimony, the Court says at the end of the judgment, "Labh Singh evidently repented of his action." Let the reader remember that this is the same judgment in which poor Jagannath was sentenced in the face of a clearly established alibi, and even before replies to the interrogatories issued by the Commissioner had been received. No wonder Mr. Labh Singh says,

> The order of the Lieut.-Governor, it is humbly submitted, goes only to confirm and perpetuate what is a great and serious miscarriage of justice.

It is admitted that, beyond signing the notice for the 5th April, Mr. Labh Singh neither convened nor addressed a public meeting "at Gujranwala or elsewhere at any time within 12 to 15 months preceding the occurrence of the 14th April". Mr. Labh Singh further says,

> The court proceeded to the judgment with inordinate haste and without waiting for the answers to the interrogatories issued to some of the witnesses for the defence.

I do not wish to burden these notes with more quotations from the very able and convincing statements of Mr. Labh Singh and his two petitions, but I would ask every lover of India and every public man to carefully study these three documents together with the judgment in the case. I think that we owe a very plain duty to Mr. Labh Singh and his co-prisoners. According to Sir Edward Maclagan, they are all clearly guilty. According to the evidence before the public, they are all clearly innocent. We may not allow young men of brilliant ability and moral worth to have their careers blasted for life by our indifference. Posterity will judge us by our ability to secure justice in the cases such as I have had the painful duty of placing before the public. For me, justice for the

CWMG - XVI

individual, be he the humblest, is everything. All else comes after. And I hope that the public will take the same view. If the convictions stand, it will not be because we are unable to secure justice but because we are unwilling and incompetent, for I feel that even the Government of India and the Punjab Government will find it hard to withstand a unanimously expressed public opinion based on facts and couched in the language of moderation.

Young India, 17-9-1919

89. TELEGRAM TO KHILAFAT COMMITTEE

[SABARMATI,]
September 17, 1919

THANKS WIRE[1]. LEAVING TODAY. PLEASE MEET ME THURSDAY MORNING LABURNUM ROAD.

From a copy of the original in Gandhiji's hand : S. N. 6881

90. LETTER TO CHHOTALAL TEJPAL

ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Wednesday [*September 17, 1919*][2]

BHAISHRI CHHOTALAL,

I have your letter. If you send me a factual statement which will take up one column in *Navajivan*, I will publish it. What you have sent is too long.[3] I have no time at present to shorten it.

MOHANDAS GANDHI

CHHOTALAL TEJPAL
ARTIST
RAJKOT

From a photostat of the postcard in Gujarati in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 2588

[1] This was as follows : "The President and Members of the Khilafat Committee of Bombay request the pleasure of the presence of Mahatma M. K. Gandhi at a public meeting of the Mussulmans of Bombay which will be held on Thursday the 18th September, 1919, at 8.30 p.m. Bombay time at the Masan Shah Tank, Bellasis Road, to further consider over the question of Khilafat and the holy places of Islam and the present Islamic situation . . . Please reply."

[2] The date is derived from the postal cancellation mark.

[3] *Vide* "Notes", 5-10-1919.

CWMG - XVI

91. SPEECH ON KHILAFAT, BOMBAY[1]

September 18, 1919

I am glad to be able to be present at this gathering and I thank you for inviting me. The question we have met to discuss this evening is not new to me. Ever since my arrival, I have been mixing among Mohammedans of all shades of opinion and I know that it is a question among questions. On a right solution of it depends the future peace of this land. It therefore affects not only the Mohammedans of India but it affects the Hindus and others as well. It is a great Empire question. I was therefore pained to see that H. E. the Viceroy had only one minute out of fifty-five of his speech to the Legislative Council to devote to this question. He might usefully and legitimately have reversed the order. I have publicly and respectfully warned His Excellency of the gravity of this question. With it is bound up all that is most sacred in Islam. I can enter into your feelings for I know what Hindus would feel if their religious honour was at stake. I know that with you Khilafat is all in all today. I am sure therefore that you have the whole of the Hindus with you in this your just struggle. I have pleaded with His Excellency in a recent writing[2] of mine that it is not enough that he has represented your case, that he secured representation before the Peace Conference. This is good but not enough. He has to feel with you. He has to make your cause his own. I respectfully suggest that both His Excellency and Mr. Montagu, if they know your feelings properly, should tell His Majesty that they should be relieved of the charge entrusted to them if this great question is not solved to your satisfaction. His Majesty's ministers are bound, representing as they do a great Mohammedan interest, to secure a proper adjustment of the case. We are on the eve of obtaining a measure of responsibility. It will be wholly inconsistent with a disregard of the Mohammedan sentiment. But I confess I do not fear the ministerial neglect of duty so much as I fear yours—the leaders' on the platform and this vast audience. If you and I do not do our duty

[1] Gandhiji addressed a predominantly Muslim meeting on a resolution on the threatened dismemberment of Turkey. Miya Mahomed Haji Jan Mahomed Chhotani, J. P., presided.

[2] *Vide* "Viceroy's Speech", 14-9-1919.

CWMG-XVI

today, we shall rightly deserve the curses of the millions of Mohammedans who are hoping that somehow things will come out right. Deep will be the disappointment if and when they find that things have not come right. The British rulers are shrewd and sagacious. And they take no time to find out whether we are serious or at play. I want therefore to ask you to ask yourselves whether you are serious about this very serious matter. Believe me that, if you are, nothing is yet lost. Our best thanks are due to those noble men like Lord Ampthill[1] and others who are championing your cause. You have only seen one letter from that good Englishman, Mr. Andrews. Let me assure you that it is the least of his ceaseless effort on your behalf. But his services and those of the Englishman whom I have just mentioned will be of no avail, if you do not feel about it. You have opened with a prayer and you will close with a prayer. We cannot deceive Him, the ever wakeful and omnipresent witness. He will surely answer the prayers of the just. Your cause, all the best opinion of the world has borne witness, is just. Are you just? Are you sincere? The test is simple. A sincere and a true man is ready to sacrifice himself for a cause. Are you ready to sacrifice yourself for a cause ? Are you ready to sacrifice your ease, comfort, commerce and even your life? Then you are satyagrahis and you will win. Hindus and Mohammedans sometimes come and ask whether secret violence may not sometimes be satyagraha. I have answered, violence whether secret or open is the very reverse of satyagraha. Absolute calmness and a [firm][2] resolve allied to a just cause always [brings][3] victory. To die for a cause is the law of man, to kill is that of the beast.

Young India, 20-9-1919

[1] *Vide* Vol. IX, pp. 267, 268 & 508.
[2] & [3] The source is damaged.

CWMG - XVI

92. RESOLUTION AT KHILAFAT MEETING

[BOMBAY,
September 18, 1919]

This meeting of Mohammedans, gathered in the Juma Musjid of Bombay, expresses the greatest anxiety over the threatened dismemberment of Turkey and removal of the Holy places of Islam from the Caliph's control and trusts that His Majesty's Ministers will secure fulfilment of the pledged word of the Rt. Hon'ble Lloyd George regarding Turkey and thereby restore the confidence of the Mohammedan subjects of His Majesty.

From a photostat of the draft in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 6952

93. THE INDEMNITY BILL

The much talked of Indemnity Bill is now before the public. I observe that the fact of the Bill being now brought forward is still being attacked. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, with his great legal knowledge, has joined the attacking army in fine form. He considers that constitutional law and precedent alike require that an Indemnity Bill can be properly passed only by the Imperial Parliament and not by the local legislation, and that the former can only do so after a Royal Commission has reported to it. He is able to quote in support of his contention Dicey's opinion. It is not therefore without a deep sense of humility that I express a different opinion. I hold strong views about parliamentary interference. No doubt, at times, that interference becomes a blessing, but I contemplate a time, not far distant, when we shall have a legislature wholly responsible to the people in all that is of vital importance to them. Parliamentary interference, then, would be as intolerable to us as it is to Australia, Canada or South Africa. When we have regained full national consciousness, we shall not hang on to the leading string even of "the mother of Parliaments". We shall wade, if necessary, as others have done, to purity and peace through strife, passion and prejudice. I am quite prepared for rude shocks, when properly elected popular representatives meet for the first time untrammelled by official frown and untempted by official favour. That being my view, I am able to contemplate with equanimity the passage of an Indemnity Bill even through

the present legislature, which has only a shadow of popular representation and control. Moreover, to take a practical view of the question, I imagine we shall find it fairly tough work to set up a precedent in India and secure the passage of an Indemnity Bill through the Imperial Parliament.

I must respectfully dissent also from the view that such a Bill can only be properly passed after a Commission has reported. I venture to submit that the Bill as published is almost harmless and it is a Bill we should be bound to pass as it is even after the Commission has reported. I do not for a moment doubt that the officer who ordered the inhuman floggings did so under the *bonafide* belief that he was saving the Empire. I would not have us as individuals to exercise the right of suing that officer for damages. I would have him dismissed, if I had the power, for incompetence, and this right of administrative action is preserved intact by the Bill. After all, we do not wish to be vindictive or to make scapegoats of subordinate officers. Popular imagination and belief hold the Punjab Government and the Government of India to be the real offenders. I believe that they have not protected themselves under the Bill. The Viceroy cannot get a certificate of good faith from his Secretary nor Sir Michael O'Dwyer from his. They would therefore be obliged to discharge the burden of proving that they adopted extraordinary powers for a good and sufficient cause. Lastly, in my humble opinion, we shall but unnecessarily irritate our English friends by seeming, as we would seem to them, to oppose an indemnity being granted to subordinate officers. They would appreciate our fight against the Punjab satrap and the Viceroy. They will not understand even our delay in granting protection to under-officers against actions at law.

And we have so many good fights to fight that I would reserve all our powder and shot for a fight which we must fight. We must hold the honour of innocent victims from Lala Harkishan Lal down to the young lad Karamchand, as a sacred trust. The Privy Council may, for technical reasons, throw out the appeals that are now pending. All, again, may not be able to appeal. And the Government may prove unyielding and grant relief only in the cases actually disposed of by the Privy Council. We dare not rest satisfied with that. We must, therefore, see to it that we obtain a full, public and impartial investigation of all the cases in which we believe that palpable injustice has been done. The question therefore to consider is : Has Lord Hunter's Committee the ample power of entering upon such an investigation? If it has not, I would unhesitatingly tender the advice I did in South

Africa, namely, that of abstaining from any participation in giving evidence before the Committee. Secondly, I would agitate for the release of the political offenders so called, such as Lala Harkishan Lal, Lala Goverdhan Das, Dr. Satyapal, Dr. Kitchlew and others. They must be able to give their evidence with the same freedom and the same dignity as the Viceroy and Sir Michael O'Dwyer if the latter will condescend, as they ought, to give evidence before the Committee. Thirdly, we should concentrate our energy upon collecting, marshalling and sifting evidence of the witnesses in the Punjab and elsewhere. This work requires a sustained effort, organizing ability, harnessing of the best talent of the country and absolute fearlessness and integrity in presenting the case before the Committee. And if we can prove but a fourth of the charges that are suggested by the formidable list of questions framed by the ever-watchful Panditji, we shall have vindicated the position that we have taken up all along the line. Punishment of the erring officers is not our goal. An honourable discharge of the men whom we hold to be innocent and whom we believe to be wrongly convicted is our deliberate aim.

Young India, 20-9-1919

94. LETTER TO G. S. ARUNDALE

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
September 20, 1919

DEAR MR. ARUNDALE,

Regarding your request[1] for something from me on the Punjab Week, I can only say that it is our clear duty to secure full justice and expose the wrong we feel has been done to the people of that unhappy province.

There are three ways of doing it :

(1) To contribute towards the expenses.

(2) To study the facts as they gradually percolate to us and to publish them.

[1] This was made on September 13 in connection with the organizing of a "Punjab Distress Week" from September 28 to October 5, for raising funds to relieve distress and carry on a vigorous Press campaign. Arundale had observed: "A message from you would not merely stimulate our own Presidency, but would be a clarion call as well to the whole of India."

CWMG - XVI

(3) To hold meetings in every street and corner to pass resolutions demanding an open and impartial inquiry into the affairs of April and the aftermath.

I observe that Lord Hunter's Committee will not investigate individual cases and that two judges will be appointed for the purpose. We must see to it that the judges are judges whom we can trust and that they have ample powers including the power to take fresh evidence. And in order that both the investigations are properly conducted, we must demand the release, on parole, if need be, of political prisoners.

In my humble opinion, all reform will be worthless if we cannot secure the needed redress and the repeal of an Act to keep which, as I believe, justice has been flung to the winds.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

New India, 26-9-1919

95. NOTES

NATIONAL EDUCATION

We draw the reader's attention to the article[1] on the ancient educational centres of India. So long as education in the country is not imparted by persons of integrity and conditions are not created in which the highest knowledge will be available to the poorest of Indians, so long as a perfect confluence of education and dharma has not taken place and education has not been brought into relation with conditions in India, so long as the intolerable burden imposed on the minds of the young by imparting education through a foreign medium has not been lifted, so long will there be no upsurge of national life; there is no denying this.

Purely national education should be imparted in the regional language. The teachers must be of a high calibre. The school should be situated in surroundings where the student has fresh air and water, where he enjoys peace, where the building and the adjoining land are object lessons in healthful living; and the educational pattern must be one which will instruct [the pupil] in the main professions and religions of India. A friend has expressed his willingness to bear all the expenses of such a school. He desires

[1] This was written by Mavji Damji Shah, and published in *Navajivan*, 21-9-1919. It purported to be a translation of a Marathi original.

that in this school free primary education should be provided to children in Ahmedabad. He wants that there should be not one but many such schools in Ahmedabad. We think land will be available near Ahmedabad and a building can be put up, but we know that it will be difficult to find well-educated teachers possessing good character. We submit to the educated classes of Gujarat that they would do well to turn their eyes in this direction. In Gujarat, these classes do not make one-fourth the self-sacrifice they do in Maharashtra. It is not suggested at all in our friend's scheme that no salaries should be paid. It provides for the teacher's livelihood, but a teacher who cannot fix a limit for his income cannot identify himself completely with the school. If anyone from the educated classes of Gujarat wish to devote their life to such education, they should write to the Secretary, the National Education Section. If we get teachers of the right kind, we shall shortly see in Ahmedabad such a school imparting national education. The children attending this school will live in their homes; they will attend school only during school hours. The same may be understood for the teachers. The National School running as part of the Satyagraha Ashram will have no connection with our friend's scheme save that the same educational pattern will obtain in both. In the Satyagraha Ashram school, the aim is to obtain complete control of the pupils and train teachers from among them. The object of the school now under consideration will be merely to impart primary education to children in Ahmedabad.

Business Men's Duty to Their Assistants

We draw the attention of the business community to the letter from a correspondent writing under the pseudonym of "Sarvodaya". Our correspondent is himself a respectable business man of Bombay. We have often heard painful complaints from assistants in Bombay. They are made to work from early morning till ten at night, with the result that they find no time for devotions, or for reading, nor can they attend to their health. This pitiable condition of those who serve the people argues a deficiency in national life. The relationship between a business man and his servant must be one of mutual regard and loyalty, like that between father and son. Such regard and loyalty should prompt the assistant to give up his dear life for his master, if need be. He should ever remain honest towards his master. The master's loyalty lies in being kind to the assistant while taking work from him, in being mindful of his health and in improving his lot. Wherever there

is a realization of this mutual obligation, we shall observe that results are excellent. In this respect, we would do well to emulate the British. Generally, the assistant has fixed hours of work, short enough to leave him time for his household work, for exercise, and for devotions if he is religiously inclined. The work that an English master can get from his assistant in eight hours, the employers among us, sometimes, cannot exact even in sixteen hours.

We would place before the masters their own interests. In exacting work from the assistants for eight or twelve or fourteen hours, they have to keep working themselves. We are not in this world that we may think of our business the whole day. Business is a means; when it comes to be an end and dominates all our thoughts, we become its slaves. It is the duty of the business man to emancipate himself from such a state in time.

The problem Kavi Nanalal is trying to solve in his valuable articles has a close bearing on this subject. We have already grasped the general trend of his articles that a nation without the time or the means for innocent joy in its life will have its vitality slowly drained away. Just as man needs sleep, so also he needs to be free from anxiety, such as that which attends on business, etc., to have innocent, childlike fun and be light-hearted. If this comes about, the nation will be born anew every day and just as the daily rising of the sun appears ever fresh to us, so where the people have the means and the time for innocent joy the national life will ever be found radiant and full-blown, not lacklustre and faded. We present this idea with our compliments to the business men, appeal to them to think over the matter and advise them to implement the suggestions of "Sarvodaya" in some way or other.

Of Temporary and Permanent Value

People are busy with two kinds of activities in this world. One kind is of temporary value, and aims only at momentary happiness. Good people eschew such activity or work but slightly towards this end. The other is of permanent value and is eschewed by the cowardly because it requires continuous effort.

Today in India, too, there are these two kinds of activities going on. We see the people too much occupied with thoughts of the minor injustices and oppressions of the Government. We find this interesting because we have occasion to employ or hear spicy words. By keeping itself too absorbed in such activity a nation does not rise, but falls rather. This does not mean that one need not

so fight oppression that it will never happen again. All that is meant here is that we should not make oppression the main concern of public life. This will have no interest for the millions either. Of course, where oppression is the main thing, the people are for ever occupied with defending themselves and, in such circumstances, to talk to the people about any other activity is like singing before one suffering the pangs of hunger.

In India we have not yet reached that stage. The policy of the British Government is a mixed affair; it has both justice and injustice. In its conception the policy must be admitted to be just, but those who carry it out make mistakes time and again and injustice results; the people have to work to get these mistakes rectified. It is but their duty to do so.

It is, however, the duty of newspapers to find out which activity will conduce to the enduring happiness of the people and to help them to carry it on and to guide them. It is our emphatic view that among all such activities of enduring value, the swadeshi movement is the chief. It is their duty, likewise, to discover the way of providing the best education to the people, the means whereby the peasants' life of want may be made worthwhile and to ascertain the causes of, and seek remedies for, the innumerable diseases which afflict the people. All these activities tend towards the uplift of the people. Hence the reader will see by and by that we employ *Navajivan* more especially to further these activities of enduring value. So long as all the aspects of the nation's life are not developed, its real uplift will be impossible. Only if the people take up such activities will they achieve and enjoy pure swaraj.

Therefore, though we shall vigorously oppose injustice wherever we find it and point out the way which seems best to us, we shall employ the pages of *Navajivan* to consider how the activities of enduring value may be promoted and we hope readers will welcome this decision of ours.

"NAVAJIVAN" CLUB

If we are to realize the aims of *Navajivan*, it is not enough that we go on merely writing articles or dispatching copies to subscribers. We would never feel that we were doing our work well until the message of *Navajivan* reached all the men and women of Gujarat, educated and uneducated. This great task cannot be accomplished by the contributors and the managers of *Navajivan*, all by themselves. It needs the fullest co-operation of the readers and subscribers of *Navajivan*. We want that they do not rest satisfied

with reading the copy themselves but read it aloud to the uneducated members of their family. Our suggestion goes even further than this. We know that there are many persons who cannot afford even an anna a week. There are many more who, though they can read, have no desire to know what developments are taking place in the country, do not want to read newspapers and, if they read at all, they read things which do not cost them the least effort. Those of our readers who are fired with enthusiasm and who approve of the aims of *Navajivan* can carry its message to both these classes. We suggest to such readers that they start *Navajivan* clubs or associations, keeping before them a limited object. The members of such a club should meet on a fixed day, at a fixed hour, at a fixed place, read an issue of *Navajivan* from the beginning to the end and have a discussion over it. The thing is easily done, but grand results may be obtained from it. Every reader would be able to evaluate these at the end of the year if he kept a diary. Pure thoughts, pure actions and pure sentiments have a profound effect on the people. Were we to make pure ideals our daily companion, we could tread with ease the difficult path of this world. It will be our constant endeavour to see that *Navajivan* does not become the means of conveying a single unworthy or low sentiment or incorrect news or of indulging in rude language, and we charge the reader with keeping watch over us lest we stray from this. We take our readers' relation with us to be not a commercial but an intimate and moral one.

Well Done

Recently, when Mr. Gandhi visited Godhra, it came to his knowledge that certain newspapers were not allowed in registered reading-rooms; and these included some popular ones. This matter was discussed in *Young India* and Mr. Gandhi had correspondence about it with the Director of Public Instruction. This correspondence is now published in *Young India* and it shows that the ban on newspapers in registered reading-rooms has been removed. We congratulate the Director of Public Instruction on this wise decision. No doubt it is desirable that only harmless literature is placed before the people. It is also desirable that the people keep away from poisonous writings. Such reforms, however, cannot be brought about by compulsion. What people read depends on their education; that is, the taste of the people cannot be cultivated by severe restrictions on their reading of newspapers and books, nor is this the right education in loyalty. People who always get justice and whose minds are nourished by knowledge will

CWMG - XVI

remain loyal as a matter of course. The quality of loyalty, unlike truthfulness and such other virtues, is not self-sustained. Loyalty cannot survive without support. Mr. Covernton's[1], therefore, is in every way a commendable step. In fact, if the Government always took such wise steps, there would be no room at all for disloyalty.

Sacrifice to Goddess

We have received four or five poems from a Bhil gentleman in which he humbly but earnestly requests members of his community and other Hindus to desist from the cruel slaughter of goats before the Mother on the sacred eighth day in *Navaratri*[2], the day of sacrifice, and on the auspicious Dashera day. We are unable to publish these poems themselves, but we must take note of his commendable effort. We believe it to be the duty of every Hindu to stop, as early as possible, this violence which some Hindus, believers in the duty of compassion, commit on the pretext of offering a sacrifice to the Goddess. If we appeal to our Muslim brethren to stop cow-slaughter, we on our part must stop this violence.

Spinning-wheel in Vijapur[3]

When I requested the ladies concerned for articles on the spinning movement in Vijapur and other related activities, they felt embarrassed and asked me how I could wish their names to be made public. Till now, I allowed their work to remain unknown. I, too, felt a little embarrassed in bringing work such as this to public notice, but I feel it is necessary for the people to know that the spinning programme can prosper, that it is popular, that it is profitable economically and in other ways and that ladies of respectable families have also been working in it. Even if I had not had the medium of *Navajivan*, I had decided to bring the work of these ladies to public notice. This was why I published, with their permission, the names of Lady Tata, Lady Petit and Mrs. Jaiji Petit in the *Pateti* issue of *Sanj Vartaman*.[4] In my humble

[1] Director of Public Instruction, Bombay Presidency

[2] The first nine days of the bright half of *Ashvin*, roughly corresponding to October-November

[3] The comments which follow were appended to an article by Mrs. Gangabehn Majumdar, who helped Gandhiji to organize the spinning-wheel movement. It described how she came to take up the work and the progress made till then.

[4] *Vide* "Swadeshi in a Nutshell", 11-9-1919.

opinion, the work of Mrs. Gangabehn is of the highest importance and the nation ought to know about it. She has dedicated her all to this work. Only when, having invested some of her own money, she had achieved a measure of success in the movement did she ask for, and receive, monetary help from others to further it. The fact that such a spinning programme can flourish on so large a scale in a small place like Vijapur suggests that, if the work is done properly, in a short while every village will start spinning and the weavers who have been deprived of their vocation will be standing on their feet again. I hope that Gangabehn's example will be followed by all women who can spare some time.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 21-9-1919

96. DISAPPOINTMENT

Those who read papers will have guessed whose views these are.[1] As the people need to understand them fully, we have translated almost every word and every sentence. Only a few sentences, those which have no bearing on the rest and in leaving out which no injustice is done to the speaker, have been omitted so as not to take up space unnecessarily. These are the views of Sir Edward Maclagan, the Lieut.-Governor of the Punjab, and they were stated as a rejoinder to a resolution tabled by the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.

These views go to prove that the new Governor proposes fully to stand by the actions of Sir Michael O'Dwyer. The worthy officer believes that the sentences which have been inflicted are just and also that the judgments pronounced are correct. Reductions in the sentences have been made by way of mercy and with a view to bringing about amicable relations between the Government and the people. I must say that in these reductions I see no mercy, nor any justice, nor in the views reproduced above do I see any change in the Government's attitude. I see a great mental distance between the ruler and the ruled. I can bear the officials being absolved of blame. I can acquiesce in the

[1] The comments were preceded by a Gujarati translation of part of a speech by the Lieut.-Governor of the Punjab on Madan Mohan Malaviya's motion in the Legislative Council for a commission consisting of persons unconnected with the Indian administration. The speech was published in *Young India*, 17-9-1919.

CWMG - XVI

Commission as appointed. But the kind of attitude these sentiments reflect I find intolerable and I wish that it should be equally so to the people, for in this attitude I see the ruin of both, and a widening of the distrust and division between them.

If the Government is convinced that it has done no wrong, that all the fault lies with the people, where, then, was the need for a Commission? What will it inquire into? Two worthies have already given their judgment in favour of the Government and against the people—His Excellency the Viceroy and the Governor of the Punjab. If it is the view of the Government that the Commission's function simply is to whitewash the actions of the officials, the Commission had better be left alone by us. The people's case is this: that Sir Michael O'Dwyer proved himself unfit as Governor. The disturbances in the Punjab had their origin in his previous record. If he had not issued repressive orders against Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal, if he had not prevented me from going to Delhi, the disturbances would not have taken such a violent turn. Even afterwards, if there had been no shooting, the people would never have committed the mistakes they did. The orders of Sir Michael O'Dwyer were evidently instrumental in arousing the worst passions of the people.

I do not say that this case of the people is right. Maybe it is overstated, maybe it is totally wrong. Even so, the Government, which is in the defendant's box, which stands charged with all this, cannot get away by simply denying the charges. It is the chief duty of the Commission to decide on these charges. Public opinion is not happy with the Commission as it is constituted. If, now, the Government has made up its mind about its actions, there is no need whatever for a Commission. Or, again, how is it that, having appointed a Commission, they are trying to prejudice it right from now by making speeches condemning the people? The Government's duty is to refrain from commenting on the events of April, to present whatever evidence it has and to help the people to present their evidence and so facilitate the work of the Commission.

Sir Edward Maclagan, by his speech, has only sought to prove that Babu Kalinath Roy, Lala Harkishan Lal, Dr. Satyapal and others were in fact guilty. By saying this, he has hurt the people's feelings, poured oil on fire as it were and, claiming to pacify the people, has only succeeded in angering them.

The people do not want mercy. If Lala Harkishan Lal and others have committed any crime, they deserve no mercy but

only punishment. If they have in fact committed no crime, they should get pure justice.

The people's duty is clear. If the people do not have it in them to secure justice, they do not deserve to obtain responsible government. If the people want to be strong enough to secure justice, they should act without being provoked, calmly but firmly. Those from whom the people seek justice should be ready to grant it. Our case, in my humble view, is so sound that it requires little adorning with adjectives. If it is spoilt, it will be so only through our anger or our apathy. Anger clouds one's perception, this obscures the memory, from that comes loss of reason and, reason lost, one is utterly destroyed.[1] I should like the people to keep in mind this truth enunciated in the scripture.

What are the things we can peacefully do? We may hold meetings at all places and express our resentment at the Viceroy's speech and at the speeches on behalf of the Punjab Government. If the Government does not act with a sense of justice, we may even desist from giving evidence before the Commission. We may, from now on at any rate, avoid the errors we committed in the Punjab and elsewhere. The Government, by its actions, will still give us many more grounds for provocation. We would be invincible if, instead of being provoked, we were to think earnestly and refuse to help the Government in doing injustice. Swaraj lies in the truthfulness of the people, in their firmness and their fortitude. Our ability to secure justice is the measure of our capacity to enjoy freedom. If the people show this strength in them, rays of hope will shine from out of the disappointment which the speeches of Sir Edward Maclagan and the Viceroy are likely to produce.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 21-9-1919

[1] *Bhagavad Gita*, II, 63

CWMG - XVI

97. *MORE PUNJAB TRAGEDIES*

It is my misfortune to have to present two more cases from the land of sorrow to the reader of *Young India*. I call Punjab the land of sorrow because I find, on the one hand, a series of cases in which, if the records of cases are to be believed, a manifest injustice has been done and, on the other, an apparent determination on the part of the Punjab Government not to undo the wrong. For, as I have already said in these columns, a mere reduction of sentences without admission of at least an error of judgment is no comfort to the men who protest their innocence or to the people at large who believe in their innocence and wish to see justice done. I must confess that I am uninterested in reduction of sentences if the prisoners are guilty and it is a crime to keep them in duress if they are innocent. The reader will see the petitions on behalf of Mr. Gurdial Singh and Dr. Mahomed Bashir. Both are high-spirited men—one a Sikh of culture, the other a Mohammedan doctor having before him a life full of promise. If they have waged war, if they have incited to murder, there can be no question of remission of the sentences passed against them. Therefore the fact that Dr. Bashir's sentence of death has been commuted, whilst it must be a matter of some feeble consolation to Mrs. Bashir, can be none to Dr. Bashir or to the public.

Let us glance at Mr. Gurdial Singh's case. His brother has sent me a long letter asking me even to publish it. As the main facts are contained in the petition, I refrain from publishing the letter for fear of tiring the reader, but I will make use of such statements from it as may be necessary to demonstrate the enormity of the injustice done in the case. Says the brother,

> He only attended the constitutional and the orderly meeting of the 6th April. He was on the 14th and 15th confined to bed. The local sub-assistant surgeon (Government employee) attended on him, gave his prescription, which I am sending to you in the original along with the papers.

I have seen this prescription.

> Seriously sick with appendicitis, my brother could not join the so-called unruly mob in breaking the glass panes of the Tehsil windows. As regards prosecution witnesses against my brother, I have only to add that my brother was not informed of the names of such persons. He knew them by seeing them in the Court. . . . My brother was, as a matter of fact,

not informed of the charge against him except through the mouth of the prosecution witnesses.

I hold that if this statement is correct, it is enough to ensure Mr. Gurdial Singh's discharge. No accused could thus be taken by surprise and expected where and when to plead. Surely he was entitled to see the charge, and not gather it through the prosecution witnesses. The letter in my possession then analyses the antecedents of the witnesses for the prosecution and shows the animus they had against the accused. Naturally the public cannot be expected to judge the credibility of witnesses upon *ex-parte* statements made by or on behalf of the accused, but these statements show, if they are true, that an immense amount of perjury must have taken place on the part of the prosecution witnesses. I admit that this case is not as clearly established on behalf of the prisoner as many others I have examined, for I have not the whole of the papers for presentation to the public. But assuming the truth of the statements made authentically on behalf of the prisoner, it is clear that the case requires looking into.

Dr. Mahomed Bashir's is another such case. The pathetic petition by his wife and Dr. Bashir's statement itself before the Court, which sentenced him to death, if true, show that the Court's judgement had been completely warped. Dr. Bashir may or may not have lied but the Court had most decidedly nothing before it to warrant the remark that the defence evidence was worthless; for Dr. Bashir, as will be seen from the statement published in another column, categorically denied many of the statements and facts imputed to him. I do not intend to burden this criticism with any extracts from the very brief and business-like statement presented to the Court by Dr. Bashir, but I would commend it to the careful attention of the reader. He cannot help the conclusion that the statement deserved a better fate than a contemptuous dismissal from the Court.

Young India, 24-9-1919

CWMG - XVI

98. TO THE PUBLIC OUTSIDE GUJARAT

Unexpected interest is being taken in *Navajivan* by the Gujarati-speaking population. It is not possible to cope with the demand made upon it. So far as I can see, twenty thousand copies are not enough to supply the want. But we were able to print only twelve thousand copies. The printers we are able to get in Ahmedabad can hardly print 10,000 copies. Those who can, being afraid of the Press Act, will not print *Navajivan.* But on the top of this comes a demand for a Hindi edition of *Navajivan.* Indeed, I am myself hatching schemes to enable me to publish Hindi, Urdu, Marathi and, finally, Tamil editions. But there is a dearth of real workers. If I can possibly secure suitable Hindi, Marathi, Urdu and Tamil helpers, nothing would please me better than to be able to deliver my message to those who speak these tongues. I need hardly say that English is no medium save for reaching a microscopic minority. My ambition is to reach the masses. This one can do only through the vernaculars. I therefore appeal to self-sacrificing young men of ability to come forward with their assistance in the work if they are sufficiently interested in it.

M. K. GANDHI

Young India, 24-9-1919

99. SPEECH ON SWADESHI, RAJKOT[1]

September 25, 1919

Mr. Gandhi then commenced his sermon, in the course of which he said that he had at present started the movement for the manufacture of swadeshi cloth. It was a matter of vital necessity to the people; next to food clothing is a necessary of life and it should be supplied from the country itself. At present our dependence on other countries has made us helpless and poor. In the year 1917-18, the country had to send away 60 crores of rupees for foreign cloth only. This is in no way edifying to them and steps must be taken to arrest the drain. This can be done only with a sustained and energetic movement which will also demand a degree of sacrifice from them. He had discussed

[1] Gandhiji was given a rousing reception on his arrival at Rajkot. After a few introductory remarks by D. B. Shukla, Gandhiji addressed the gathering.

the question with eminent Indian experts who said that it would take a period of fifty years to supply swadeshi cloth to the whole country through mills. Under the circumstances, he had been urging the manufacture of cloth through handloom. The idea had become already extremely popular and high-class Indian ladies had taken zealously to spinning cotton and swadeshi Bhandars were being opened at different places. In Kathiawar, similar ways and means should be adopted for the spread of swadeshi. The movement was in no way harmful to any and therefore it should be carried on peacefully. Women should utilize their spare time and begin spinning. The native spinning-wheels can be had cheaply and if they wished their welfare they should without waste of time introduce into every house spinning-wheels and handlooms. It alone would ensure happiness and economic contentment.

Kathiawar Times, 28-9-1919

100. SPEECH AT WOMEN'S MEETING, RAJKOT[1]

September 25, 1919

He told them that women as a rule had been using foreign cloth for fashion, etc., more widely. The women of India were intensely religious, but as illiteracy was prevalent among them, they were unaware of what was going on in the world of today. If they had been roused to a sense of their duty, he was sure that their women would not remain what they were. He would therefore tell them the fact that their dependence on foreign countries in the matter of cloth and other things was responsible for their present degradation. The Indian women should realize it in all its gravity. Their comparative poverty should stimulate them to work out their own destiny. The most efficacious remedy was that they should start spinning-wheels, the harder sex [should take] to weaving. It would give honourable employment to women at their very homes and, at the same time, enable them to render a valuable service in the cause of country. He saw them on the present occasion clad in fancy and fine sarees. They should so set themselves to work that the spinning and weaving industry might reach that level in India. Nothing was impossible to a resolute will and persevering nature. He finally appealed to women assembled to translate their momentary zeal into continued action in the service of the motherland in the way he had indicated.

Kathiawar Times, 28-9-1919

[1] In the afternoon, Gandhiji addressed a meeting of about 500 women at Banik Bhojanshala.

CWMG-XVI

101. SPEECH AT RAJKOT MEETING[1]

[*September 25, 1919*][2]

Mr. Gandhi said he was pleased to find Major Moss in the chair. It was good for both that Englishmen and Indians should meet on a common platform on all non-contentious and non-political matters. Such meetings lessened the acerbities of political life and promoted harmony between the two races.

The speaker congratulated the Sahayya Mandal for their splendid work during the influenza epidemic and the late famine. He however ventured to suggest that true and lasting social service lay in organizing preventive measures. Whilst it was good to relieve suffering in times of the plague or famine, it was better to band together in order to prevent a recurrence of plague or famine. He is a wise and philanthropic doctor or lawyer who prevents diseases or quarrels. Social servants ought not to wait for influenza or famine for giving their service to the nation.

Truer service of the constructive and preventive type could be rendered in the villages. And if we succeeded in keeping our villages pure, clean, healthy and prosperous, the big cities would take care of themselves. He therefore suggested to Mr. Nanalal Kavi, who was the head and the heart of the movement in Rajkot, to go to some villages and, by living among and like them, to study their wants and their habits. Then he would discover the best method of rendering social service.

The speaker at one time thought that social service was best known and organized in Europe. Experience had taught him otherwise. He was of opinion that nowhere was social service treated so much a religious duty as in India. He instanced the marvellous manner in which the Kumbh at Hardwar was organized. The Himalayas were a standing testimony to our organizing ability and our instinct for social service. Thousands of pilgrims who ascended the Himalayas up to Jamnotri were catered for without difficulty in a spirit of service and not of commercial gain. The matchless caste organization was an instance of vast social service organization. The late Sir W. W. Hunter used to say that India was remarkable for the absence of any need of Poor Law. Castes regulated service in the event of disease, death and poverty. He did not wish to glorify caste. He recognized its defects and its excesses as it at present existed. He merely mentioned it as an illustration to prove his proposition

[1] In the evening Gandhiji spoke at a meeting held in Connaught Hall. Major Moss, Political Agent, Halar, presided.

[2] *Young India* reported this speech as dated September 24, which appears to be a slip. The date given here is as reported in *Kathiawar Times*, 28-9-1919.

that social service was recognized in India as a duty. Unfortunately most of our old institutions had petrified. His point was that the old institutions and methods should be studied, revivified and reorganized in so far as it may be necessary to suit new conditions. We were likely to go wrong if we rejected the old without due examination.

Young India, 8-10-1919

102. HOW NOT TO DO IT

At the very earnest request of Mayadevi, 16-year-old wife of Kesar Mal, I reproduce elsewhere her picturesque petition praying for the release of her young husband, 21 years old. The case presented seems to me to be unanswerable, but a good cause has been spoiled by a bad advocate. Though the petition is that of Mayadevi, it is quite clear that it is the handiwork of a draughtsman who has written in a fit of rage against what he has, undoubtedly and with good cause, believed to be a monstrous injustice. But anger is short madness and noblest causes have been damaged by advocates affected with temporary lunacy. The petition is overlaid with useless adjectives and declamation. Whilst it has been a pleasure to me to dissect the many business-like petitions that have come from that land of sorrow, in the present instance I have been obliged to labour through violent language to what I consider to be a right conclusion. I do not happen to know the draughtsman of the petition. Mayadevi, who has sent a covering letter equally violently worded, gives me no information about the draughtsman. But I do wish as a practised draughtsman to warn writers of petitions, whether they be pleaders or otherwise, to think of the cause they may be espousing for the time being. I assure them that a bare statement of facts unembellished with adjectives is far more eloquent and effective than a narrative glowing with exuberant language. Petition-writers must understand that they address busy men, not necessarily sympathetic, sometimes prejudiced, and almost invariably prone to sustain the decisions of their subordinates. In the case of the Punjab, they approach a Viceroy and a Lieutenant-Governor who have preconceived ideas. Petitions have to be read and analysed by public workers and journalists who have none too much time at their disposal. I know to my cost how difficult it is for me to do full justice to the value of the papers that pour in upon me week to week from the Punjab. I make a present of my

valuable experience to young patriots who wish to try the art of advocating public causes by writing petitions or otherwise. I had the privilege of serving under the late Mr. Gokhale and, for a time, under the G.O.M. of India. Both told me that if I wanted to be heard I must be brief, I must write to the point and adhere to facts, and never travel beyond the cause under notice, and I must be most sparing in my adjectives. And if some success has attended my effort, it is due to my acceptance of the golden advice given to me by the two illustrious deceased. With this preface and warning, I proceed to the analysis of the case of young Kesar Mal.

I am anxious that the excellent case of young Kesar Mal might not be overlooked by reason of bad draughtsmanship of the petition. The wonder to me is that so many petitions have been written with a marked ability and amazing self-restraint. But when a badly drawn[-up] document comes their way, it is the business of public workers to sift the grain from the chaff and present the former to the public.

Let it be remembered that this is one of the Hafizabad cases arising out of the tumult that took place at Hafizabad station during which Lieut. Tatam is alleged to have been the object of the mischievous attention of the crowd that had gathered at that station. Kesar Mal was sentenced to be hanged, the sentence being subsequently commuted to ten years' imprisonment. The wife's petition says, "It is justice which Your Excellency's petitioner most humbly seeks and on justice Your Excellency's petitioner insists." And on that account she asks for the release of her young husband. The grounds as can be collected from the petition are:

(1) The prosecution evidence is inconsistent with itself.

(2) The charge against Kesar Mal is that he was trying to snatch Lieut. Tatam's child from him; but according to the petition, the police produced Kesar Mal a dozen times before the Lieutenant, but "Mr. Tatam would as many times nod his head meaning positive and complete nay and added each time 'none tried to snatch the child from me' ".

(3) Lieut. Tatam did not identify Kesar Mal even as one of the men concerned in assaulting him.

(4) Identification parade was held some time after the occurrence.

(5) Lieut. Tatam is reported to have said, "Your Deputy Commissioner Lieut.-Col. O'Brien is a very strong man and

he has unnecessarily compelled me to make too much of the case.''

(6) The petition charges the police with having given colour to the proceedings which they did not deserve.

(7) The prosecution witnesses were nearly all Government servants, i.e., chaprasis, *moharrirs*, railway staff, police staff, and also pedlars, confectioners, etc., who are alleged to have been made to give evidence.

(8) Prosecution witnesses against Kesar Mal were either prejudiced or themselves feared ''implications'' or expected favours.

(9) Lieut. Tatam himself had nothing against Kesar Mal. Bashir Haiyat stated, ''Only Kesar Mal was wounded by the glass of the window.'' Haveli Ram identified Kesar Mal but Commission remarked about him, ''demeanour bad—not to be trusted.'' Similar was the case with Wadhawa Mal. Kishan Dayal was another prosecution witness who is stated to have perjured himself and given evidence flatly in contradiction of Lt. Tatam's. Kishan Dayal appears to have been a boon companion of Kesar Mal and yet is said to have stated to the Court that he did not know Kesar Mal before. Chapter and verse are given in the petition to prove Kishan Dayal's intimacy with Kesar Mal. Kishan Dayal is stated to have yielded to police influence and, it is said, he is now sorry ''for his wrong and cruel statement''.

(10) The defence evidence was entirely ignored although the defence witnesses were impartial men of position.

(11) Young Kesar Mal belongs to a family which rendered services to the Government.

If these allegations are true, it is clear that Kesar Mal has been wrongly convicted and is entitled to be discharged. Cases like this prove the great need there is for an impartial commission to investigate them. Sir William Vincent has sprung a surprise upon the community by stating that two judges would be appointed to investigate such cases and report upon them to the Government. One would have thought that Lord Hunter's Committee would be able to do this work. But I take it that the public would be satisfied with this separate committee provided that the judges to be appointed are strong, independent and able men. Sir William Vincent might have been more communicative than he was. He evidently does not realize the pain and the torture under which the relatives of men who, in their opinion, are wrongly convicted, are passing their days.

CWMG - XVI

An Unworthy Defence

One almost despairs of getting justice when one reads the debates that have taken place in the Viceregal Council and the defence put forth for every vile and vindictive act done in the Punjab in the name of prestige, law and order. Even the "hands and knees" order has been sought to be justified by Lieut.-General Sir Havelock Hudson. The action of the crowd against an innocent lady doctor cannot be condemned too strongly or too vehemently. I do not know whether all the facts stated by the gallant General are true, but for the purpose of my argument, I shall assume them to be true. I venture to submit, however, that no act on the part of an infuriated mob can possibly be held to justify the issuing of a barbarous order in cold blood requiring that "those who wished to pass the scene of the assault on Miss Sherwood should be made to crawl on their hands and knees". The scene of assault was not an out-of-the-way corner which nobody need visit or which people could avoid if they chose. There was therefore no question of people's 'wishing' to pass the scene of the assault. It was one of *being obliged* to pass the scene. Why should people who had no hand in the act of violence have "to crawl on their hands and knees" in passing the scene of the assault? The General proceeds thus to justify the order:

> I think that the Council will agree that it is not surprising that the officer in command at Amritsar took the view that some unusual measures were necessary to bring home to the mob that such acts of violence directed against defenceless women could not be tolerated. Something was required to strike the imagination and impress on all the determination of the military authorities to protect European women.

The whole of the speech is worth reading as an example of bad taste. It is speeches such as Sir Havelock Hudson's which create bad blood and give unbridled licence to the soldiery. I was totally unprepared for this defence from high quarters of acts of vengeance, unworthy of true soldiers. Surely there are nobler methods of ensuring protection for European women. Have their lives been in such danger in India as to require any special protection? Why should the life of a European woman be held more sacred than that of an Indian woman? Has she not the same sense of honour, the same feelings? What is the British flag worth if a British soldier, wearing the King's uniform, rises from his seat in the Viceregal Council and insults the people of India by language such as Lieut.-General Sir Havelock Hudson has used? I still do not share the cry against the Indemnity Bill. I

think with due deference to the great experienced leaders of opinion in India that, to put it at its worst, it was bad tactics to have opposed the Indemnity Bill, but the speech of General Hudson, if it reflects, as I fear it does, the sentiments of the English members of the Council, must cause the gravest misgivings as to the ultimate result of Lord Hunter's Committee and its offshoot.

Young India, 27-9-1919

103. LETTER OF THANKS

[*September 28, 1919*][1]

DEAR BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

I have received numerous telegrams, letters and postcards congratulating me upon my 51st birthday. How shall I requite all this love? In what words should I express my gratefulness? There is no doubt that I appreciate discriminating and wise affection and that I shun blind affection. It has, therefore, given me much pleasure to find that the affection has in many places taken a practical and beneficent form. I have such a vivid experience of India's deep poverty that, whenever money is uselessly spent, it seems to me that so much has been taken away from the poor. If all the money that has been spent over sending me telegrams had been devoted towards purchasing swadeshi khadi and therewith clothing the deserving naked or towards feeding the helpless, would not they have blessed the donors? The curse of the poor has destroyed nations, has deprived kings of their crowns and the rich of their riches. Retributive justice is inexorable. The blessings of the poor have made kingdoms flourish.

The true method of bestowing affection on me is to copy such actions of mine as may seem to be worthy of imitation. No higher compliment can be paid to a man than to follow him. Many took the swadeshi vow on my birthday. Many sisters have sent many parcels containing yarn spun by themselves. Many took the vow of serving the suppressed classes. The Ahmedabad Swadeshi Store managers broke through the many difficulties that faced them and decided that day to lower their prices. The managers of the Swadeshi Bhandar in Surat have done likewise. Such methods of celebrating birthdays are a sign of enlightened

[1] The Gujarati original of this appeared in *Navajivan*, 28-9-1919.

affection and one would welcome such birthdays for ever so as to enable men and women to take forward steps from day to day.

Bhagini Samaj has decided to present me with a purse. This places a heavy responsibility upon me. It requires me to solve the difficulty of making the best use of it. But this I am able to say without much forethought that I shall make use of it for some service of the women of India. I shall feel grateful to those sisters and brothers who will give me benefit of their advice as to the best way of utilizing the funds.

All have wished me long life. My desire is to close this life searching for truth, acting truth and thinking truth and that alone, and I request the blessings of the nation that that desire of mine may be fulfilled.

I hope that those who have sent me telegrams and letters will excuse me for my inability to send them separate acknowledgments.

M. K. GANDHI

Young India, 4-10-1919

104. FINES IMPOSED ON NADIAD AND BAREJADI

The questions, regarding the posting of an additional police force, tabled by the Hon'ble Rao Bahadur Harilal Desai in the Bombay Legislative Assembly and the Government's reply to them are worth noting. We can see from them how subordinate officers can mislead the Government. We can also see how one wrong leads to another. The first step of the Government was wrong. Misled by the Collector's report, the Government stationed additional police at Nadiad and Barejadi. It realized that this was a mistake, but was not prepared to admit as much. The Government thus found itself in a position in which it had no choice but to defend the mistake anyhow. Let us examine whether, in the process, the Government has had to do another wrong.

Among the questions asked by the Rao Bahadur, one was whether there were any disturbances in Nadiad on the 10th, 11th, 12th and 13th of April. This was a significant question and in asking it the Rao Bahadur's point was that there had been no disturbances in Nadiad on those dates and that, therefore, the Government had no justification for stationing additional police. How could the Government make such an admission? Hence it adopted a wrong line in its reply and said that a large crowd

had assembled on the morning of the 11th with the object of compelling the Head Master of the English School, by show of criminal force, to close the school. There is no reason to believe the Government story simply because it is so positive about it. The Government has not come to this conclusion after a public inquiry of any nature. It gave this information in the Legislative Assembly on the basis of the one-sided police report it had received. Had it exercised its judgment, it would have used some kind of a qualifying expression and presented the information less positively. The Government is all too ready with its criticism if a one-sided case is presented on behalf of the people; what right has it, then, to come to any conclusion on the basis of a one-sided report? There are courts in existence to adjudicate between the Government and the people, and the principle of setting up an independent Commission of Inquiry[1] is also an accepted policy at present. I have made inquiries and have an altogether different account from prominent citizens of Nadiad. They say, on their side, that no crowd had collected on purpose to force the school to close. Other schools being closed on that day, the boys of the English School, too, were engaged in an argument with their Head Master and a few persons from the town had joined them, but no undue pressure was used.

Let us take the second reply of the Government. The latter asserts that one of the ring-leaders in the crowd was found, when arrested, to be in possession of a violently inflammatory pamphlet inciting to murder for which he has since been convicted. This information is likely to mislead the reader. The reader gets the impression that this ring-leader had that leaflet with him on the 11th itself and that he was arrested on that date. The fact as established and accepted by both the sides is that this ring-leader was arrested not on the 11th but on the 17th and that the leaflet came into his possession on the latter date. So this second statement of the Government also turns out to be a misleading one.

Now let us examine the third statement. It has been said on behalf of the Government that a party had assembled on the 12th of April with the intention of attacking the Dairy in Nadiad, but that it was dispersed by the police. The report which I have received goes to show that a party did go there with a view to persuading the manager to close the Dairy. The crowd had dispersed at the mere request of prominent citizens of Nadiad. The

[1] The original has *Panch*, meaning, literally, a committee of five.

police did not have to make the least effort to disperse it, nor was there any need for them to make any.

The fourth statement, to the effect that the railway track near Nadiad was removed on the 12th, is correct. This was a terrible and shameful act and it is all the more shameful that the guilty have not been discovered and arrested.

We now take the fifth statement—that the railway track was damaged on the 13th and the telegraph wires were cut. This statement, being ambiguous, creates a false impression and, therefore, reflects on the integrity of the Government.

That on the 13th rails were damaged and wires were cut at some place is a fact. The Rao Bahadur's question was about Nadiad and so the reader may gather the impression that the incident on the 13th also took place within the limits of Nadiad. As a matter of fact, the track was damaged and wires were cut at a considerable distance from Nadiad. It has not even been hinted that any resident of Nadiad had a hand in this misdeed, and it is a painful thing that, nevertheless, the Government mentions the incident of the 13th in reply to a question about Nadiad.

The Government commands great power. In answer to yet another of the questions asked by the Rao Bahadur, the Government gave him and the people a complete idea of what this power is. To show with what great sleekness the Government has replied to an innocent question, I give here a literal translation of the question and the reply :

Q : Whether the employment of additional police in Nadiad is not in fact a punitive rather than a preventive measure?

A : The Hon'ble member is referred to section 25(1) of the Bombay District Police Act, 1890, which specifies the grounds on which additional police may be employed.[1]

If it is possible to be plain without being rude, this reply of the Government can be described as insolent. It betrays the arrogance of power. The reply is evasive and in the language of the rustic it means : "We did as we pleased; do your worst."

What can a poor Rao Bahadur do when faced with the potent might of the Government? It was the duty of the Government to give a plain reply to a plain question and, if it could not justify its action in a straightforward manner, it ought to have rectified its error. I submit that the power and dignity which lie in honestly rectifying an error are not to be found in irresponsible insolence and in evasion.

[1] The question and the answer are reproduced from *Young India*.

The people cannot leave the matter there. It is not merely that Nadiad or Barejadi has been fined. The issue here is one of justice and of Government policy. It is incumbent upon the Government to dispense pure justice and to follow irreproachable policies, and on the public to see that the Government does so. If it is Nadiad today, it may be Gujarat tomorrow and India the day after. A policy of this kind is like a disease and, as a disease, ought to be checked before it has progressed far, people should take steps to see that an immoral policy is immediately given up.

A great responsibility rests on the citizens of Nadiad and on the landowners in Barejadi. They should spare no effort to have this question discussed with the Government and in the public. Wherever they find inaccuracies in statements by the Government, they should point them out. I am convinced that, if the people go to work patiently, with due courtesy and never over-stepping the limits but firmly and fearlessly all the same, the Government will admit its error. It is not a question of 20 or 25 thousand rupees, but of the blot that is cast on Nadiad and Barejadi. It is the duty of the citizens of Nadiad and of the landowners of Barejadi to remove that blot, and it is our duty to help them to do so.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 28-9-1919

105. THE PUNJAB COMMITTEE

Surprising changes keep taking place in the Punjab Committee. It seems the agitation about the Punjab has had some effect on the Government. What fruit the Committee will yield it is difficult to say. If our agitation had been still more powerful, there would have been no cause left for fear. We have felt grieved about the Punjab, but we are not equally well-informed about it; we have not tried to be. It is no small matter that, even then, as Sannyasi Shraddhanandji has observed, people all around are overflowing with sympathy for it. From every side we hear people saying, "The Punjab is ours, Punjabis are our brethren." This bespeaks a national spirit among us, our unity.

Sir William Vincent has announced, on behalf of the Government, that two additional members will be appointed on the Punjab Committee—one Indian and one European. From one point of view this news is satisfying. It signifies that popular feel-

ing has been respected to some extent. From another point of view it causes concern. What type of persons will be appointed as members ? If they are honest, independent and intelligent, they will strengthen the Committee and we may have greater hope that justice will be done. If self-interest counts for more with them than honesty, if they care more for flattery of others than for independence, if they are of the kind who make up in cleverness what they lack in intelligence, we shall have fallen from the frying pan into the fire. We shall not have to remain long in doubt, as the names will be out soon enough.

Out of this Committee is to come into existence another. We have all along asked whether the Committee is empowered to go into the sentences awarded in the Punjab. The second Committee is in reply to this question. Sir William Vincent has announced that two High Court Judges will be appointed to inquire into the sentences. One of these will be an Indian, the other an Englishman. The foregoing comments apply to this announcement as well. High Court Judges were appointed in the Punjab too. There were Indians on the Punjab Commission as well. A High Court Judge may allow himself to be guided by his personal feelings and do injustice, knowingly or unknowingly. We cannot claim that an Indian judge would always do justice. It is only after knowing the names of the judges that we shall know whether to be satisfied or to take this as an additional cause for anxiety.

One thing stands out as our duty. Whatever the nature and strength of the Committees appointed by the Government, what can they do if we are not able to lead proper evidence before them? If persons like Lala Harkishan Lal remain in prison, how can they come out with the facts ? All those persons who are being held, not for any actual crimes but principally as political prisoners, should be released. There can be a proper inquiry on the Punjab incidents only if this is done.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 28-9-1919

106. REQUEST TO CONTRIBUTORS

So many writers send their articles to us. We congratulate them on their enthusiasm and on their love for *Navajivan.* We shall certainly find room for the kind of articles which, in our humble view, the people are eager to read. Since we cannot write to every contributor separately, we make a few suggestions here.

For the present, we are not inclined to give much space to essays. Whenever we are favoured with contributions by writers of established reputation, we shall include them. The principal need of the people is not good thoughts but good deeds. *Navajivan* could be stuffed with beautiful translations from the ancient classics if the purpose were to place the best thoughts before the people. The public seems to have had enough of such things. It is, therefore, our attempt, by presenting before the public concrete instances of ideas which have been put into practice, to win faith in them. Accordingly we propose to put before the people experiences which have something of use to them. Thus reports of the activities of all those who have been doing some sincere work will find a place in *Navajivan.*

The contributors should have some pity for the editor and the poor compositors. It is therefore required of them that they write only on one side. It is also very necessary for them to write in as good a hand as they possibly can, for we cannot copy out the articles they send us. Some are under the impression that any kind of handwriting is good enough in Gujarati. This suggests want of patriotism on their part. We should take pride in writing a clear and beautiful hand in our own language and be ashamed of writing a slovenly hand. Especially when writing for publication, everyone should regard it as his sacred duty to be doubly careful.

We are reminded, in this context, of a poem by a veteran writer. It is to this effect : Never write anything without giving thought to it; having written something, go through it carefully and write it over again; in rewriting, cut it down to half its length; go through this once more, think again and reduce the half to a half again; read over yet again the one-fourth that now remains and, if you are the least in doubt cut out something still further. Even after all this, you will find the editor so merciless that he will have to cut out something more. This advice is for those

learning to write, but veteran writers have profited a great deal from it. We importune every writer to try out this well-tested advice and note the results. The late Mr. Gokhale, when he wanted to write even a short letter, would first turn it over in his mind for five to ten minutes, think out the words and then write it out; he would cancel it to write out a second one, show it to friends, politely listen to their comments and only then would he take his letter to have been finalized. The result was that he acquired control over a foreign language which few have had. His writing was replete with courage, truth and such other qualities, and yet one found no sting in it anywhere. In a wall which a clever artisan builds, not a single brick will be seen to have been wrongly set; those who read the writings of this builder in language have the same experience with regard to the edifice of words he constructs. We should have greater love still for our mother tongue.

If our enthusiastic and kind contributors keep these suggestions in mind, their contributions will stand greater chance of being accepted; besides, writings so shaped under the hammer of thought will prove useful to the people.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 28-9-1919

107. FATHER OF THE WORLD [-I]

"O farmer! You, indeed, are the father of the world."

We learn this line in our primary schools. Shri Chandulal's article, published in this issue, reminds us of the significance of these words and of how little we honour this "father".

Shri Chandulal has briefly but graphically described the condition of the agriculturist. He has written about the agriculturists of Kathiawar, but what applies to the Kathiawar farmer applies in one form or another to peasants all over India. So long as the educated classes refuse to give thought to the condition of farmers, no improvement in it is possible.

Our leaders have collected a certain amount of information regarding the conditions of our peasantry, have written a little about it and have also discussed the question in the Legislative Assembly. However, no substantial improvement has taken place because we have no direct experience of their condition.

Government officers are certainly aware of it, but these officers are in a truly pitiable state. They look at the farmer as officers,

CWMG - XVI

i.e., as men concerned with collection of revenue. He who can squeeze out the largest amount is promoted, honoured and regarded as a capable officer. A fact appears to us in a particular way depending upon how we look at it. Therefore, so long as no one examines the peasant's condition from the peasant's point of view, we cannot obtain a realistic picture of it.

We can, however, form at least a partial idea of his circumstances. India is a land of extreme poverty. Hundreds of thousands in India can get only one meal a day. This only means that Indian peasants are destitute and that a majority of them have only one meal a day. Who are these cultivators? The proprietor of thousands of acres is a cultivator; the man who owns only a *bigha*[1] is also a cultivator; he who does not own even a *bigha*, but earns his food by working on another's land, is also called a cultivator and, finally, in Champaran, I have observed thousands of cultivators who were virtually slaves both of the Sahibs and of our people and could never hope to free themselves from their bondage. We shall never know the real numbers of these different kinds of cultivators. There are particular ways of making a census report. If it is prepared for the purpose of discovering the real condition of the rural population, we would be amazed and ashamed by the information it would disclose. It is my experience that this condition, instead of showing improvement, is deteriorating from day to day. Even in the Kheda district, which is supposed to be prosperous, a man who had in the past built a decent house for himself is now no longer in a position to keep it in good repair. There is no glow of hope on the people's faces. Their bodies are not as strong as they should be. Their children are rickety. The plague has reached villages and the inhabitants suffer from other infectious diseases as well. Big landowners are ground down under a burden of debt. One shudders as one enters a Madras village, though I have not as thorough an experience of Madras as of Kheda and Champaran. But judging from the villages I saw there, I could get a fairly clear idea of the stark poverty of the rural population of Madras.

This is India's biggest problem. How shall it be solved ? How can the cultivators' lot be improved ? These are questions we ought to ask ourselves at every step. India does not live in her towns. She lives in her villages. The aggregate of all the residents of Bombay, Calcutta, Madras and other small and big cities would come to less than one crore. If we count the number of big

[1] A measure of land

towns in the country, we shall find it is less than a hundred. On the other hand, the number of villages with a population of 100 to 1000 is countless. Consequently, even if we are able to improve the towns and make them prosperous, these efforts can have very little effect on the villages. Even if we improve the condition of a ditch or a pond, this does not remove the filth from an adjacent river, should it be dirty. So it is with the towns. But just as an improvement in the river automatically brings about an improvement in the ditches around it, so if the living conditions of the farmers are improved and their standards raised, all else will follow.

Navajivan will always concentrate on the cultivators' lot. We shall later consider how this can be improved, how young and old, all, can help in the task, and how, if we can form even a small band of volunteers who, clinging to truth, go on doing their duty, we can make quick progress.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 28-9-1919

108. NOTES

Intolerance of Injustice

Mr. Mulshankar Mavji Yagnik reports from Bombay that on September 17 some whites forcibly took possession of a hackney carriage, ordered the removal of the luggage of the Bhatia gentleman who had hired it and gave the driver two or three strokes with a cane for protesting that the carriage had already been engaged. He adds that the crowd which had collected did not show even so much courage as to see that the poor driver and the Bhatia gentleman got justice. It is an important question how they could have done this. In any other country, such insolent conduct would have invited the intervention of the spectators and they would have put a stop to it. We do not know how to protect the victims of injustice, while remaining within our limits. As individuals, we have so little courage that no man will come forward alone to defend a helpless person at some risk to himself. In a situation like the one described above, we have three easy ways open to us. If the driver is a man with a sense of justice and some spirit, he should drive the whites straight to the police station and register a complaint on the spot; if he has courage enough, he should note the address of the whites and, having dropped them at their destination, go and lodge a complaint. The

CWMG - XVI

Bhatia gentleman, the victim of the injustice, can initiate either civil or criminal proceedings or both. And, thirdly, the spectators can also help both the driver and the Bhatia gentleman in lodging their complaints. If Mr. Mulshankar did not do his duty as a spectator and did not offer to help the driver and the Bhatia gentleman, we take it that, on another occasion of injustice, this is the least he will do. We have suggested this, looking at the matter from a general point of view. If we all cultivate intolerance of injustice and learn to take such trivial but appropriate and correct steps as the occasion may require, even that will assuredly stop such acts of injustice.

Swadeshi Sugar

Mr. Popatlal Damodar Pujara has sent an article on the need for using swadeshi sugar. Though at present we do not give it space in *Navajivan*, we have no doubt about such need. If we have not included it, it is because we considered how much burden we could carry. Barring cloth, however, foreign sugar causes the heaviest drain on our money, nearly 17 crores of rupees [annually]. One hope, an ambitious one, is that if we succeed in the great task of stopping the imports of foreign cloth into our country, this success and the energy resulting from the effort will certainly make us give up other foreign things of the kind we can produce in our own country. At present our condition is so pitiable that we just cannot produce in our country cloth, sugar and other things to meet our needs. It is our firm conviction that this inability does not proceed from lack of resources, or even of money. It springs from lack of knowledge, spirit of enterprise, patriotism and zeal.

Moral Dilemma Overcome[1]

I have allowed an article of this nature to appear in *Navajivan* because all of us find ourselves [some time or other] in the kind of moral dilemma which faced, and still faces, Santokbehn. One's manhood or womanhood lies in fighting one's way through such dilemmas successfully. I hope, moreover, that no one will understand this article to admit anywhere the indiscriminate mingling of classes. Moral energy has its ebb and flow in Hindu society. In the Satyagraha Ashram, everyone is subject to a definite way of living and a definite aim; to admit caste-distinctions in a place

[1] The comments which follow were appended to an article by Santokbehn, wife of Maganlal Gandhi.

CWMG - XVI

like this is, in my humble view, to fail to understand the meaning of Hinduism.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 28-9-1919

109. SPEECH AT KATHIAWAR PATIDAR CONFERENCE[1]

September 28, 1919

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

I hope you will all maintain perfect silence and listen to what I have to say. I hope everyone can hear me. I give my thanks to you all for inviting me to be the President.

I must not omit formalities. I first express my grief at the passing away of the Rani Saheba of Gondal. It was but proper that, in view of the mourning, you did not take out a procession in my honour. I do not approve of processions. I do not think they help us in serving the nation. It was good that you showed the wisdom to cut out the procession. May God grant peace to the soul of the late Rani Saheba.

You need not applaud my words when they appeal to you, nor should you express your disapproval of what does not appeal to you. Follow the ancient tradition of India : approval or disapproval of the speaker's words should not be expressed by the clapping of hands or by mere gestures, but in action.

India has passed through the three Ages mentioned in the shastras and is now in the fourth Age. The modes of life attributed to *Satyayuga*[2], those of them which really obtained, were indeed the right ones. The present Age is a hard one, the very reverse of *Satyayuga*. To define *Satyayuga* or reveal its nature, it is necessary to point out that truth occupied the pride of place in that Age, that everyone spoke the truth. In the *Kaliyuga*[3], when truth is followed only by people who will not let things be, one needs to insist that truth must prevail, to offer satyagraha, that is. In the *Satyayuga*, where would be the need to insist on truth? There can be no excess of truth. However scrupulously one followed it, some imperfection would still remain. In the days of *Satyayuga* there was

[1] At Moti Marad, in the Gondal State in Saurashtra. Gandhiji presided over the Conference.
[2] The Age of Truth
[3] The Age of Strife

truth everywhere. Truth prevailed in all fields. Women could look at men with undisturbed eyes. They had no need to veil themselves. Men could look at women likewise and remain undisturbed. No man or woman can do so now, with the result that all have become sinful. With ever so much talk of pleasures, we lose our balance of mind and, in consequence, forget who we are. With memory, reason is lost and reason lost, one is utterly destroyed.

I see a kind of destruction overtaking India and the world; lust has increased, and my heart quakes as I see it. Man and woman are not born for the pleasures of the flesh. To develop and reveal the best in man and woman, we must restrain the desire for pleasure, must struggle and not give it free rein. Our condition today is bad. We are being enslaved by lust. When we have got out of this condition, it will be possible for all to be fearless. Today, men and women live in fear. If we can but exercise self-control and stop running after pleasure, there will be *Satyayuga* in India.

India is a land with a population of 30 crores. It has villages numbering seven and a half lakh, each with a population of 400 [on an average]. Here it may be two and a half thousand and elsewhere five thousand. By and large, however, it is less than a thousand. At some places, it is just 50. One need not believe that places with such small populations are in a pitiable plight. Since generally every person pulls in a direction all his own, a thousand men in a village will be pulling in a thousand directions and this cannot but lead to ruin. One need not be sorry that a village is small. It is its condition which may make one sorry. If we think of the *Satyayuga*, Ayodhya was the best city in that Age. They did not have cities like Bombay then. Though we do not see what need there is for a civilization such as Bombay's, let us not mind its existence. India depends on her villages, in which the farmer is the man who counts; seventy-three men in every hundred are farmers. If, therefore, the Indian farmer is unintelligent and poor, it means India is so. Whether India is rich or poor is measured not by reference to the income of the multi-millionaire but by that of the farmer; whether she is moral or otherwise is judged not from the prostitutes but by reference to the farmer's wife.

What must have been the condition of India's cities when it was a holy land ? Men were sincere and frank of heart, and the homes in the country were pure and clean. The men who lived in these homes filled them with their sweet fragrance. What provides shelter to five men is a home and where 50 men live is a village.

I saw rain water leaking through the roofs all over.[1] If we are so idle, we should at least arrange for the water leaking through to be collected. I found the lanes here full of dirt. Even when it has been raining, a farmer's house must be clean and the streets such as would not make walking in them quite a task. It should not happen that when it rains a little they become all slush. If the streets in a village are bad, it would be painful for the bullocks to walk on them. We are the Government in the village. We should not be lethargic and wooden. If the subjects are straightforward and truthful, the king cannot be otherwise. If the subjects are unjust and extravagant, the king is bound to be so. The king is the sky over the people. The control of affairs in your village ought to be in your hands. You should look after all the arrangements in your own village. The Government will not succeed in cleaning seven and a half lakh villages.

Marad belongs to the people who live here.[2] If the mistress of the house does not keep it clean, she must be an indolent hussy; in like manner, if the inhabitants of the village do not keep it clean, they must be indolent louts. I am your guest. You have been showering your love on me. Despite Marad's being such a fine village, I have had to say all this about the cleanliness of its lanes. Marad is no different from other villages in this matter. Things are the same in all the seven and a half lakh villages of India. Conditions here are not worse than elsewhere. Since, however, you have put me in this chair, I owe it to you to tell you that others may go to hell, if they will, but you must start cleaning up the village this very day. We should be judged by the state of our lanes. We look after our families, but we have not proceeded from the affairs of the family to those of the village or the town and, finally, of India.

A man like Shankaracharya toured all over the land from the extreme south to the extreme north. This shows that India has been one country right from ancient times. The roads were as good as one could desire. Villages were well managed. The cleanliness of the streets and lanes in those days is a part of our heritage which we are throwing away. We keep moving round and round like the bullock yoked to the oil-press. We ought to move forward in a straight line. I am sure we shall overcome our shortcomings. We ought to embrace what is good in others. We should be receptive to good things. Villages should be made

[1] & [2] The *Gujarati* report has been collated here with the one in *The Kathiawar Times*.

self-reliant. To seek help from others is to be dependent on others. Do not depend on others and expect them to clean your village. Live a moral life. Run to the help of anyone who falls ill. If there is a death, go and help. Next, keep your homes and the roads and water clean. See that the wells do not have leaves falling into them. Whenever necessary, clean them. The water must be as clear as a pearl. Keep the temple clean. The priest should not be a blockhead either. He must be a man of wisdom. The musical instruments [for the puja] should be sweet to the ear. The image must be draped in pure khadi or *atlas*[1] and not in rags imported from Japan. I for one would not bow to an image so draped. If you expect Tulsidas to kneel, the image of Rama should hold a bow in its hands. I would judge the people by the state of the image in the temple.

The flag [over the temple] on one side, and the mosque, the garden and the Parsi temple on the other. Elsewhere people would not permit this, but in India religion breathes a liberal spirit. The attitude which prevailed was that one should be generous to a Parsi temple or a Christian church. We should make education available to everyone in the village. The teacher must be one born in the village. The *shastri*[2] must not be a man who teaches for money. His livelihood should be provided for by the village. We would be good servants if we look after the disabled and the poor in the village. The cattle should not look starved. All our needs should be produced in the village itself. If we got all our things from outside, we would not be loyal to the village.

Farmers have yet to learn how to use their savings. It is good to use them for providing education. What kind of a school should we have? Not such as others want us to have, but such as we ourselves would have. A school is no school [merely] because it teaches English or other worthless stuff. A true school is that in which we learn dharma. Just as people living on the coast-line should learn swimming, so people in India should learn agriculture and weaving, if nothing else. It requires no very great effort to manage them well. I have not found them difficult to manage; I have not failed. If there were four or five good men in a village, they could bring the rest together. Only, they should have the spirit of service in them.

[1] A kind of silk

[2] A learned Brahmin; in the villages, he officiated at religious ceremonies and also looked after the children's education.

CWMG-XVI

If anything stands in the way, it is the fear in us. We keep ourselves miles away from officials. We should respect them duly, look upon them as our brothers and behave towards them with courtesy. But we should not, as we do at present, allow them to press us into any shape they like. We should not make ourselves an India-rubber ball, but a ball as hard as stone. He who has tried to kick a stone will know what happens when one strikes it with one's foot. The point is, an officer will try to put pressure on you if you are one who will yield to his pressure. This is not the former's fault. We can be fearless only if we have truth and compassion in us. How can we expect to be so in the absence of these? If we want the world to have compassion on us, we should first have it in ourselves. If 73 men, farmers, are cruel as monsters, they can reduce the remaining 27 to nothing; and afterwards you will kill one another, as the Yadawas[1] did, and so be destroyed. Your strength is the land.

It certainly cannot happen that 27 per cent will drive out the 73 per cent and then cultivate the land themselves. As things are, they can be driven out only if they are willing to be driven out. There has been no king any time who has deprived you of your lands. Really speaking, it is you who are the king. How is it that you, king-makers, have become so abject? If you have lost your truthfulness and spirit of renunciation, your capacity for discriminating between right and wrong and your understanding of the higher things, regain them. That is not a school where the teacher takes Rs. 8 as pay and teaches the tables. The best school is that in which illiterate adults are taught to write. Even if my wife were not educated, I would entrust our children to her. A teacher from outside cannot inculcate truthfulness and right judgment as well as you can. If desired, you may provide education in the letters through paid teachers and, having given instruction in the alphabet, you need not do anything more in that way but simply go on with your duty; the children will then learn to think rightly. Keep the whole of India in your mind. Think of the 30 crores.

One last thing now, about swadeshi. A hundred years ago, the farmers used to wear cotton clothes made in India. Indian weavers could make cloth of the finest texture. Its beauty lay in this, that very fine though the Dacca muslin was, it served to cover

[1] Lord Krishna's kinsmen; with the advent of the *Kaliyuga*, they were possessed by the spirit of evil and, after an orgy of drinking, destroyed themselves by fighting against one another.

one's limbs. That was the beauty of it; it did not reveal the limbs. If you would rather have that you looked uncovered though wearing clothes, use Japanese cloth.

Your mothers and sisters spend their free time in sleeping or quarrelling; how much better would it be, instead, to spend it in spinning, which is the purest and holiest dharma? I do not mind if you own gold ornaments. May you have more of them! But the beauty which will be yours if you spin you will never get from Japan or France or England. Think of the miserable plight to which we have been reduced, thanks to the ruin of this home industry. Remember these words of a man who has had wide experience. If you do not, you will be sorry afterwards. I have seen what you have not seen. No one dare cast glances at your mother. But do you know what is her condition when she goes out to work? The many mothers and sisters who go out to work in the mills for want of an occupation in the home—the indignities men inflict on them everywhere, unafraid, are heart-rending. In Dohad, the overseers on the roads being lecherous and given to wicked ways, the sisters employed in building the roads have to pay with their honour. I do not ask you to kill such men. But you can lay down your own lives. You are there, brave men, to protect women's honour when they work in the fields, and yet you allow them to go out. Fie on that man who fails to protect the honour of his mother or sisters. If you cannot protect it, you had better kill yourselves!

[From Gujarati]
Gujarati, 12-10-1919

110. SPEECH AT KATHIAWAR PATIDAR CONFERENCE[1]

[*September 28, 1919*]

Your duty does not end with the passing of resolutions. They must be put into practice and that without loss of time. You have seen tears in my eyes. Marad has not alone caused them, but the abject condition prevailing all over the country has done so. You may contribute your quota to wipe them, but India as a whole should come forward to wipe them out entirely and to quench the fire that is consuming me. Kathiawar is my birth-place and as such I have the greatest claim upon it. Be up, and take a vow that you

[1] This was Gandhiji's concluding speech at the Conference.

and your women will spin your own cotton and weave your own cloth if you think it necessary. It gives me great pleasure to see so many men and women standing up to take the vow.

The work of the Conference has ended. I wish I were worthy of the love Kathiawar and India are showering upon me. My last message to you is to entreat you to read the paper I am editing. I wish I were in a position to give it free to the poor. A careful reading of it will help you to put your vow into practice. If learned men do not read my paper, I can overlook the omission; but its neglect by the cultivator and the artisan will sorely touch my heart. Procure a copy every week and hold a public reading thereof at your *chora*[1]. Its annual subscription is Rs. 3-8-0. A free supply of it can be arranged, and if you want it free, just ask for it through Mr. Chandulal. The object of starting this paper is not money. Its object is to do social service and help the progress of our dear motherland.

Once again I thank the members and the volunteers.

The Bombay Chronicle, 15-10-1919

111. LETTER TO G. E. CHATFIELD

ASHRAM,
September 29 [*1919*]

DEAR MR. CHATFIELD,

Anasuyabehn has just shown me the order regarding the levy to be made from the inhabitants of Ahmedabad including the mill-hands on account of the April disturbances. I observe that the levy from the mill-hands is to be collected today by the mill-owners paying to the Hazur Deputy Collector one week's wages out of the amount held by them as caution money on their account. I venture to think that this levy will come upon the mill-hands as a perfect surprise. Will it not be better to give them some time to realize the situation and to make individual or collective payments themselves. The proposed summary procedure may be suitable from the Government standpoint, nay, even be agreeable to the mill-owners. But the principle of leaving totally out of consideration the party that is to pay seems to me to be dangerous and demoralizing. I should imagine that the Government are interested in the

[1] *Chowk* or square

CWMG - XVII

mill-hands realizing and recognizing their own dignity and becoming conscious of their own responsibility.

Moreover, I do not know whether you are aware that the coming days are auspicious days for both Mohammedans and Hindus. The Moharram festival is always, all over India, a time of anxiety for the Government. I have no doubt that this matter has been overlooked by you as well as others who are responsible for fixing the time of levy. But you will agree with me that the mill-hands who are even ordinarily suspicious will jump to the conclusion that the time chosen for collecting the levy has been specially selected in order to wound their feelings and cause them embarrassment. I therefore venture to suggest that the collection from the mill-hands may be deferred till after the Diwali holidays. Meanwhile I need hardly assure you that you will depend upon those who are at all connected with the mill-hands doing their best to facilitate collection. I know that you will treat this matter as very urgent and, if you at all agree with my argument, issue the necessary orders.[1]

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat of the handwritten draft : S.N. 6904

[1] In his reply, G. E. Chatfield wrote the same day : "I am afraid I cannot accept the principle of recovering the amount from the mill-hands by individual and collective contributions or agree that it is unreasonable to levy a fine from them without consulting them first. I quite understand your point of view and I am sure you will understand mine and how they must inevitably differ." The Collector agreed that the timing of the levy was awkward, but believed that delay involved even more danger, observed that he was making arrangements to avoid disturbances and appealed to Gandhiji to use his influence with the mill-hands to keep the peace.

CWMG - XVI

112. LETTER TO P. S. TO VICEROY

SABARMATI,
September 30, 1919

TO
THE HON'BLE MR. S. R. HIGNELL, C.I.E., I.C.S.
PRIVATE SECRETARY TO
HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY

DEAR MR. HIGNELL,

As His Excellency is aware, there are orders against me which, among others, prohibit me from entering the Punjab and from leaving the Bombay Presidency. Hitherto, I have not been keen about the orders being withdrawn, if only because, so long as the Government persists in retaining on the Statute Book the Rowlatt Act, so long must my civil resistance continue *in esse* or *in posse*. But the situation has altered somewhat now. In my humble opinion, it is necessary for me to be in the Punjab when and some time before the forthcoming Committees begin their sittings. I claim that my presence can only help to elucidate truth. There is an urgent demand from the Punjab that I should be in that province before and at the time of the inquiry. I see that so many things are alleged to have happened in my name that I am naturally interested in the proceedings. I hope, therefore, that the orders against me, so far as the Punjab is concerned, will be removed.[1]

N.A.I.: Home Department: Political A: October 1919: File Nos. 426-440; also from a photostat of the draft: S.N. 6911

[1] Gandhiji followed this up with a telegram on October 2; the prohibitory order was withdrawn on October 15.

CWMG - XVI

113. LETTER TO SHUAIB QURESHI

[*September 1919*][1]

DEAR FRIEND,

You will not consider me discourteous for not having replied to the letter signed by you and other friends regarding the Ali Brothers and addressed to the Editor, *Young India*. The fact is I have been overwhelmed with the care of having to edit two important newspapers.[2] I must confess that I do not like your letter at all. It is a lawyer's letter containing quibbles. But even that would not matter. Do you sincerely take up the position that a Mussulman may never kill a Mussulman no matter what crimes the latter may commit? I would not be surprised if you took up that attitude, for then the rule of the Brahmin law-givers will descend upon you. They have made the life of the Brahmin, as they think, absolutely sacred, and, as the others consider possible, by providing that no matter what his crime is, a Brahmin may not be killed. It is true that the rule has been observed more in the breach than in the performance. For, in war, we have not hesitated to kill Brahmins. My quarrel is, therefore, not with a mental attitude, but with your impressing a Koranic text into service for defending the position of our friends. I would like, then, to have a letter that would appeal to reason. Before your letter was received, I wrote to Bari Saheb[3] saying that, in my opinion, no agitation for the release of the Brothers was likely to be successful before the Turkish Peace terms were declared. I do not know whether your letter, which I see is addressed to the Press in general, has been published elsewhere.

QURESHI, SHUAIB
C/O DR. [M.A.] ANSARI
DELHI

From the original pencilled draft: S.N. 6864

[1] The exact date of this letter is not known. It is, however, likely that it was written some time towards the end of September 1919.

[2] The reference is to the weeklies *Navajivan* and *Young India*. Though the journals appeared under his full-fledged editorship only on September 7 and October 8, 1919, respectively, Gandhiji did a considerable amount of editorial writing for them even before they passed under his full control.

[3] *Vide* "Extract from Letter to Abdul Bari", 27-8-1919.

CWMG - XVI

114. THE PUNJAB STUDENTS

The letter from "One who feels" published in the *Leader* of the 22nd instant is an important communication confirming the many letters I have received from the Punjab, some of which have already appeared in *Young India*. The action of the college authorities reflects but little credit on them. "One who feels" is, as the *Leader* tells the public, "one of the most respected and foremost men in the educational world in the Punjab". At the worst the action of the students consisted in absenting themselves from their respective colleges. It amounts to nothing but a boyish method of demonstrating their opinion over the action of the Government and their affection for those whom they loved. In any place but India, such action would have passed unnoticed or college professors would have made common cause with the students and warned the authorities of the unpopularity of their action. But the action of the authorities shows in a forcible manner what part terrorism has played in the public life of the Punjab. The college authorities have given an object lesson to the students in unmanliness. They have not hesitated to obtain by threat of punishment the names of the ring-leaders in the strike. It is evident that the strike was popular and spontaneous and all were practically ring-leaders. The prudent course in such an event is not to tempt weak students to buy exemption from penalty by blaming their fellows, but to regulate and direct their enthusiasm in the right channel. The authorities could not have adopted a more effective course than they did if they intended to rouse the bad blood of the students and make them seek crooked ways.

His Honour the Lieut.-Governor has now appointed a committee of inquiry which, according to the *Leader*'s correspondent, is not quite satisfactory. The Lahore Medical College, however, will have nothing to do with the committee. The authorities will not have their action reviewed. This unrestrained lust for power and punishment is intolerable. I hope that His Honour will intervene, that the whole of India will insist on an inquiry into these cases. But if the authorities prove unbending, it would, in my opinion, be necessary to find out a remedy. If education is to be bought at the price of manliness and self-respect, the price is too heavy. "Man does not live by bread alone." Self-respect and character are above means of livelihood or a career. I am sorry

that so many students have taken their expulsion so much to heart. The parents as well as students must revise their ideas about education. Education is treated merely as a means of earning a livelihood and acquiring a status in society. These are not unworthy ambitions. But they are not everything in life. There are many other honourable means of acquiring wealth and status. There are many independent activities in life which one may undertake without having to contemplate loss of self-respect. And there is no better or cleaner passport to status in society than honesty and selfless service of fellow-beings. If, therefore, after due effort, the college door remains banged in the students' faces, they should not lose heart but seek other means of livelihood. And if the other students will empty the recalcitrant colleges as a matter of respectful protest, they and India will not be losers, but both will be considerable gainers.

Young India, 1-10-1919

115. NATIVE STATES' SUBJECTS

Mr. M. T. Doshi has furnished me with detailed notes of an interview he had with the District Magistrate of Karachi on the 13th August last.

Mr. Doshi is a native of Vankaner in Kathiawar. He is an accountant and commercial instructor and has been manager of a firm in Karachi. The interview took place in virtue of a memorandum issued by the District Magistrate requesting Mr. Doshi to call on him. I cannot help remarking that there is too much of this kind of gratuitous calling of people by means of memoranda. It is demoralizing alike for the officials and the public. It is an improper way of conducting public affairs. District Magistrates have no legal right to summon people in this manner. If Mr. Doshi had committed anything wrong, he should have been judicially dealt with. But to issue a non-judicial, political warning causes unnecessary fright and no man can regard himself safe under a system of what may be called political espionage.

After a few preliminary questions, Mr. Doshi was asked whether he had taken the satyagraha vow and whether he had been writing letters to the newspapers. He was told that he wanted "to stir up political agitation and satyagraha in spite of the troubles caused thereby in April last". The following conver-

sation, being interesting, I give verbatim as supplied to me in Mr. Doshi's notes.

DOSHI: I do want political and all other kinds of national activities to go on here as elsewhere. I have no intention to cause troubles nor do I advocate any measures that might bring about troubles. I have done nothing to endanger the position of anybody.

D[ISTRICT] M[AGISTRATE]: Mr. Gandhi, when he started the satyagraha, never wanted to endanger anybody, but you know what happened in the Punjab and elsewhere; you want the same thing again here.

D: Troubles in the Punjab were not, in my opinion, due to any acts of Mahatma Gandhi, but to the peculiar attitude of the officials there. However, I do nothing that might cause trouble. And you know there never was any trouble here though here also we had the Satyagraha Day.

D. M.: You must be knowing that some time back I have called some of your Kathiawari people and warned them not to take any part in any movement against the Government or the laws of the place which afford them protection here, for if they did not obey the laws, they shall have to be expelled to their own States. And you are doing just the same thing. Your case is just analogous to those of the other Kathiawaris already deported. They were asked to leave the country not only because they agitated themselves but they also tried to make others agitate, as you do now. . . . You have not yet given up the satyagraha vow. Have you?

D: I have not as I cannot. . . .

D. M.: Well, I tell you that I give you this warning personally. I am not moved by the authorities—the Commissioner. I just read your letters in the paper, two of which bear your signature and the third only initials and I thought it better to advise you as a good man.

D: Oh, I thank you for that.

D. M.: (while taking note on the paper) You say that "you are not prepared to cease taking part in political activities".

D: I would rather word it differently. I would say, "I am not prepared to cease taking part in any activities connected with the Indian national welfare."

D.M.: Why do you work here and not within the bounds of your State?

D: My State is only a part of India and it is only a narrow field whereas this is a vast one. If we make any progress here, sure enough that goes for progress in my own State which is well-up.

D. M.: Besides trying to stir up agitation, you try to help those that have been externed and want to take up their cause, but you must be careful, lest you meet with a similar fate.

D: I must try to help my friends as much as I can. I don't mind the rest.

D. M.: When the whole city is quiet you try to stir up troubles. I will make you responsible if anything occurs.

D: I am not attempting to stir up troubles. There have been never any troubles in Karachi and none likely to be. I don't understand why I shall be responsible.

D. M.: You are a subject of another State, and His Majesty's Government and its laws afford you protection here, so you must obey its laws, otherwise you must depart.

D: How do you call us subjects of another State and treat us as foreigners? Is not our State within India?

D. M.: I do not wish to argue with you on the matter; such is the law and law is law. I am not here to explain that, I only want you to stop partaking in such works.

D: May I know what works you mean? Do you include satyagraha and ordinary national political work in what you say?

D. M.: You should not take part in the political movements, surely you should not partake in the satyagraha or the disobedience of the laws and such other matters.

D: I do not think satyagraha is criminal or illegal. It is not harmful.

D. M.: I do not want to discuss and argue over the case. I only want to warn you to stop writing to the Press and such other works as trying to help the externees and so on. I warn you that, if you persist in attempting to stir up *violent* political agitation and movements for breaking the laws in British India where you enjoy the protection of its laws and Government, I shall have to recommend action against you.

D: I have never tried to stir up nor will stir up *violent* political agitation, but I cannot in any case give up working for the activities connected with the Indian national welfare. For I consider that my own good and the good of my State lie in the good of my country—India.

The above extracts from Mr. Doshi's notes make painful reading and show the difficulty of carrying on political agitation. Any day the District Magistrate may prove as good as his word and expel Mr. Doshi from British India and thus ruin his career, as has been done in the case of Mr. Manilal Vyas and others.

Apart from the general question of the propriety of such notices and conversations, the question of the status of the subjects of native States is of very great importance. A law that makes it possible to coop up people without any trial in small areas must surely be altered. It is obvious that imprisonment is better than

CWMG - XVI

internment without provision for maintenance. On the one hand, the Government appoint subjects of native States to high offices and on the other subordinate officials are permitted to treat them as foreigners. Sir Prabhashanker Pattani can become an honoured colleague of Mr. Montagu. The Hon'ble Mr. Lallubhai Samaldas is a trusted councillor. The Government welcome the financial and other assistance of subjects of native States and shower titles on them. They are dubbed 'loyal'. What can be the meaning of the loyalty of foreigners? Can foreigners be or be expected to be 'loyal' to a State to which they do not belong? Must the *suzerain* power take everything from the people of the States in alliance and give nothing? It is a suicidal policy that has been laid down in Sindh. Let one hope that His Excellency's Government will nip the evil in the bud.

Young India, 1-10-1919

116. TELEGRAM TO P. S. TO GOVERNOR, BOMBAY

LABURNUM ROAD,
[BOMBAY,
October 1, 1919][1]

PRIVATE SECRETARY
HIS EXCELLENCY
POONA

EIGHT LACS RUPEES ORDERED TO BE COLLECTED FROM AHMEDABAD REGARDING APRIL DISTURBANCES OF WHICH ONE LAC SEVENTY-FIVE THOUSAND TO BE COLLECTED FROM MILL-HANDS. THIS SUM ORDERED TO BE COLLECTED THROUGH MILL-OWNERS WHO WERE REQUIRED TO PAY ON 29TH ULTIMO TO DISTRICT MAGISTRATE ENOUGH TO COVER LEVY OUT OF CAUTION MONEY. MILL-OWNERS IT IS UNDERSTOOD WILL RECOUP THEMSELVES BY DEDUCTING FROM WAGES ON PAY DAY. THIS MONTH IS AUSPICIOUS BOTH HINDUS MOHAMMEDANS. ALTHOUGH TIME SELECTED UNINTENTIONAL LABOURERS WILL CONSIDER THAT PRESENT OCCASION SELECTED SPECIALLY WOUND FEELINGS. MOREOVER THIS SUDDEN LEVY WITHOUT NOTICE TO LABOURERS IN MY HUMBLE OPINION DEMORALIZES. DIRECT COLLECTION SHOULD BE TRIED BEFORE RESORT TO FORCIBLE

[1] In the "Letter to N. P. Cowie", 4-10-1919, Gandhiji refers to this telegram as sent on Wednesday, i. e., October 1.

LEVY. SUGGESTED THESE CONSIDERATIONS COLLECTOR BUT HE HAS REFUSED CONSIDER. RESPECTFULLY REQUEST HIS EXCELLENCY AT LEAST POSTPONE COLLECTION TILL AFTER HINDU NEW YEAR'S DAY. I PROPOSE SUBMITTING ARGUMENT BY LETTER AGAINST COLLECTION FROM LABOURERS ESPECIALLY THE SUM AND MANNER SUGGESTED.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the draft in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 6906

117. SPEECH AT ANNIE BESANT FELICITATION MEETING[1]

BOMBAY,
October 1, 1919

In opening the proceedings, Mr. Gandhi said that it gave him great pleasure to attend the meeting to celebrate the anniversary of the person who had devoted the greater part of her life for the public cause and they could feel justly proud in celebrating the event. He first knew her in England in 1889. He was introduced to her at the Blavatsky Lodge in England. He saw her answering the various queries and giving reasons for renouncing atheism and adopting Theosophy. After replying to all the allegations, she had then said that she would be satisfied if, after her death, it would be said that she lived for truth and died for the cause of truth. When he had been to South Africa, he came in contact with many Theosophists there and from them he came to know the work of Mrs. Besant, and they furnished him with more particulars of the work of Mrs. Besant, which information was not contained in the books published by Mrs. Besant. From all this, he was convinced that Mrs. Besant continued to work according to her own convictions, little caring whether she was praised or abused.

Coming to the satyagraha movement, Mr. Gandhi pointed out to the audience how Mrs. Besant stood by her own convictions, which made her believe that satyagraha had its shortcomings and the common people were not able to grasp the full significance of satyagraha. That furnished another instance that she cared for convictions of the inner soul more. She did not care whether these convictions were liked by the public or not.

He then referred to Mrs. Besant's work and said that he never in his life found Mrs. Besant at leisure, but found her always toiling for the public cause—even when she was travelling in trains. Though he found her in her 73rd year, he was glad to see her working with such zeal and earnestness as

[1] Gandhiji presided over a public meeting held at the Excelsior Theatre to celebrate the 73rd birthday of Annie Besant. The report was reproduced in *New India*, 4-10-1919.

CWMG-XVI

none of them could equal. In his opinion, the services that Mrs. Besant had rendered to India were immense and invaluable. She had dedicated her whole life and all her own for the good of India.

Referring to the present political differences with Mrs. Besant, Mr. Gandhi was pleased to see that even those who differed from her were proud to testify to the great services that she was rendering in England for India. By espousing the cause of Indians, she had suffered much in body and mind. Her company was even shunned by Europeans. But the greatest services, to the speaker's mind, which she rendered and which will ever remain a monument to her memorable career in India, was the introduction of Home Rule propaganda. It was only by her initiation that the movement was set afoot and now it had spread to every nook and corner of India, so that in whatever village he went, he found the villagers there awakened to the necessity of winning Home Rule for India.

Concluding, Mr. Gandhi said that Mrs. Besant had inculcated the *mantra* of Home Rule into the minds of Indians and it was his fervent prayer to Almighty God that she might live long for India's sake and might be able to see India secure Home Rule in her lifetime, so that contentment might reign supreme everywhere in India and India would achieve her pristine glory once again.

After two other speakers had paid tributes to the work of Mrs. Besant, Gandhiji asked the audience to give him permission to send a suitable message to Mrs. Besant, which was agreed to.

The Bombay Chronicle, 2-10-1919

118. MESSAGE ON ANNIE BESANT'S BIRTHDAY[1]

BOMBAY,
October 1, 1919

I gladly respond to the request to add my humble quota to the many appreciations that would be tendered to the Editor of *New India* on Mrs. Besant's birthday. It was in 1889 that I first paid my respects to Mrs. Besant when I was studying as a lad in London. I was privileged to do so by the courtesy of two English friends who were at the time ardent Theosophical students. She had only just joined the Theosophical Society there. Not much impression was created on my mind then. I really went not to have impressions but out of mere curiosity to see what this lady who was once an atheist looked like. My friends had told me

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

that she was the best among the living women orators in the world, and that Madame Blavatsky was in great joy over this big "capture". But when, immediately after, I went to Queen's Hall, I went not to look at Mrs. Besant but to listen to her. And the words she uttered then as she rose to answer the charge of inconsistency have never faded from my memory. She said as she wound up her great speech which held her audience spell-bound that she would be quite satisfied to have the epitaph written on her tomb that she lived for truth and she died for truth. I had from my childhood an instinctive fascination for truth. The utter sincerity with which, I felt, she spoke these words captivated me and ever since I have followed her career with unabated interest and always with admiration for her boundless energy, her great organizing ability and her devotion to the work she might have made her own for the moment. I have sharp differences of opinion with her as to methods of work. I have also been hurt to feel at times that she has lost her robust independence of 1888 and her uncompromising search after and adherence to truth at all cost. But in the midst of all my doubts I have never wavered in my belief in her great devotion to India. It is no small gain for India to have her many gifts dedicated to her cause with a single-mindedness few of her natural-born sons and daughters can claim. I have no doubt that she has popularized Home Rule in a manner no other person has. May she be spared for many a long year to serve the country she has made her own.

From a photostat of the handwritten draft with corrections in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 6903

119. SPEECH AT FELICITATION MEETING, BOMBAY[1]

October 2, 1919

In accepting it, Mr. Gandhi said that he was grateful to them for what they had done for him on his birthday, and he would utilize the sum for some object for the amelioration of the condition of Indian womanhood after careful consideration, and would ask for suggestions from them.

The Indian Review, October 1919

[1] A meeting to felicitate Gandhiji on his 51st birthday was organized by the Bhagini Samaj, at which a purse was presented to him.

CWMG-XVI

120. TELEGRAM TO P. S. TO VICEROY

[*October 2, 1919*]

IN VIEW FORTHCOMING DISTURBANCES INQUIRY I WROTE[1] FROM AHMEDABAD APPLYING FOR REVOCATION OF ORDERS INTERNMENT AND EXTERNMENT AGAINST ME. HAVE JUST LEARNT COMMITTEE BEGINNING ENQUIRY END THIS MONTH. I THEREFORE REQUEST URGENT AND TELEGRAPHIC REPLY.[2]

GANDHI
AHMEDABAD

From a photostat of a copy: S.N. 6918; also Bombay Government Records

121. TELEGRAM TO SWAMI SHRADDHANAND[3]

October 2, 1919

SWAMI SHRADDHANANDJI
PRAKASH OFFICE
LAHORE

PLEASE WIRE AHMEDABAD WHAT BEING DONE LEAD EVIDENCE BEFORE DISTURBANCES COMMITTEE. SUGGEST CENTRAL BODY EXCLUSIVELY DEVOTED TO COLLECTING SUBMITTING EVIDENCE PROPER COUNSEL SHOULD BE RETAINED. AM TRYING SECURE PERMISSION ENTER PUNJAB.

From a photostat of the handwritten draft: S.N. 6917

[1] *Vide* "Letter to P. S. to Viceroy", 30-9-1919.

[2] Maffey telegraphed back on October 3: "Orders to which you refer will be withdrawn on October fifteenth. Lord Hunter had not left London on October first but hoped to sail yesterday." Notice withdrawing the order was received by Gandhiji on October 16; *vide* "Letter to the Press", 17-10-1919.

[3] A similar telegram was sent to C. F. Andrews at the *Tribune* Office, Lahore.

CWMG-XVI

122. TELEGRAM TO P. S. TO VICEROY

October 3, 1919

P. S. V.
SIMLA

"TIMES OF INDIA" REPORTS RUMOUR THAT JUSTICES CHINIS AND RAUF ARE TO REVISE JUDGMENTS SUMMARY TRIALS. SUBMIT THAT THESE APPOINTMENTS WILL CAUSE SERIOUS DISAPPOINTMENT. ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY APPOINT EMINENT JUDGES OF PROVED INDEPENDENCE OR SUCH LAWYERS AND THEY SHOULD BE ASKED TO REVISE JUDGMENTS BOTH COMMISSIONS AND SUMMARY COURTS AND NOT RESTRICT THEMSELVES TO SUMMARY TRIALS ONLY.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the draft in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 6920

123. FINING THE LABOURERS

Ahmedabad, the Government has decided, has to pay a fine of nearly nine lacs of rupees in connection with the April disturbances. This is under the same section of the British Police Act[1] as Nadiad has been dealt with. A law that allows a Government thus arbitrarily to impose a penalty is bad law. All laws that place a Government above law and enable them to impose their will upon people without consultation with them or without the authority of a properly constituted judicial tribunal are bad, and should not be tolerated where there is an enlightened and liberal Government or where the people are jealous of their freedom. But it is not my purpose to discuss the badness of the law. My object at the present moment is to bring to public notice an unwise and untimely and an almost despotic application of that bad law. The principle that the wanton damage done to life and property by crowds of people should be made good by them is beyond dispute. But acceptance of that principle cannot and does not involve acceptance of arbitrary powers. In the case of the Ahmeda-

[1] The Bombay District Police Act IV of 1890 as amended by Act III of 1915

bad mill-hands a fine of 176 thousand rupees has been fixed. Recovery is to be made from all mill-hands employed during September 1919, within the Municipal limits. Now the disturbances took place in April last. It is a notorious fact that mill-hands have changed somewhat and new-comers constantly come in. Why should those who joined after the disturbances and have no connection with them be made to pay anything whatsoever? Why should women and children of whom there is a considerable number in the mills have to pay? There are probably sixty thousand labourers in the mills. Is it right to fine them nearly two lacs of rupees?

The manner of collection and the time chosen are still more unfortunate. The order is dated 26th September, 1919, and on the same day the following was served upon the mill-owners:

> The Collector of Ahmedabad hereby calls upon the agents of the . . . mill to pay to the Huzur Deputy Collector, Ahmedabad, on Monday, September 29th, before 3 p.m., an amount equal to one week's wages of the manual labourers employed during September, 1919, in the . . . mill out of the amount held by him as caution money on their account.

The law contemplates the possibility of an appeal to the Government against such orders by the parties aggrieved. The order has not been served upon the mill-hands. They have not been given the chance of appeal nor have they been given the option of paying the fine themselves. The caution money, i.e., the money retained by the mill-owners out of the wages due to the mill-hands, has been summarily attached without notice to or consent of the labourers concerned. Such treatment of labourers debases them, needlessly irritates them and keeps them in a helpless condition. This manner of dealing with the labourers shows that they are not considered responsible human beings.

It is almost like collecting fine from owners of cattle for trespass without reference to the latter, the difference being that the labourers are not dumb like cattle and, unlike cattle, the burden ultimately falls on their shoulders. It is surprising that the mill-owners have, as I understand they have, become willing parties to such a monstrous procedure.

Information in my possession goes to show that the mill-owners are to recoup themselves for the above payment out of the wages immediately to fall due. This means that the enormous sum of one hundred and seventy six thousand rupees is to be collected during a festival season common to both the Hindus and Mohammedans. The impropriety of such a step can hardly be

CWMG - XVI

questioned. The coincidence is no doubt unintended but the unsophisticated labourers will conclude that the festival season has been intentionally chosen to wound their feelings.

The Collector of Ahmedabad is a gentleman. He has given every satisfaction to the inhabitants of the district. At a time of intense excitement, he acted with remarkable coolness. He is a man full of broad humanity. It is a matter, therefore, of special regret to me to have to criticize his actions and I cannot help saying that, if he was not a slave to a system which makes arbitrary procedure possible at almost every step of national life, he could not have helped seeing the absurdity and the injustice of the action taken by him. The matter is now before His Excellency the Governor and I venture to express the hope that the wrong done to the labourers of Ahmedabad will be redressed. The sum apportioned for the labourers is too much for them. It should be reduced. Women and boys should be exempted and the payment received by easy stages. I admit the difficulty of collection by instalment from a large number of labourers but that difficulty is nothing compared to the infliction of a serious injustice upon a large number of human beings. Terrorizing punishment is hardly the best method of weaning offenders from wrongdoing and, in the present instance, the punishment will fall upon many innocent shoulders.

The authorities have recognized the delicacy of the situation in that they have drafted special police to Ahmedabad and taken extraordinary precautions in order to avoid unruliness on the part of the labourers and to cow them down into submission.

Young India, 4-10-1919

124. PRAYER AND FASTING

In spite of the Herculean efforts made by the Punjab Government to crush the spirit of the people, prayer and fasting and hartal are institutions as old as the hills and cannot be stopped. Two illuminating abstracts from the bulky volumes published by the Government and containing a record of sentences inflicted by Martial Law Commissions and Summary Courts show, although dimly, what has happened during the past few months to the people of the Punjab. The leading cases examined by me have shaken my faith in the justice of these sentences. The sentence of stripes is beyond recall as are the 18 death sentences.

Who will answer for them if they are proved to have been unjustly pronounced ?

But sentences or no sentences, the spirit of the people is unbreakable. The Moslem Conference of Lucknow has proclaimed Friday the 17th instant as a day of fasting and prayer. The preliminaries will be presently arranged. The day is to be called the Khilafat Day. Mr. Andrews' letter shows clearly what the Khilafat question is and how just is the case of the Mohammedans. He agrees with the suggestion I have ventured to make, viz., that if justice cannot be obtained for Turkey, Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford must resign. But better than resignations, better than protests, are prayers of the just. I therefore welcome the Lucknow resolution. Prayer expresses the soul's longing and fasting sets the soul free for efficacious prayer. In my opinion, a national fast and national prayer should be accompanied by suspension of business. I therefore without hesitation advise suspension of business provided it is carried out with calmness and dignity and provided it is entirely voluntary. Those who are required for necessary work such as hospital, sanitation, off-loading of steamers, etc., should not be entitled to suspend work. And I suggest that on this day of fast there are no processions, no meetings. People should remain indoors and devote themselves entirely to prayer.

It goes without saying that it is the bounden duty of the Hindus and other religious denominations to associate themselves with their Mohammedan brethren. It is the surest and simplest method of bringing about the Hindu-Mohammedan unity. It is the privilege of friendship to extend the hand of fellowship, and adversity is the crucible in which friendship is tested. Let millions of Hindus show to the Mohammedans that they are one with them in sorrow.

I would respectfully urge the Government to make common cause with the people and encourage and regulate this peaceful exhibition of their feelings. Let the people not think that Government will put any obstacles directly or indirectly in their way.

I would urge the modern generation not to regard fasting and prayer with scepticism or distrust. The greatest teachers of the world have derived extraordinary powers for the good of humanity and attained clarity of vision through fasting and prayer. Much of this discipline runs to waste because instead of being matter of the heart, it is often resorted to for stage effect. I would therefore warn the bodies of this movement against any such suicidal manoeuvring. Let them have a living faith in

what they urge or let them drop it. We are now beginning to attract millions of our countrymen. We shall deserve their curses if we consciously lead them astray. Whether Hindus or Mohammedans, we have all got the religious spirit in us. Let it not be undermined by our playing at religion.

Young India, 4-10-1919

125. TELEGRAM TO P. S. TO GOVERNOR, MADRAS

[AHMEDABAD,
October 4, 1919]

HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR
MADRAS

MR. ANDREWS WROTE SAYING HIS EXCELLENCY WOULD EXPEDITE MISS FAERING'S COMING TO ME. SHE IS NOW WITHOUT OCCUPATION AND MOST ANXIOUS JOIN ME. WILL HIS EXCELLENCY PLEASE PERMIT MISS FAERING TO JOIN ME PENDING ANY INVESTIGATIONS HIS EXCELLENCY MIGHT BE MAKING.[1]

GANDHI

From a photostat of the handwritten draft: S.N. 6931

126. TELEGRAM TO ESTHER FAERING

[AHMEDABAD,
October 4, 1919][2]

PLEASE HAVE PATIENCE.[3] HAVE MYSELF TELEGRAPHED GOVERNOR MADRAS EXPEDITE YOUR COMING.

From a photostat of the handwritten draft: S.N. 6932

[1] The reply stated: ". . . if Miss Faering will apply in the usual way to Government for permission to travel to Bombay, there will be no difficulty in granting it." Gandhiji acknowledged this letter on October 22; *vide* "Letter to P. S. to Governor, Madras", 22-10-1919.

[2] The date is mentioned in the official acknowledgment, dated October 6, addressed to Gandhiji from the Madras Governor's camp.

[3] In her letters dated September 15 and 21, Esther Faering had expressed her longing to go to the Sabarmati Ashram early. On September 28, she had written of her impatience and asked Gandhiji to allow her to go to Bombay and intercede with the Governor.

CWMG - XVI

127. LETTER TO G. E. CHATFIELD

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
October 4, 1919

DEAR MR. CHATFIELD,

Messrs Banker and Desai have described to me the whole of the discussion they had with you over your proposal to demand security regarding *Navajivan* and *Young India*. I know that whatever decision you will give would be actuated by nothing but a strict sense of duty. Nor have I the slightest desire to seek any special exemption. I would however like to put just one thought before you. People and, I venture to think, the Government consider that my acts are not actuated by any enmity to the latter, and if I find myself in opposition to many measures of the latter, it is because I want what I consider to be the wrong to be righted. Any security therefore taken in connection with newspapers whose policy I am permitted entirely to control will excite strong ill feeling amongst the people and therefore diminish to that extent the prestige of the Government. If you agree with me in the views submitted by me I would ask you not to impose any security. But if you do impose it, as I have already said, I shall not misunderstand your action. And if you do and if you could see your way, I would like you to give your grounds for imposing security. I may add that when security was imposed upon *Navajivan* only recently,[1] I wrote to His Excellency almost in the same strain as above and the matter is still engaging his attention.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat of the handwritten draft: S.N. 6925

[1] *Vide* "Notes", 5-10-1919.

128. LETTER TO N. P. COWIE

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
October 4, 1919

DEAR MR. COWIE,

I sent you a telegram on Wednesday last regarding the levy of rupees one hundred and seventy-six thousand from the mill-hands of Ahmedabad. I said in the telegram that I would submit for His Excellency's consideration the argument against the amount of the levy, as also the class of labourers from whom it is being or to be exacted. It seems to me that the labourers have been put on a par with the wealthiest citizens of Ahmedabad; and whilst the payment to be made by the latter will take some time before it is collected, the labourers are being required to pay the (to them) terrible sum of Rs. 1,76,000 at once. I hope it will not be replied that the Government's duty is finished as soon as they have paid themselves out of the caution-money retained by the mill-owners and that the mill-owners may collect as they choose.

It is a well-known fact that labourers are continuously changed. All, therefore, who were employed in April were not necessarily under employment in September. It is therefore difficult to understand the justice of levying from the labourers to be found on the books of the mill-owners in the month of September.

In my humble opinion, justice demands that any levy imposed should be recovered from the labourers on the books of the several mills on the 10th of April. I venture to think, too, that collection from women and boys employed in the mills is also an injustice. I submit therefore that the amount to be collected should be reduced; that all the labourers who were not employed on the 10th of April, women and boys under the age of eighteen, should be exempted from payment; and as submitted in my telegram, the payment ought not to be recovered during the current festival month but that recovery should be spread over a long enough period to enable the labourers to pay without extreme inconvenience to them.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat of a handwritten draft: S.N. 6926

129. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

Wednesday [On or before *October 5, 1919*][1]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

We are to purchase some press and Chi. Chhotalal has been urgently dispatched there for the purpose. Go and inspect the press, with Shri Popatlal of the Diamond Press. Make an inventory. Have a careful look at the machinery, etc. Make sure that all the machines work. See that the types are not worn out. If you find everything all right, close the bargain. The transaction should be in the name of Shri Shankerlal Banker. They have offered to sell [the press] for six thousand rupees and it includes one double royal machine, two treadles, one hand-case and types. There are Gujarati and English types sufficient for running two papers, *Navajivan* and *Young India*, as we understand the telegram to say. I send the telegram[2] herewith.

Perhaps a man will go specially from here to inspect the machines. If he does, keep him with you. Go to the town the moment you get this letter.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5772. Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

130. FORTHCOMING SESSION OF GUJARAT POLITICAL CONFERENCE

On the election of the Hon'ble Gokuldas Kahandas Parekh as president of the forthcoming session of the Gujarat Political Conference to be held in Surat, we congratulate him as well as the Reception Committee. The Hon'ble Mr. Parekh has rendered no mean service to Gujarat. At a time when very few Gujaratis used to come forward for public service, being afraid of expressing their thoughts before the Government, the Hon'ble Mr. Parekh would fight the Government and apprise it of public opinion. These days

[1] The first issue of *Young India*, as a weekly,was published from Ahmedabad on October 8; the Wednesday before it was October 5.

[2] This is not available.

CWMG - XVII

we often find a tendency among us that, if the older people refuse to go along in every matter with the young, the growing generation, and declare their differences with them, they are treated as of no account and their earlier services are forgotten. It is our conviction that our customary practice of respecting elders is an invaluable one, that giving it up will harm the nation. Maybe we have a difference of opinion with someone on some matter; we can politely express it, but we should not feel any the less respect for him. Hence we welcome the choice of the Reception Committee as an instance worthy of emulation and congratulate the Hon'ble Mr. Parekh, too, on having been duly honoured by Gujarat and on his services having been appreciated.

Arrangements for Conference

On this occasion, we shall take the liberty of making some suggestions to the Reception Committee. Our experience tells us that we incur some unnecessary expenses during these conferences. We have with us some very fine observations of Professor Patrick Geddes[1] which we hope to give some other time. On many matters, we always imitate the West blindly and harm our country. In fact, our knowledge of the West is very little. The West means England, America, France and Germany; these countries are very prosperous. We can never rival them in prosperity. The expense that they can afford is entirely beyond India's means. Hence, in making arrangements for conferences, we ought to give due consideration to India's climate, her economic condition and her manners and customs. Looking at the matter from this point of view, we cannot approve of the spending of thousands of rupees on pandals and countless flags and buntings. If cleanliness and comfort are ensured, beauty will follow as a matter of course. If we have a clean and open plot, with plenty of trees at the right spots, we cannot imagine a better pandal than this. We want lakhs of people to attend our conferences. If we do not, we ought to. Even in England pandals are not erected when lakhs attend. A wooden framework is erected in the middle for the president and some leading figures and round this seating arrangements are made for the general public. The audience takes up very little space, a large number can hear the speeches made from the platform and the arrangements cost very little. Where thousands assemble, we cannot detain them for long. The main work of the Conference should be done in committee. The resolutions

[1] *Vide* Vol. XIV, p. 331.

CWMG - XVI

should be finalized there and the arguments should be presented [in the plenary session] in the fewest words possible, in simple language, free of all pomposity, such as the people can understand. In this way we can go through the work of the Conference, working only from 7 to 9 in the morning and from 5 to 7 in the evening, and save time for the committee. If we fear excessive heat even during these hours, we can have lights and finish the work of the Conference at a sitting from 6 p.m. to 9 p.m., or even later.

Exhibition at Conference

We also take the liberty to make another suggestion. Mr. Wamanrao Mukadam[1] has suggested a swadeshi conference at the time of the [Political] Conference. We amend this and suggest a swadeshi exhibition. We believe that we can easily arrange such an exhibition within the short time at our disposal. Only recently an exhibition was held at Amreli and we have been told that not only did everything go off very well but that it was visited by thousands of men and women with great interest. We hope that the Reception Committee and the enterprising citizens of Surat will do their best to carry out this suggestion.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 5-10-1919

131. FATHER OF THE WORLD [-II]

In the last issue we briefly described the peasant's lot. We have now to consider ways and means of improving it.

Mr. Lionel Curtis[2], who came into limelight during the Lucknow Congress, has in one place drawn a realistic picture of the Indian villages. He says that the villages of India are situated on dunghills. The huts are in ruins and the inhabitants feeble. Temples are to be found at all sorts of places. Cleanliness is non-existent. The lanes are full of dust. The general appearance would suggest that no one was responsible for the management of the village.

There is little exaggeration in this account; in fact it could be extended. There ought to be some method in the lay-out of a well-ordered village. The streets should follow a definite pattern and

[1] Public worker, Panch Mahals district, Gujarat

[2] Member, Transvaal Legislative Council; *vide* Vol. VIII, p. 9.

not be laid out in the present arbitrary fashion. And in India, where crores of people walk bare-foot, the roads should be so clean that walking or even lying on them should not seem disagreeable. The streets should be metalled and have gutters to drain away the water. The temples and mosques should be clean and look ever fresh and should evoke in those who enter them a sense of peace and sanctity. In and around the village there should be useful trees and orchards. There should be a dharmashala, a school and a small hospital for the treatment of the sick. Arrangements should be made for the bodily needs of the inhabitants so that the air, the streets, etc., are not polluted. The inhabitants of every village should be able to raise their own food and produce their own cloth and should be capable of defending themselves from thieves, marauders or wild beasts. Most of these things were to be seen in the Indian village in olden days. Those which were wanting were probably unnecessary at that time. In any case, whether once they existed or not, no one can deny that villages should be planned on the lines I have indicated above. It is only such villages that can be regarded as self-sufficient. And, if all our villages could be so organized, there is little that can afflict the country.

Not only is it possible to bring about such conditions, but it is not even as difficult as we imagine. It is said that there are seven and a half lakhs of villages in India. In that case the average population of a village is 400. In many villages the population is less than 1,000. It is my firm conviction that to make proper arrangements in a village with such a small population is a very easy matter. It does not need long speeches or legislative assemblies or laws. All that is required is a few sincere and willing workers, both men and women, as many as may be counted on the fingers of one hand. These will be able, by their own exemplary conduct and spirit of service, to bring about the necessary transformation in every village. Nor does this mean that these men and women must confine themselves day and night exclusively to this task. Even while earning their livelihood they can, through their spirit of service, bring about important changes in the village.

It is not at all necessary that these workers be highly educated. Village uplift can be undertaken even by the illiterate. Neither the Government nor the princes can obstruct such efforts and there is little need for their help. If such volunteers come forward in each village, the work of the entire nation can be done without any fuss or big movement. Even a limited effort will pro-

duce results far beyond our expectations. The reader will easily realize that even money would not be necessary for such work. What is indispensable is character and religious zeal.

I know from experience that this is the easiest way of ameliorating the peasant's lot. In making such an effort, it is not necessary for any village or for any individual to wait for another to make a beginning. If in any village there is even one man or woman with the sincere desire to serve the people, he or she can immediately start such work. Such service will amount to the service of the entire nation. I hope that those village-dwellers into whose hands this issue of *Navajivan* falls will give a trial to the experiments suggested by me and, within a short time, demonstrate the results of their experiments to the rest of the country. In the next issue I plan to place before my readers some of my experiences which may suggest how to make a beginning with these experiments. But I also hope that any worker who has realized the importance of this task will start work on his own initiative without waiting even for a week.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 5-10-1919

132. NOTES

Long Live Mrs. Besant!

Mrs. Besant entered her 73rd year last Wednesday. On that day thousands of Indians must have prayed to God to grant this great lady many more years on this earth. Few among us can, at the age of 33, show the diligence and industry Mrs. Besant continues to do at the age of 73. It is indisputable that the service rendered to India by Mrs. Besant will ever remain memorable in the country's history. The enthusiasm with which the Indians seized the term "Home Rule" is due solely to this good lady and it was due to her courage that branches of the Home Rule League were established everywhere. She has had a great share in the political education of India. Even in England Mrs. Besant is agitating for Home Rule for India. She is using all her resources for the cause of Home Rule. There may be differences of opinion about Mrs. Besant's ideas and her methods of work, but there can be none about her service to India. Not only is she considered the best woman speaker in the world, very few even among men could rival her eloquence. Her pen, too, has great force. For many

years, this lady has been using all these great powers in the service of India, and for this the country will ever remain grateful to her. And so the prayer, "Long live Mrs. Besant!" is, really speaking, a prayer for our benefit.

CLOUD OVER "NAVAJIVAN"

As the *navajivan*[1] of India progresses extremely slowly and comes upon many a check on the way, so does *Navajivan*, the paper. It has to contend against both internal and external difficulties. The external difficulty consists in harassment by the Government and, deterred by this harassment, people hesitate to help in printing the paper and in other ways. The reader is aware of some of the facts of the official harassment.

When the Government asked questions and pointed out that, *Navajivan* being a new paper, it was necessary under the regulations framed under the Defence of India Act to obtain the Bombay Government's permission for publishing it, Mr. Indulal Yagnik, believing that the Government's interpretation must be correct, admitted straightaway that a mistake had been made in publishing *Navajivan*. At that time I was in Dhoraji. On reaching the Ashram and reading the Act, I felt that Mr. Indulal was wrong. Being a satyagrahi, he frankly admitted what he believed to be true, so that his action in admitting the error does him nothing but credit. But I could see that this admission was the result of a mistake. *Navajivan* cannot be described as a new paper. Everyone recognizes and knows it as a fact that the monthly *Navajivan* has been changed into this weekly. The dropping of the words *Ane Satya*[2], as redundant, from the title of the monthly *Navajivan* does not make it a new journal. Accordingly, with his consent, I decided that *Navajivan* ought not to be withheld from the public till the Government had made up its mind.

After telegraphically[3] withdrawing Shri Indulal's letter, I waited for 36 hours for the Government's reply. The number is being placed before the public. But this does not relieve *Navajivan* of its worries. Really speaking, we have invited the worries, but on a battle-field that has to be done. However, in case *Navajivan* incurs the Government's displeasure, why should a poor printer take the risk of printing it? For this reason, *Navajivan* must have its own press and hence Mr. Shankerlal Banker, who is shoulder-

[1] New life
[2] "And Truth"
[3] This telegram is not available.

ing the financial responsibility, has purchased a new printing press. A declaration will now have to be made before a magistrate, after which another declaration will have to be made for publishing *Navajivan* in that press.

For these reasons and owing to some damage to the machinery because of the large number of copies to be printed, there has been delay [in publishing this number]; I hope the reader will excuse this and have patience.

(Since this was written, the Government's permission has been received; I thank the Government for it and congratulate the readers.)

SPINNING-WHEEL

The success of the swadeshi movement depends in a large measure on our producing simple but quick-working machines for ginning cotton, on our making the process of carding easy and effecting possible improvements in the spinning-wheel and the loom.

It seems a few people believe that, in Mr. Gandhi's movement, there is no scope for improvement in ancient or modern machines. This is a mistaken belief. His opinion is this. The machines or the improvements in the machines must be such as will suit our country and lend themselves to use in one's home. Keeping this in mind, Mr. Gandhi is ever on the watch for possible improvements. No farmer, and not all artisans, can work in big factories. The farmers cannot leave their fields; it is the duty of every well-wisher of India to discover some means and take steps for introducing an industry in their homes in addition to their work in the fields.

Hence we announce in this number and welcome the prize offered by Mr. Rewashankar Jagjivan Mehta.[1] Improvement in the spinning-wheel is our first need. Of course, even without improvement spinning will go on. Even so, it is evident that, if the spinning-wheel could be so improved as to make it do double the work it does now, the movement would gather more speed and the spinners' income would increase. There is absolutely no doubt that the type of spinning-wheel in use at present can be improved. Some patriotic artisans are already working to that end. An expert artisan from Gondal has made a delicate spinning-wheel

[1] The prize of Rs. 5,000 was offered to anyone inventing a portable spinning-wheel of indigenous components, as far as possible, which could take on ten spindles at a time. The model was to reach the Satyagraha Ashram before January 1, 1920.

CWMG - XVI

of brass. His aim is not to increase the turn-out of yarn but to produce a wheel that will be easy to carry from place to place and be also durable. This artisan is still at work devising improvements in that model.

An artisan in Rajkot is developing a spinning-wheel which can take four spindles simultaneously, that is, one which will turn out four times the quantity of yarn during a given period. In Broach, a spinning-wheel with two spindles working simultaneously has already been invented. There should, therefore, be no difficulty in inventing a spinning-wheel which will win the prize. We hope our readers will carry the news of this prize to the artisan class. This means that the educated people need to take interest in the lives of the artisans and give them the benefit of the knowledge they have acquired, instead of remaining cut off from them. Our country is not devoid of craftsmanship or the inventive faculty but it is denied the benefit of these talents for lack of encouragement. We hope that a great many competent artisans will strive to win the prize offered by Mr. Rewashankar Mehta.

Improvement in Method of Cremation

We have had two or three letters from Shri Chhotalal Tejpal, and also some literature on the movement he is carrying on. There is so much of it and so thick-laid with secondary details that we are unable to publish it.[1] Hence we intend merely to describe here his purpose, which has appeared useful to us.

Day by day the difficulties of disposing of dead bodies are increasing. Those of the poor are greater. Many lack even the facilities for carrying the bodies. The plague and such other epidemics break out frequently in the country and at such times the condition of the people is indeed pitiable. Moreover, time is wasted in waiting for the body to be fully consumed. Sometimes the logs on the pyre are so arranged that the body is not even fully covered by them.

Hence Mr. Chhotalal has been trying for some time to reform the manner of carrying the dead body and of cremating it. We think the enterprise deserves encouragement. He suggests that the body should be removed in a vehicle and that the crematorium should be constructed scientifically so that the body will be put into a furnace and be quickly reduced to ashes by a strong fire. This will save money and time without hurting religious sentiment in any way. All the same, it would be better for the present

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Chhotalal Tejpal", 17-9-1919.

CWMG - XVI

not to make it compulsory for dead bodies to be carried in vehicles and scientifically cremated, but to leave them to people's choice. In such matters, it is necessary to educate the people. Customs, even when undesirable, can be reformed but slowly. Real reform lies in the people's willing acceptance of the change, in full knowledge of what it means, or on faith. Therefore, if there are a few venturesome persons in a place, money is readily available and some persons at any rate are ready to accept the new method of cremation, if at such a place vehicles for transport and facilities for [scientific] cremation are provided and these are good enough, this important change will soon become popular and, in times of epidemics, the poor in any case are bound to welcome it gratefully.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 5-10-1919

133. TELEGRAM TO KISAN SABHA, KHAJAULI

[AHMEDABAD,
October 5, 1919]

DIFFICULT ADVICE ON STRENGTH WIRE. YOU SHOULD HAVE PATIENCE. CONSULT BRIJKISHORE BABU.

From the pencilled draft in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 6971 A

134. LETTER TO HAROLD MANN

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
October 7, 1919

DEAR SIR HAROLD MANN[1],

You may be aware that I am editing a Gujarati weekly called *Navajivan*. It is only a five-weeks-old infant. But it has several thousand readers already. Farmers write to me inquiring where they can get good and cheap seed. Can you direct me?

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat of the handwritten draft: S.N. 6937

[1] Director of Agriculture, Bombay Presidency

135. LETTER TO P. S. TO GOVERNOR, BOMBAY

[After *October 7, 1919*]

DEAR MR. COWIE,

I thank you for your letter of the 7th October.[1]

Regarding swadeshi, I am anxious to get a word of encouragement for publication for the work now being done to increase production by inducing chiefly women to devote their spare time to hand-spinning and ask chiefly men to [do] hand-weaving.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat of a copy in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 6936

136. WE ARE APT TO MAKE MISTAKES

The Hon'ble Mr. Sinha, whilst he was speaking on the Indemnity Bill, was led into a confusion of terms. He was pulled up by Sir George Lowndes, and His Excellency the President defended Mr. Sinha saying it was a slip of the tongue. Mr. Sinha then made these frank and dignified remarks:

> It is hard for Your Excellency to realize what our difficulties are in speaking a foreign tongue in this Council. We are apt to make mistakes.

This is only too true. We are apt to make mistakes in our own mother tongue. But they are never so ludicrous as when we attempt to speak in a foreign tongue. Professor Jadunath Sarkar has remarked that our having to speak and think in English puts a strain upon us from which we never fully recover. The remedy for the evil is that we must begin self-government by introducing our own speech in our own assemblies—provincial vernaculars in the provincial legislatures, and Hindustani—a resultant of Hindi and Urdu—in the Imperial Council. We cannot make a better beginning than by adopting the change in the Congress and the conferences. In adopting English as the medium at these gatherings we have done a positive disservice to the masses who have but a vague idea of the proceedings of these annual gatherings. By persisting to conduct them in English we have actually

[1] *Vide* footnote 1 to "Letter to P. S. to Governor, Bombay", 25-8-1919.

CWMG-XVI

put obstacles in the way of the masses getting political education. I imagine what would have happened if we had, during the thirty-five years' existence of the National Congress, deliberated in Hindustani instead of English which is understood only by a microscopic minority of our countrymen.

Young India, 8-10-1919

137. TO THE SUBSCRIBERS AND THE READERS

Young India from this week enters upon a new stage. It became a bi-weekly when Mr. Horniman was deported and the *Chronicle* was strangled. Ever since the *Chronicle*'s rebirth, the syndicate and I have been considering the advisability of reverting to the weekly issue. The conversion of *Navajivan* into a weekly and its coming under my charge has hastened the decision. The burden of conducting a bi-weekly and a weekly is too great a strain on me and a weekly *Young India* will now serve almost as well as a bi-weekly. An endeavour will be made to give as much matter as was given in the bi-weekly. The annual subscription will now be Rs. 4 instead of Rs. 8 and the price of a single copy will be one anna instead of two without postage. Subscribers may either have the balance due to this change returned to them or the amount may be credited to the next year's account. Those subscribers who may be dissatisfied with the change can have the proportionate payment refunded to them on application.

The headquarters of *Young India* have been transferred to Ahmedabad for better management, and in order to enable me to devote some time to the Satyagraha Ashram which, owing to my continued absence from it, was being somewhat neglected by me. Moreover, it was obviously uneconomical in every respect to edit two papers at two different places. This deprives me of the privilege of being with Bombay friends as much as I have lately been. But I hope they will forgive me, if the new arrangement results, as I hope it will, in greater service to the country.

Young India has hitherto been chiefly occupied in dealing with the Punjab affairs. But one may reasonably hope that the cloud will lift in the near future.

What will *Young India* then present to its readers? I frankly confess that to me, editing a newspaper in English is no pleasure. I feel that, in occupying myself with that work, I am not making the best use of my time. And but for the Madras Presidency, I

should now leave the work of editing *Young India*. It is true that I should at times like to make my views in matters of general interest known to the Government. But I do not need to control a newspaper merely for that purpose.

The editing of *Navajivan* has been a perfect revelation to me. Whilst *Young India* has a little more than 1,200 subscribers, *Navajivan* has 12,000. The number would leap to 20,000 if we would but get printers to print that number. It shows that a vernacular newspaper is a felt want. I am proud to think that I have numerous readers among farmers and workers. They make India. Their poverty is India's curse and crime. Their prosperity alone can make India a country fit to live. They represent nearly 80 per cent of India's population. The English journals touch but the fringe of the ocean of India's population.

Whilst, therefore, I hold it to be the duty of every English-knowing Indian to translate the best of the English thought in the vernaculars for the benefit of the masses, I recognize that for a few years to come, i.e., until we have accepted Hindustani as the common medium among the cultured classes and until Hindustani becomes compulsory in our schools as a second language, educated India, especially in the Madras Presidency, must be addressed in English.

But I will not be party to editing a newspaper that does not pay its way. *Young India* cannot pay its way unless it has at least 2,500 paying subscribers. I must appeal to my Tamil friends to see to it that the requisite number of subscribers are found, if they wish to see *Young India* continued.

The more so now because the proprietors of *Young India* have decided to give up all advertisements. I know that they have not been entirely, if at all, converted to my view that a newspaper ought to be conducted without advertisements. But they are willing to let me make the experiment. I invited those who wish to see *Young India* free from the curse of advertisements to help me to make the venture a success. The Gujarati *Navajivan* has already demonstrated the possibility of conducting a newspaper without advertisements soiling its pages. What a financial gain it would be to the country if there was for each province only one advertising medium—not a newspaper—containing innocent unvarnished notices of things useful for the public. But for our criminal indifference, we would decline to pay the huge indirect taxation by way of mischievous advertisements. Some readers who are interested in the purity of journalism recently sent me a most indecent advertisement extracted from a well-known news-

paper. I have refused to soil the pages of *Navajivan* by reproducing it. But anyone turning to the advertisement sheets of even leading journals can verify the aptness of my criticism.

A word as to the policy of *Young India*. Apart from its duty of drawing attention to injustices to individuals, it will devote its attention to constructive satyagraha as also sometimes cleansing satyagraha. Cleansing satyagraha is civil resistance where resistance becomes a duty to remove a persistent and degrading injustice such as the Rowlatt Act.

Young India, 8-10-1919

138. SPEECH AT BARODA

[*October 9, 1919*]

We have enthusiasm; we also have good ideals; but these will not ensure us our freedom. They will not bring us what we seek. Our deeds alone will go with us and decide the shape of the future. If we do not translate our enthusiasm into action and see that it yields excellent results, it will have been to no purpose. It is good to inspire people with idealism. There are times when this too is necessary. But instead of occupying ourselves with rousing idealism in people, if we applied ourselves to work, the effect would be better and we would succeed in awakening a steadier idealism through the example of work.

Yesterday there was great disorder at the station. With orderliness, men can work quietly, however large their number. It is not enough that I came to no harm. So many friends worked hard trying to ensure my safety. What is necessary, however, is to maintain conditions in which no one would come to harm. However large the crowd, if there is good order peace will be preserved. Here conditions are favourable for this purpose. This place has a fine gymnasium. I have always said that drill is essential in any system of education. If lakhs of people went ahead calmly according to a fixed plan, if at a sign they knew what was to be done, they could do things. We ought to get such strength.

In the straits in which we find ourselves at present, we must learn how to finish the job on hand expeditiously. Yesterday, two hours were wasted in taking out the procession. I do not mean to say that such processions should be altogether dispensed with. But we should be alive to the times. India is in such a plight to-

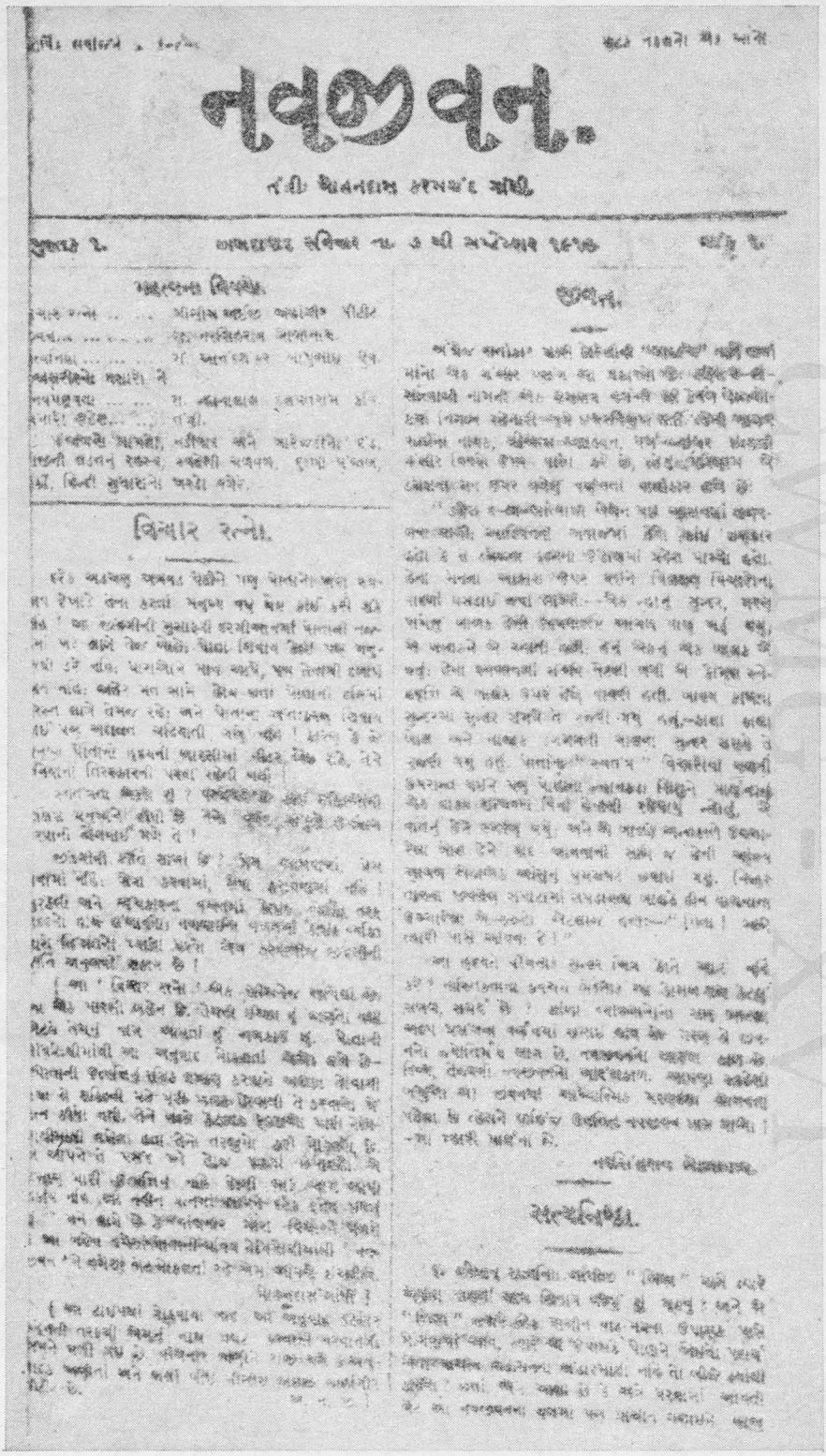
CWMG-XVI

day that we cannot afford to waste our time in processions and such public demonstrations. We shall not serve the motherland by parading in processions, raising slogans of "Vande Mataram" and shouting "Glory to the Motherland!" Today our India is aflame with a triple fire. To rescue her from it, what is needed is not processions but physicians, not demonstrations but effective remedies. We need heroic men and heroic mothers. The time which belongs to the leaders of the people is the people's own and we should save it. I make a simple reckoning. Yesterday there must have been no less than four to five thousand people in the procession. At the rate of two hours each, some eight to ten thousand hours from people's time were wasted. If these many hours had been utilized at the spinning-wheel—this being on my mind at the present time, I can speak of nothing else—or on the loom, what an amount of work could have been turned out? Instead of wasting one's time thus, I think one would employ it to better purpose by sitting quietly in one's little cottage and thinking a few good thoughts. We shall be able to compete with America, Japan and Europe only if we learn the value of time.

Those among us who know about the triple fire blazing in our country should work to put it out. When a fire has broken out, we cannot afford to go looking for principles or formulating rules how to quench it; we fetch water and put it out and afterwards formulate rules for future guidance. Today, therefore, those zealous to serve, who have found the master-key to service, should apply themselves straight to work rather than go rousing idealism in the people. They ought to make work their first, second and last duty. Only after they have done their work, or while they are doing it, can they deliver their message convincingly.

I want to tell you—do not repeat what you did last evening. The leaders of the people are their servants. If they have been attracted to service by the thought of processions, their service leaves something to be desired. One who is out to serve should expect no gifts and no burning of incense before him. Service rendered with an eye to such worship is no service at all and, if indeed the people must worship them, they should get properly trained for the purpose. They should know how to offer the worship. The leaders' feelings ought to be respected.

What is the triple fire I mentioned? First, starvation. The millionaires and multi-millionaires of Bombay are no true index of the conditions prevailing in India. We cannot adjudge India to be prosperous or otherwise on the basis of their condition. Assuredly, as long as the condition of the weavers and farmers in the



નવજીવન.

તંત્રી મોહનદાસ કરમચંદ ગાંધી

અમદાવાદ રવિવાર તા. ૭ મી સપ્ટેમ્બર ૧૯૧૯

મહારાજના વિષયો.

વિચાર રત્નો.

ગુજરાત.

વેરઝેરવિષયક.

FIRST ISSUE OF "NAVAJIVAN"

Young India

Edited by M. K. Gandhi

New Series } AHMEDABAD, WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 8, 1919. } PRICE ONE ANNA
Vol. Number [illegible] } PER COPY.

CONTENTS

[illegible]	[illegible]	Indian Students Etc.	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	4
[illegible]	[illegible]	Village Improvement	4
[illegible]	[illegible]	Future of [illegible]	5
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	5
[illegible]	[illegible]	Handloom Weaving	6
To be Published [illegible]		Cotton of Hyderabad	
[illegible]	[illegible]	Comments	
Another [illegible]	[illegible]	Chakraborty Case	

NOTES AND NEWS.

No Security

As "Navajivan" was having considerable difficulty about printing and as certain changes were being made in print 'Young India' in Bombay had the Manager-Printer of which he was very much annoyed and he refused to print "Navajivan Press". These declarations had therefore to be made [illegible] in connection with the Printing Press, [illegible] in connection with the transfer of "Navajivan" to the new Press and that for the transfer of "Young India" to that Press, "Navajivan," when it became a weekly was published on a security of Rs. 500. "Young India" escaped security because the Printer was also the keeper of the Press where it was published. The Presses Bombay was itself under security. But there was again a question how "Young India" and "Navajivan" could [illegible] as also the Press itself, but after mature consideration the Deputy Commissioner did not demand any security on the keeper of the Press nor on the Publishers of the respective papers. Where security makes no difference to a journalist, it having really enhanced his sense of responsibility so long therefore as the objectionable feature of the Press Act continues to disfigure it, exemption from security, whilst it is creditable for the Government, is also hardly be a matter for congratulation for the controllers of any particular organ so exempted.

"We are apt to Make Mistakes."

The Hon. Mr. Sinha whilst he was speaking to the Indemnity Bill was led into a confusion of terms. He was pulled up by Sir George Lowndes, and his Excellency the President defended Mr. Sinha by making a slip of the tongue. Mr. Sinha then made these frank and dignified remarks; "It is hard for your Excellency to realise what our difficulties are in speaking a foreign tongue in this council. We are apt to make mistakes." This is only too true. We are apt to make mistakes in our own mothertongue. But they are never so injurious as when we attempt to speak in a foreign tongue. Professor Jadunath Sarkar has remarked that our having to speak and think in English puts a strain upon us from which we never fully recover. The remedy for the evil is that we must begin self-government by introducing our own speech in our own assemblies provincial vernaculars in the provincial legislatures and Hindustani, a resultant of Hindi and Urdu in the Imperial Council. We cannot make a better beginning than by adopting the change in the Congress and the Conferences. In adopting English as the medium at these gatherings we have done a positive disservice to the masses who have but a vague idea of the proceedings of these annual gatherings. By persisting to conduct them in English we have actually put obstacles in the way of the masses getting political education. Imagine what would have happened if we had during the thirty five years' existence of the Congress deliberated in Hindustani instead of English which is understood only by a microscopic minority of our countrymen.

Six "Suppressed Class" Schools in Ahmedabad.

No less than six schools for children of the "suppressed class," started through the kindly efforts of Anasuyaben Sarabhai were opened by Mr. Gandhi in Ahmedabad on Sunday the 21st September. All these are night schools with all their teachers belonging to the suppressed class and working without remuneration. A number of prominent ladies and gentlemen attended the opening ceremony. A remarkable passage from Prof. Anand Shankar Dhruva's most instructive speech on the occasion may be translated here. He said:

Untouchables none of us are, or all. Those whose hearts are polluted by the presence of the untouchable spirits, vanity, infatuation, hate greed etc. are untouchables, even though they be Brahmins by birth. Those so-called untouchables whom these deadly enemies dominate not are worthy of our adoration. There is no religion in theories that we should abandon you (so-called 'untouchables') or that we should not touch you. It is the duty of us Hindus to help you in every way. Most of my time has been spent as a teacher and I am delighted to be present on this occasion. I wish education may help you all to be good."

We congratulate the organizers in securing the attendance of Professor Dhruva at the function and an emphatic pronouncement from him on the question of untouchability.

FIRST ISSUE OF "YOUNG INDIA"

seven and a half lakh villages in India is one of utter destitution, we cannot describe the country as prosperous. I see wide-spread starvation in it. Large numbers of people are obliged to live on no more than plain bread and salt and, perhaps, there are many to whom even that much is denied. The reason is the shortage of food in the country.

Another thing in short supply is cloth. My heart bleeds as I think of this shortage and I am sure I could make yours bleed, too, if I described it. So many men in India live with nothing on but a loin-cloth. It is no pain to those who live thus by choice. A great many, however, are obliged to live in that condition for want of clothes. Men can live in that way, but surely we would not wish that women should. But I have seen many of our sisters who are obliged to go about in such a state. I saw large numbers of men and women, in Champaran, in the condition of Nala and Damayanti.[1] I have conversed with these people. They cannot even wash their clothes for want of another dress into which to change.[2] The Ganga flows near by. So there is no scarcity of water. But, having washed their garment, what should they put on [while it is drying] ? If we go naked these days, it is for want of cloth.

The third kind of fire is a product of these two. India is plagued by countless diseases because of starvation and lack of clothes. But I have not come here to talk about this. If the first two were put out, the third would go out by itself. I, therefore, leave the subject aside. Even the first fire not everyone of us can work to put out. In order to work for overcoming the shortage of food, we must have in us the strength of the cultivator; we must have land and so many things besides. Everyone cannot have them. But, for quenching the second kind of fire, all of us have the necessary means. For that, all can work, even boys and girls. It is not as difficult to get that much cloth produced through women and children as it is to set up a mill. I have discussed the matter with so many mill-owners. They say it would take some fifty years to set up enough mills to produce cloth for the whole of India. But these very owners say that, if women started spinning and the weavers started weaving and did their best, within two or three years we would be in a position to produce our own cloth.

[1] The husband and the wife were obliged to share one single garment between them. The story is told in the *Mahabharata*.

[2] Gandhiji had this experience in a village near Bhitiharwa; *vide An Autobiography*, Part V, Ch. XVIII.

Even today there are places in India where women—rich as well as poor—spin with their own hands, get the yarn woven into cloth by weavers and wear it. In the Punjab, it is customary, on auspicious occasions like marriages, to wear dresses made out of yarn spun by oneself. Such cloth is supposed to be sacred. There are many such places in the country. Only, we do not know about them.

There is no difficulty at all in the way of our producing cloth sufficient to meet our needs. The only hurdle is our own sloth and inertia. The effort requires no money, only zeal and great love combined with knowledge.

As a weaver myself, I assert that, working on a handloom for eight hours daily, one can certainly earn a rupee. Does one get so much even after wearing oneself out in working for the matriculation examination? I have seen graduates slaving for a salary of Rs. 30/- a month, and they rot thus even after their exhausting work for examinations. Surely, the weaver's lot is better than the graduate's.

It is not at all difficult to produce yarn if the countless women and lakhs of widows in India, feeling the presence of Rama and Krishna in their heart, make up their mind to work in their spare time. I entreat India to follow this dharma at the present day.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 26-10-1919

139. TELEGRAM TO P. S. TO VICEROY

AMRELI,
October 10, 1919

THE PRIVATE SECRETARY TO THE VICEROY

MOTHER ALI BROTHERS REPORTED SERIOUSLY ILL. RESPECTFULLY TRUST BROTHERS WILL BE PERMITTED VISIT MOTHER. I UNDERSTAND THEY HAVE ALREADY APPROACHED HIS EXCELLENCY.[1]

GANDHI
AHMEDABAD

N.A.I. Home: Political: January 1920: Nos. 493-502 B; also from a photostat : S.N. 19826

[1] Since the Ali Brothers, in detention at Rampur, had themselves not applied for parole, the Home Department considered no action was called for and no reply by Viceroy's Private Secretary to Gandhiji's telegram was necessary.

140. LETTER TO THE PRESS

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
October 10, 1919

TO
THE EDITOR
THE [BOMBAY] CHRONICLE

SIR,

The Khilafat Conference at Lucknow has decided to observe Friday next, the 17th instant, as a day of fasting and prayer. There can be no doubt about the intensity of Moslem feeling on this very important matter. There is no doubt also that the intentions of the League are distrusted. In one's darkest hour, God is the only refuge and it is to Him that millions of Moslems all over India are expected to turn for comfort, guidance and relief. Millions of mouths will, that day, ask the Almighty if it be His will to avert the impending doom. A true Moslem can no more contemplate with equanimity the dismemberment of Turkey than a Christian can so contemplate the desecration of what is dearest and nearest to him.

What are the Hindus to do? I feel that they could do no less than their Mohammedan brethren. Their fast and prayer will be the truest test of friendship and fellow-feeling. I hope that every Hindu, man and woman, will observe the 17th instant and thus put a sacred seal on the Hindu-Mohammedan bond.

There is also to be a hartal. It is intended to impress upon His Majesty's Ministers the seriousness of the position. But, in order to be impressive, it has to be absolutely peaceful and voluntary. Any exercise of force will make it thoroughly useless for the purpose for which it is intended. If the Mohammedans really feel, and if the Hindus are sincere in their professions of friendship, naturally they will both voluntarily stop work on the 17th. I have ventured tenderly to advise that, in view of past experience, there should be no processions, no meetings.[1] Everyone must remain indoors except volunteers and Mohammedans who will visit the Juma Masjid. Any breach of the peace will simply mar a most excellent cause. I have, therefore, further suggested that the mill-

[1] *Vide* the following item.

CWMG - XVII

hands should in no way be encouraged to stop work, nor those who are engaged in the interests of the public health.

I venture to hope that the Government will rise to the occasion. Indeed, they could make common cause with the people and, thereby, tell His Majesty's Ministers that we consider the Khilafat question as a sacred trust which must not be betrayed. But whether the Government go so far or not, they can at least issue instructions to all the officials not to interfere either directly or indirectly with the forthcoming peaceful demonstration.[1]

I am,
Yours, etc.
M. K. GANDHI

The Bombay Chronicle, 13-10-1919

141. CIRCULAR LETTER[2]

SABARMATI,
October 10, 1919

I hope you have seen my remarks in *Young India* of 4th October 1919 as also my public letter[3] regarding demonstration of the 17th. I think all non-Mohammedans should join the Mohammedans in fasting, prayer and hartal. Fasting and prayer

[1] A statement released by the organizers of the Khilafat Day on the same day said: "Mahatma Gandhi advised that it is absolutely incumbent upon the Hindus to signify their sympathy with their Mohammedan brethren by joining with them in observing the 17th of October as a day of prayer and protest by closing their shops and suspending their business." According to the Bombay Secret Abstracts, 1919, 30,000 copies of the above text, issued as a manifesto, were prepared in the form of a handbill by the Satyagraha Sabha, but the period of fasting mentioned in it was 12 hours.

[2] This was issued as "A Circular Letter of Instructions guiding public demonstration of 17th October", and was sent to the following persons : Rajagopalachari; Kasturi Ranga Ayengar; Natesan; Dr. Rajan, Trichinopoly; Joseph, Barrister, Madura; Harilal Gandhi, Calcutta; Satyanand Bose, Calcutta; Swami Shraddhanand; Pandit Motilal Nehru; Professor J. B. Kripalani, Allahabad; Rajendra Prasad; Brijkishore Babu; Jamshedji Mehta, Karachi; Durgadas Adwani, Karachi; Dr. Choithram Gidwani, Hyderabad (Sind); Krishnalal A. Desai, Delhi; Pandit Sundarlal, Allahabad; Jawaharlal Nehru, Barrister, Allahabad; Pandit Kunzru, Agra; Pandit B. D. Shukla, Jabalpur; C. F. Andrews, Lahore; V. A. Sundaram, Triplicane; Devdas Gandhi; G. S. Arundale; Gangadharrao Deshpande, Belgaum; Khadilkar, Kesari Office, Poona; S. V. Vaze, Servants of India Society, Poona; Gokaran Nath Mishra, Harkaran Nath Mishra, Lucknow. The letter was also released to the Press.

[3] *Vide* the preceding item.

CWMG - XVI

I regard as a purely religious function and no part of demonstration. Hartal is intended to be purely a demonstration. It must be voluntary. Personally I do not care if only a few Hindus join, and I should be exceedingly sorry if any join out of fear be they ever so many. In order to avoid untoward consequences, I have suggested that there should be no processions, no meetings, people should keep indoors and that volunteers should parade business quarters in order to protect those who might wish to keep their shops open. Mill-hands should not be called out and those who may be required for sanitary and such other daily work should be specially advised not to stop work. I hope you will take what steps you may consider necessary to give effect to my proposal if you agree with me.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the handwritten draft : S.N. 19827

142. TELEGRAM TO SADIQ ALI

[On or after *October 10, 1919*]

SADIQ ALI
RAMPORE

HAVE TELEGRAPHED SIMLA ABOUT PERMISSION BROTHERS. PLEASE WIRE CONDITION.

GANDHI
AHMEDABAD

From a photostat of the handwritten draft : S.N. 19824

143. LETTER TO ABDUL BARI

[After *October 10, 1919*]

DEAR MAULANA SAHIB,

You will have seen my letters about the 17th instant.[1] I am hoping that all Hindus will join and that the demonstration will pass off in a most peaceful manner. In the peaceful passing off of the demonstration lies its possible success. I hope, therefore, that you will issue necessary public instructions, as also private, to the effect that those who take part in the demonstration will all

[1] *Vide* "Letter to the Press" and "Circular Letter", 10-10-1919.

CWMG - XVII

remain indoors, and that those who go to the mosques will do so in a perfectly peaceful and prayerful manner.

Yours sincerely,

TIVANGI MAHAL
LUCKNOW

From a photostat of the handwritten draft : S.N. 19825

144. FASTING AND PRAYER

It is my conviction and my experience that, if fasting and prayer are done with a sincere heart and in a religious spirit, marvellous results could be obtained from them. There is nothing as purifying as a fast, but fasting without prayer is barren; it may result in a diseased person being restored to health or may only mean a healthy person suffering unnecessarily. A fast undertaken purely for ostentation or to inflict pain on others is an unmitigated sin. Hence, it is only a prayerful fast undertaken by way of penance to produce some effect on oneself which can be called a religious fast. Prayer does not mean begging God for worldly happiness or for the things which advance one's interests; it is the earnest cry of a soul in anguish. It cannot but influence the whole world and cannot but make itself heard in the divine court. When an individual or a nation suffers because of a great calamity, the true awareness of that suffering is prayer; in the presence of this purifying knowledge, physical functions like eating, etc., become less urgent. A mother suffers when her only son dies. She has no desire for eating. A nation is born when all feel the same sort of grief at the suffering of any one among them; such a nation deserves to be immortal. We are well aware that quite a large number of our brothers and sisters in India live in great suffering and so, truly speaking, we have occasion at every step for prayerful fasting. But our national life has not attained to this degree of intensity and purity. Even so, occasions arise when we suffer acutely.

Such an occasion has arisen for our Muslim brethren. Readers of *Navajivan* know what it is: if Turkey is partitioned, the Khilafat will disappear. If the Khilafat disappears, Islam will lose its vitality. This the Muslims can never tolerate. Supporting my view, the good Mr. Andrews said that, if the Muslims feel they have not received justice, then Mr. Montagu and

His Excellency the Viceroy should resign. This remedy is essential, but external. A far, far more powerful remedy lies in the hands of our Muslim brethren themselves. It has been decided that on Friday, October 17, Muslims should observe a *roza*, that is, a fast of twenty-four hours; accordingly, beginning from the evening of the 16th, they should spend the whole of the 17th in prayers. This is a beautiful idea. The peace and the good that ensue from turning our thoughts to God in a time of sorrow are not to be had in any other way.

The duty of Hindus at such a time is obvious. If they regard the Muslims as their brethren, they should fully share their suffering. This is the best and the easiest method of promoting unity between Hindus and Muslims. Sharing another's sorrow is the only real sign of brotherly regard. I hope, therefore, that every man and woman in India will spend October 17 in prayer and fasting. The *Gita* is universally accepted among Hindus. They should read it through from the beginning to the end, along with a rendering of its meaning. This way the whole day will be spent in a religious spirit, and that will be the prayer of the Hindus.

I think we may, without fear, observe a hartal on that day. Those who are independent should stop their work. People in service, the labourers and those who serve in hospitals, etc., need not stop work. If people remain within doors on the day and take out no processions, there will be no cause for fear. There can be no coercion in fasting and prayer; and this should also be true about stopping work. A hartal can be effective only if it is purely voluntary. Such a hartal alone can provide the true measure of the feelings of Hindus and Muslims. In order that the hartal may remain voluntary, those who are appointed volunteers may move about. It should be their duty to see that no one offers violence to, or exerts undue pressure on, those who open their shops or attend to their work.

If the Government is wise, it will encourage the people in this step. It is the duty of His Excellency the Viceroy, if he would demonstrate to the Muslims his sympathy for them, to instruct the officers not to come in the way of the people observing a hartal. If His Excellency can go further, he could stop work on that day and thereby assuage the people a great deal. Whether the Government does this or not, the duty of the people is clear. Hindus and Muslims should unite to observe October 17 in the manner suggested above.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 12-10-1919

145. *WIDOWS' OUTPOURING*

Eleven sisters from Surat have written two letters, pouring out their suffering. They begin their letters with the words: "We are *Vaishnava*, *Vanik* widows, widowed in childhood." They have given their own names but concealed the names of their parents and their addresses. I am sorry that they have not given full particulars about themselves. The law governing newspapers requires that the editor should pay no attention to anonymous letters, and this law is necessary. It is the editor's duty, if a correspondent does not desire his name to be published, to respect it fully, but the writer must give his full name for the information of the editor. If this is not done, the editor, despite his keenness to help, cannot help as much as he otherwise could. In the case of these sisters themselves, I see that, if I knew their names and addresses, I could inquire for more details and also find persons who would befriend them in their suffering. Notwithstanding the incompleteness of the letters in this and other respects, they mention some general things which all should know. Of these eleven sisters, three have had some education and eight are utterly illiterate. One of them can barely manage to read the *Navajivan* once in eight days. Members of the community shoo them away as ill-omened, and dub them "husband-devourers"; they have to live dependent on who knows what kind of men; by way of education, they have had nil, and they get little ghee and sugar in their food. There are forty-two *Vanik* communities in Surat, among which there must be not less than 700 widows. No one knows what dharma is.

> We know our dharma, but are denied the means which may enable us to preserve it. If we are maintained in some Ashram and given some education, taught how to serve, we are ready to follow the widow's dharma. In the absence of this, we are exposed to so many temptations that we feel it necessary for us to have a husband's intimate company. . . . When the path of knowledge declined, Vallabh[1] propagated the path of *bhakti*. With the passing of time, customs have changed. This should happen in regard to widows too.

There is much more than this in their letters. They also describe how widows come to lose their virtue. I have tried to

[1] Vaishnava teacher (1473-1531); principally responsible for spreading the *bhakti* cult in Gujarat

CWMG - XVI

give, mostly in my own words, the gist of what I could from the two letters. The question of widows is no ordinary problem for the Hindu society. There will hardly be any Hindu family which does not have the responsibility of maintaining a widow. The reformers have recommended a one-sided solution. Remarriage is the only solution, they say. To me, that idea appears terrible. I read a profound meaning in widowhood; equally, I also see how it can be turned to good account. Would it not be better if men, too, refused to marry again on becoming widowers? Nowhere, though, do we see any agitation to this end. And yet, how can this idea, even if implemented, end the sufferings of child-widows? Even if thousands of widowers should refuse of their own free will to marry again, how does that help the young girl who has to live a life of enforced widowhood? Can there be dharma in forcibly preventing a widow from remarrying? Can purity be expected of widows without placing them in conditions in which they could live a life of illustrious widowhood?

These complex problems are not easy to solve. There is an element of truth on either side. Without entering into argument I wish to place before the Hindu society the following conclusions:

1. The attempt to end the practice of widowhood is injurious to religion.

2. Marriage is a sacrament. Love can marry only once.

3. A widow deserves to be looked upon with reverence. It is a sin to despise her. The sight of a pure widow is a good omen. It is a sin to count it as an ill omen.

4. If marriage is, or is considered to be, a sacrament, and if it is a symbol of pure love, then marrying children and ill-matched partners must be considered a sin. If it is not wrong for a man of fifty to marry a girl of nine, and if such a man is not excommunicated, then it is also a sin to excommunicate or otherwise punish that girl if, becoming a widow, she marries again.

There is no room for coercion in the matter of dharma. And, therefore, my advice to the *Vaishnava* and other Hindu families regarding child-widows in Surat is that they should think out a plan to keep the minds and bodies of the widows occupied and save them from temptations, and put the plan into action. Even so, if it is important that a child-widow should not be induced to remarry, it is equally important that, should such a widow want to remarry, she should not be prevented from doing so. To live a widow's life is a holy thing, but it is not entirely sinful for a widow to remarry. If the various communities would live so as to bring credit to *varnashrama*, if they do not want it to

disappear, they will have to eliminate the innumerable evils that have arisen in it and see that the problems which arise in practice are solved with due regard for dharma. To the widows, therefore, I would say: "Look upon your widowhood as sacred and live a life worthy of it. There are many instances of such widows in Hindu society." To people of the various communities I would say: "If any child-widows want to remarry, do not despise or outcast them."

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 12-10-1919

146. NOTES

Exemption from Security

The reader probably remembers that, when *Navajivan* was turned into a weekly, a security of five hundred rupees was ordered. We have also told him of the cloud that subsequently gathered over us and dispersed.[1] The management realized that a paper like *Navajivan*, in printing which one must be prepared for risks and copies of which should be made available to the public regularly and in large numbers, could be printed unhindered only in its own printing-press; that is, only in this way can its external difficulties be reduced to a minimum. And so Mr. Shankerlal Ghelabhai Banker, who shoulders the financial responsibility, has purchased the Manahar Press and it will henceforth be known as "Navajivan Mudranalaya". Moreover, it was felt to be a difficult arrangement under which *Young India*, for which the editor of *Navajivan* is responsible, was published in Bombay while the latter was published in Ahmedabad. It was, therefore, decided to publish *Young India*, too, in Ahmedabad. This made it necessary to make declarations in respect of *Young India*, *Navajivan* and the Navajivan Press. These declarations were made before the Magistrate in Ahmedabad. He decided not to ask for security from either of the papers or from the Press. We congratulate the District Magistrate on this decision of his. So long as the sword of the unjust provisions in the Press Act continues to flash over Indian newspapers, we can feel or express no joy at *Young India* and *Navajivan* having been exempted from security. A security cannot place any kind of check on our pen. Exemption from it does not increase

[1] *Vide* "Notes", 5-10-1919.

CWMG - XVI

by one jot our freedom from inhibition; it increases our responsibility a little, lest we express, knowingly or unknowingly, views which may once again make them think that we deserved being called upon to furnish a security. No matter whether our responsibility has increased or decreased, we will strive hard to place before the public our views with politeness and restraint, but without fear.

"You Cannot Understand Our Difficulties"

The Hon'ble Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha, the well-known journalist[1] of Bihar and member of the Imperial Legislative Council, while speaking on the Indemnity Bill made some mistake. Sir George Lowndes tried to correct him. His Excellency the Viceroy observed that it was a slip. But the Hon'ble Mr. Sinha replied: "You can have no idea of the difficulty we experience in speaking in a foreign tongue. We commit mistakes again and again." These words are worthy of Mr. Sinha. Obliged to speak in a foreign tongue, even the ablest members find themselves in difficulties and time and again we are worsted when it comes to returning a quick retort. This happens not because our case is weak or our knowledge is less but because we have to speak in a foreign language. Every Indian who has been to England knows how even those among them who are proficient in English fumble when speaking it in English families of even ordinary education and often become the butt of ridicule. Prof. Jadunath Sircar has shown that having to think and speak in English imposes a heavy burden on the educated class, so heavy, indeed, that it has lost its vigour and is ailing. Justice Ranade, likewise, pointed out several years ago that many of them came to an untimely end and they possessed little inventive power. Sooner or later we shall have to find a remedy for this painful situation, and the sooner the better. The business of provincial legislatures should be conducted in their respective languages and that of the Imperial Legislative Council in the national language, namely, Hindustani. The movement should start with the sessions of the Congress and various conferences. If the former would take its message to the millions, it can never do so through English but only through Hindustani.

Fine on Barejadi

We give elsewhere the petition presented by the people of Barejadi against the order of the Government for the collection of

[1] He was editor of the *Hindustan Review*, a monthly magazine of Patna.

Rs. 7,200 on account of the additional police stationed there. The petition, it is evident, was not drafted by a lawyer. The petitioners have not advanced any logical arguments but have expressed their feelings in such language as they knew. We congratulate the people of Barejadi on what they have done. We think it is a valuable petition; and this is the way men and women who suffer can always make their protests heard by the Government and the public. Such work does not require the services of lawyers or experienced draftsmen. No one can put the suffering of a man pricked by a thorn in stronger language than the man himself. Only, we must take care to give facts as they are and not to exaggerate. Where is the need to embellish truth?

Barejadi's case is straight. The issues raised are brief and to the point.

> We are not guilty; we have suffered from two famines; we are hardly in a position to pay the Government's assessment. The posting of additional police at our place is unnecessary and hence we should not be burdened with [the fine of] Rs. 7,200. The Government is welcome to inquire into our conduct.

This is simple justice. While discussing the position at Nadiad, we wrote about Barejadi too.[1] Nothing more is necessary. We hope that the Government will pay full attention to the petitioners' representation and that non-official members of the Legislative Council from Gujarat and other areas will take up the matter and secure justice for the innocent landowners.

Petition against Rowlatt Act

We draw the readers' attention to the petition published by the All-India Home Rule League. It states the chief objections against the Rowlatt Act, the most important being that it is unanimously condemned by the people. To retain that Act after all the popular agitation against it and the suffering of the people in the course of that agitation will be a blow to the self-respect of the people and make the Government's autocratic attitude almost intolerable. We hope the petition will be signed by large numbers. Every Indian living in British India can sign it and we hope every adult man and woman will do so and forward the petition to the Home Rule League, Bombay.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 12-10-1919

[1] *Vide* "Fines Imposed on Nadiad and Barejadi", 28-9-1919.

CWMG - XVI

147. TELEGRAM TO C. F. ANDREWS

AHMEDABAD,
October 13, 1919

C. F. ANDREWS
FEROZEPORE ROAD
LAHORE

JUST RETURNED FROM KATHIAWAR. WON'T BE TOO LATE IF YOU START MIDDLE NOVEMBER EVEN LATER.[1]

GANDHI

Bombay Government Records

148. SPEECH AT GUJARAT COLLEGE, AHMEDABAD[2]

[*October 13, 1919*]

MR. CHAIRMAN, SISTERS AND BROTHERS,

The English ladies and gentlemen present here will excuse me for speaking to you in my own language. It is difficult for me to say anything about Anandshankarbhai. I do not like to express my love for him, and he would not like my doing so either. I think it is my duty, all the same, to say something. In the address which the students presented to him they said: "Though you have been before us and with us all these years, we did not know you." These words state the truth. From the day that I settled in Gujarat, I have seen that we have failed to recognize him for what he is and to appreciate him at his true worth. Though, of course, he has lost nothing in consequence, Gujarat has lost a great deal. As for his learning, men who know more than I do can testify to it. To me his character, his bearing and his way of living are his true learning.

Anandshankarbhai is a priceless treasure of Gujarat. We have not availed ourselves of this treasure as well as we should have.

[1] Andrews proposed to visit East Africa to study the situation there. He replied from Gujranwala on October 17 : "Delighted come both immediately starting South Africa. Have wired Jehangir Petit."

[2] Gandhiji spoke at a farewell function in honour of Prof. Anandshankar Dhruva who was leaving the College on his appointment as Vice-Chancellor of Banaras Hindu University.

Thanks to his ability, informed with a liberal spirit, his intelligence and tact, he has succeeded in solving many a knotty problem. I have read, and still read, his writings and I feel that we have much to learn from him. How much Gujarat would have gone forward if it had profited fully by his writings, I cannot measure. Anandshankarbhai is Gujarat's gift to India. I would have envied Bombay if he had chosen to migrate there. It is better that he stay in Ahmedabad than go away to Bombay. No doubt, Bombay would have learnt more from him, but Bombay is Gujarat and Gujarat is Bombay.

By sending Anandshankarbhai to Kashi, Gujarat is making an invaluable present to India. We cannot be proud enough of the profit India will derive from this gift. We cannot say, as we may of an Englishman, that he is in the prime of his life. His family has made great sacrifices.

Panditji[1] did not cast his eye on Anandshankarbhai merely because of his learning; he has selected him to manage the affairs there and to show whether or not Indians possess organizing capacity and administrative ability. If there is any person in India who can solve the all-too-delicate problems in the Banaras Hindu University, it is Anandshankarbhai. And it is my prayer, finally, that God may grant him a long life, that the University may attain the height it ought to and that India and Gujarat may duly profit from this.

From a handwritten Gujarati report: S.N. 6414

149. A PUNJAB VICTIM

Behari Lal Sachdeva is a young man of twenty-four with a young wife and an aged father of seventy-two years old. He belongs to the Gujranwala batch and was sentenced to transportation with forfeiture of property. He had "waged war against the King". So said the prosecution and so found the Court. His honour the Lieut.-Governor has commuted the sentence to that of four years' imprisonment. Poor comfort to a prisoner who is innocent or to his father who is on the verge of death.

And so poor Behari Lal Sachdeva has sent another petition as "he believes that through some serious mistake his case has not been carefully gone into". The petition is convincing enough. It

[1] Madan Mohan Malaviya

CWMG-XVI

is so well drawn that it will repay perusal. It is almost free from rhetoric or superfluous adjectives and is brief enough even for a busy reader.[1]

A friend told me the other day that, after forty years of life devoted to the praising of British justice, the Punjab had undeceived him. He no longer believed in British justice. He added with distinct energy:

> I do not care a straw for your reforms; what can they do for us if our lives and our honour be not safe and we stand in peril of being wrongly imprisoned?

Well, the case of Behari Lal Sachdeva seems to be one such. It is probably one of mistaken identity. The young man would appear to be perfectly innocent. The prisoner is not stated to have been connected with or present at the meeting on the 4th and the 5th April or on the 12th or the 13th April. The principal witness's evidence is merely hearsay. The other evidence is stated to be tainted, and even if true, the facts sworn to do not disclose any offence. The evidence given for the prisoner by respectable and impartial witnesses was discarded by the Court. The reader has by this time known sufficient of the Punjab judgments not to feel surprised at such attitude of the special courts. What is, however, surprising is the fact that even now when perfect quiet reigns in the Punjab these cases of injustice do not receive the attention they deserve at the hands of the Lieut.-Governor. No government deserves respect which holds cheap the liberty of the subjects as the Punjab Government seems to do.

Young India, 15-10-1919

150. LETTER TO THE PRESS[2]

[BOMBAY,]
Khilafat Day [*October 17, 1919*]

SIR,

The following order was served upon me yesterday:

> Whereas under Rule 3 of the Defence of India (Consolidated) Rules, 1915 and with the previous sanction of the Governor-General-in-Council, the Lieut.-Governor of the Punjab was pleased on the 9th April, 1919, to prohibit the entry of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi into the Punjab

[1] The petition was reproduced in the same issue of *Young India*.
[2] This was published in several leading newspapers.

and was further pleased to order him to return to and reside within the limits of the Bombay Presidency;

And whereas the necessity for this order has ceased to exist;

Now therefore the Lieut.-Governor is pleased with the sanction of the Governor-General hereby to cancel the said order with effect from this day, the 15th Oct. 1919.[1]

I am naturally thankful for it in that it enables me to visit the Punjab and to render such service as I may be capable of rendering. At the same time, I cannot help saying that it was not with unmixed pleasure that I received the release order. The order of internment and externment was no discredit to me; my conscience was absolutely clear. When it was served upon me, it appeared to me to be an act of criminal folly on the part of the Government. And now, though the release order is creditable to Government, it cannot recall the precious lives for whose loss the prohibitory order must be held responsible. Moreover, so long as the Rowlatt Act remains on the statute-book, the release order can be no joy for me. In the internment order I had a ready-made weapon for offering civil resistance. I hear people saying that satyagraha is as dead as Queen Anne,[2] and that Mr. Montagu will never repeal the Rowlatt Act, although he is quite sure that the Act will never be enforced. Those who make the first statement do not know what satyagraha is and how it works. Those who make the second do not know the power of satyagraha. He who runs may see that satyagraha is slowly but surely pervading

[1] The removal of restrictions on Gandhiji was, in fact, being seriously considered as early as September. A confidential telegram (No. 1917, Home Department) of the Government of India, dated September 8, observed: "Conditions are now comparatively normal and there seems no immediate intention on his part of advocating civil disobedience. In view of His Excellency's opening speech in the Imperial Legislative Council, the Government of India think that a suitable opportunity now presents itself to relax the existing orders and that there is not sufficient ground for maintaining the restrictions on him and they propose that, when Lord Hunter lands in India, all restrictions should be relaxed."

[2] This reflected the official reading of the situation. The Bombay Government wrote on September 12, in a confidential note to the Chief Secretary, Madras Government: "His Excellency-in-Council considers that Gandhi's satyagraha movement may, for the present, be regarded as extinct. Even in Gujarat, which is Gandhi's headquarters and where the movement originated, the local organizations have fallen to pieces. It is doubtful whether Gandhi, even if he so desired, could revive the movement with anything like its former vigour. Gandhi's own declared attitude is that the movement is, so far as civil disobedience is concerned, suspended *sine die*. . . ."

the land. So far as Mr. Montagu's supposed declaration is concerned, the strongest man of South Africa had to yield to that matchless force. It was in 1909 that General Smuts, backed by Gen. Botha and the European opinion of South Africa, said that, although the Transvaal Asiatic Act would not be enforced, he would never formally repeal it, but in 1914 he proved his strength by repealing that Act and removing the legal racial bar from the Immigration Law.[1] I have not the slightest doubt that Mr. Montagu and the Viceroy will yield to the same ancient force and repeal the Rowlatt Act long before the expiry of its time limit. But whether they do or not the lives of the satyagrahis are dedicated to securing among other things the repeal of that Act.

I am, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

The Bombay Chronicle, 18-10-1919

151. LETTER TO RABINDRANATH TAGORE

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
October 18, 1919

DEAR GURUDEV,

There is to be a literary conference in Ahmedabad in December.[2] The dates are 13th, 14th and 15th Dec. The organizers are most anxious that you should grace the occasion by your presence and I hope that if you could at all manage it, you will not disappoint Gujarat.

It was good of you to have permitted Andrews to go to South Africa. I have just received a telegram from him saying he is free to go. This relieves me considerably and I am sure that his going there will do the utmost good.

I hope that you are keeping good health.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the handwritten original : G.N. 4625

[1] *Vide* Vol. XII.
[2] This was later postponed to suit Tagore's convenience.

152. LETTER TO U. K. TRIVEDI[1]

[After *October 18, 1919*]

DEAR SIR,

I have your letter[2].

I suggest the enclosed cable[3] to Johannesburg. I suggest further that you should address the Commerce and Industry Department drawing attention to the fact that the whole question of disabilities regarding ownership of land and right to trade shall be sifted. The matter is rather delicate. It would be useless to press for opening the whole question, political and commercial, throughout South Africa. As Mr. Shastriar is almost certain to be appointed there is no anxi[ety] regarding commission.

Yours faithfully,

From the pencilled draft in Gandhiji's hand : S.N. 6484

153. FATHER OF THE WORLD [-III]

I have promised to give some of my experiences in connection with village uplift. Dr. Hariprasad, describing how Sister Nivedita improved a lane in Calcutta, has illustrated by this example what one man or woman can do if he or she so wills. To do this sort of work in villages is even easier than improving lanes in a city. When it was decided to open self-sufficient schools in Champaran,[4] I appealed for volunteers. Among those who arrived were the late Dr. Dev and Mr. Soman, a lawyer from Belgaum. These volunteers had to perform only three tasks—teach any boys and girls who came, show the villagers how to maintain cleanliness in the streets, in the village and their homes, etc., and give medicine to any patients who might come for it. Mr. Soman was sent to a village called Bhitiharva and Dr. Dev was to organize medical aid in villages having schools. He happened to stay for a longer period at the school in Bhitiharva. It was very difficult to induce the people there to effect any improvements. Dr. Dev showed them what improve-

[1] Assistant Secretary, Imperial Citizenship Association

[2] This was dated October 18. Enclosed with it was Aswat's cable from South Africa seeking Gandhiji's advice.

[3] This is not available.

[4] *Vide* Vol. XIV, pp. 95-6.

ments were necessary. But the villagers paid no attention to him. His proposal was about cleaning the streets and constructing a sloping platform round the well and removing the mud from around it. Dr. Dev and Mr. Soman then took pickaxes in their hands and began to make a sloping platform round the well and to clean the streets. The news spread like wildfire through the tiny village and the villagers understood Dr. Dev's advice. His actions were more potent than his words. The villagers then sallied forth themselves to do the cleaning and very soon the well and streets of Bhitiharva took on an attractive appearance. Rubbish heaps disappeared. Meanwhile, the thatched school-house which had been erected was burnt down by some miscreants. This posed a serious problem. Should a similar construction be put up and a fire risked again? Mr. Soman and Dr. Dev decided to put up a brick structure for the school. By now both of them had learnt the art of public speaking. They begged for the requisite materials. When necessary they supplied money themselves and both began to work as labourers. By the time they had completed the foundation for a durable school building, the villagers joined them. Artisans gave all possible assistance, and even today the Bhitiharva school stands there as an example of what can be achieved if one or two individuals make up their mind to do a thing. This sort of work was done not only in one village but to a greater or less extent in every place where a school was established and everywhere the villagers' response was in proportion to the teacher's capacity to inspire co-operation. The service did not demand any great intelligence. What was needed was ardour and perseverance. Intelligence and skill were available from others.

In the Kheda district, the crop had to be valued. This could not be done unless all the villagers co-operated. Volunteers were detailed, one for each village, to collect the information; they not only succeeded in doing so but also won the affection of the villagers. I can multiply such examples from many other places.

Now we can see how a start may be made by one who wants to organize a village properly. He should select the place where he himself lives. He should get acquainted with all the other residents and share in their tribulations without making a show of any kind. He would then appeal for their help in cleaning the lanes. The worker would bear the neighbour's ridicule and insults and continue, in spite of them, to share in their suffering and would clean the streets single-handed. His wife, mother and sisters should, by and by, join in this work. Whether the neighbours join or not, the road would be cleaned and experience would

show that this does not require much time. At last the neighbours would start working themselves and the fragrance of one lane would sweeten the entire village.

If this volunteer has further enthusiasm and is himself an educated man, he would teach boys and unlettered adults in his street to read and write. If anyone in the street falls ill and is unable to take medical treatment, the worker would find a good *vaid* for him. If there is no one to look after the patient, he would do so himself. While doing these things he would get an intimate knowledge of the economic and moral condition of his neighbours. Having obtained this knowledge, he would plan how to bring about the desired improvement in them. Working on in this manner, he would gradually get an insight into the political inclination of his neighbours and through them of the entire village. If, along with this insight, he also develops the capacity to evoke co-operation in the people, he could improve their political condition as well. I have seen in Africa, Champaran, Kheda and elsewhere that those whom we regard as uneducated have, by dint of sheer perseverance and sympathy, been able to do great service and also make a fine impact on the public. In every village where I found even one zealous man or woman, I have also discovered that he or she was doing excellent work in that village.

We shall examine next certain rules of cleanliness and of physical, moral, and economic health. I hope that those who approve of them will start work on those lines in their respective villages. If this happens, we shall be able to produce a powerful effect on the condition of some villages in a very short time.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 19-10-1919

154. GUJARAT'S GIFT

The friends of Prof. Anandshankar Bapubhai Dhruva knew for some time that this jewel from Gujarat was joining the Banaras University, ending his 27 years' connection with the Gujarat College. The thing became public at two functions held during this week, one under the auspices of the Sahitya Sabha and the other organized by the students of Gujarat College. At the second function, the Principal of the College was in the chair. Addresses were presented to Prof. Dhruva at both these functions. By honouring him in this way, Gujaratis have honoured themselves.

We come across very few Indians who combine learning and dharma in the measure in which Prof. Dhruva does. He has not taken to the profession of teaching with a mercenary motive. I believe he became a professor because he thought that thereby he would be able to serve the country better. As an author, he has maintained his integrity with the utmost conscientiousness. It is no ordinary responsibility which rests on an author, and that of one who would dive into the sea of ancient literature to bring up pearls is all the greater. Sanskrit literature is like a sea, difficult to fathom. Very few possess even a cursory knowledge of this literature. It offers much scope for laziness and dishonesty. We see at every step instances of this in our modern literature. How many translations of the *Bhagavad Gita* do we have! It is difficult to be pleased with any of them. The translations of *Manusmriti* at the disposal of the people of Gujarat are not entirely reliable. Thanks to laziness, ignorance and sometimes deliberate mischief, people get faulty and incomplete translations of Sanskrit works. At a time like this, everything which Anandshankarbhai has given stands like a beacon. With regard to his interpretations, it is impossible to suspect dishonesty, ignorance, haste or laziness. He has written whatever he has in a liberal and objective spirit believing in all good faith that it is true. And, therefore, people need have no fear in accepting it.

Moreover, those who have come into contact with him have observed in his personal life the same qualities of character which he has shown in his public actions and in public life. By the force of his character, he has been able to maintain his influence both on the old and the new generations. Though duly respecting old ideas, the ancient way of life and ancient traditions, he has never sought to check the waves of modern life and its enthusiasms. Rather, he has tried to correct the excesses of both. Gujarat has not till now made full use of Prof. Dhruva's services, as was stated in the address presented by the students. We have not freely availed ourselves of the treasure he possesses. We have not recognized his full worth.

He is now entering a larger field. The Banaras University is but an infant. Its father is the celebrated Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, known all over India, who looks like the patriarch of Hinduism and is endowed with qualities of character signified by his name. By the tireless efforts of one person, an amount of one crore has been collected. The University owes its existence to the labours of this one man. His child has however not learnt to walk. It can only move about on its knees. It needs someone to

look after it. Panditji was on the look-out for such a person. There are all kinds of difficulties in running a university; besides, a university which seeks to give its due place to religion is bound to be in the utmost need of men of religion. Gujarat can be proud that Panditji found such a man here. The university will provide full scope to Anandshankarbhai's intelligence, his earnestness, his integrity, his straightforwardness, his large-heartedness and his imperturbable temper. We congratulate Gujarat on making this incomparable gift and the university on receiving it, and we are confident that Anandshankarbhai will render excellent services to India in this wider field. We pray to God to grant him a long life and all the strength which he will need in this difficult task.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 19-10-1919

155. NOTES

Foolish Expenditure

We draw our readers' attention to Shri Gopalji's letter. The custom of sending a card for the New Year's Day has no meaning whatever and involves an unnecessary expenditure besides. Shri Gopalji's point is that, instead of wasting money in this way, we should donate the amount to the Punjab Relief Fund. If all of us do what he and his friends have done, we shall have shared the sufferings of the Punjab at no cost to ourselves.

Is it an old custom to get New Year cards printed and send them? We do not know if it is. We do not say either that we should not introduce new customs or that everything old is good. We should think before giving up anything old. It is wise not to be hasty in introducing a new custom. The practice of sending cards has come from Europe. Had we not been blinded by Europe, we would not have adopted this practice of sending cards and friends would have taken no pleasure in receiving them. The practice is something like the prayer-circles in Tibet. Some people there want to repeat a prayer or *jai* lakhs of times over but, unable to spare so much time, keep wheels and count the number of its rotations as so many repetitions of the prayer.

In the same manner, we offer our greetings to friends through cards, at no trouble to ourselves. To us this seems to be a barbarous custom. It is understandable that we write letters specially to people whom we would remember. Sending a card has become

so common a practice that it can have no value. Maybe sending the same type of card to one's father, brothers, sisters, wife, friend is treated as a sign of equal regard for all; to us it appears an insult to them all. Hence we altogether disapprove of the practice of sending cards. Be that as it may, the alternative to sending cards, suggested on the present occasion, deserves to be welcomed.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 19-10-1919

156. LETTER TO WATTAL

[AHMEDABAD,
Before *October 22, 1919*][1]

DEAR MR. WATTAL,

You will pardon me for some delay in replying to your letter, which was received in Bombay. I wanted on my return from Bombay to search my papers, to see what I could find. You have asked me for papers regarding an event that happened nearly 18 years ago. I have searched my old files and I have not succeeded in getting all you want. You will, however, have some idea of the impression created in S. Africa by the action of the Indian Community at the time of the Boer War. Mr. Escombe, who addressed us, was sometime Premier of Natal and commander of the Natal militia, and so was the late Sir John Robinson, Premier at another time. I give you these references, because you will find these names in the papers[2] I am sending you. We were present at the battle of Colenso, Spion Kop and the action at Vaalkranz. We had to carry the wounded on our stretchers a distance of about 20 miles, feed and nurse them on the way. I was mentioned in Gen. Buller's Despatch, on the relief of Ladysmith. The leaders of the Corps were recipients of the South African War Medal. In Ladysmith itself, an indentured Indian named Ganga Singh[3] sat perched up in a tree facing the hill from which the Boers were shelling Ladysmith with their pom-pom. He watched the flash of the gun each time it

[1] The letter appears to have been written from Ahmedabad. The exact date is not known. It is, however, likely that this and the following item were written some time before October 22, 1919, after which Gandhiji was away in the Punjab for the rest of the year.

[2] These are not available.

[3] This should be Prabhu Singh; *vide* Vol. III, p. 202.

was fired, and rang a gong, informing the besieged of the coming shell, and warning them to seek shelter. He performed his dangerous and onerous task with unfailing regularity, and for this brave and faithful service Lord Curzon sent him a toga, which was publicly presented to him, on Lord Curzon's behalf, by the Mayor of Durban at the Durban Town Hall.

I am sorry I have not been able to trace the verses referred to in your letter. I am asking my friends in Durban to send them. At the time of the Boer War, we were over 1,000 strong. So much for the Boer War.

In 1906, there was the Zulu rebellion. At that time also we offered our services. They required only a small number. We were about 20 strong, a compact body of the Nurse, Orderly and Stretcher-bearers. We had to carry the wounded many miles at a time and march behind the cavalry sometimes at the rate of 40 miles per day. At this time there was no restriction as to the zone of fire. This little party took all the risks of war. A personal letter eulogizing the services of the Corps was addressed by the then Governor of Natal, Sir Henry MacCullum.

And then there was the European War. Indians formed a corps. I forget the number that served in East Africa directly under General Smuts, and I hear from one of the friends in S.A., who was a member of the Corps, that they gave entire satisfaction to their officer. If any further information is required, please let me know. After perusal, will you kindly return the papers punctually?

Yours sincerely,

WATTAL
PRIVATE SECRETARY
BIKANER

From a photostat of the handwritten draft: S.N. 6853

CWMG-XVI

157. LETTER TO A FRIEND

[Before *October 22, 1919*]

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. There was no occasion for apology. If I understand you correctly, you wish that I had brought the Viceroy under the pillory. If you do, I assure you that if you read my articles you will see that I have done so. Indeed I have suggested that the under-officials should be left severely alone.[1] Our business is to impale the V[iceroy] and the G[overnor]. I cannot subscribe to the charge that I hide the truth, either out of consideration or goodwill or desire for co-operation. All these three in my case are conditioned by truthfulness. And if I have appeared to friends to have failed, it has never been a conscious lapse. I have not joined the cry for recall of the V[iceroy], because I never direct my shafts aimlessly. I am not so much concerned with the recall of a V[iceroy] as with securing justice. I know the exquisite story of the Prophet related by you and in my very humble manner I have indeed endeavoured to imitate his staunchness be it ever so imperfectly. You do yourself and me a wrong by thinking that I have yielded to any threat in suspending C[ivil] D[isobedience]. I suspended it in obedience to the canons of satyagraha as I know it. And you have, I feel, blundered because I think you have not yet assimilated the principles of satyagraha. A satyagrahi is the strongest when he appears to the outsider to have weakened. I suspended [it] because I have thereby accelerated the repeal of the R[owlatt] A[ct], that Act has to be removed from the S[tatute] B[ook]. Its mere suspension will not satisfy me. I shall pay for its removal with my life if need be, for, I repeat, satyagraha is the very breath of my nostrils. And you may be assured that no matter what activities I might be indulging in for the moment, the question of repeal of the R[owlatt] A[ct] is ever present with me. I am glad you are interesting yourself in swadeshi. I am sorry to gather that you have rather an unhappy time at a B[omba]y stores. You can have all the cloth you need at the S[wadeshi] Bhandar at the cheapest rate. The address is. . . . .

[1] *Vide* "The Indemnity Bill", 20-9-1919.

If there is any difficulty, you will write to me. Do please send me the two Urdu papers in exchange for *Y*[*oung*] *I*[*ndia*].

Imam Saheb Bawazeer who is living with me will read them occasionally to me. I am opposed to advertisements because they are so untrue. Every decent paper should, free of charge, advertise books which it considers the public should read. It is, in my opinion, one of the necessary functions of a N[ews] p[aper]. I feel too that we should have a general advertising agency which for a payment will advertise all useful things. But I abhor the idea of a newspaper making money out of advertisements. It is a fraud on the public. I hope to leave for the Punjab next week. If I am not required in the P[unja]b during the whole of Nov[ember], you will certainly find me either at Bombay or at Ah[me]d[abad]. I shall be delighted to meet you again and exchange views. I need hardly assure you that I value your frankness and independent spirit. I think this answers your letter in full.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat of the handwritten draft : S.N. 11706

158. THE SATYAGRAHI LAWYERS[1]

The judgment[2] of the High Court in the case of the satyagrahi lawyers is, to say the least, highly unsatisfactory. It has shirked the issue. The logical outcome of the judgment should have been punishment and not a postponement of it. The lawyers in ques-

[1] This appeared among the "Notes".

[2] This was reproduced in the same issue, and read as follows: "Separate but concurring judgments were delivered by the Chief Justice and Justices Heaton and Kajiji of the Bombay High Court in the case of the satyagrahi lawyers of Ahmedabad on 15th October, 1919. In summing up, the Chief Justice in his judgment said: 'I wish to make it perfectly clear that, apart from any other considerations, those who are enrolled as advocates or pleaders of this High Court or of the District Courts cannot serve two masters. It may be that after due consideration of this expression of our opinion, the respondents may see the force of it. We have no desire to deal harshly with them and for the present we shall content ourselves with giving them the warning. We do so because we are told that the Satyagraha Sabha since the riots of April has been quiescent. Whether we shall take any further action depends entirely on the development, if any, of the satyagraha movement, so that these notices will be adjourned with leave to the Advocate-General and the respondents to move for their restoration to the Board should occasion arise.' "

tion had shown no repentance. So far as the public know, they will be ready to offer civil disobedience should the occasion arise. The issue having been raised, the lawyers did not ask for mercy but a clear decision. As it is, they do not know where they are.

The learned Judges have laid down principles of legal conduct which, in our humble opinion, are open to question. For instance, what is the meaning of "those who live by the law must keep the law"? If it means that no lawyer may ever commit a civil breach without incurring the displeasure of the Court, it means utter stagnation. Lawyers are the persons most able to appreciate the dangers of bad legislation and it must be with them a sacred duty by committing civil breach to prevent a criminal breach. Lawyers should be guardians of law and liberty and as such are interested in keeping the statute-book of the country 'pure and undefiled'. But the Judges of the Bombay High Court have presented to them a mercenary view of their profession and have even confounded the functions of judges and lawyers. The only escape from the intolerable situation created by the judgment is for the respondents to have the case restored to the Board, reargued, and to ask for a final decision. Fortunately, the Judges have left the course open to the satyagrahi lawyers.

Young India, 22-10-1919

159. LETTER TO P. S. TO GOVERNOR, MADRAS

AHMEDABAD,
October 22, 1919

DEAR MR. DROFF,

Will you please convey to His Excellency my thanks for the consideration shown about Miss Esther Faering who has now arrived at the Satyagraha Ashram?[1]

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat of the draft in Gandhiji's hand : S.N. 6933

[1] On October 4, Gandhiji had wired the Private Secretary to the Governor of Madras to facilitate Esther Faering's early departure for Ahmedabad.

CWMG - XVI

160. LETTER TO REGISTRAR, HIGH COURT, BOMBAY[1]

SABARMATI,
October 22, 1919

TO
THE REGISTRAR
HIGH COURT
BOMBAY

DEAR SIR,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 20th instant regarding the "publication in *Young India* on the 6th August of a private letter addressed by Mr. Kennedy, Dt. Judge of Ahmedabad" and comments thereon in *Young India*.

I am grateful to the Hon'ble the Chief Justice for not interrupting my preparations for going to the Punjab. The letter in question was in no way understood by me to be private, nor did the contents lead me to think so. It came into my possession in the ordinary course, and I decided to publish it only after I understood that it was received by the giver in a proper, regular and open manner. In my humble opinion I was within the rights of a journalist in publishing the letter in question and making comments thereon. I believed the letter to be of great public importance and one that called for public criticism.

[1] On October 18, Gandhiji received a letter from the Registrar of the Bombay High Court as follows: "I am directed by the Hon'ble the Chief Justice to request you to attend His Lordship's Chamber on Monday the 20th instant at 11 a.m. so that you may have opportunity of giving an explanation regarding the publication in *Young India* on the 6th August of a private letter addressed by Mr. Kennedy, District Judge of Ahmedabad, to the Registrar, Bombay High Court, together with certain comments thereon." Gandhiji appears to have sent a telegraphic reply saying in substance that "he was unable to attend as he was going to the Punjab and asked whether an explanation in writing would do." The actual text of the telegram is not available. The Registrar wrote in reply: "With reference to your telegram of the 20th instant, I am directed by the Hon'ble the Chief Justice to say that His Lordship does not want to interfere with your preparations for going to the Punjab. His Lordship is therefore willing, for the present, to receive a written explanation. The point I am directed to state is that the letter and the comments thereon were published without the permission of this Court at a time when proceedings were pending in the court in connection with the said letter." To this communication the above was Gandhiji's rejoinder.

I trust that His Lordship will be satisfied with the explanation submitted by me.

My address in Lahore will be Care Mrs. Sarladevi Choudhrani.[1]

Yours, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the handwritten original : S.N. 6956

161. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING

ON THE TRAIN,
Thursday [*October 23, 1919*][2]

MY DEAR CHILD,

I do want you to feel at home at the Ashram. I do not want you to feel or think you are in the midst of strangers. Pick up a few words in Hindustani daily and the linguistic barrier will vanish.

If the Ashram is your home, you must reproduce the necessary home comforts. Pray demand them. Send me a line daily.

Remember that love is never afraid, it has *no secrets*. You will therefore open your heart to all and you will, I doubt not, find a response in every heart. Love will not be denied for it is ever patient and ever suffering. And love is service, therefore, it ever rejoices in service.

Do keep your health.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in N.A.I.; also *My Dear Child*, p. 41

[1] The Registrar replied on October 31 informing Gandhiji that the Chief Justice did not consider his explanation satisfactory, and forwarding the text of an apology to be submitted by Gandhiji; *vide* "Telegram to Registrar, High Court, Bombay," 7-11-1919.

[2] The letter appears to have been written after Gandhiji left Ahmedabad on his tour of the Punjab, soon after Esther Faering had arrived at the Ashram.

CWMG - XVI

162. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

[*October 23, 1919*]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

After reading the accompanying letter[1], make what arrangements you think best for Miss Faering. I think Narahari's last sentence is perfectly correct. I had thought of sending him a telegram about her while on my way here, but gave up the idea. If you take her out for a walk every morning, as I used to take you out, this flower will bloom the better and will give sweet fragrance.

You are looking after Mahadev, I am sure.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5778. Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

163. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING

C/O SARLA DEVI CHOUDHRANI,
LAHORE,
October 24, 1919

MY DEAR CHILD,

This is just to tell you you are with me in thought. I had a most wonderful experience here.[2]

With love,

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat of the original in N.A.I.; also *My Dear Child*, p. 44

[1] Presumably, this was the preceding item.

[2] The reference apparently is to the reception accorded to Gandhiji on arrival at Lahore.

CWMG - XVI

164. TO THE PEOPLE OF KATHIAWAR

A gentleman from Kathiawar has given Rs. 25,000 as a gift. His original aim was that I should use the sum in propagating swadeshi in one definite place only. I felt that such a large sum could not be spent in that way. Then he suggested my utilizing the amount [for promoting swadeshi] among the people in the particular State. Under this restriction, too, I felt I could not use it to good purpose. He has, therefore, given me the freedom to spend the sum for the whole of Kathiawar and I have agreed.

Even so I visualize difficulties in using the amount in a way which would be worthy of this gentleman's liberality. If the people of Kathiawar do not help me to the utmost, I would not be able to utilize the sum satisfactorily.

It is to be used only for promoting swadeshi. He has accepted my definition of swadeshi, which is, to increase the production of cloth in the country mainly by promoting hand-spinning and hand-weaving, and thereby saving the crores of rupees going out every year on account of cloth.

Promoting hand-spinning and hand-weaving is the easiest thing if spinners and weavers are available. If the Indian States take up the matter, the work can be done easily enough. The following are my humble suggestions to the States and their Diwans:

1. Remove the levy in your State, if any, on hand-made cloth produced in Kathiawar.
2. Do not tax hand-spun yarn produced elsewhere or yarn from Indian mills.
3. Do not encourage the peasants to sell cotton; encourage them rather to store it.
4. Improve the cotton. This can easily be done.
5. Encourage the use of cloth woven in your own State from yarn spun there. You, too, should wear only such cloth.
6. Have Indian-style spinning-wheels and looms manufactured in your State and offer them to your subjects at cost price.
7. Introduce the spinning-wheel and the loom in your primary schools and let the boys and girls be taught this craft as a compulsory subject.

If the Rajas, Maharajas and the Diwans take up this work, I can keep the foregoing donation unspent; I may then have to request the donor to permit me to use it for another purpose.

CWMG: XXVI

However, it cannot be expected that all the States will accept so very readily the importance of the swadeshi dharma.

It is likely, therefore, that the amount will have to be used among the people.

Men can do a lot if they will. They may find out the weavers in various places and give them encouragement.

They may advise the peasants to store their cotton.

They may advise the women among their relations to take to spinning.

For this purpose, it is necessary to make arrangements

1. to supply spinning-wheels;
2. to supply slivers; and
3. to collect yarn in exchange for the slivers and pay for it.

Then, for weaving, it is necessary to make arrangements

1. to supply yarn; and
2. to collect an equal quantity of cloth and pay for it.

Finally, it is necessary to promote its use, that is, to run a shop for its sale.

For all this work, diligent and honest workers are required. Since people cannot afford to work without payment, the donation can be used to pay a living wage to honest workers, if available. The associations of voluntary workers in Kathiawar can give the fullest help in this matter. If a large committee consisting of respectable men and women, who would be prepared to work, can be formed for this purpose and if a sub-committee is appointed under it, the work can be done promptly. It is hoped that people willing to join in this work, with or without payment, will immediately write to us at the Ashram address.

However, until the women take a leading part in this movement it will not gather momentum. It is women mostly who do spinning. They are in possession of an inexhaustible treasure of the nation, having plenty of time on their hands. By utilizing it, they will be serving the nation, even if they ask to be paid.

Whenever I go to Kathiawar, I receive much love. As a token of their love, I want all of them—the old and the young, the high and the low, the Rajas and their subjects—to observe strict swadeshi dharma and this they can easily do.

From Kathiawar, I expect cloth worth one crore of rupees annually; that is, I am endeavouring to put one crore of rupees into circulation among the people there. I wish to spend the foregoing Rs. 25,000 for this purpose. There are many intelligent women and weavers in Kathiawar; what is needed is men who will bring them together and set them working.

CWMG - XXVI

I feel pained to see large numbers of men and women from Kathiawar crowding every train going to Bombay in a mad rush to get there. Unable to earn their livelihood in Kathiawar, they go running about. So many of them, at any rate, who may set a crore of rupees in circulation during a year, have no need at all to leave Kathiawar for a living.

There are indeed few places in India which people may leave as affording no means of making a living. I know fully well that the number of our railway passengers is no index of the country's prosperity. The giving up of swadeshi is a potent cause of our miserable condition. Our prosperity lies in its revival.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 26-10-1919

165. NOTES

Women Labourers

In writing about women labourers, Mrs. Vidyagouri[1] has not touched upon a new subject. However, when our attention is drawn to any matter of which we knew but had taken no notice, it should be treated as a new subject. The solution offered by Mrs. Vidyagouri is as difficult, it seems to us, as the two remedies which she found to be almost impracticable. It is too much to expect that employers will be kind to women labourers. We think it possible for masons, etc., to be civilized without making themselves angels. Women labourers can learn to protect their honour. All three need education; they all need to be enlightened as to their condition. The group which we approach first will be the first to have decency and self-respect introduced among them. We must necessarily approach all three; those who have patriotism in them and have occasion for contact with all three classes may entreat members of each class. If Mrs. Vidyagouri were to start an association of thoughtful women like herself and go among women labourers, what seems impossible to her will become possible.

Difficulties of Clerks

Shri Popatlal Nanji sends us for our readers a letter on the hardships of clerks in which he says that a good many shop-

[1] Vidyagouri Nilkanth, a social worker

CWMG-XVI

owners are rude, say all manner of harsh things to clerks and exact excessive work from them. Shop-owners should look kindly upon their employees, whether clerks or gate-keepers, and be polite to them. But can it be that the masters alone are to blame? In keeping up slavery, slaves too play no less important a part any day. A servant's loyalty consists in his honesty and industry; he is not bound to tolerate unseemly behaviour. Servants show themselves to be so completely broken in spirit that they look upon service as their all in all. They ought to shake off this helplessness. We believe that a man who is sincerely ready to work, has sound health and is not ashamed to work with his body will never find it difficult to earn enough for his livelihood. The many movements in our country make no progress for want of sincere and diligent workers. These movements can absorb men who live by service. We, therefore, advise such men not to be submissive but to stand up. There is no need for them at all to continue in service where they are insulted, where they have to drudge and where their health is undermined. Before national life can make progress, it is necessary that a great many men and women acquire self-respect.

Relief to Those in Distress

It is our moral duty to think, as the new year begins, of the people who suffer. That is in our interest. We can be happy only by making happy the people who suffer. To have this happiness, we should look around and send relief wherever we find suffering.

At present it is the Punjab which suffers especially, and Bengal, where, borne away by floods, many people have become homeless and go naked. It is our particular duty, at the beginning of the new year, to send them what help we can. We spend a great deal, giving dinners to friends and sending costly gifts and sweets to them. People are welcome to do so if they can afford it. But, in everything we do, it is our duty to remember that those who suffer have the first claim on us.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 26-10-1919

CWMG - XVI

166. "*RING OUT THE OLD, RING IN THE NEW*"[1]

[*October 26, 1919*]

(The Year Which Has Ended)

It is difficult to strike the last year's balance. The War has ended but with little result. The hopes it nourished have remained unfulfilled. The Peace, which was expected to be a permanent one, has turned out to be one in name. The War which was greater than the *Mahabharat* war has been proved to be but a prelude to a still greater war. Widespread discontent all over France, America and England after the War—enough to bewilder one. All that has followed seems to be a huge enigma. Here in India we are faced with despair everywhere. It was confidently hoped that, at the close of the War, India would get something substantial, but the hope turned out to be false. For aught we know the reforms may not come. Even if they do, they will be worthless. The Congress-League Scheme, then the Delhi Congress Scheme and subsequent schemes are now airy nothings. We have to wait and see. The Punjab has been a scene of most revolting episodes. Innocent lives have been lost. There reigned a reign of terror. The gulf between the rulers and the ruled has been widened. In these matters it is impossible to strike a correct balance. What is the sum total on the credit side? Or is there something to be debited, and if so, what? Or is it that there is no credit side at all and we have simply to sum up the debit figures?

Was there any silver lining to such a thick, dark cloud of despair? The sun of satyagraha dawned all over India on the 6th of April. The clouds were scattered and the rays could be distinctly seen. But the sun underwent an eclipse in the Punjab and Ahmedabad and its shadows are still haunting us. And yet satyagraha is again seen dawning on most minds, though slowly. There was hartal in many parts of India on the 17th of October amid perfect peace and quiet. Those who believe in God passed that day in fasting and prayer. The Hindus participated in the Moslems' mourning, strengthened the latter's hopes and the bonds of union with them. It may now be very difficult to break the bonds.

[1] The original of this article appeared in two parts in *Navajivan*, 26-10-1919. The occasion was the new year's day according to the Vikram Era.

If someone were to ask: "What was the greatest event of the last year?", we would unhesitatingly say, "It was the acceptance of satyagraha, —however slightly and consciously or unconsciously, both by the rulers and the ruled." And in proof of the statement we would cite *October the 17th*.

(The Year Which Has Commenced)

The hope of India lies in satyagraha. And what is satyagraha? It has often been described. But just as the sun cannot be *fully* described even by the myriad-tongued *sheshnaga*, so also the sun of satyagraha cannot be adequately described. And though we always see the sun but know really very little of it, even so we do ever seem to see the sun of satyagraha but we know precious little about it.

The spheres of satyagraha are swadeshi, social reforms and political reform. And in so far as these are based on satyagraha, so far only, and no further, is their permanence assured. The way of satyagraha is distinct from the beaten track and it is not always easy to discover it. Few have ventured along that path and the footprints on it are few and far between and indistinct, and hence the people's dread of it. And still we clearly find people taking that course, be it ever so slowly.

He to whom satyagraha means nothing more than civil disobedience has never understood satyagraha. No doubt the rigid interpretation of satyagraha does include within its meaning civil disobedience. But only he who has mastered the art of obedience to law knows the art of disobedience to law. Only he who thoroughly knows how to construct may destroy. The poet has sung,

> The path of Truth is the path of the brave,
> It is beyond the power of the cowards.

Swadeshi is satyagraha. It is beyond the power of cowardly spirits to observe or to propagate swadeshi. It is impossible for a coward to foster Hindu-Moslem unity. It takes anyone but a cowardly Mussulman to receive a wound from a Hindu's dagger and *vice versa* and to preserve his mental balance. If both could muster this much forbearance, swarajya would be instantaneously obtained. There is none to forbid us the path of satyagraha, and both swadeshi and Hindu-Moslem unity being in their essence religious, India would incidentally perform an act of religion. This, then, is our prayer for the new year:

CWMG-XVI

"Lord, lead India towards the path of Truth, this doing teach her the religion of swadeshi, and knit the Hindus, Mussulmans, Parsis, Christians and Jews living in India closer together."

Young India, 5-11-1919

167. MESSAGE TO PEOPLE OF AMRITSAR[1]

[LAHORE,
October 27, 1919]

Please tell the public that I have been simply unable to go, because the mission on which I have come requires my presence in Lahore. I hope to see the friends in Amritsar shortly.

The Leader, 2-11-1919

168. PUNJAB LETTER

[*October 27, 1919*][2]

When I tried to go to the Punjab last April, I had imagined that my going to Delhi and Lahore would result in restoring peace. In Delhi Swami Shraddhanand had sought permission to go to the Punjab as had Dr. Satyapal from Amritsar. Both had hoped to pacify the people. Meanwhile Dr. Satyapal and Dr. Kitchlew received orders restraining them from speaking in public and they obeyed, too. Before I could reach Delhi, I was stopped and taken into custody. Finally, I was ordered to remain in Bombay Presidency and not to go to the Punjab. We know the result. If I had not been arrested, the subsequent disturbances would not have occurred.

The restriction on my movements was later removed and I was at last able to go to the Punjab. I reached Lahore on the 24th of October. There was a vast concourse at the station. The Hon'ble Pandit Malaviyaji was there. It took us 40 minutes to go from the station to the car. It was extremely difficult to make one's way through the crowd. Twice or thrice I was convinced that someone would be crushed. But where men are overwhelmed

[1] Gandhiji was expected to visit Amritsar on the afternoon of October 27. This teleprinter message was sent at 8 p.m.

[2] Gandhiji's interview with the Lt.-Governor mentioned in the last paragraph took place on this date. It was Monday, and some of the subsequent instalments in the series were also written on Mondays.

with love, accidents are few. This was the case here. Yet there is no doubt that it is very necessary that we learn to make proper arrangements where such crowds gather. As awakening grows day by day, the people will take greater interest in national activities and there will be ever larger crowds. If people learn one extremely simple rule, there need be no accident. When we gather in order to meet someone, those who are behind him and on either side of him should remain at a distance and those in front of him should press forward. Today we do exactly the opposite. Those at the back rush upon the front lines so that the people in between are squeezed between the two. People are pushed about and there is risk of accidents. Consequently, it becomes necessary to protect the person in the centre by holding him right in one's embrace. Everyone will agree that this should not happen. All that is necessary is to give the people some training. And it is imperative that such training be given to the people through volunteers as soon as possible.

In Lahore, I am staying at the house of Sarladevi Choudhrani, the wife of Pandit Rambhuj Dutt. Readers will recollect that Pandit Rambhuj is in jail.

As the Punjab Committee will start meeting from the 29th October[1], I have had very regretfully to cancel my proposed visit to Surat. Discussions are afoot regarding three requests to be made to the Government, viz., that the leaders be released during the Committee's investigations; that among the judges to be appointed to review the cases, one at least should be from outside the Punjab; and that, if the judges feel it necessary to take fresh evidence, they should have the power to do so. These matters are under discussion and Pandit Malaviya is giving them serious thought. It is also rumoured that our lawyers will not be allowed to appear before the Committee.[2] It is expected that some settlement will be arrived at on this point also. If this does not happen, I at any rate am of the opinion that we should refuse to lead evidence before the Committee.

If it is decided to lead evidence, it is likely that Mr. C. R. Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru will be our counsel. Apart from these, a British lawyer also has been invited. His name is Mr. Neville. It is learnt that it will take 15 or 20 days for him to arrive from England.

[1] The Committee held its first sitting, however, on October 31 at Delhi.
[2] C. R. Das and Madan Mohan Malaviya were, however, later permitted.

It is universally acknowledged that Pandit Malaviya and Pandit Motilal Nehru have rendered unique services to the Punjab. At a time when the people were panic-stricken, these two leaders brought them solace and strength. Pandit Motilal has even neglected his legal practice. Swami Shraddhanandji belongs to the Punjab and nothing need be said about his services. Several less-known leaders of the Punjab are also labouring for the cause to the best of their ability. The services rendered by Mr. Andrews it is impossible to measure. His ceaseless work continues unobtrusively. It may be truly said that his left hand does not know what his right hand is doing. I see that his service is the purest charity given in secret. Mr. Andrews can reach places which would be difficult of access to others.

We meet hundreds of men and women here every day. We experience the wonderful faith of India. Among the officers, I have already had interviews with the Dy. Commissioner, Mr. Butler, and the Lt.-Governor. I am making efforts to meet the leaders who are in jail and I hope to succeed fairly soon.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 2-11-1919

169. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING

LAHORE,
Monday [*October 27*] *1919*

MY DEAR CHILD,

I have your letter.

I am having a precious time here. I may not be able to come in the early part of November after all.

Mr. Andrews is here and we often talk of you.

Keep good health please.

With love,

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat of the original in N.A.I.; also *My Dear Child*, p. 43

CWMG - XVI

170. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING

LAHORE,
[*October 28, 1919*]

MY DEAR CHILD,

I have your two letters. I leave [for] Delhi today with Mr. Andrews.

I am glad you are feeling at home there. I am most anxious that you should retain your health and get stronger than you are. The best thing of course is not to worry about anything. Be careful for nothing and to take or prepare the diet that suits you.

Ba wrote to me you were looking after her.

I may some time describe the work here. It is difficult work but it is useful and people gain by it.

Please do not write for *Young India* at present. I do not want to disturb the Government though there is nothing wrong about your writing on the educational system. For the time being let your life speak to your surroundings.

With love,

BAPU

From a photostat of the original in N.A.I.; also *My Dear Child*, pp. 42-3

171. LETTER TO RABINDRANATH TAGORE

AS AT DELHI,
C/O PRINCIPAL RUDRA,
October 28 [*1919*]

DEAR GURUDEV,

I have just arrived in the Punjab and I feel happy that I have been able at last to visit this unhappy land. I am today in Lahore. Tonight both Andrews and I are going to Delhi in connection with the Committee.

I write this to tell you how great have been Andrews' services to the people of this Province. He has done work which no other person could have done. And with him it is a matter of the right hand not knowing what the left hand doeth. It was good of you to have spared him for the Punjab. I am now pleading with him to go to South Africa as soon as he has *finished* the Punjab work.

CWMG XVI

His own intention is not to stir out of Shantiniketan. I tell him the South African work is his speciality and he may not neglect it, when the call has come. Of course he has told me that you have left him free to do as he pleases. And I am hoping that he will go to South Africa. He won't have to be there for any length of time. Two months' stay would suffice.

I have an appeal for funds for the distress in East Bengal. Could you please let me have a pen picture?[1] It will enable me to approach the people more effectively.

Hoping you are keeping well,

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a microfilm of the original in Gandhiji's hand in N.A.I.

172. SPEECH TO LAHORE STUDENTS

[*October 28, 1919*]

On 28th October at 3.30 p.m. Mahatma Gandhi addressed a large number of students of Lahore at Pandit Rambhuj Dutt Chaudhri's house. Preluding his remarks with a few questions as to which of the colleges they belonged to, what was the numerical strength of the latter and how many students were still under the ban of expulsion—to all of which he received answers—, the speaker proceeded further. To get degrees, he said, was not the be-all and end-all of education; moreover, it spoiled their health as well as their pecuniary prospects. Lest he might be misunderstood he explained himself by saying that education, as at present imparted, was too theoretical. Now they ought to supplement it by practical instruction in arts and crafts so that they might be sure of an independent livelihood. They should curtail their needs to a minimum. Ninety-five per cent of India's population was agriculturists, who could not improve their agriculture as long as they remained uneducated.

Mahatma Gandhi continuing said he was sorry to see students living under a cloud of fear. He admonished them to practise *nirbhaya* (fearlessness) which was, according to him, an essential adjunct of education. Let them study the problem of their poverty. They should refuse "to become blotting sheets of civilization", but instead be trustful and self-reliant. He appealed to them first to know what the duty of each of them was and then to perform it. He concluded with the advice that they should observe the five *yamas* and

[1] It is not known if Tagore sent this.

niyamas, i.e., ahimsa, *Satya*, etc. He laid great stress on the practice of *brahmacharya* which was sure to remove all their difficulties.

The Tribune, 30-10-1919

173. ANOTHER MARTIAL LAW CASE FROM THE PUNJAB

Mr. Parshotam Singh, son of Mr. Jamiat Singh Bagga of Wazirabad, has sent me a statement of his father's case, and what is miscalled record of his case and judgment. Mr. Jamiat Singh Bagga is a merchant and banker of Wazirabad. He is 62 years old and suffering from a bad cataract in the eye. He was sentenced to 18 months' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 1,000 or in default to undergo further rigorous imprisonment for six months. I have no hesitation in saying that the judgment is utterly unworthy of anybody calling himself a judge. It is devoid of reasoning and full of imputations and bad logic and if the facts set forth in the son's statement are true, the convicting Magistrate is utterly unfit to sit as a judge. Mr. Jamiat Singh's crime seems to have been that he was present at the mosque meeting and advocated hartal, and that he was a rich man, for the Magistrate disbelieves the testimony of impartial witnesses because "Jamiat Singh is a rich man". It is sufficient for the Magistrate that the accused was with the mob that stoned the troopers, that "if he prevented boys from breaking fencing, there may have been some other reason, but he certainly was in the mob." Thus, everything in favour of the accused is deliberately disregarded by the Magistrate. The reader must go through the judgment to feel the force of my remarks regarding its incoherence. But the son's statement makes what seems apparently to be an injustice appear blacker still. Is it true that the Magistrate confiscated the accused's property without a moment's notice, that the inmates were subjected to the treatment described in the statement, and if it is true, was it not a lawless act? Is it true that the witnesses cited for the defence were not called, that the defence counsel was not allowed to appear, when the charge was framed against the accused? So much for the precious judgment.

The treatment received by the accused before and after judgment seems to have been in keeping with the proceedings of the court. It was an inhuman act to make him walk handcuffed with his bedding under his armpit. It reminds one of General Hudson's speech about the hand and knee order, which, by the way, should be, according to the correction made by Pandit Jawaharlal

Nehru, described as the crawling order. It is evident that the proceedings taken by the authorities were intended, like the crawling order, to produce an impression on the people. It is difficult on any other ground to understand the insulting and cruel treatment to which the accused was subjected. Even the help he rendered the Government during the war period by subscribing the largest amount in Wazirabad to the war loan, and by recruiting, was of no avail. The *sanad* granted to him for his loyal services was of no service to him when he was put in the dock, and treated as a common felon.

I cannot congratulate the Punjab Government on the reduction of the sentence to six months, when the accused seems clearly to be entitled to a full discharge. The case, as appears from the statement, is now to be investigated by the Revision Judges. I have already ventured to express my misgivings about this Revision Tribunal. Its composition cannot inspire any confidence or hope. If the Government fail to repair the irreparable mistakes, create tribunals merely in order to cover themselves, they will forfeit all title to respect and intelligent co-operation. The dead are buried and gone, but it is intolerable that the living, who are now suffering undeserved punishment, are not given an opportunity of showing their innocence before a tribunal in which they and the public can have full confidence.

Young India, 29-10-1919

174. SPEECH AT DELHI MEETING[1]

[*October 29, 1919*]

Mr. Gandhi said he was quite sick of making and hearing speeches. There was need for action and truth and not for speeches. His only message to the people was that they should insist on truth, for untruth had introduced cowardice among Indians. They seemed to be afraid of telling the truth before authorities. That was a grave defect of character in India. Only truth and action were needed.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 31-10-1919

[1] A public meeting under Swami Shraddhanand's chairmanship passed resolutions urging the Hunter Committee to allow representation of various interests before it through Counsel. It urged the release of principal leaders, undergoing imprisonment in the Punjab, for the duration of the Committee's sittings, and the revision of sentences passed by the Punjab courts by two judges with power to admit fresh evidence where records were insufficient. Due to indisposition, the report stated, Gandhiji addressed the gathering seated.

175. TELEGRAM TO SABARMATI ASHRAM

[DELHI,
October 31, 1919]

NO PEACE CELEBRATIONS UNTIL KHILAFAT QUESTION SATISFACTORILY SETTLED.

Bombay Government Records

176. LETTER TO SIR GEORGE BARNES[1]

DELHI,
October 31, 1919

Your kind letter of the 21st instant has been redirected to me at Delhi.

Though I can't yet take the view you take of the changed position, I am prepared to consider it the second best and I shall do what I can to prevent agitation for realizing Mr. Montagu's original declaration. Could you announce the name of the Indian member? I have heard it is to be Mr. Shastriar. I venture to say that no other better choice could be made. Could you also say when Sir Benjamin Robertson is likely to sail for South Africa ?

India Office: Judicial & Public Records: 6140/19

177. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING

DELHI,
Friday [*October 31*] *1919*

MY DEAR CHILD,

You will teach the children[2] not so much reading and writing as what is character and what it means. It therefore gives me much joy to know that you will soon be coming in close touch with the children.

Please tell Sundaram to write to me as also Krishna and Manidatta.

[1] Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council
[2] In the Ashram

CWMG - INDIA

I am not likely to return yet for a fortnight.

Mr. Andrews is with me and we are both trying to bring about peace.

I wonder if the coming of the children causes some overcrowding and inconvenience.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat of the original in N.A.I.; also *My Dear Child*, pp. 41-2

178. LETTER TO A FRIEND

[DELHI,]
Kartik Sud 7 [*October 31, 1919*]

DEAR FRIEND,

Chi. Chhaganlal writes to me to say that you have been waiting to receive 50 spinning-wheels from me. I don't recollect anything about this. All the same, if you want any in addition to the ten I sent, I shall certainly be in a position to supply them. You should, however, get them made there. I am at present in the Punjab.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: G.N. 5714

179. LETTER TO THE PRESS[1]

DELHI,
November 1, 1919

Several friends have inquired what should be the position regarding the forthcoming peace celebrations. On the Khilafat Day, I know that resolutions were passed at some meetings to the effect that Mohammedans could not participate in the celebrations if the Khilafat question was not satisfactorily settled. There can be no peace in Indian estimation so long as the great question remains unsolved and the Mohammedan sentiment is in danger of being lacerated, and millions of Mohammedans remaining in suspense

[1] This was published in several leading newspapers and also in *Young India*, 5-11-1919.

CWMG - XVII

or grief, it is hardly possible for the Hindus, Parsis, Christians, Jews and others for whom India is the land of their adoption or birth to take part in the forthcoming rejoicing. I venture to think that His Excellency the Viceroy can, if he will, tell His Majesty's ministers that Indians cannot participate in the celebration, so long as the Khilafat question remains unsettled. And I do hope that His Majesty's ministers will recognize the necessity of securing and publishing an honourable settlement of the question before asking us to take part in peace celebrations.

The Leader, 3-11-1919

180. INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS OF INDIA[1]

[DELHI,
November 1, 1919]

It is a matter of very great regret that Mr. Montagu's message to His Excellency the Viceroy so materially alters the position. I do, however, feel that any agitation insisting upon the appointment on the Commission[2] of Indian representatives may damage our case which is so overwhelmingly strong. If a representative, like Mr. Sastri, is appointed along with Sir Benjamin Robertson to put before the South African Government and the forthcoming Commission the Indian case, it would be the next best thing. In my opinion, our effort should be concentrated upon securing a proper reference to the Commission in the place of the very narrow one, which we are led to believe, is likely to be suggested by the Union Government. *The Times of India* is really rendering a great service in moulding and consolidating public opinion on this question, irrespective of class or race. It is not enough that merely the trade question is referred to the Commission. The whole of the Law 3 of 1885 must come under review, leaving aside, for the time being, the question of the political status. Our goal must be the restoration of full trading and property rights of Indians lawfully settled in South Africa. This is what even Australia has allowed, although it was Australia which led the anti-Asiatic cry. We must also guard against the Commission whittling down any of the rights already being enjoyed by the settlers. By no

[1] This was published in several leading newspapers.

[2] The reference is to the Commission appointed by the Union Government to go into the question of Asiatics trading and holding lands in South Africa.

canon of justice or propriety can the existing rights be taken away from the Indian settlers, but if we do not take care and provide beforehand, there is every danger of such a catastrophe happening. It actually happened with the Select Committee of the Union Parliament whose findings produced the new legislation we so much deplore.

New India, 2-11-1919

181. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI[1]

DELHI,
Kartik Sud 8 [*November 1, 1919*]

. . . I take it that you surely are not one to be frightened by death. Everyone pays the debt from him in this life and departs. The soul inhabiting a child's body may be a *jnani* while the one inhabiting an old man's body may be unenlightened. This being so, why should we mourn? . . .

[From Gujarati]

Bapuni Prasadi

182. FATHER OF THE WORLD [–IV]

We have, so far, given some thought to the peasant's condition. We have also seen that the rules of cleanliness are not followed in villages. The saying that good health is the first condition of happiness has much truth in it. Men and women who have reached a high position can look after themselves even when they fall ill. But we who have yet to rise to the top, will fall by the way if we do not keep fit.

There is a saying in English: "One cannot reach heaven with cold feet." In a cold country like England, if the feet remain cold one can suffer agonies. One cannot remember God in such a state. It is said that "cleanliness is next to godliness". There is no reason why we should be dirty or live in dirty surroundings. There is no sanctity in dirt! Filth is a sign of ignorance and sloth. How, then, are peasants to be rescued from it? Let us examine the rules of cleanliness.

[1] The letter was written on the death of the addressee's uncle.

CWMG XVII

1. Many of our diseases originate from our latrines or from our custom of going to the fields for evacuation. Every house must have a latrine. Only able-bodied adults can go out. If there is no latrine available, the rest turn their courtyard, lanes or houses into latrines, dirtying the place and poisoning the air. We can, therefore, lay down two rules. If anyone wants to evacuate in the open, it must be at a distance of a mile from the village. There must be no habitation in its vicinity, nor any human traffic near by. The person must dig a hole and after using it must cover the faeces with earth. If all the earth that has been dug out is put back, the faeces will be properly covered. By taking this little trouble, we can observe an important rule of cleanliness. Sensible peasants may evacuate in their fields and obtain free manure. This is one rule.

Even if the open space is thus availed of, every house should necessarily have a latrine. This should have a bucket. Here also every person should, after use, cover the faeces with earth in order to obviate offensive odours, prevent buzzing of flies and the breeding of vermin. This bucket must be regularly cleaned. A pit sunk to serve as a latrine is useless. The earth's crust, to the depth of one foot, is swarming with germs. The refuse buried in this portion is immediately transformed into manure. Earth very deep down does not contain enough germs to turn filth into manure. Consequently, filth which has been buried very deep produces foul gases and pollutes the air. The bucket may be of iron or earth coated with paint. This also requires not money but industry. Urine too should not be passed in any and every place. It should be regarded a sin to pass urine in the street. There should be ditches for the purpose and, if there is plenty of earth in them, no bad smell will be produced, there will be no splashing and the earth will turn into manure. This, then, is the second rule. If every peasant follows it, not only will his health improve but he will also profit materially thereby as, without labour, he will obtain valuable manure.

2. No one should spit or clean his nose on the streets. In some cases the sputum is so harmful that germs are carried from it and they infect others with tuberculosis. In some places spitting on the road is a criminal offence. Those who spit after chewing betel leaves and tobacco have no consideration for the feelings of others. Spittle, mucus from the nose, etc., should also be covered with earth.

3. Peasants are very careless about water. The well or pond from which drinking and cooking water is taken must be kept clean. It should contain no leaves. No one may bathe there, nor should cattle or clothes be washed in it. Here also all that is needed is a

little effort in the beginning. It is easy enough to keep a well clean. It is slightly more difficult to keep a pond clean, but this also will be easy if people are properly educated. If drinking filthy or polluted water caused disgust, it would be easy to follow the rules of hygiene with regard to water. Water must always be strained through a thick, clean cloth.

An old woman was once dusting a table. She washed it with soap and wiped it with a rag; and yet it refused to be clean, try how hard she might. She would change the soap and the rag but the table remained the same. Someone said, "Old lady, if you take a clean cloth in place of that rag, the table will be clean in no time." The old woman understood. Similarly, rather than use a dirty cloth to filter water it is better not to filter it at all.

4. It is scarcely necessary to enlarge upon the rule that dirt must not be thrown on the street. Disposal of refuse is also a science. Glass, iron, etc., should be buried deep. Twigs and sticks used for cleaning teeth should be washed, dried and used for fuel. Rags may be sold. Left-over food, peelings, etc., should be buried and turned into manure. I have seen many a heap of manure prepared in this way. Paper can be made from rags. It should not be necessary to employ anyone to remove refuse in a village, because there is very little of it and most of it can be converted into manure.

5. Near the village or dwellings, there should be no ditches in which water can collect. Mosquitoes do not breed where water does not stagnate. Where there are no mosquitoes, the incidence of malaria is low. At one time, water used to collect around Delhi. After the hollows were filled, mosquitoes were greatly reduced and so also was malaria.

6. I hope no one will ask why I filled this article with rules of cleanliness. It is on the observance of these rules that the health of 21 crores of peasants depends.

7. The worker who teaches the peasants of his village these rules will increase the life-span of the residents and will have taken a great step towards prevention of diseases. This is the most difficult task of all because there are few who take interest in it. Even so, it will have to be attended to some day. One cannot go wrong in the performance of this solemn duty. However little the effort, the fruit will be in proportion. He who wishes may start the work and he will find that he is able to improve the health of the village within a year.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 2-11-1919

183. NOTES

Rowlatt Petition

We publish the Rowlatt petition[1] as a supplement to this issue. It has to be despatched with all possible haste. It should have a good many signatures on it. All men and women living in British India can sign it. Readers of *Navajivan* can help a great deal in getting this done. The petition must contain particulars of the signatory's occupation, name and address in full. It would be better if the name of the volunteer was also entered but those who sign the petition without being approached by a volunteer need not give such a name. After signing the petition, the signatory should send it to the *Navajivan* office; we shall forward it to the proper quarters. We hope that readers of *Navajivan* will give us all help in this matter, and that immediately.

Let it not be thought that the petition will serve no purpose. A petition, by itself, is a kind of education. It can help to focus the attention of the people on its subject. A petition not backed by strength or action, which itself comes to be looked upon as strength or action, comes to nothing, but a petition backed by strength and action serves a most useful purpose. This Rowlatt petition is of the latter type. Behind it is the incomparable power of satyagraha; those who have taken the lead in this matter do not intend to go to sleep after having taken the signatures on it. We hope, therefore, that thousands will work to obtain signatures on it, realizing how valuable it is.

Help to the Punjab

We publish elsewhere in this issue an account of the work done in Madras for the relief of the families, now left without support, of those who have been sentenced by the different courts or killed or wounded in the disturbances in the Punjab in April. There being more rich people in Calcutta and Bombay, a larger fund has been collected in these places. But the credit for the best collection drive among the average middle class goes, more or less, to Madras. The figures for contributions to the fund received from this city up to date are also published in this issue. We are sure that, on reading them, the true Ahmedabadis will feel ashamed of themselves. The contributions received during

[1] *Vide* Appendix VI.

CWMG - XVI

the last week or two merely prove that we have still to make a real effort about this. On every side we see people discussing the Punjab incidents with a good deal of interest. But we fear there is very little realization of the need to give practical shape to the abundant sympathy for the thousands of helpless people, especially women and children, of this unhappy province. A Committee has been appointed to inquire into the administration of Martial Law in the Punjab, and, when eminent men like the revered Pandit Malaviya, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Swami Shraddhanand and Mr. Andrews are working hard to present before it the case of the people of the Punjab, there is little need for resolutions on the subject or discussions about it. Rather, the poor and the rich, men and women, all may offer what little they can for the relief of the destitute families in the Punjab. No one need hold back at the thought that this would be helping the families of those who had taken part in the disturbances or had received sentences. Even the enemy troops wounded in fighting are nursed carefully. We hope, then, that everyone will embrace the duty, dictated by love, of succouring the innocent families of the guilty.

Centre of Pilgrimage

We know from our own experience that there is no exaggeration in the picture of Dakorji given by Dr. Lakshmiprasad. Its condition is such that no person who wants to observe the rules of cleanliness can stay there for 24 hours. No one bothers about people dirtying the banks of the lake. The pilgrims spend their time somehow. As we take no pride in Dakorji, even the station there looks like a building in ruins. In a place visited by hundreds of thousands of people every year, the comforts are of the fewest!

If we look at the inside of the temple, even there we find filth. The priests look dull and inert. A receiver has been appointed for Dakorji's jewellery. How can *Vaishnavas*[1] bear the affairs of a holy place of pilgrimage being taken to a court of law? A religious tradition which promotes morality and which has been graced by persons like Narasinha Mehta and Mirabai seems, at present, to have become the enemy of morality.

Who are the people visiting Dakorji? There is no doubt that some of them are simple-hearted and unsuspecting pilgrims, but it is certain that impostors also visit the place to further their own hypocritical designs.

[1] Worshippers of Vishnu, the Preserver in the Hindu Trinity

How can this darkness of immorality and filthiness be got rid of? What is the duty of *Vaishnavas*? It is not that Dakorji is the only centre of pilgrimage which is being desecrated. We observe the same condition in Kashi Vishvanath. Were the *Vaishnava* trustees to behave like true heirs of Prahlad, they could kick out the numerous Hiranyakashipus in Dakor. If they would bring lustre to the *Vaishnava* way of life, there are many reforms they could introduce. The real power is with the pilgrims, if they became enlightened enough. That they should be enlightened means, however, that crores of Hindus should understand the profound wisdom of their religion and its essential principles. That hour is far away.

The *Bhatia*[1] battalion has started going there. These, too, could do something, were Ranchhodji[2] to dwell in their hearts. Their duty is not only to keep order—they should not be content merely with that—but to suppress immorality wherever they find it. For this they can get suitable literature distributed among the people.

Maharajas[3] can do much indeed, but we doubt if a copy of *Navajivan* ever finds its way into their hands. *Vaishnava* readers can draw their attention to this state of rot. And *Vaishnava bhaktas*[4] can explain to them their duty.

The question which should especially exercise swarajists is this: "If we can bring about no improvements in our centres of pilgrimage, what shall we be able to do when we get swaraj?" Surely, no one believes that these places will improve automatically on our getting swaraj.

Dr. Lakshmiprasad has suggested that the Dakor Municipality can do something about it. A municipality means the people. Institutions like these have no soul in them. They are like so many carts. They go the way the driver takes them. The municipality will bring about cleanliness only when people are roused and ask for it. Again, even where there is no municipality elected by the people themselves, unexpectedly some improvement comes about. Improvements do not take place because of a municipality but because of the intelligence and interest of some individuals.

INDIGENOUS SPINNING-WHEEL

We publish under this head an article by Shri Biharilal Kantawala and we draw the attention of every patriotic reader to it. If

[1] Name of a community in Cutch. Its members used to attend the temple as volunteers to keep order.

[2] The deity in the Dakorji temple

[3] Heads of *Vaishnava* temples, here used in a special sense

[4] Devotees

CWMG - XVI

others exercise their minds and give their views as Shri Biharilal has done, the needed improvements will be made the sooner.

We believe it possible that a spinning-wheel may remain what it is and yet be improved in some ways so that it will spin increased quantities of yarn. We are entirely in agreement with the writer's view that the element of intelligence which the old-style spinning-wheel requires on the part of the spinner should remain in the improved model. We think it worth while to offer the prize donated by Shri Revashankar Mehta.[1] The efforts of those who are trying to increase the quantities of yarn spun will not go entirely in vain. These people should avail themselves of Shri Biharilal's experience. If they bear the suggestion in mind, they will get the results the sooner or abandon unavailing efforts.

We do not agree with the view that cotton cannot be carded by hand. Even today it is so carded in many places and, if the essential features of the present movement come to stay, it will be increasingly carded by hand, for the assumption in this movement is that, by and large, cotton will be used locally where it is produced. For the mills, it may be carded in ginning factories, but to get it carded in such factories for hand-spinning will mean double labour and waste of cotton-seeds.

We welcome the idea of offering prizes for improving the tools so as to make carding easier and discovering simpler means of starching, and we shall certainly secure donations to award prizes to persons doing this. We hope, as well, to be able to announce a definite amount for the prize after obtaining suggestions for a practicable scheme for the purpose. We should say to our readers, however, that they need to interest skilled workers in these matters. People who come into contact with them will find it easy to engage their interest in such inventions.

Spinning-wheel Movement

We invite readers' attention to the report, published in this issue, of the spinning-wheel movement started by the Ahmedabad Swadeshi Sabha. Some important conclusions may easily be drawn from it. First of all, as in Bombay, there is a class of women in Ahmedabad who find it worth their while to spin and earn two or three annas a day. Secondly, a large number of spinning-wheels are being plied in Lunsawad[2]; in fact, so far the number has been increasing every month. In Khadia[3], on the

[1] *Vide* "Notes", 5-10-1919.

[2] & [3] Localities in Ahmedabad

other hand, the number seems to have decreased a little during the third month. Drawing up a list, community-wise, of the women who have bought spinning-wheels will throw some light on this rise and fall in numbers. On a superficial view, it may seem that the residents of Lunsawad, being poorer, have resorted to the spinning-wheel in greater number and on a larger scale. It cannot be denied that there is an element of truth in this conclusion. But it is also worth considering to what extent these figures provide an example of the tendency of the higher-castes, proud of their superior status, to shrink from work generally regarded as mean even when they feel the pinch of poverty, and of the relatively lower communities to welcome suitable work, under the pressure of necessity. Another question, the answer to which will be more instructive, is this: As between the women, on the one hand, in cities like Bombay, Ahmedabad, Surat, etc., and in smaller places, who at present work on the spinning-wheel and, on the other, the thousands and hundreds of thousands of other women of the same class, what percentage earns how much in which work? We request everyone to start immediately collecting figures to find the reply to this instructive question and hope that, meanwhile, all the volunteers and [Swadeshi] Sabhas will oblige us by sending us detailed reports, on the lines of the Ahmedabad report, on the spinning-wheel movements at various places.

TANNERIES

Tanneries[1] means the shops and establishments of *Chamars*[2]. A correspondent informs us that a good many such firms are coming up in the country these days. He adds that it is not desirable that India's trade should increase in this way because this involves the destruction of our cattle wealth.

In saying this, the correspondent has in his goodness raised the issue of compassion to animals. We do not think that tanneries will mean more destruction. There is no reason to believe that increase in the number of tanneries will mean destruction of cattle in greater numbers. In our view, the use of hide from cattle dying in the natural course is no sin. The *Chamar's* profession is an essential one. Man cannot do without shoes. In agriculture, hide is needed at every turn. The countless scoops for drawing water are made of hide. Earnings through this occupation amount to lakhs.

[1] Gandhiji uses the English word.
[2] A community of tanners

CWMG - XVI

At present this occupation is in the hands of *Chamars* and *Mochis*[1]. We should see to it that it does not pass on to firms and leave these starving.

If we do not wake up betimes, the result will be as we have feared. We have never been careful of the interests of our artisans. Looking upon them as dependent on other classes, we have despised them and done the country harm. We treated skilled work as low and exalted clerical work, and thus invited slavery for ourselves. We looked upon masons, shoe-makers, carpenters, blacksmiths and barbers as inferior to us and kept them suppressed. From their trades and their homes we have taken away all courtesy, learning, decency and culture. In the result, their life has become dull and they themselves do not think highly of it. Hence, if they receive school education, they give up their profession; the tailor, likewise, will have nothing to do with the needle; the weaver swears at the loom; as for the scavenger, is it ever possible that, after being educated, he will clean latrines? If we had not despised professions which required one to use one's hands and feet, we would not have fallen into this unhappy state and graduates would have felt no shame in working even as scavengers.

About compassion to animals, too, we have strange notions. Compassion should begin with our own species, that is, with mankind; instead, we believe that it means no more than refusing to kill an animal with a knife. It is needful, of course, to have compassion towards animals, but it is equally needful to have it towards human beings; we should remember, moreover, not to be deceived by anything said under pretext of compassion towards animals. There is no justice or truth in speaking of the use of hide from dead animals as "skinning a live animal".

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 2-11-1919

[1] A community of shoe-makers

184. MESSAGE TO CHRISTIANS[1]

DELHI,
[Before *November 3, 1919*]

[1st.] All Christians, leaders and all, must begin to live more like Jesus.

2nd. You must practise your Christianity without adulterating it or toning it down.

3rd. You must lay greater emphasis upon your central principle —Love.

4th. You must study more sympathetically non-Christian religions and try to discover the good in them.

From a photostat of the typewritten letter: S.N. 6974

185. NOTE OF INTERVIEW ON SOUTH AFRICA[2]

November 3, 1919

He [Gandhiji] said that he was very sorry that the Union Government were unwilling to allow representatives from India to sit upon the Commission. He said that he was going to do what I had asked him to do in my letter, namely, not to raise an agitation himself on the subject, and to do all he could to repress any agitation raised by others. He told me that he had been interviewed during the last day or two, and he had said that he regarded the arrangement made as second best.

I asked him whether he had any strong views on the point, whether the terms of reference to the Commission ought to be enlarged beyond trading

[1] Rev. E. Stanley Jones, a Christian missionary, appears to have interviewed Gandhiji at Delhi *prior* to November 3, on which date he sent Gandhiji a copy of Moffatt's translation of some verses from the 13th Chapter of *1 Corinthians*. The text of Gandhiji's message is extracted from a letter dated November 7 in which Rev. Jones wrote to Gandhiji: "When I had a talk with you the other day and asked you what we might do to make Christianity naturalized and a part of the national life of India, you replied: [Here followed the message.] I would like to ask permission of you to use the above statements. I am sure they would be a means of blessing to us Christians to have this message from you, but I do not want to use it without your permission. . . ."

[2] This is evidently Sir George Barnes' report of the interview Gandhiji had had with him in connection with the South African Commission; *vide* "Letter to Sir George Barnes", 7-11-1919.

rights, and pointed out to him that the recent effort of the Indians to get an enquiry had resulted in what might be regarded as a restriction of the existing rights. He said that he felt strongly that the enquiry ought to extend to the Law of 1885, and considered that an extension in this direction could not possibly result in a restriction of the existing rights.

I asked him his views on the subject of inter-provincial emigration. He said:

I would not ask for this, for I know that we shall not get it. Freedom of emigration between the Provinces would mean freedom to migrate from the Transvaal into the Orange Free State. The Orange Free State has always prohibited the entry of Indians, and there is hardly any Indian in the whole State.

I further asked him what he felt about movement from one Province to another with the intention of returning. A man might, for instance, want to attend the funeral of a relative living over the border. He said:

This is a very small matter, and I think we can rely upon General Smuts to deal with it by executive order.

No legislation, he said, would be required.

He said he was starting for Amritsar (November 3rd), but would consider the question of the enlargement of the terms of reference very carefully, and would let me have his considered views. He said:

I know the South African people, and I fully realize the difficulties which exist. I do not want to fall into the error of asking for what is unwise and what we know we shall not get.

He asked me who was to be the Indian representative before the Commission. I told him that the Union Government had not yet consented to any Indian, but that both the Viceroy and the Secretary of State were entirely at one in wishing for an Indian representative and had urged that one should be received. He asked me whether it was true that Mr. Sastri's name had been suggested by the Viceroy and the Secretary of State. I told him that this was true. He said:

I do not think a better selection could possibly have been made.

Mr. Gandhi said that he hoped that I would send for him at any time I thought he would be useful, and said that he was quite willing to leave Amritsar or Lahore, wherever he was, to give help over the S. African question.

India Office: Judicial & Public Records: 6140/19

CWMG - XVI

186. LETTER TO JIVANLAL B. VYAS[1]

[DELHI,]
November 3, 1919

One rupee as commission for a maund of cloth. If desired, a salary may also be paid. Yarn must be hand-spun only.

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 6803

187. PUNJAB LETTER

DELHI,
Monday, Kartak Sud 8[2] [*November 3, 1919*]

The affection that I am receiving from men and women here in Lahore puts me to shame, while at the same time the unique faith of India and the frankness and generosity of our people enchant me. Young and old continue to come all day to have *darshan*[3] of me. It is impossible for me to go out anywhere alone. As soon as the people catch sight of me, they crowd round. I simply cannot check them. I know of nothing in me which may make me worthy of giving *darshan*. Man's instinctive urge to worship is admirable. But that people should crowd round to have *darshan* of a mere servant is intolerable to me. If I keep on giving *darshan*, my work will suffer. I do not believe that people profit in any way by having *darshan*. The condition of him who gives it is even worse. On one occasion, a friend of mine asked me, "Are you sure that the people's adulation does not make you vain?" He asked the question in all sincerity. What could I reply? I said, "God forbid!" This friend was a prominent Muslim. However, it is no ordinary responsibility which rests on him who gives *darshan*. No man is great enough to give it. I can say truthfully that this only embarrasses me and, if I could put a stop to this practice without hurting people's feelings, I would do so immediately. I have not yet found it possible to do this.

[1] The draft reply was scribbled on a letter dated October 29 from the addressee, in which he had said that, if they were permitted to buy yam packed in boxes and get it woven, they could get yarn of excellent quality on order.

[2] This should be 10

[3] Sight of a person, place or thing considered holy

CWMG - INDIA

I have failed either because my courage is inadequate or my judgment is yet clouded or, perhaps, my principle of non-violence does not allow me to hurt people's feelings. My opinion is that I suffer from both the defects and also that I have a strong inclination to non-violence. I do indeed make every effort to extricate myself from this dilemma. At present, even when people come for *darshan*, I continue to write and do other work. Even as I write this, people come and go but I do not interrupt my work. I salute them and go on with my writing.

It is perfectly clear to me that this is the miracle wrought by even a small measure of devotion to truth and service. I cannot claim that I always conduct myself, in thought, word and deed, according to the truth as I know it. Nor can I say that I always follow the principle of service as I understand it. My only claim is that I am making a prodigious effort to live up to these two principles. And the incomparable love that I have received has made it clear to me that they in whom truth and the spirit of service are manifested in their fulness will assuredly sway the hearts of men and so accomplish their chosen task. I have also come to realize that, in these difficult times, the observance of the principles of truth, service and compassion gives infinite peace to men.

Preparations for Committee

Having met the Lt.-Governor and the Dy. Commissioner in Lahore, I proceeded to Delhi together with Mr. Andrews as a meeting of the Committee had been fixed for the 29th in Delhi. There Mr. Andrews and I met Lord Hunter and had interviews with local officers. All appeared to be keen that the real facts should come to light. The questionnaire which has been issued by the Committee is also so framed as to facilitate the disclosure of whatever information the various parties possess. Two things yet remain, viz., the release of the leaders and the appointment of a judge from outside the Punjab. Efforts are going on towards this end.

Pandit Malaviya

Pandit Malaviya arrived from Kashi on Sunday. He has already sent a telegram to the Lt.-Governor about these two points. Mr. C. R. Das arrived on Monday and will stay with Panditji. The only cause for regret at this juncture is that Pandit Motilal Nehru is taken ill. He has worked hard for the Punjab affair. There must be few who have collected as much information as he.

At the moment he is confined to bed, but it is hoped that he will recover in a week or so. He has had an attack of asthma.

Delhi Meeting

A large meeting was convened in Delhi on Saturday. The purpose of the meeting was to meet me and also to collect money to erect a hall in memory of those who were killed in the firing in April. The meeting was held in the open air but the crowd was so dense that people were constantly falling on one another. I was in the chair. There was loud noise. I felt that in these conditions the meeting could not be conducted at all. No speeches could be audible in this tumult. I, therefore, asked the people to disperse and suggested that volunteers should be employed, the people should be cautioned and instructed in advance in the rules for conducting meetings. On the following day, Sunday, the meeting was called again and the same crowds sat quietly for about two and a half hours. They listened attentively to all the speeches.[1] The collection was also good. Hundreds either gave small amounts in cash or promised contributions. I give all these details here because the further we penetrate into the common and poorer sections of society, the larger will be the crowds. We ought to develop the capacity so to conduct these meetings that quiet is maintained. If suitable arrangements are made in advance, if the volunteers are active and the people are properly instructed, it will be possible to maintain quiet without much effort.

First Open Session

The first open session of the Committee is fixed for today (Monday)[2]. As I am writing this, it has yet to take place. Today evidence is to be given by Mr. Barron, Chief Commissioner of Delhi Province. It is the general impression that if this alert and worthy Commissioner had not been present last April, the results would have been even more terrible. Witnesses from outside include Swami Shraddhanand, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Dr. Ansari, Dr. Abdur Rehman, Shri Krishnalal Ambalal Desai and others. Shri Krishnalal is the son of the late Diwan Bahadur Ambalalbhai. He carries on business in these parts.

Spinning-wheel

To the women who came to visit me in Lahore I spoke at great length about the spinning-wheel, and also begged yarn from

[1] No separate report of the speeches is available.
[2] November 3

them. Hundreds of women came to see me and there was rarely one among them who said she did not know spinning. As soon as I asked for yarn, they began to bring it to me and many of them promised to take up spinning again. There is not much difference between the Punjab spinning-wheel and the old spinning-wheel of Gujarat. The more I discover the similarity in the spinning-wheels and spinning processes all over the country, the more I am convinced that India was one nation in the past and that the people were conscious of their being one nation. So far I have met few men or women who see any harm in spinning.

Tornado in East Bengal

Mr. C. R. Das informs us that there has been a violent tornado in Bengal which has caused serious damage in nearly three-quarters of the Province. Hundreds have been carried away in floods, thousands have been rendered homeless. Many have been reduced to a state of destitution. Committees have been working to render assistance to them. Mr. Das has collected Rs. 2 lakhs and Rs. 3 lakhs more are wanted. He and Sir Rabindranath Tagore have also issued an appeal and I hope that wealthy men from the Bombay Presidency will respond to it. I would suggest that we send a very reliable person on behalf of the Bombay Presidency and organize the relief measures through him. If one of the wealthy persons from there would undertake this work, he could both help the local committee and obtain first-hand information. At the time of the famine in 1956,[1] the people of America sent shiploads of grain to India and even sent their own representatives to see to its distribution.

President of Muslim League

We were afraid that the Muslim League may not meet in Amritsar this time. Not only has this apprehension been removed, but even the president has been elected. The well-known Hakim Ajmal Khan of Delhi has been unanimously elected by the Lucknow Committee. Hakimji's family has lived in Delhi for three generations. It is both an old and a distinguished family. Hakimji gives medicine gratis to the poor. He is known to be such an expert in his profession that even princes invite him for their treatment. He is greatly interested in both the Unani and Ayurvedic systems of medicine. During Lord Hardinge's regime,

[1] Year according to the Vikram era, corresponding to 1900 A.D.

CWMG - XVI

he invited Hakimji to lay the foundation stone of a college[1] which would impart instruction in both these systems. This college has been built on a seven-and-a-half acre plot of land. It is two miles from Delhi, and the building is nearly complete. It contains accommodation for 120 patients. The Western system of medicine also finds a place there. Hakimji plans to introduce a certain amount of instruction in Western surgery. He holds Hindus and Muslims in equal regard and the two communities pay him the same respect. His political views are similar to those of the Congress. His election should be welcomed by Hindus and Muslims alike.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 9-11-1919

188. SPEECH AT WOMEN'S MEETING, AMRITSAR[2]

November 4, 1919

SISTERS,

Amritsar has become a place of pilgrimage not only for me but for every Indian. No penance will suffice for the evil that has been wrought by our hand in Amritsar. It is true that a large number of our people were killed in Jallianwala Bagh. But we ought to have maintained peace even if everyone present had been killed. It is not right, in my opinion, to take blood for blood. Our religion teaches us not to inflict pain on anyone. I regard Amritsar as a place of pilgrimage because our brethren here have recently suffered much. The Government had detained me at Bombay, and I had been wondering when I would have my freedom and be able to visit Amritsar. Now, having been freed, I have had the good fortune of meeting you. I will have peace only when I have done the work that I ought to do. You mothers, who must have had either a son, a brother or other relative killed or imprisoned and for whom you sorrow, should not regard it as an infliction. For we shall not become free of pain so long as we have not accustomed ourselves to putting up with hardships. We will have to endure much for the good of the country. In the late War in Europe millions had to sacrifice their lives for the sake of their country's freedom. India cannot become free if we are not ready to endure hardships so long as we live. The joy of freedom

[1] The Tibbia College

[2] The meeting was held at the house of Lala Girdhari Lal, a Congress leader of Amritsar.

is only for those who are ready to face death. In 1896-97 hundreds of thousands died of plague in the Punjab. No one treated the Punjab as a place of pilgrimage then. Now Amritsar and various other places in the Punjab have become centres of pilgrimage because the people here have endured hardships for the good of the country. Being situated in the north, the Punjab is like the crown of India. The Punjabis, therefore, should not give up the use of swadeshi cloth, even if the other provinces do so. The Punjabi brethren I have been meeting in Bombay told me that the women in the Punjab ply the spinning-wheel. It is a matter of joy. But I shall be fully satisfied only when all the men in the Punjab use cloth made from Punjab's yarn. If you cannot find cloth made in your province, get some from another province, but do not wear foreign cloth even if you had to go about naked. Poverty in India is increasing because of our not using swadeshi goods. Tens of millions of our countrymen suffer from want of food and clothing. To relieve their suffering we must make the country prosperous by using swadeshi goods. It is my appeal to all mothers and sisters of the Punjab that they should all use cloth made in the Punjab. We look more graceful if we wear swadeshi instead of foreign cloth. I beg of my Punjabi brethren the boon that they take a vow to spin. I shall feel immensely grateful if you grant me this boon.

[From Hindi]

Mahatma Gandhi

189. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING

LAHORE,
[After *November 4, 1919*][1]

MY DEAR CHILD,

I have your sweet letters. But you will not expect regular replies from me for the time being. I am having rich experiences of life. When you render yourself a willing instrument of service, inexpressible joy is the reward. But more later or when we meet.

With love,

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat of the original in N.A.I.; also *My Dear Child*, p. 43

[1] This letter appears to have been written after Gandhiji's visit to Amritsar in November, where the people greeted him with great affection.

190. TELEGRAM TO REGISTRAR, HIGH COURT, BOMBAY

[LAHORE,
November 7, 1919]

LETTER 31ST ULTIMO[1] JUST RECEIVED LAHORE. REGRET EXPLANATION UNSATISFACTORY. AM REFERRING MATTER TO COUNSEL.[2] HOPE ADDRESS ON RECEIPT COUNSEL'S OPINION.

The Bombay Law Reporter, Vol. XXII, 1920, p. 371

191. LETTER TO SIR GEORGE BARNES

2, MOZANG ROAD,
LAHORE,
[*November 7, 1919*]

TO
THE HON'BLE SIR GEORGE BARNES, K.C.B.
MEMBER VICEROY'S EXECUTIVE COUNCIL
DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY
[DELHI]

With reference to our conversation,[3] I enclose herewith my note as to the minimum to be included in the reference to the forthcoming South African Commission.

[1] The letter ran as follows: "I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 22nd instant, and to inform you that the Hon'ble the Chief Justice regrets that he cannot regard your explanation as satisfactory. However, His Lordship is willing to concede that you were unaware that you were exceeding the privilege of a journalist provided that you publish in the next issue of *Young India* an apology in the accompanying form."

The apology was worded thus: "Whereas on the 6th August 1919, we published in *Young India* a private letter written by Mr. Kennedy, District Judge of Ahmedabad, to the Registrar of the High Court of Justice at Bombay, and whereas on the same date we also published certain comments on the said letter and whereas it has been pointed out to us that pending certain proceedings in the said High Court in connection with the said letter, we were not justified in publishing the said letter or in commenting thereon. Now we do hereby express our regret and apologise to the Hon'ble the Chief Justice and Judges of the said High Court for the publication of the said letter and the comments thereon." For Gandhiji's reaction to the form of the apology, *vide* "Letter to Registrar, High Court, Bombay", 11-12-1919.

[2] Gandhiji sought Vallabhbhai Patel's advice. On November 16, Mahadev Desai wired to Gandhiji at Lahore: "Saw Vallabhbhai. He thinks publication letter within rights. However case being subjudice clearly contempt of court."

[3] *Vide* "Note of Interview on South Africa", 3-11-1919.

It is assumed for the purpose of this note that General Smuts contemplates referring to the Commission the question of trading rights of Indians in the Transvaal only.

If so, it will not in any way settle the most urgent questions.

The new Act deals with and adversely affects the rights of owning land and trading. It is therefore suggested that the question of trading and owning land, i.e., the laws of 1885 and the Townships Act and the Gold Law in so far as the latter two affect the rights of Indians to own land and to trade within the townships or the Gold areas be referred to the Commission.

It should be clearly understood as between the Union Government and the Government of India that the new Act in so far as it diminishes existing rights should be revised and that the findings of the Commission should not in any way restrict existing rights. The Commission is likely to prove injurious to the existing rights, small as they are, if the above two conditions are not fulfilled.

My proposal should be taken and treated as a whole or rejected altogether.

In making the proposal, I am going against the most moderate public opinion here and against the demands made by the South Africa Indians' Conference recently held at Johannesburg.

Public opinion here as expressed by *The Times of India* requires the restoration of trading rights and ownership of land throughout the Union and the inter-provincial migration. This means entry into the Orange Free State and the rights to trade and own land there. In the present state of public feeling this may be difficult for General Smuts to achieve even if he himself is willing.

The demand of the Conference is wider still and includes the restoration of the political status and the abolition of all legal disabilities. Though this and this alone must be the goal to be aimed at, I recognize that it is not practical politics to strive for it as an immediate aim.

But, if neither the Indian demand nor the lesser one expressed by *The Times of India* is to be urged, it must be clearly understood that there should be no diminution of the existing status.

The Union Government having already opened the question of trade and ownership of property in the Transvaal, through the Select Committee and then the recent legislation, the Commission can well be asked to entertain both these questions without ruffling the prejudices of the white population. It should be remembered that, at the time of the passage of the recent Act, Indians in the Transvaal had the right to receive licenses to trade practi-

cally on the same footing as the Europeans and could under the existing law become virtual owners of land by taking mortgages or forming limited liability companies. I contemplate statutory recognition of the right to trade under general sanitary control and the direct ownership of land in the Transvaal. This is not claiming much or more than they have virtually enjoyed.

So far regarding the reference.

There is the unsatisfactory administration of the Immigrants' Restriction Act which can be improved by diplomatic action without troubling the Commission. The points requiring attention are:

(1) The movement of the Indian settlers from one province to another not for residing but for ceremonial or business visits or for mere passage to the province of domicile. Full facilities without fee should be granted.

(2) The entry of fresh Indians for supplying the needs of the resident population should be placed on a better and more liberal basis.

(3) There should be greater liberality in permitting plural wives to visit their husbands without creating any legal rights for them or their issue.

(4) Restrictions on passports from India or from the Union require complete overhauling whether regarding identification or otherwise.

(5) Men and women of status and students should have freedom to travel to South Africa.

These matters, if they cannot be dealt with diplomatically, should be included in the reference to the forthcoming Commission.

M. K. GANDHI

India Office: Judicial and Public Records: 6140/19

192. SOUTH AFRICA

The news about South Africa appearing in the papers is both startling and distressing. We were led by Mr. Montagu's words to believe that the Commission on the rights of Indians, which is to be appointed in South Africa, would have some members to represent us. Mr. Montagu now informs us that his words were misunderstood and that no one will be appointed on the Commission to represent India. However, Sir Benjamin Robertson will be accompanied by a non-official and the two will present our case. This is disappointing news for us. We think General Smuts

CWMG - XVI

did not have his way and it did not become possible to include anyone from India. So we have had to telegraph[1] Mr. Montagu to set the matter right. But we shall not succeed, through agitation, in getting our men appointed on the Commission. Mr. Montagu can insist on justice being done to us, but it is the South African Government alone which can decide the manner of doing it. Hence, we cannot compel it to appoint anybody from here on its Commission. Even then, if an able man like Mr. Shastriar is appointed by the Government, he and Sir Benjamin Robertson together will be able to secure justice.

The more startling news which we have received is that the Commission will investigate only the issue of trading licences. Such a limited inquiry will not serve the purpose. We shall have to carry on a strong agitation about this. The Commission should be given more powers. The Indians in South Africa have demanded that the inquiry should cover all their rights. We think it will be difficult to bring this about. But we can certainly demand that the inquiry should cover rights of trading and ownership of land; these are our minimum rights. What we have to be more vigilant about is lest the Commission should be empowered to recommend deprivation of the existing rights. It should have no power to recommend abrogation of any of the rights which existed at the time of the passing of the new law. Indians have now almost stopped emigrating to South Africa. The system of indentured labour having been discontinued, the resulting increase in the Indian population there has also stopped. Hence the only question that remains is that of the rights of Indians settled there. They must be allowed to trade honestly and to acquire and dispose of land. There is no room for difference of opinion on this point. The whites of South Africa cannot keep the Indians there merely as slaves or coolies.

Fortunately, the good Mr. Andrews has come forward to help our brethren and is proceeding there. The service he has rendered it is impossible to estimate. Wherever he hears the cry of Indians in distress, he runs to their help. Fiji, Ceylon and the Punjab bear witness to this. In South Africa, he is well known both to the whites and the Indians. And so his going there will inspire courage in our brethren and give us hope that justice will be done.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 9-11-1919

[1] The telegram is not available.

193. FIJI

Only a few days ago it was feared that our indentured brothers and sisters in Fiji would not be released, even at the end of the current year, from their slavery. The Fiji legislature has passed a resolution to the effect that the indenture of the Indian labourers will be terminated in August. We cannot tolerate for a single moment a practice that does not safeguard the modesty of our women. Had the good Mr. Andrews not visited Fiji and brought this evil to our notice, we should still be in the dark about it. Fortunately, fresh news has arrived removing our fear of the prolongation of this slavery and the Indian Government has been informed that those firms which are unable to introduce the reforms suggested by Mr. Andrews will terminate the indentures by the 1st January. On the other hand, those firms which are prepared to introduce these reforms will not terminate the indentures without compensation.

The reader will probably fail to follow this complicated point. Under a Fiji law, many whites hold indentured Indian labourers. These labourers are under contract to serve for a period of five years. Emigration of fresh indentured labourers stopped in 1917, but, after Mr. Andrews' report, we demanded that even those serving terms of indenture should be released before the expiry of the five-year term. A contract which is based on immorality or which leads to immorality must be terminated and there can be no question of paying compensation for terminating it. But the Fiji planters are not prepared to forgo any part of their legal rights. Hence the question of compensation which I have referred to above. It is our bounden duty to secure the release of the Indian labourers even by paying this compensation. The question is merely that of paying £20,000 at the most. I hope that the Government of India will pay this amount and get them released soon. Congratulations on this are due to Sir George Barnes, the Secretary of the Department. Had he not taken a firm stand, the happy results we can expect now would not have been possible. What shall I say about Mr. Andrews? In what way may I congratulate him? He has dedicated his whole life to us. He finds his happiness in the service of India. The Fiji Indians will bless him from the depths of their being.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 9-11-1919

CWMG - XVI

194. NOTES

KHILAFAT AND PEACE CELEBRATIONS

Friends have asked me what we should do during the forthcoming Peace Celebrations. I know that, in some of the meetings held on Khilafat Day, a resolution was passed to the effect that, if the Khilafat problem was not solved to their satisfaction, Muslims would not be able to take part in these celebrations since Indians would, in those circumstances, have no peace of mind. So long as this important problem remains unsolved and there is a fear that Muslim sentiment would be hurt, and so long as our Muslim brethren suffer in suspense and are worried, so long Hindus, Parsis, Christians, Jews and all others for whom India is their land of birth or adoption, can hardly take part in the forthcoming Peace Celebrations. I am bold enough even to imagine His Excellency the Viceroy informing the Ministers of the King-Emperor that, while the Khilafat problem remains unsolved, Indians would not be able to take part in the Peace Celebrations, and I am confident that before inviting us to join the celebrations the Ministers would accept the need for finding an honourable solution and announcing it.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 9-11-1919

195. GIST OF LETTER TO LT.-GOVERNOR, PUNJAB[1]

[LAHORE,
Before *November 12, 1919*]

Firstly the right of public body or bodies to lead evidence should be definitely recognized and such bodies as well as the parties themselves should be allowed to be represented by counsel who should be permitted to help in the elucidation of facts by cross-examination.

Secondly, some at any rate of the more prominent leaders, now in jail, should be released, if necessary on adequate security alike

[1] The report stated *inter alia*: "Some time ago the Congress Sub-committee requested the Government to concede three things in connection with the enquiry." That Gandhiji wrote a letter on the above lines is indicated in the "Punjab Letter", 17-11-1919.

with a view to giving their own evidence from a position of comparative freedom and to their leading evidence on the non-official side and inspiring confidence in the people by their presence.

Thirdly, the tribunal already appointed to revise sentences of summary courts should be so reconstituted and should follow such a procedure as to command public confidence.[1]

The Leader, 14-11-1919

196. TELEGRAM TO RAOJIBHAI MEHTA

RADHANPUR,
November 13, 1919

RAOJIBHAI JAGJIVANDAS
24, OLD MODIKHANA
BOMBAY

TERMS SETTLED. HIS HIGHNESS DESIRES SEEING YOU 13TH AND 15TH DECEMBER. CAN YOU COME POSTING?

Bombay Secret Abstracts, 1919

197. LETTER TO P. S. TO LT.-GOVERNOR, PUNJAB

LAHORE,
November 15, 1919

Will you please tell His Honour that I informed the members of the Congress Sub-committee yesterday that he had kindly consented to consider the principle advanced by the Sub-committee to the extent that six leaders could be released on parole for the day or days they might actually be giving evidence before the Disorders Inquiry Committee. Members admitted that the concession satisfied the principle just barely, but was of no practical

[1] The report concluded: "The first request has been substantially met already. . . unless the three conditions set forth were granted in toto they should boycott the Committee. The conference of non-official leaders in which Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Mr. C. R. Das and a number of local leaders are taking part, has been sitting for hours and hours, discussing the subject but up to the time of writing no definite decision has been arrived at." The despatch in *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of the same date adds: "Pandit Malaviya this morning went to Mr. Harkishan Lal in jail but was refused permission. Subsequently he was in communication with the Punjab Government but what transpired is not known."

CWMG - XVI

value if, on other days, they were not permitted, as prisoners in custody, to attend the Committee meetings in order to instruct counsel in matters specially within their knowledge. This would mean the attendance of say, Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal in custody during the Amritsar hearing generally and their release on parole on the day or days they might be examined. I felt that the point raised was clear and covered by Lord Hunter's letter[1] to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, but Mr. Andrews offered to have it definitely cleared. Deep, therefore, was the disappointment when he returned to say that His Honour would not allow leaders to attend even in the manner suggested. The Congress Sub-committee had, therefore, no course left open to it but to adhere to its decision not to appear before Lord Hunter's Committee.[2]

I cannot help expressing my great regret that His Honour should have declined to grant what an ordinary criminal could claim as a matter of right.

The Leader, 19-11-1919

198. SPEECH AT FAREWELL TO ANDREWS[3]

LAHORE,
November 15, 1919

He [Gandhiji] said that it was not possible for him to say much about Mr. Andrews who was like a brother to him. The sacred bond between them prevented him from giving expression to his feelings on that occasion. He would, however, like to say one thing: Mr. Andrews, a true Englishman that he was, had given his whole life to the cause of India and through his actions and his love for India seemed to say to us: "You may feel you are oppressed by my countrymen, but do not think ill of them; look at me." If the audience wanted to show their regard for Mr. Andrews, they should copy his love and he pleaded not for a blind love but for an enlightened love, the same

[1] For this letter, *vide* Appendix VII.

[2] For the Congress Sub-committee's Statement in this regard, *vide* Appendix VIII.

[3] *Young India* prefaced authorized versions of Gandhiji's and Andrews' speeches as follows: "A most impressive and touching function was the meeting held at Lahore in the Bradlaugh Hall on the 15th instant to bid farewell to Mr. Andrews who was leaving for South Africa. . . . Mr. Gandhi, on being called upon to propose the resolution recording grateful appreciation of Mr. Andrews' very valuable services rendered to the Punjab in its hour of distress, addressed the meeting in Hindi." Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya presided. Among those who attended the meeting were Pandit Motilal Nehru and C. R. Das.

that was shown by Bhakta Prahlad in his dealings with his own father. The lesson that Mr. Andrews' life taught them was that though we would and must resent and resist injustice and oppression wherever we found them, we were to bear no ill will towards the wrongdoer. They were placed by the Government in a most difficult position. They had made it impossible for them, by their refusal to release leaders, to co-operate with Lord Hunter's Committee, as they had hoped to do. Inspite, however, of the imprudent action of the Government, whilst they would not yield to it, they would not be angry. Mr. Andrews had done more for India than many Indians. He had not spared his countrymen, but he did not on that account love them the less, and so could they, without harbouring ill will against Englishmen or the Government, go on fighting for the sake of justice and their honour.[1]

Young India, 26-11-1919

199. PUNJAB LETTER

LAHORE,
Monday, Kartak Vad 11[2] [*November 17, 1919*]

AMRITSAR'S LOVE

From Delhi, I went to Amritsar with Mr. Andrews. What I experienced there was truly unique. It was well-nigh impossible to make our way through the crowds. The entire area outside the station was packed with the citizens of Amritsar. Their cheers and shouts almost overwhelmed me. This huge procession proceeded towards the city. The people filled the car with flowers. I was taken to the mosque, which was thronged with Hindus and Muslims. With great difficulty I made my way from the mosque back to the car, and it was a long time before it reached the Golden Temple of the Sikhs. They call this temple the Durbar Sahib. Its dome and some other parts are gilt and there is a large lake by its side. The adjoining area is also fairly extensive. I found it an impossible feat to cross this open space and reach the main temple. Thousands stood on all sides. There was no dearth of women. I saw them boldly joining this thick crowd. Yet the men were conducting themselves with the

[1] Gandhiji then moved the following resolution: "This meeting of the citizens of Lahore hereby places on record its grateful appreciation of the very valuable services rendered to the Punjab in its hour of distress by Mr. C. F. Andrews and wishes him success in his humanitarian mission to South Africa." C. R. Das supported the resolution.

[2] This should be 10.

CWMG - XVII

utmost courtesy and restraint. This made me particularly happy. This should not, of course, be any special cause for joy. But I know only too well that this is not the usual state of affairs in India. It is my experience that in such crowds restraint is not always observed. We have read that it is disappearing even from the pilgrim bands which proceed to Dakor. Consequently, I was greatly pleased to see it at Durbar Sahib and I should very much like to see it at every place.

I took it upon myself, in this multitude, to teach discipline for a while. Just as the crowd surged forward I would stop, ask the men and women to be seated and remain so until I reached the Durbar Sahib. As long as I stood before them, they remained sitting, but the minute I began to walk, all would suddenly stand up and try to follow me. I made five or six such attempts. I even walked backwards, but the people could not control themselves. Finally, I decided to go ahead and, by the end of about an hour, I had covered the distance of a few steps. This was obstinacy on the people's part. They could not repress their affection. Those who had suffered much washed away their grief with the waters of love.

But what about me? How much of this did I deserve? Those who showered their love were of course blessed, but what about the one on whom it was showered? Many women whose relatives were in jail expected, perhaps, that they would be released through my efforts. But who was I to secure their release? All I can say is that I offer all this love at the feet of the Lord in whose name I serve.

When I had paid my respects at the shrine, I was presented with a scarf and turban; I tied the turban over my cap and put the scarf round my neck. It was no less difficult to go out of the temple than it had been to enter it. This going and coming in a procession took five hours. Yet the people were not satisfied. I was taken to Lala Girdhari Lal's. Thousands remained round the house till six in the evening and I had repeatedly to go out to meet them. Both men and women came. The people of Amritsar say that never before had women come out in such large numbers. They refused to disperse without *upadesh*[1]. "Let us have *upadesh*" is a phrase in common use here. I tried to comfort the women in their sorrow and encouraged them to abandon fear. I requested them not to grieve for those who were in jail and told them that, as long as we did not have thousands of Indians court-

[1] Spiritual counsel or advice

ing the hardships of jail deliberately, we could not make progress. I then advised them to use only swadeshi and suggested that they should spin every day, for some time at least, as a religious duty.

Flood of Energy

These were solemn scenes. Just as the Americans get energy from the Niagara Falls for their use, so can we also make use of the energy which exists at Amritsar and other places. Today this energy flows to waste like that of a waterfall. But it can be turned to valuable use. Patriotic pride has been awakened in the hearts of thousands of men and women. They realize, too, that this patriotism should be informed with the spirit of dharma. They have time, but no discipline, no knowledge, nor have they the zeal and diligence which will endure. Even more than reading and writing, they require the knowledge that touches the heart and the diligence that such knowledge brings. In real fact, however, there is a vast gap between the educated and the people generally regarded as illiterate. There were educated people, too, in this procession. They also were proud of their country. But their way of life differs from that of the illiterate and they believe that, until the latter are given education, the country can make no progress. But, for the uplift of the nation, nothing more is required than love for one's country and readiness to serve her or, in other words, a spiritual awakening. A spiritual awakening means devotion to duty. If each individual understands his present duty and performs it, the next duty will of itself become clear to him.

Today's duty is this:

(1) to fear no man;

(2) to follow the truth always;

(3) to follow the swadeshi dharma for fighting starvation in the country;

(4) that this dharma may be easily followed, to introduce the spinning-wheel into our homes, help in increasing the production of hand-made cloth and to wear garments made of it.

One who fears God will never fear man; hence he will not fear the Government or kings or officers. And who can frighten him who has no fear? None can rule over such a one by force. The Government and similar embodiments of authority will then realize their true functions and prove a beneficial power for subjects who are unafraid. The State's power of punishing is an instrument of fear. When the subjects have abandoned fear, this instrument

loses its effectiveness. This fearlessness can be cultivated only through irreproachable conduct and such purity of conduct is impossible without truth. Thus, practice of truth is the only gateway to our freedom.

Every year we send 60 crores of rupees abroad for our cloth. That is why we need swadeshi. It can spread rapidly only through the spinning-wheel and the handloom. The wheel and the loom, therefore, hold the key to our developing a trade worth 60 crores.

There can be no fearlessness without truth and no wealth without swadeshi. Swaraj, therefore, lies in the practice of these two. If we have the right kind of workers, these two ideas can be taught to the people in no time. In the villages where such workers exist, a beginning should be made to teach these two principles. For this no large buildings or funds are required. What is necessary is zeal and sincerity of purpose.

These thoughts come repeatedly to me after my experiences at Lahore and Amritsar. I present them here to my readers.

In Lahore

We stayed for a day in Amritsar and then came to Lahore. There was much to be done here. Both the Pandits were still away—Motilalji in Prayag and Malaviyaji in Delhi. I therefore busied myself in doing all I could about the evidence to be presented. I also wrote a letter to the Lt.-Governor reminding him that two of the three conditions were yet to be fulfilled.

Two Conditions

The first was that one of the judges who are to review the cases tried in the summary courts should be from outside the Punjab. The second was that the leaders who are in jail should be released during the time that the Committee sat. Explaining the reasons for this condition, I said that without them evidence could not be properly presented. Even their temporary release would give the people courage to give evidence and create faith in the Government's *bona fides*.

In the meanwhile, Pandit Malaviya and Mr. Das arrived from Delhi and Motilalji from Prayag. The members of the Committee also arrived. They inspected Jallianwala Bagh and other places in Amritsar where the people had suffered most. The Committee commenced its sittings on Thursday, the 13th, and the examination of witnesses about the Amritsar incidents started.

Committee Boycotted

From our side, however, the Committee is being boycotted. On Monday, the 10th, a reply came from the Lt.-Governor that a judge from outside the Punjab had been appointed. He was Justice Mullik of the Bihar High Court. The Government had not, however, agreed to the third condition. The Governor said that only prisoners required by the Committee would be brought before it to give evidence. This letter was addressed to Malaviyaji and I, too, received the same reply. The Congress Sub-committee met and Panditji explained the situation. I also made some observations. After much discussion, Panditji as Chairman wrote letters to the Lt.-Governor and Lord Hunter. These have now been released to the Press. They make it clear that, as long as the chief leaders were not released, the Hunter Committee would be boycotted by the people. The reasons for this were stated in the letter to Lord Hunter and a request was made to him that the leaders should be released just as I and some others had been freed in South Africa. Lord Hunter has also replied in the negative. Meanwhile, Mr. Andrews called on the Governor and pressed him to accede to the request. Then I saw the Governor. As a result there was a further small concession: It was agreed that, when the leaders were brought out to give evidence, they would be set free on condition that they returned to sleep in jail. In this the principle behind our demand was being conceded in part and so the Congress Committee met again to consider the issue. It was resolved that the Lt.-Governor's offer be accepted, provided the prisoners were left free on the other days as on parole and permitted to be present in the court to assist our lawyers. Mr. Andrews then went to finalize the matter, but the Governor refused to agree. Panditji has written again to Lord Hunter. The Government officials whose actions are under scrutiny, the Government Pleader among them, are permitted to attend the sittings of the Hunter Committee. Malaviyaji has pointed out that the Congress Committee cannot possibly agree to a partial arrangement whereby Government officers who are in the position of defendants are allowed to be present while our imprisoned leaders may not come to assist our lawyer. The result is that our boycott continues.

Evidence before Hunter Committee

Evidence is still being taken from the Amritsar officers. It seems they admit the main charges. All three Indian members are doing good work. Pandit Jagat Narain's cross-examination is extremely severe. I feel that at times it is harsher than it need

be. Those who know him say that this is his usual manner. Having conducted criminal cases for a long time, he has got into this habit. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad also asks questions in great detail. Sahebzada Sultan Ahmed asks few questions, but these are very much to the point. The British members do not appear to be partial in their questions. The general feeling is that the members of the Committee are not such as would deliberately do an injustice. Whether or not this is so, it is admitted by all that the Indian members are no 'yes-men'.

Our Committee

As we are boycotting the Committee, it is necessary that we do something else instead. The Congress Sub-committee has appointed five Commissioners. These are to study the evidence so far collected and any other that can be obtained, sift it and prepare a report. The five Commissioners are Pandit Motilal Nehru, Mr. Chitta Ranjan Das, Mr. Abbas Tayabji, Mr. Fazl Hussain and myself. Mr. Tayabji will come from Baroda tomorrow and Mr. Fazl Hussain from Calcutta in a few days. These Commissioners have appointed Mr. Santanam of this place as their Secretary. Some local lawyers and others are also working as volunteers.

Andrews' Departure

A large meeting was held in Bradlaugh Hall yesterday to bid farewell to Mr. Andrews who is proceeding to South Africa. Tickets were sold and a sum of over Rs. 2,000 was collected and presented to Mr. Andrews. Pandit Malaviya was in the chair and a resolution was passed appreciating Mr. Andrews' services in the cause of the Punjab and wishing him success in his task in South Africa. Mr. Andrews made a wonderful speech in a voice choked with emotion. I was entrusted with the resolution to be moved at the meeting. Both these speeches are worth reading. I therefore hope to give them in the next letter. The other speeches were mainly formal and, therefore, I propose to omit them.

Apology to Readers

I had hoped that, during the early stages of the weekly *Navajivan*, I would myself contribute most of the matter or at least have a hand in much that was published. I had not foreseen that work in the Punjab would turn out to be so important or that I would be detained there so long. I do not now know when I shall be free to leave the Punjab. I shall not for the present be able to work as hard as I had meant to do on *Navajivan*. I hope my readers will forgive me for this. I take it that every reader

will wish me to serve the Punjab and, in the meanwhile, I would request them to accept the service which Shri Indulal Yagnik may render.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 23-11-1919

200. LETTER TO G. E. CHATFIELD

[After *November 17, 1919*]

DEAR MR. CHATFIELD,

I had your previous letter regarding the evidence to be given to Lord Hunter's Committee. I thank you for your letter of the 17th instant,[1] received at Gujranwala. I note that it is not necessary for me to submit notes of my evidence to you.

Yours sincerely,

G. E. CHATFIELD, ESQ., I.C.S.
DISTRICT MAGISTRATE
AHMEDABAD

From a photostat of the handwritten draft : S.N. 6981

201. TELEGRAM TO C. F. ANDREWS

[LAHORE,
November 18, 1919]

ANDREWS
[CARE] MRS. JEHANGIR PETIT
PEDDAR ROAD
BOMBAY

CERTAINLY RETURN VIA ENGLAND.[2] STAY AFRICA TILL MISSION[3] REACHES.

Bombay Government Records

[1] This read as follows: "I am instructed to inform you that Government has not yet selected the witnesses to be cited by them before the coming Commission. Will you please consider this office Notice No. P.O.L.I., dated 28th October 1919 as cancelled? I am sorry to have troubled you unnecessarily in the matter. If you desire to tender evidence, will you kindly apply to the Committee direct in the manner indicated in the Press *Communique* issued by it?"

[2] In his letter of November 17, Andrews had written : "I should propose to wait for Shastri, explain, then, everything to him as far as I could and go to England to report there and then come back to you here as soon as possible."

[3] The reference is to the Commission of Enquiry appointed by the Union Government. Andrews had mentioned that it was to start its sittings about the middle of February 1920.

CWMG - XVI

202. *BHAI PARMANAND*

Mr. Andrews has dealt with the case of Bhai Parmanand in pathetic language in the columns of the *Tribune*. Bhai Parmanand belongs to the band of Indians daily growing in numbers who have set apart their lives for India's service and have accepted comparative poverty as their lot. It was in that spirit that, under the influence of Lala Hansraj, he joined the D.A.V. College at Lahore as a professor. By his unassuming manners, industry and sterling character he made himself popular with the students as also the staff. He then paid a visit to South Africa and preached on the necessity of religion as a factor in life-building. He left on my mind a deep impression as a man full of truth and nobility. He came in close touch with me during his visit to that sub-continent and was for nearly a month my honoured guest. I had many a chat with him on various matters and I believe that his patriotism was of a lofty type—a patriotism that would disdain to use violence to serve national ends. He went to England from South Africa. There he came in touch with the school of violence headed by Pandit Shyamji Krishnavarma[1]. But the truth in him burnt as brightly as ever even in the midst of temptation. His frank and fearless statement before the court shows that he has hidden nothing. He has made admissions which are damaging to him. He was not bound to make any statement, but he would not flinch. He felt that he would hide nothing even though his statement involved a conviction. His statement itself provides no material for a conviction. But the special court tacked to it other evidence and condemned him.

The able petition presented by his wife and reproduced elsewhere contains a convincing analysis of the case. I do not propose to refer to it for the moment. My purpose is to show that the Government have grievously erred in treating an honourable man as a common felon. Assume his guilt. It was still wrong to send him to the Andamans. It was easy, if he was an enemy, to turn him into a friend by humane treatment. If he was really dangerous, it was right to deprive him of his liberty. But it was cruel to herd him with ordinary prisoners or to send him to the Andamans. I have taken care to ask many men in Lahore and elsewhere about

[1] Editor of *The Indian Sociologist*; *vide* Vol. IV, p. 458.

CWMG-XVI

Bhai Parmanand. Not one man believed in his guilt. Every one of them considers him to be innocent of the crime imputed to him. A government that exists by terror does not deserve to exist at all. For such a government has cowards, not brave men and women, to govern. Bhai Parmanand has been long enough in jail. His wife and children were deprived (I think illegally) of their personal effects under the order of forfeiture. His letters show that Bhai Parmanand, instead of being embittered, has been leading in the Andamans a life of religious introspection. It is not right for the Government to keep such a man in prison. I trust that His Honour the Lieut.-Governor of the Punjab will examine the case, and what is more, inquire about Bhai Parmanand's record in the Andamans and discharge him without delay. I trust, too, that the public and the press will study this case and urge the Government to release Bhai Parmanand.[1]

Young India, 19-11-1919

203. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

GUJRANWALA,
[*November 22*][2] *1919*

BHAISHRI MAHADEV,

I have your telegram about Lala Lajpat Rai. I do not understand how he can have asked for money. He has plenty with him. All the same, I shall see his son and make sure. You must have received all my articles.

There was a letter from Narahari today, from which I learnt about your visit to Sojitra. I do not know what took you there.

Narahari writes about the progress of the construction work. I was indeed very happy to read about it. If a few buildings get ready, we shall have some relief. I am leaving for Delhi today and shall reach Lahore on Tuesday morning. You will be able to see my itinerary in *Navajivan* itself.

Blessing from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 9856

[1] He was later released in 1920.

[2] Gandhiji left Gujranwala for Delhi on this date and arrived in Lahore on November 25, which was a Tuesday.

204. HOW TO PROTECT THE COW

I have been receiving letters from many people on the question of cow protection. The latest of them says that I should work for the cause, even giving up that of swadeshi for the purpose. I formed my views on this subject many years ago. They run contrary to the current efforts. I feel that, in the name of cow protection, we knowingly or unknowingly kill cows. But I have no desire, just now, to place before the reader all my views on cow protection. I merely want to place before him some portion of the letter I have received from Maulana Abdul Bari Saheb. He says:

> I thank you for the success of the day of prayer for Khilafat appointed for promoting unity between Hindus and Muslims. The stand you have taken in this matter has made a deep impression on the Muslims, especially on those among them who are religious-minded. Some *Ulemas* have particularly asked me in their letters to convey their congratulations to you. One of them is Maulana Suleman Saheb of Fulwari. He writes to say that he has decided not to kill cows in future and to dissuade others likewise from doing so. If people like you go on working for unity, the country will progress the sooner and the causes of discord will disappear.

Let us leave aside what part I have played in bringing about unity. The lesson I want to draw for the reader from this letter is that, if we would protect cows, we could do so only through service of our Muslim brethren. A gentleman sent me a message to the effect that we should help the Muslims on the Khilafat issue only on condition that they stop killing cows. The letter referred to above gives a reply to that gentleman. There can be no zest or point in giving help in expectation of a return. Our Muslim brethren have not sought our help on the issue of Khilafat. If, however, we want their friendship, if we regard them as our brethren, it is our duty to help them. If, as a result, they stop cow-slaughter, it will be a different matter. That will not be surprising. But we cannot offer them our help on condition that they stop cow-slaughter. Duty seeks no reward. But it is the obvious duty of those who are eager to protect cows to give all possible help to the Muslims on the Khilafat issue.

In December, we shall again have occasion for giving this help. There will be Peace Celebrations from the 13th to the 16th

December. I am convinced that, so long as the Muslims have not been satisfied, we ought not to participate in those celebrations. So long as those who have a heavy stake in the outcome of the War do not know what their position will be, so long as they entertain the utmost fears about it, Peace Celebrations can have no meaning for them.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 23-11-1919

205. SPEECH AT KHILAFAT CONFERENCE, DELHI[1]

[*November 23, 1919*]

PRESIDENT AND BRETHREN,

You will pardon me for keeping my seat for I cannot address standing. It had been said that Hindus have laid Mussulmans under a debt by sharing their feelings of sorrow and protest, but I maintain that they have done no more than their duty. You have passed a resolution of thanks to Hindus, but the fulfilment of duty and the settlement of debts deserve no thanks. It was their duty because there has been much talk of unity lately. But the test of unity and real fraternal feeling lies in sharing one another's sorrow and happiness alike. How can twenty-two crore Hindus have peace and happiness if eight crore of their Muslim brethren are torn in anguish ? The pain of eight crores is also the pain of the other twenty-two crore inhabitants of India; therefore, although peace has been concluded, India has not known any real peace.

He then continued to say that he had been telling the Viceroy and Government to secure a just and honourable peace for Turkey, if it was intended that Mussulmans should be satisfied and then all Indians would join the rejoicings in the best spirit. He then admonished his hearers not to lose faith in their spiritual potency nor to lose hope.

Theirs was a just cause and if they meant to succeed, it was their duty to be prepared for sacrifices, for sacrifices would be demanded by so sacred a cause as theirs. They should not play at religion or trifle with such great issues, but embark on their task in all humility, firmness, sincerity and a determination to succeed. He further declared that after having resolved to abstain from the forthcoming rejoicings, it was incumbent on all Hindus and Mussulmans to observe their vow with scrupulous regard. No alms and treats

[1] The Conference was attended by Muslim delegates exclusively.

should be accepted and no one should go to witness fire-works and illuminations, if any. But no one should interfere in any way with those who voluntarily participate in the carnival. . . .

Mr. Gandhi was also requested to express his views.[1] He spoke with evident earnestness, and opposing the resolution, said that he was there to offer his opinion not from a religious, but a secular point of view. He was a satyagrahi and his creed was to avoid injury of any kind. Boycott meant economic punishment and he would countenance no idea of punishment. He was sure that Maulana Hasrat was an advocate of practical work, but this kind of practical work might lead to nothing really useful. He was opposed to the idea of boycott.

The Bombay Chronicle, 29-11-1919

206. SPEECH AT KHILAFAT CONFERENCE, DELHI[2]

November 24, 1919

HAKIM SAHIB[3] AND BROTHERS,

You will pardon me for not being able to address you standing, as my health does not permit me to keep standing for long. I always feel ashamed to have to ask you to excuse me for addressing you sitting. I am grateful to you all for doing me all this honour to-day. I have always been writing and saying that those who want to serve the country require no thanks. The service of the country carries its own guerdon. Those dedicated to the service of the motherland derive happiness from their devotion to the country. For them there is no happiness beyond that. The reason for us all, Christians, Parsis, Hindus and Mussulmans, to come together is to consider the Khilafat question and to determine what we ought to do. The Moslems held an exclusive conference yesterday and passed a number of resolutions. Today representatives of all other communities born in and inhabiting India have assembled here to deliberate over the same question. Some people wonder at the reciprocity of friendly feelings between Hindus and Moslems, but born of the same mother, belonging to the same soil; what, indeed, must they do, if not love one another!

[1] Gandhiji was asked to speak on the resolution calling for boycott of British goods.

[2] Gandhiji presided over the joint session of the conference, attended by Hindus and Muslims. He spoke in Hindi. Brief reports of the speech appeared in *Young India*, 3-12-1919 and 10-12-1919.

[3] Hakim Ajmal Khan

CWMG XVII

When it is said that Hindus should join the Moslems in regard to the Khilafat question some people express surprise, but I say that, if Hindus and Moslems are brothers, it is their duty to share one another's sorrow. There can be but only one question and it is whether the Moslems are in the right and their cause is just. If it is legitimate, then every child of the soil must sympathise with them as a matter of duty. We must not say that the question of Khilafat is exclusively for the Moslems to grieve over. No, it belongs to all Indians.

I shall now address myself to my Hindu brothers who are present here. Today our friend, Mr. Asaf Ali, addressed me two letters in which he said that he hoped it would be possible for the Khilafat Committee to be instrumental in solving the question of preservation of the cows. But I should like to affirm that, if one brother is in trouble, it is the duty of the other to render him all possible help. When Hindus are in trouble, Moslems should help them and, if Moslems are in trouble, Hindus should come to their rescue. We want no return for our assistance and sympathy. If you Moslems are in the right, we shall offer you unconditional help. This is a hereditary privilege of the Hindus. If the Moslems themselves voluntarily conceded anything it would be welcome, but we would not care to play the role of mercenary soldiers. Whatever we give we give for duty and ask its reward of God only. Let me tell my Hindu brothers that I hold the cows as dear as any of you do, but we cannot save the cows by quarrelling with Moslems. You can save the cows only by following my example, by doing your duty. (Cheers.) Please hear me out. There is no occasion for cheers. If you have any doubts as to justice of the cause for which the Moslems are standing out, let me call Mr. Lloyd George, the Premier, to witness. When soldiers and recruits were needed, an assurance was vouchsafed that nobody had an eye on Moslems' provinces which would remain with Moslems themselves. Now justice should be done if Muslims' dissatisfaction and grief are to be dispelled. They are struggling in respect to the Khilafat question on just grounds, and all Hindus and Parsis should share their sorrow. It is our duty to demonstrate to the British people, the King and responsible Ministers that we regard the sentiments of Mussulmans with respect and consider their cause just. It is not right that eight crore Mussulmans should have to face mental torment. They are in the right and they should be helped. On 17th October, the whole of India excepting the Punjab observed a fast and hartal and prayed. But this will not be adequate. The Khilafat question is a very big one and it belongs to

the whole of India. It will require a corresponding degree of sincere devotion. Let me here tell Indians not to despair. Despondence robs one of all energy. We can yet demonstrate to Britain how deeply we are affected by this problem and they must listen to us without our willingness to sacrifice. We need have no hope for the fulfilment of our desire. But the readiness of 30 crores for sacrifice can obtain them the fulfilment of any of their desires in the world. Neither the Government nor anyone in the world can maintain that there is any peace for us. On the contrary, we are under the shadow of a calamity. Where is peace? I do not see it. No peace has yet been concluded with Turkey, and so long as an honourable peace has not been concluded with Turkey, Mussulmans cannot possibly join the celebrations. And it would mean unhappiness for us all.

In the first place, with a heart oppressed with grief they cannot possibly participate in the forthcoming rejoicings, and, if they are forced to do so, their feelings would be far from those of genuine rejoicings. There is no sense in a hypocritical display. Since eight crore Moslems regard the Sultan of Turkey their religious head, we, as their neighbours and compatriots realising the justice of their feelings, should join them in the resolution[1] they passed yesterday. God knows we are with them, because we know them to be justly aggrieved. We would not be with them otherwise.

The Mahatmaji then said that if Alsace and Lorraine were not restored to France, there would be no peace for France. Similarly, Indians could say that so long as eight crore Indian Moslems were not relieved of their anguish regarding the Khilafat question, Indians could have nothing to do with the celebrations. If, however, that question were satisfactorily settled, all Indians would spontaneously and respectfully join the rejoicing. He continued:

Rich people say, that, if we refrain from taking part in the celebrations, the Sircar will be angry with them. They regard money as their God. Some people seem to be afraid that, without the big people they can do nothing, but they do not realise that God is with them, if theirs is a righteous cause. Even the big ones will be with us one day if we are all united in our purpose and demand. We shall witness quite another India on 13th December. Mr. Lloyd George shall have to yield to us, but should it not come to pass, we must do our duty. The Mussulmans have, therefore, resolved that, if the Government fail to secure them

[1] This called upon the people not to participate in the Peace Celebrations.

the fulfilment of their righteous demand, then they will cease to lend Government co-operation. In this they are within their rights. It is a very difficult thing indeed. But they have put their inmost thoughts before Government in plain words. It amounts to this: 'If you cannot help us, it is our privilege to withdraw our help from you. Let it be said in plain language that we do not want to co-operate with you to help you to crush us. Spare us your help. Let there be no reciprocation of any kind between us. We do not help you and want none of your help.' This is a sublime decision and Mussulmans have already adopted it.

But they have also adopted a step which looks ridiculous, for they have also decided to observe a progressive boycott of British goods in the event apprehended. I advise them to abrogate this decision. Let me tell them once again that there is a world of difference between withdrawal of co-operation and boycott. It is a man's privilege to withhold co-operation when he likes, but we must have regard for the opinion of the world before adopting any political step. What we intend to do cannot be effected through boycott. We must enlist the sympathy of the world and, therefore, I respectfully request you to forgo boycott in preference to withdrawal of co-operation. We have only one resolution before us to-day which deals with non-participation in peace jubilee. Hindus must join Mussulmans in this resolution.

Some people say that we must include our grief for Punjab horrors among our reasons for abstaining from forthcoming celebrations. But I will not yield on this point. For, I hold a contrary opinion. Nobody can be more deeply grieved for the Punjab than myself; but, my grief notwithstanding, I would not mix up the question of the Punjab with that of peace celebrations as they affect the Khilafat question. I hold that the Khilafat question is so intimately connected with peace that, so long as it is not satisfactorily settled, we have the right to say that we shall have nothing to do with a celebration which relates to an incomplete peace. Nor would it be in our power to visit the celebrations even if the Punjab were at this hour in the grip of horrors. As it happens, the affliction of which we complain regarding the Punjab cannot be undone. It can be healed. All we want in respect of it now is justice and two Committees are doing their work with that end in view. The Hunter Committee is one and the other committee is working under Pandit Malaviya. Their findings are awaited. We shall have the right to comment on their findings as to whether they are just and right or otherwise. We can wait for these findings. But we cannot wait regarding the Khilafat question

as its decision is in view and we must place our feelings before the world before final settlement. We must deal with this question at once, as it is sure to be finally settled before three months are out. Therefore, these two questions are distinct, and again, we have met to-day primarily to consider the Khilafat question. In the usual order of things, the Punjab question is beyond our scope. Another conference can be convened to deal with this question separately and to decide that we do not propose to participate in peace jubilee until the Punjab question is definitely settled. Nor must we forget that we have no right to say so in regard to the Punjab question. But we can certainly say so in respect of the Khilafat question. The Punjab has nothing to do with peace, particularly as we have various other ways of having our grievances redressed. But when peace is incomplete and has not been concluded according to justice, we can refuse to be party to it and thereby prove our non-acquiescence in it.

Now I am nearing the conclusion. We have not come here today to listen to famous speakers. We are often treated to great disquisitions by our brother Hasrat Mohani. He tells us our duties and if we were to look into his heart, we would find that there is no distinction between Hindus and Mussulmans there. He wishes that we should achieve something practical and I, too, shall request you not to forget this when you leave this hall. Trust in God and pray to him every morning. If the Khilafat question is based on right and justice, God will do justice and you, too, should be prepared to make sacrifices which are necessary for obtaining justice. If you pray to God, He will turn all the kings of the earth in favour of justice and, Mr. Lloyd George, too, will yield when he realises that doing justice to Turkey means also doing justice to the sentiments of 30 crores of Hindus and Mussulmans of India. You have to be active to achieve something. You have to read the *Gita*, the Quran and the Bible and the Zend to go to Paradise. You will, if you mean to achieve your object, have to be active and all will come right. I shall be profoundly grateful to you if you listen to what I am about to say and act upon it. Whether it is the Khilafat or the Punjab question, remember that whosoever is in the right gets his right. You should not be angry or use [harsh] words. By anger man degrades himself and, although in the right, fails to obtain his right. I shall, therefore, request you not to forget your human duties nor to lose patience. Don't forget that the sword alone does not kill, but words can do the same. You should be violent neither in deeds nor even in words. You should utter not a word not thoroughly weighed and considered. You

can inspire, you can injure your country's cause and your object by one wrong word, and now I pray to God in all earnestness that He may so direct Hindus and Moslems that they may serve one another. (Loud cheers.) And all united may die serving their country [and lead it] to progress. (Long and continued applause.)[1]

The Bombay Chronicle, 6-12-1919

207. PUNJAB LETTER

LAHORE,
November 25, 1919

MR. ANDREWS' SPEECH

In the last issue I had promised to give my readers the speech delivered by Mr. Andrews on the occasion of his departure from Lahore for South Africa, and my own speech, as both are of great importance. The following is the gist of Mr. Andrews' speech:[2]

> It is a very difficult thing to say goodbye after months of such close and intimate fellowship in work, as we have had together both in Delhi and in the Punjab. My words will therefore be few. Except for matters of immediate practical urgency, I have kept my lips sealed on all controversial points (both on the platform and in the Press during the time I have been personally working). But now that I am leaving immediately for South Africa and shall not be returning for at least four months, I don't think it would be honest on my part to go away silently without any statement at all (of what I have seen and witnessed). I wish to go at once to the main issues and I think I can put my own position quite briefly in the following manner: I hold as strongly as possible (after my inquiry) that no provocation whatever can excuse the cowardly and

[1] At the conclusion of the address, the following resolution was adopted: "That this meeting of Muslim and non-Muslim representatives of India convened to consider the Khilafat question is of opinion that in as much as the Khilafat question, which is part of the Peace programme and affects the vital interest of eight crores of Mussulmans of India and is therefore a national question, is still unsettled, it is not possible for Indians to participate in the forthcoming celebrations, and further respectfully requests His Excellency the Viceroy of India to postpone the celebration of Peace pending a satisfactory and honoured settlement of the Khilafat question."

[2] What follows is the English report of the speech found in *Young India*, 26-11-1919. The portions in brackets were omitted in the Gujarati version.

CWMG - XVI

brutal murders of Englishmen by the mob which occurred at Amritsar and elsewhere, nor the burning of the holy places of the Christian religion. Most cowardly and dastardly of all I regard the murderous attack on Miss Sherwood who was loved by every Indian[1] who knew her and who was a true follower and disciple of (the gentle Saviour) Christ. But just as I condemn, without one single word of palliation or excuse, these acts, so all the more utterly and entirely do I condemn the cold and calculated massacre of Jallianwala Bagh.

The massacre of Glenco in English history is no greater a blot on the fair name of my country than the massacre at Amritsar. I am not speaking from idle rumour. I have gone into every single detail with all the care and thoroughness (that a personal investigation could command) and it remains to me an unspeakable disgrace, indefensible, unpardonable, inexcusable. And I am obliged to go on from that incident to what followed under Martial Law. I have seen with my own eyes the very men who have endured the crawling order, the compulsion to grovel on their bellies in the dust, the public flogging which was administered to hundreds of men and hundred other desecrations of man's image which according to our Christian scriptures is made in the likeness of God. This ruthless and deliberate emasculation of manhood by the brute force of the military and the police appears to me no less an indelible stain on the fair honour of my country than the massacre at Jallianwala Bagh itself. These are the very few words which I have felt compelled as an Englishman to say with regard to the culminating acts of the Disturbance. Every day that I have been working side by side with my Indian fellow-workers, the deep sense of the wrong done has come home to me, and each act has been in very truth an act of penance, of atonement, an act of reparation for my country.

When in Lahore, I have gone out each morning to watch the sun rise over (the great and noble Eucalyptus trees in the Montgomery) gardens and have walked there all alone trying to collect my thoughts for the day's work. And this morning there came to me (out of the stormy time I have been passing through) these words from my own scriptures:

"He maketh His sun to rise upon the just and upon the unjust.
Be ye therefore perfect even as your Father in heaven is perfect."[2]

These were the very words of Christ, my Master, which taught his disciples that forgiveness was the final thing in life, not vengeance, love was the end, not hate.

[1] The Gujarati version has "who loved Indians".
[2] *St. Matthew*, V, 45, 48.

That same word was uttered long ago in India itself by Buddha who came to save and help mankind. It was this and this alone which was given to me on this last day in Lahore before my voyage out.

We must probe down to the depth the wounds that have been made in order to draw out all the evil from them. But the last is not probing but binding up the wounds—the work of healing.

And I would urge you as you go forward and face all the facts of evil which have been done, not to dwell merely upon vengeance but rather upon forgiveness, not to linger in the dark night of hate but to come out into the glorious sunshine of (God's) love.

My Words

This was Mr. Andrews' speech. My speech came before his as I was to propose the resolution expressing gratitude to him. I had not read his speech in advance. Since, however, mine turned out to be in the nature of an introduction or explanation of his and both speeches were made in order to place an important truth before the people, I propose to reproduce my speech here. The following is the gist.

"Mr. Andrews is like a brother to me. I therefore find it difficult to say anything about him. The sacred relationship between us stands in the way. I can, however, say this, that Mr. Andrews is a staunch Englishman but has dedicated his life to India. Through his actions he tells us: 'Even if you feel that you are oppressed by my countrymen, do not think ill of them, look at me.' If we revere Mr. Andrews, it behoves us to imitate his love. Our love must not be blind, but such as Prahlad showed for his father. Mr. Andrews' life teaches us that, although we must resent and resist oppression and injustice, it is also our duty to bear no enmity towards the wrongdoer. The Government has placed us in a difficult position. They have refused even a temporary release of the prisoners. We had intended to give evidence before Lord Hunter's Committee but the Government has made this impossible. We must not, however, yield to anger on account of this thoughtless step of the Government's. Mr. Andrews has done far more for India than many Indians have done. He has not spared his countrymen but that does not mean that his love for the English is any the less. In like manner, we, too, can fight for justice and self-respect without harbouring ill will against the British or the Government.

Our Duty

"Mr. Andrews has poured out his very life for India. He is no ordinary Englishman. He is a man of great learning, comes of an

illustrious family, is a poet and a theologian. If he had wished, he could have become a high dignitary, he could have been the Principal of a big college or, if he had wanted, he could have been in a high position as priest. But he has not cared for wealth or for position and, today, wanting nothing for himself, he is ever on his feet in the service of India. What is our duty towards such an Englishman ? As long as there is even one Andrews among the British people, we must, for the sake of such a one, bear no hatred to them. If we hate them, we cannot bear real love for Mr. Andrews and we shall forfeit the right to accept his service. This is clear enough.

"The question is: When massacres like the one at Jallianwala Bagh take place, when British soldiers abuse us, kick us, debar us from sitting with them in trains, British officers want to keep all power to themselves and British merchants try to monopolize the principal trade of India, how can we help being angry with them? How can we ever feel affection or them? The difficulty is obvious. Wherever one turns, one finds hatred, anger, scorn and falsehood. When Indians do not always feel affection for one another, what can we expect from them with regard to the British? But these doubts arise from want of faith in God. An intellectual acceptance of the existence of God does not make one a believer. To believe in God but not to love people is a contradiction in terms. Faith implies truth and love. If these qualities could shine forth within us in their perfection, we would ourselves be God.

"Accepting this truth, we should move in its direction. This is the lesson to be learnt from Mr. Andrews' life: his penance is for this, it is the true meaning of his *tapascharya* hidden from the eyes of men. I have seen him sitting silent for hours in our homes. Even when we have disregarded him, I have seen that he has shown no anger. I have seen him eating contentedly whatever was offered him in our homes. I have known him setting out for South Africa at a moment's notice at the late Mr. Gokhale's behest.[1] This is true and silent *tapascharya.* His work on our behalf in South Africa and other countries is there for us all to see and, therefore, we recognize it as such. But the invisible sacrifices that he is ever making are even more precious.

"But it is not only out of respect for Mr. Andrews that we must banish all hatred for the British. By doing so we shall ensure early success of our efforts for if we work on in patience, as he does with

[1] In December 1913

perseverance and with all regard for truth, the British will have no occasion to visit their evil propensities on us. And just as he is able to do the work of many, standing alone, so also if even one Indian follows in his footsteps, he will do as much alone, and will accelerate our progress."

GUJRANWALA

Last week I visited Gujranwala. It is a township with a population of 30,000. There also I found the same love as in Amritsar. As I had to examine the evidence there, I had taken Mr. Purushottamdas Tandon and Dr. Parasaram with me. We stayed at the house of Divan Mangalsen, who is at present in jail. I had, therefore, the privilege of meeting his wife and was indebted to her for her hospitality. In Lahore I am the guest of Smt. Sarladevi Choudhrani and have been bathing in her deep affection. I first met Sarladevi in 1901. She comes from the famous Tagore family. Of her learning and sincerity, too, I get evidence in ever so many ways. In Amritsar, I also met the wives of Dr. Kitchlew and Dr. Satyapal. All these ladies bear their sorrow with great fortitude.

Two large meetings were held in Gujranwala—one for women, the other for men. I explained the philosophy of the spinning-wheel to the women and they, in their turn, promised to take up spinning.

Gujranwala is the birthplace of Ranjit Singh. I saw the house in which he was born and in which he lived. I drew the people's attention to the extensive damage done to this place. I observe that I meet with no difficulty in consequence of my pointing out to people their lapses at every place. All acknowledge the fact that they have made mistakes. In Gujranwala the officers stopped at nothing by way of revenge and cruelty. It is not necessary to describe these.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 30-11-1919

CWMG - XVI

208. SPEECH AT KASUR

[*November 26, 1919*]

After referring to the unfortunate incident[1], Mr. Gandhi explained why the Congress Sub-committee had decided to withdraw co-operation from Lord Hunter's Committee and invited those who had not already made their statements before the Sub-committee to do so now. The speaker also dwelt strongly on the excesses committed by the mob and said that India's deliverance lay through resistance of wrong by quiet and dignified suffering. Truth and fearlessness were necessary for the removal of all wrongs.

Young India, 10-12-1919

209. LETTER TO VALJI GOVINDJI DESAI

LAHORE,
Magshar Sud 5 [*November 27, 1919*][2]

BHAISHRI VALJI,

Undoubtedly, you have been overwhelmed by a great misfortune. What consolation can I give you? May your *jnan* help you; it will, of course. If you do not possess all the virtues of your brother which you have recounted, make them your own and make him live in you. But what advice can I give you? What do you intend to do now? Will you stay on in Ahmedabad or look for other means of livelihood? If you intend to put any of the boys in the national school, you may do so.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 3165

[1] Two Indians were beaten by Marsden, the Sub-Divisional Officer, at Kasur for displaying Khilafat notices. Marsden later realized that the notices were quite inoffensive. He apologized and paid Rs. 10/- to one of the injured as compensation. Gandhiji discussed the incident with Marsden and declared at the meeting that the officer had apologized in a "handsome manner" for the error committed by him.

[2] Sunderji Govindji Desai, the addressee's elder brother, died sometime between November 8 and November 22, 1919. This letter was written soon after.

CWMG-XVI

210. *PUNJAB LETTER*

[About *December 1, 1919*][1]

KHILAFAT MEETING

From Gujranwala we proceeded direct to Delhi. On the 23rd a meeting was held there only for Muslims and on the 24th there was a public meeting for both Hindus and Muslims. The meeting of the 23rd was private and there were very few non-Muslims present. I was present by special invitation. The Hon. Maulvi Fazlul Haq presided over the meeting. It will be recalled that he has also been appointed one of the Commissioners in connection with the work in the Punjab. A number of resolutions were to be passed in the meeting and a Subjects Committee had been appointed for drafting them. This Committee sat from 4 to 9.30 in the evening. There was a great deal of discussion. One resolution, in which the Hindus were thanked, was unanimously accepted. The second resolution, calling for non-participation in the Peace Celebrations, was also passed. The third important resolution was about boycott and was hotly debated. Many violent speeches were made and it was suggested that the boycott should cover articles from other countries of Europe also, but few were agreeable to this. My advice was sought and my suggestions listened to with great attention and courtesy. Many agreed with my view. I explained that boycott implied bitterness and enmity. As a result, our task would be made difficult rather than easy. The resolution, however, was accepted by a majority.

I suggested that, instead of advising boycott, they could, if they had the strength, resolve to withhold co-operation. We had the right to pass such a resolution and it could also be regarded as our duty. This suggestion too met with general approval and was accepted.

Finally, the general meeting commenced at night. The resolutions prepared by the Subjects Committee were placed before it and there was much discussion on the boycott resolution. Usually, the resolutions presented by the Subjects Committee are not

[1] Gandhiji visited Kasur and the other places mentioned in the letter on November 26, 1919. Probably he wrote this letter on the Monday of the following week, which fell on this date.

debated at any length in the general meeting, but on this occasion permission was given for an exhaustive debate. The Hon'ble. Mr. Reza Ali, Mr. Abdulla Haroon, Mr. Syed Hussain and I spoke against boycott and made an effective impression on the audience, which gave us a patient hearing. Finally, however, the boycott resolution was passed. This meeting continued till 3 a.m. Many well-known Muslims such as Haji-ul-Mulk Hakim Ajmal Khan, Dr. Ansari, Maulana Abdul Bari Saheb and others were present.

Joint Meeting of Hindus and Muslims

A joint meeting was held on the following day to which pressmen were invited. Mr. Sheppard of *The Times of India* was also present. I was in the chair. The meeting was held in the Sangam Theatre which was filled to capacity. Admission was by tickets. Sannyasi Swami Shraddhanand, Mr. Bomanji of Saharanpur, Dr. Choithram[1] of Sind, Mr. Krishnakant Malaviya of Prayag and others were present. The Hon'ble Pandit Motilal Nehru, Mr. C. R. Das, and others had sent telegrams intimating their moral support.

The Secretary of the Conference, Mr. Asaf Ali, had intimated in the papers circulated by him that the issues of cow-protection and the Punjab would also be considered at this meeting. Many had looked forward to their being discussed. My ideas on both had been already formed. If I allowed the issue of cow-protection to be discussed, the cause would be harmed. If I threw open the Punjab issue for debate, both the Punjab and the Khilafat causes would suffer. I could not let this happen. My position, therefore, was extremely delicate. I had to take upon myself the responsibility of causing pain to people whom I knew. I was obliged, therefore, to refer to all these matters in my speech, the gist of which I give here so that readers will understand my intentions. The English report of it which has been published was also prepared by me. But it does not contain all the arguments. My speeches here, as also those of others, were in Urdu and I could see that those present followed everything well.

My Speech

"I am grateful for the resolution passed yesterday thanking the Hindus in general and me in particular. I wish also to say that whatever help the Hindus and others have rendered in connection with the Khilafat is no more than their duty. Duty is a

[1] Dr. Choithram Gidwani

kind of debt. There can be no return for its payment. Mr. Asaf Ali has, in the notices he sent about this meeting, mentioned the subject of cow-protection. My humble opinion is that the issue of cow-protection may not be raised on this occasion by the Hindus. If we are one people, if we regard one another as brothers, then Hindus, Parsis, Christians and Jews born in India have the clear duty of helping the Muslims, their fellow-countrymen, in their suffering. That help which demands a return is mercenary and can never be a symbol of brotherhood. Just as adulterated cement cannot hold bricks together, so mercenary help cannot make for brotherhood. The noble traditions of the Hindus require that they help their Muslim brethren. If the Muslims feel themselves bound in honour to spare the feelings of Hindus, then, whether we help in the matter of the Khilafat or not, they may stop the slaughter of cows. Though, therefore, I yield to none in my reverence for the cow, I do not wish to make my help in the Khilafat conditional on anything. On the contrary, I feel that there is greater protection for cows in help given unconditionally. Only if we serve one another without laying down conditions can affection and fraternal love grow amongst us and the path to cow-protection be cleared. I, therefore, hope that all Hindus will make the Khilafat cause their own without insisting on any conditions.

"Our second problem is the issue of the Punjab. A demand has been made by several persons that we keep away from the Peace Celebrations because of the sufferings of the Punjab. I differ here also. I have probed deeply into these sufferings of the Punjab. Others may have felt these equally, but I will not admit that anyone was more grieved than I was. Even so, I am of the opinion that we cannot mix up this issue with that of the Khilafat. Personally, I feel that, whatever the sufferings of the Punjab, we cannot, on a local issue, dissociate ourselves from a celebration which concerns the whole Empire. We have other means by which to publicize the wrongs of the Punjab. Nor can we dissociate ourselves from the celebrations on the ground that justice has not been done in the matter of the Punjab, because we still hope for justice. It is for this purpose that the Hunter Committee is sitting and our Commissioners are working. We may abstain from the Peace Celebrations only if we have any cause for dissatisfaction or doubt arising directly from the peace terms. The Khilafat is the only issue of this kind. Though it is among the issues to be settled in the peace terms, not only are we quite in the dark about it but we have good reasons to suspect that the final settlement will

not be satisfactory to us. Hence it is only on the Khilafat issue that we can refuse to join the Peace Celebrations. If we mix up the Punjab issue with this one, we shall be accused of thoughtlessness and of lacking a sense of proportion, and the causes, both of the Khilafat and the Punjab, will suffer in consequence. The Khilafat issue is a grave matter and one which demands immediate solution. A decision in this regard will soon be taken. We may not, therefore, risk harm to this cause by dragging in other issues on this occasion. I, therefore, hope that the Punjab issue will not be brought up for consideration here.

"The question now is whether or not on the Khilafat issue our Muslim brethren have justice on their side. If their demand has no justice in it, then, neither the Hindus nor any others should help them, nor can they expect help. Even if they receive help, they will not succeed. But the Prime Minister of England has himself testified to the justice of the Muslim demand, as also some former distinguished officers of India. We have a right, therefore, to keep away from the Peace Celebrations. So long as the future of Turkey is not known, peace has no meaning either for the Muslims or for the rest of us. It would not be surprising if France refrained from joining the Peace Celebrations in case the matter of the Alsace-Lorraine were not settled. The Khilafat issue affects the Muslims in the same way. I hope that the Viceroy will himself postpone the Peace Celebrations until after the problem of Turkey is settled.

"The Muslims took one more important decision also last night. Should the conditions for peace go against them, which God forbid, they would no longer co-operate with the Government. In my opinion, subjects have this right. No one is bound to accept titles or employment from the Government. This is a matter of one's own free choice. It is clear that there can be no obligation to help anyone whose actions are not for our good. We accept Government employment for the purpose of livelihood and, if we are alive to the good of society, then, in order to serve it. If, on the contrary, there is a likelihood of our being harmed instead of benefited, we should certainly not serve [the Government]. How, then, can we assist a Government which harms us on an urgent, religious cause like the Khilafat ? If, therefore, the decision about the Khilafat goes against us, we have the right to refuse our co-operation.

"But to proceed from non-co-operation to boycott is like abandoning a seat on an elephant to ride on a donkey. To refuse co-operation is our right and we can, by this method, bring about

striking results. But we have no right to resort to boycott; and its result is bound to be undesirable. We do not have this right because boycott implies an intention to punish the British people, and such an intention ought to be eschewed. Our grievance is against the Government. The results, too, will be unfortunate because a satisfactory solution to a problem like that of the Khilafat can be secured by winning world opinion over to our side. By resorting to boycott it is very likely, on the contrary, that we may antagonize it. Thus, boycott is as much objectionable as non-co-operation is advisable. Moreover, the British have extraordinary commercial skill and they can, by many devious means, ensure that their goods reach us. They can do that by way of Japan. Thus, the effect of boycott will be to invite the hold of other foreign powers on our country, rather than to keep out British goods.

"Boycott is a sign of anger; to refuse co-operation, on the other hand, is a sign of firmness. Boycott indicates our weakness; non-co-operation proves our strength. The solution to a momentous issue like the Khilafat can be secured not by weakness but only through strength.

"I would therefore submit to the people that, if we want a happy solution to this problem, we should develop qualities such as patience, firmness, truth and fearlessness. We have all come across examples of worthy causes being spoilt by the weakness, ignorance, foolishness or impatience of the workers. It is not enough that we merely refrain from acts of violence. We have known of murders committed by words. Therefore, just as our hands and feet should be kept under control, so should our tongue be. Our struggle has truth on its side. I am, therefore, confident that, if we fight on in the faith that truth is ever victorious, we may still succeed in securing a happy solution to this problem."

Resolution Passed by Meeting

I could see that this speech had very good effect. My fears that many objections would be raised at the meeting turned out to be mistaken and the resolution was passed without a single dissident comment. In fact it was passed enthusiastically, all standing. The resolution was to the effect that, as the Khilafat issue was a part of the peace settlement and was one which intimately affected one-fourth of India's population, viz., the Muslims, and, as such, the whole country, no Indian would be able to take part in the Peace Celebrations. The meeting,

therefore, requested H.E. the Viceroy that he be pleased to postpone these celebrations until such time as the question of the Khilafat was satisfactorily settled.

Rs. 501 for One Pice

Great enthusiasm was evident among the audience. A committee has been appointed to instruct the public how to keep away from the Peace Celebrations. I proposed that money be collected for the purpose and I was asked to contribute one pice. I did not in fact possess even that. It was given by Khwaja Sahib Hasan Nizami. The coin was then auctioned by Brother Syed Hussain and Mia Chhotani bought it for Rs. 501. In ten minutes Rs. 2,000 were collected on the spot in cash and many others promised contributions. Hakim Ajmal Khan, Swami Shraddhanand, Shri Krishnakant Malaviya, Shri Bomanji and others spoke on the resolution. All the speeches were restrained but forceful.

Maulana Abdul Bari

Maulana Abdul Bari Sahib then stood up to thank the Chair. He said:

> Mahatma Gandhi may say what he pleases with regard to keeping the subject of cow-protection out of the matter in hand. It is to his credit and to that of our Hindu brethren. Should the Muslims, however, forget the assistance rendered by their Hindu brethren, they will have forgotten their noble traditions. I say that, whether they help us in the Khilafat issue or not, we and they are of one land and, therefore, it behoves us to stop the slaughter of cows. As a Maulvi, I say that, in refraining from cow-slaughter of our own free will, we in no way go against our faith. Nothing else has created so real a spirit of brotherhood between us as the magnanimity shown by the Hindus on the Khilafat issue. I pray that God may preserve for ever this friendship between the two communities.

The audience responded to this speech with cries of "Amen". After this, Bari Sahib spoke very feelingly about the Khilafat and made a deep impression.

Hindus' Duty

Thus, the Khilafat Conference came to an end. But this does not mean that everything is now over. On the contrary, the responsibility of each one of us has increased. But here I want to address a few words exclusively to the Hindus. They can help a great deal in this matter and, by doing so they will succeed in drawing the Muslims closer to them than by any other means. To bring about unity between Hindus and Muslims will be no mean

achievement. That eight crores of people live in genuine amity with 22 crores of another community is a consummation greatly to be desired. It is certain, too, that for either to live suppressed by the other will do no good. We have, therefore, to promote mutual affection by living in equality and independence. The Khilafat movement alone provides the opportunity for this. From the 13th to the 16th December neither we nor our children should take part in the fireworks or illuminations. We should keep ourselves at home. If the highly placed could refrain from accepting titles on that day, they would have done a great thing. Maulana Abdul Bari Sahib has shown us that this is a far simpler and easier way to ensure the protection of cows than to spend huge sums and quarrel with the Muslims for the purpose.

Visit to Kasur

When I went to Delhi, a wire had arrived from Kasur that the local Deputy Collector had severely belaboured a Muslim. The reason was that a notice of the Khilafat Conference had been pasted on his wall. The notice was entirely harmless and, in any case, had not been put up by the man himself. I felt that what the Deputy Collector had done was a terrible thing. It was intolerable that a British officer should have taken the law into his own hands. I, therefore, returned from Delhi and proceeded to Kasur, accompanied by Dr. Parasram who is acquainted with that place. There we recorded the evidence of the man and another Muslim who also had been beaten. Meanwhile, a note came from Mr. Marsden, the Deputy Collector, inviting us for a talk. I met him and had a long conversation. He informed me that he had apologized to the Muslims and had also paid him Rs. 10. I replied that, as he had severely beaten an innocent man, it behoved him to make a public apology. It was undesirable that people should be beaten up by British officers. He thereupon gave me permission to make his apology public. He had already ordered the notice to be put up again. Immediately after this interview, I had to go to a meeting. Three or four thousand people had already collected on the maidan. There were as many women as men present. I announced Mr. Marsden's unqualified apology and the people were greatly pleased. Kasur is 35 miles from Lahore and has a population of about 20,000. In April people had committed most reprehensible things there. I referred to these in the meeting and, as I was not going to have an opportunity to meet the women again, I also requested them to take to the spinning-wheel.

Wazirabad

From there, I went to Wazirabad on the following day. I had to investigate what had happened there during the Martial Law. Wazirabad is a small town but it is a railway junction, through which, moreover, all main-line trains pass. The town is more than 50 miles from Lahore. The people there were in such a state of panic that in many places we were refused accommodation and were finally put up in a Sikh temple. Even so the popular enthusiasm was as boundless as ever. All day men came for *darshan*. By now I have myself grown tired of *darshan*. It is not possible simultaneously to work and to give *darshan*. In the end we had to keep the doors closed. The whole day was passed in listening to the tales of people's sufferings.

Visit to Nizamabad

Nizamabad is scarcely three-quarters of a mile from Wazirabad. The people there are held responsible for the same crime as the people at Wazirabad. Nizamabad may be said to be a village consisting of a narrow lane. Its population is 2,000 and is mainly Muslim. Most of them are blacksmiths. The best knives in India are made here. I had a look at the shops; almost all tools were old but the work had a fine finish and was of the best quality. Excellent wooden handles are also made here and the finest guns are manufactured by hand. A double-barrelled gun which I saw had elaborate carving too. The craftsman told me that it took him one month to produce a gun of this kind. The price, he said, was Rs. 200. I felt proud of the skill of our craftsmen when I saw this workmanship and felt extremely grieved that we should have turned our back on swadeshi. When we do not make full use of such skill, what can we expect but starvation? The craftsmanship of Nizamabad ought to be known all over India, whereas even a man like me so much in love with swadeshi had not heard of this small village.

Our Filthiness

But the craftsmanship of Nizamabad was equalled by its filth. It has only one lane. Seeing the filth in it, the 15 minutes which I had to spend there seemed like a punishment to me. There was a drain in the centre of the street and filth was flowing in it. The street was full of refuse.

Having made our pilgrimage to this lane, we proceeded to the place of a certain gentleman there and examined witnesses. I was then asked to make a speech. I talked about the filthy condi-

CWMG - XVI

tions and about swadeshi. What do those people prove who keep their shops clean but the streets dirty [I asked] ? If I clean my house and throw the refuse on to the street, or keep my urinal clean and dirty the street, it shows that I have no consideration for the feelings of my neighbour, no pity or love for him. When this is so, how can I claim to be one with the people ? Can those whose streets are dirty have clean minds ? If I am highly skilled in a craft but my skill has no effect on the condition of my lane, it will only prove that there is no limit to my selfishness. The Nizamabad street is so short and narrow that every day it could be cleaned in 15 minutes. If people so active as they cannot arrange that much, it shows that they are not fit even to manage their small affairs; how, then, would they manage bigger ones? Swaraj ought to begin with our streets. And so I concluded my speech by saying that, when I came again to Nizamabad, I hoped to see the street as clean as the shops and their contents.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 7-12-1919

211. DURGADAS ADWANI

Durgadas Adwani is one of the best workers I have had the privilege of meeting. I came to know him through correspondence,[1] immediately on my arrival in India in 1915. The occasion that gave rise to the correspondence showed the true man in Durgadas. He has been a consistent, conscientious and zealous worker in Sind for many years. He has now gone to jail for one year with hard labour. I have been asked to give my opinion on the judgment of the Appellate Court. In my humble opinion the judgment is unsound. The Court has erred in holding that "New Call" was a seditious leaflet and it has strained the analysis of evidence to record a finding against Durgadas. But in giving this opinion, I admit I may be biased in favour of Durgadas. I do not believe him to be capable of telling an untruth in order to avoid imprisonment. The evidence may bear the meaning placed upon it by the Appellate Court.

But as a friend and as a satyagrahi, I must decline to condole with Durgadas or his family upon his incarceration. Durgadas has after great deliberation taken the Satyagraha Pledge. And I

[1] *Vide* Vol. XIII, p. 351.

seize the opportunity offered by this case of placing before the reader my views about such cases. We spend too much money in litigation and in appeals. We have an excessive dread of prisons. I have not a shadow of doubt that society will be much cleaner and healthier if there was less resort to law courts than there is. The rush after the best counsel is undignified. It is unpardonable when it is indulged in at public expense. But it is sinful when a satyagrahi spends money after the best legal talent or after appeals. I was therefore pained when I heard of appeals in the "New Call" convictions. If one has committed an offence, one must plead guilty and suffer the penalty. If he has not and is still found guilty, imprisonment for him is no disgrace. And if he is a satyagrahi, he has 'no business' to fear the hardships of jail life.

We in India, whilst we are living in an atmosphere surcharged with suspicion and distrust and in the midst of a secret police department unrivalled, perhaps, in the world, for its duplicity and unscrupulousness, must use ourselves [*sic*] to the gaol life if we want to mend that department and remove distrust and suspicion.

The best and quickest way to deliverance from the distrust and secret police department is to rid the country of false fear and all violence. But till that far-off day arrives, the handful of satyagrahis must be prepared to treat the prison as their second home.

I hope therefore that the friends of Durgadas will not advise him or his wife to petition for mercy nor add to the wife's unhappiness by commiserating with her. On the contrary, it is our duty to ask her to steel her heart and feel glad that her husband is in jail for no fault of his own. The truest service that we can render to Durgadas would be to offer Mrs. Durgadas such assistance, pecuniary or otherwise, as she may need. I understand that the "New Call" cases have cost nearly Rs. 15,000. The money could certainly have been utilised to better purpose. It is not right to beggar ourselves by fighting against odds. It is hardly manful to be over-anxious about the result of political trials that involve no disgrace.

Here in the Punjab I find mothers with stricken hearts coming and shedding tears over the imprisonment of their sons whom they regard as innocent. I know I am helpless. But it is so difficult to comfort them. To give them false hope would be a sin. To ask them patiently to endure what cannot be cured brings no comfort. I am therefore endeavouring to perform the uphill task of asking them to be satyagrahis enough to realise that we shall only perpetuate political convictions so long as we fret and foam and worry over the imprisonment of our dear ones. Needless to say I am

not here thinking of imprisonments for acts of actual incendiarism or murder.

Young India, 3-12-1919

212. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING

LAHORE,
December 4, 1919

MY DEAR CHILD,

Why have you become ill? You ought not to take upon yourself tasks which are beyond you. You are not capable of going 3rd class to Bombay. Indeed you need not have gone to Bombay. However do be well quickly by asking for all the service you may need. What was the matter with you? Mr. Mahadev has described your malady somewhat. Please tell me all about it.

With love and prayers.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat of the original in N.A.I.; also *My Dear Child*, p. 44

213. PUNJAB LETTER

SHEIKHUPURA,
Magshar Sud 15 [*December 7, 1919*]

VISIT TO OTHER PLACES

From Wazirabad, we proceeded to Akalgarh and then to Ramnagar. The two places are close by; Ramnagar is about 4 miles from Akalgarh. The population of the latter is not likely to be more than 4,000, it may even be less; that of Ramnagar may be 3,000. At one time, both were prosperous villages and as such enjoyed the favour of Ranjit Singh. They are both so small that one can go round either in ten minutes. In Akalgarh live the grand-children of Mulraj, the well-known Nizam Diwan of Multan. Both the places have fallen on evil days now. I was touched by the sight of Ramnagar. There were, here, the beautiful mansion and the garden of a governor of Ranjit Singh's. Today they are inhabited only by birds. The mansion is slowly crumbling away. One storey has come down altogether and the remainder is gradually decaying. The garden looks like a waste land. One

sees other ruined buildings too. At one time Ramnagar had a flourishing trade in leather bottles for carrying ghee. One entire street was inhabited by people who made these. That street is now desolate. There is only one worker living there now. Tin cans have now taken the place of leather bottles and, in consequence, India loses that amount of money to foreign countries.

Similarly, formerly there were many weavers in Ramnagar. This class has not yet been completely wiped out. A few looms are still working, but their business is declining day by day. At one time Ramnagar produced all the cloth it needed, and some more for others. The people of this same Ramnagar now get their cloth from abroad. To be sure, it is not that Akalgarh, Ramnagar and similar other towns do not have enough workers with courage and a spirit of service in them. Only, everyone labours under the delusion that, as a matter of course, cloth must be imported and that ghee must be stored in tin cans. To be in the fashion, one should engage oneself in some kind of political activity, or work to provide relief in times of epidemics such as the plague and, if possible, collect money and start a school, forgetting all about it afterwards. Consequently, these are the things on which workers waste their time.

Of course, they are not satisfied with these things and so, when I speak of truth, fearlessness, swadeshi and national education to them, those to whom these things appeal listen to me attentively and do not like to leave my side. If I am ready to give *darshan* all day, they would willingly sit by me all the time. That is the state of both men and women.

At Akalgarh and Ramnagar, both men and women were beside themselves with love. They showered flowers on me. At both places, besides collecting evidence, I spoke at great length on swadeshi and other matters.

Garlands of Yarn

I am distressed with these masses of flowers and the useless expenditure incurred on them. I have, therefore, started asking for garlands of hand-spun yarn and I have been getting them. In Akalgarh, they piled up by my side heaps of yarn spun by ladies of good family, and of cloth woven from such yarn, which included beautiful khadi sheets and towels.

These Innocent Villages

I got the impression that the people of Akalgarh and Ramnagar were entirely innocent. The best among them have been

arrested and put to harassment. They have been imprisoned, insulted, abused and fined. We in Bombay Presidency cannot even imagine some of the things which I saw here.

Hafizabad

I do not, however, want to keep the reader too long over the tale of suffering of the Punjab people. Having forged a bond of love with these two villages, we moved on to Hafizabad. This is, comparatively, a larger village. It has rice mills and has a brisk trade in other things as well. In consequence, the place looks more like a town than a village and has an air of prosperity. The people here cannot be held altogether blameless, but the punishment meted out to them has been out of all proportion to their transgressions. The officers seem to have but one idea put into their head—to humiliate the leaders of the people and, if possible, to ruin them altogether.

The Lord's Will Prevails

But man does not always have his way. One recalls on this occasion Narasinh Mehta's poem—"If man's efforts could avail, we would find none in misery." The officers thought that they would now be able to suppress the people totally and be free to do as they liked. But their efforts at suppression have had the opposite effect. The leaders have not been cowed down nor have the people abandoned them. Slowly people are shedding their fear. Thus, man proposed one thing and God disposed it otherwise. Those who at one time were timid have now given up all fear.

I think the officials, too, are repenting. They may not do so in public, and General Dyer may say what he likes; they do feel ashamed, none the less. They dimly realize that they have made a mistake and, I am certain that, if we go about our task in a clean way, the time will come when they will repent openly.

In Hafizabad, I also got an opportunity of addressing some students. I pointed out to them that their education, being exclusively of the intellect, was incomplete, that if it could be intellectual, emotional and physical, it would nourish all three —the mind, the soul and the body,—and that it was such education which would profit India. The mind [I said] could be developed only through one's own language, the heart and the soul only through dharma; this latter the pupils would imbibe only if the teacher's conduct was informed with it, if they saw it in every word and act of his. Physical education could be given by teaching the pupil agriculture and weaving and hardening his body through

them. Every teacher or school or town which was keen could make a beginning in this programme. No one need wait for others or for the establishment of swaraj. If the seed is sown anywhere, it will bear fruit and will have an effect somewhere else. The head master is planning to make an experiment in his school.

Women's Meeting

The women in Hafizabad could not attend the men's meeting as the time and place did not suit them. Hence, they asked for a separate meeting and I agreed to it. The result was that the women came in even greater numbers than the men. I always confine myself to two subjects when addressing women—one, that they should exert themselves for the sake of those of their dear ones who are in jail, but abandon all anxiety and grieving, and, two, that they should take up the spinning-wheel as a religious duty. At the end of my talk, there was a heap of hand-spun yarn before me. There were garlands of yarn, too, ever so many of them. Several women vowed always to wear hand-woven cloth made from hand-spun yarn.

Request to Gujarati Women

The women of Gujarat have much to learn from their sisters in the Punjab. Punjabi women are extremely simple in their attire. Very few wear ornaments, or materials such as gold lace, and all know spinning. Not all these women are poor. It is quite likely that they possess as much money as their sisters in Gujarat. But they love the spinning-wheel and prefer simplicity. Their freedom and modesty appeal to me very much. The men show them great respect. When I arrived at Ramnagar, men and women came a mile out to meet me and the men always made way for the women. I have already referred to this courtesy and restraint and I still have the same experience. If any women in Gujarat have a doubt regarding the spinning-wheel, I would request them to follow the example of their sisters in the Punjab and I would ask the men to emulate the Punjabis' courtesy towards their womenfolk.

Sangla Hill

From Hafizabad we went to Sangla Hill. This is a new village and, consequently, I did not observe here the seriousness I did in the other three villages. The people seemed to be new settlers, rather than long-established and mature residents. But there was nothing wanting in their love. As we reached there at night, the

whole village was lighted up with little candles and there were thousands of them illuminating every street.

We were accommodated in the Thakurdwara Temple. The people felt that it would be fitting to welcome me in a religious institution. The reason why I was put up in a temple in Hafizabad did not, in fact, exist in the case of Sangla Hill. The idea there was to do me greater honour. I was, of course, happy, except that I feared that the people were showing me too blind a regard.

As in Akalgarh and Ramnagar, in Sangla also the people had been spared no suffering though they had done nothing wrong.

In Lahore

From here we went for a day to Lahore. It was necessary to meet Panditji. Shri Uttamlal Trivedi happened to be there with his wife and nephew. He had come on behalf of the Presidency Association to ascertain the reasons why the local committee here had boycotted the Hunter Committee. I could have a talk with him. Panditji had already had a talk with him.

Meeting With Mr. Neville

Mr. Neville has been invited by the Sub-committee. He is a well-known solicitor from England and has come to help in the collection of evidence. I had a meeting with him, too. He has met the Lt.-Governor and also seen the work of the Hunter Committee. For the present, he will remain in the Punjab. Pandit Motilal has recovered and has come down. He has now taken a separate house for himself and stays with his family. As he has been elected President of the Congress, he is busy preparing his speech.

Sheikhupura

Having stayed 36 hours in Lahore, we proceeded to Sheikhupura, from where I am writing this letter. This is a tiny village 25 miles from Lahore. Here, too, the position is the same as that at Sangla Hill. The people are innocent. Gujranwala and the other villages I have mentioned are all in the same district and, therefore, under one administrative officer who, it seems, knows no difference between justice and injustice. Consequently, Sheikhupura is in the same plight as Akalgarh and other villages, having had to suffer the same repression.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 14-12-1919

CWMG - XVI

214. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING

LAHORE,
[*December 7*] *1919*

MY DEAR CHILD,

I have your two letters including the long one. You have done well in sending it. As I have already said, you have come to the Ashram not to lose your Christianity, but to perfect it.

If you don't feel the presence of God at the prayer meetings, then remember that the names Rama and Krishna signify the same as Jesus to you.

You should most decidedly not attend these meetings and you should pray in your private chamber. The prayer meetings are not meant to force anyone into a position. They are meant for free men and women. The children must attend. Those who abstain from sheer laziness must attend. But for you, no one can misunderstand your abstinence. You will therefore please do that which gives you the greatest peace. The Ashram is nothing if it does not enable you to realize God more and more fully day by day. If on Sundays or any other days you would go to Church, of course you shall do so.

I am so glad you have given me that long and beautiful letter and enabled me to enter more fully into your heart. Your coming is a joy to me. It will be a greater joy, if upon experience you find it gives you peace, health and real joy and if it thereby enables the other Christians to see that God and Christianity can be found also in institutions that do not call themselves Christian and that truth is the same in all religions though through refraction it appears for the time being variegated even as light does through a prism.

I feel like you that it is too early for you to go to Madras even to meet Miss Petersen. Will she not come to the Ashram? She ought to. Let her come and see it in its new habitation and feel its progress if there is any made. Please give her my love.

I do hope you have now completely recovered. You should not trifle with your body. You cannot take the liberties that those born on the soil can. You must therefore insist on the comforts your body needs.

With love,

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat of the original in N.A.I.; also *My Dear Child*, pp. 45-6

CWMG - XVII

215. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

CHUDKHANA,
Sunday [*December 7, 1919*][1]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I got your letter while I was touring. I shall return to Lahore the day after tomorrow, Tuesday. I had a telegram from Harilal to say that he was coming to see me.

With Ba things are as you say and I am unhappy about it. So long as she does not consider you all with the same regard as Harilal, her staying in the Ashram is in vain. But we cannot escape the situation and, therefore, must submit to it and feel compassion for Ba.

There was no help but to send Santok. I do not expect the results which you do, for the thing is extremely difficult. Keep up your efforts, though. It will not be convenient to build a house for me outside the Ashram. I think it will be desirable to have one in the Ashram itself, which would give me some privacy. This is already included in our plan. It will suffice if the house is a part of the library.

I have sent a telegram so that I may know what Chi. Anandlal has to say. I do not think it possible to revise the prices. Anandlal must have in mind the prices in Kathiawar. However, it would be better to make sure.

As for the kitchen, we are not to prepare any vegetables. I think that is the best course if it helps us to save and to keep better health. At any rate, this should be the ultimate goal. Just as we do not look out for company when going for evacuation, we should have no one to keep us company at meals. If we can really regard eating as in no way different from evacuation, we would attend to this also in private. It would be shameful for us to arrange for separate cooking for ourselves, so that we might indulge our palate. But I know that our experiment is not inspired by the high ideal mentioned above. If, therefore, such separate cooking has unhappy consequences, we should certainly stop it.

[1] The date has been inferred from the fact that the letter was received by the addressee on December 10.

CWMG - XVI

Plan your work yourself. If only we can achieve our aim somehow, that is all we want.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5780. Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

216. SWARAJ IN SWADESHI

The much-talked-of Reforms Bill[1] will become the law of the land within a few days and in due course the new legislatures will take the place of the old. H.E. the Viceroy has announced that he is going loyally to abide by the new scheme and that he will try to make it a success. I have refrained from expressing an opinion on the report of the Joint Committee for, I do not feel sufficiently interested in it. It is not possible to be enthused over a thing which when analysed means little for the people. So far, therefore, as the Reform Scheme is concerned, I would simply urge that we should take the fullest advantage of it and, like the Viceroy, loyally work to make it a success. That it is an improvement upon the original measure is admitted by all.

But the real reform that India needs is swadeshi in its true sense. The immediate problem before us is not how to run the government of the country, but how to feed and clothe ourselves. In 1918 we sent sixty crores of rupees out of India for buying cloth. If we continue to purchase foreign cloth at that rate, we deprive the Indian weaver and spinner of that amount from year to year *without practically giving him or her any other work in exchange*. No wonder a tenth at least of the population is cruelly half-starved and the majority of the rest underfed. He who has eyes may see for himself that *the middle-class people are already being underfed and our babies are not getting enough milk for themselves*. The Reform Scheme, no matter how liberal it is, will not help to solve the problem in the immediate future. But swadeshi can solve it *now*.

The Punjab has made the solution still clearer to me. God be thanked that the beautiful women of the Punjab have not yet lost the cunning of their fingers. High or low, they still know the

[1] The Government of India Act, 1919, embodying the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals for constitutional reforms

art of spinning. They have not yet burnt their spinning-wheels as many Gujarati women have done. It is to me a perfect delight to find them throwing balls of yarn into my lap. They admit they have time at their disposal for spinning. They admit that the khaddar woven from their hand-spun yarn is superior to the machine-spun yarn. Our forefathers were well able to clothe themselves with little effort and with perfect comfort without having to buy from the foreign markets.

This beautiful art—and yet so simple—is in danger of being lost if we do not wake up betimes. The Punjab gives proof of its possibilities. But the Punjab too is fast losing her hold of it. Every year witnesses a decrease in the output of hand-spun yarn. It means greater poverty in our homes and greater idleness. The women who have ceased to spin are not utilising their time in any other or better manner than gossiping.

But one thing is needful to undo the mischief. If every educated Indian will realise his clear primary duty, he will straightway present the women of his household with a spinning-wheel and provide the facilities for learning the art of spinning. Millions of yards of yarn can be produced from day to day. And if every educated Indian will condescend to wear the cloth produced from such yarn, he will support and assist in rebuilding the only possible cottage industry of India.

Without a cottage industry the Indian peasant is doomed. He cannot maintain himself from the produce of the land. He needs a supplementary industry. Spinning is the easiest, the cheapest and the best.

I know this means a revolution in our mental outlook. And it is because it is a revolution that I claim that the way to swaraj lies through swadeshi. A nation that can save sixty crores of rupees per year and distribute that large sum amongst its spinners and weavers in their own homes will have acquired powers of organisation and industry that must enable it to do everything else necessary for its organic growth.

The dreamy reformer whispers, "Wait till I get responsible government and I will protect India's industry, without our women having to spin and our weaver having to weave." This has been actually said by thinking men. I venture to suggest that there is a double fallacy underlying the proposition. India cannot wait for a protective tariff and protection will not reduce the cost of clothing. Secondly, mere protection will not benefit the starving millions. They can only be helped by being enabled to supplement their earnings by having a spinning industry restored

to them. So whether we have a protective tariff or not, we shall still have to revive the hand-spinning industry and stimulate hand-weaving.

When the War was raging, all available hands in America and England were utilized in the naval yards for building ships and they built them, too, at an amazing pace. If I would have my way, I would make every available Indian learn spinning or weaving and make him or her do that work for a certain fixed portion of every day. I would start with schools and colleges presenting as they do ready-made organised units.

Multiplication of mills cannot solve the problem. They will take too long to overtake the drain and they *cannot distribute* the sixty crores in our homes. They can only cause concentration of money and labour and thus make confusion worse confounded.

Young India, 10-12-1919

217. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

LAHORE,
Wednesday [*December 10, 1919*][1]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I got your letter.

Chhotalal is not able to move about. He has a boil on his thigh. Actually it was only a pimple. It has been opened. He will be all right in a day or two. I am put to no inconvenience.

Harilal has come here. He will leave tomorrow. He has only come to see me about his business.

The Ashram inmates have not at all grown strong enough in body yet to satisfy me. I feel worried. Personally, I take full care of my health. I have no doubt about this at all. If I exercised greater control on myself, I think I could be fitter still. I eat twice a day, for that is the only way I can keep the body fit. I have realized from experience that, when under pressure of work or touring, eating less does no harm to the body at all. We cannot run away from work which comes to us unasked. If a man is being burnt to death, we should run to his help even at the risk of our life. If a serpent runs towards a child to bite it, we would even

[1] From the reference to Harilal being with Gandhiji, it appears the letter was written on the Wednesday following December 7. *Vide* "Letter to Maganlal Gandhi", 7-12-1919.

CWMG - XVI

sacrifice our life to save it. Only a body which has been put to use in this manner and has survived can be of any service. The Ashram inmates have a duty to build up sound health. I have done so and now I use the body, but with due care. We may take only as much care of it as is consistent with its full use. If I exercise self-control so as to be more regular still and thus save time, I can safeguard my health better. That requires plenty of courage. I must be blunt with the people and tell them that I have had enough. This is not always possible. This. . . .[1]

I think it impossible, and improper as well, to meet each and every need. More, you may decide yourself.

I thought we used to get some money from Krishnamma, rather than the other way about. I see no objection to his being given sixteen rupees. Give it on the Ashram account. Manindra's also should be on the Ashram account. However, make a note about those who work in the press and draw according to the fixed rate of payment, so that the entries balance. Anything given in excess of what a person has earned through his work should be drawn from the Ashram.

I think we cannot give more than ninety rupees a month to Shamaldas. So long as he has not written to me, I do not write to him. Do what you think best. I shall certainly write, if you wish.

I understand what you say about the buildings.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 7021

218. LETTER TO NARAHARI PARIKH

LAHORE,
Wednesday [*December 10, 1919*][2]

BHAISHRI NARAHARI,

I have your letter. I congratulate you on your losing the cook. Let the boys have some training in cooking their own meals. If Dwarakanath takes over cooking as well, it will be still better. He may have a servant to help him. Dwarakanath is not a Brahmin, of course. These are, however, fanciful suggestions.

[1] A page is missing here.

[2] From the post-script to this letter, it seems likely that it was written on the same day as the letter to Maganlal Gandhi; *vide* the preceding item.

CWMG-XVI

Do what you think best. Why should it not be possible to get an educated Brahmin to cook? Our ship—the nation's ship—itself is going in the wrong direction.

Tell Girjashankar that I have not forgotten about the hotel trust; only I have had no time.

We shall now be meeting in a few days, I think. Tell Kishorelal that even when in Bombay he should not forget the work of the school and that it will certainly be possible for him to attend to the work for swadeshi.

Blessings from
BAPU

BALKRISHNA

Iron, arsenic and quinine.[1] Two pills to be swallowed half an hour after meals. Take one tea-spoonful of maltine[2] with milk thrice a day.

Walking for exercise.

DURGA

Liquor arsenicalis acidus[3].

Two drops after meals in a glass—with an ounce of water—twice a day. To be increased up to four drops. After eight days, stop taking for four days.

Exercise, very little; may go out for a walk, no fetching of water.

PRABHUDAS

Take injections again. After a month, a little exercise. Not to read much.

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 7014

219. LETTER TO REGISTRAR, HIGH COURT, BOMBAY[4]

[DELHI,]
December 11, 1919

With reference to your letter regarding the publication of the letter of the District Judge, Ahmedabad, in the matter of the satyagrahi lawyers, I beg to state that I have now consulted legal friends and given much anxious consideration to the suggestion made by His Lordship the Chief Justice. But I regret to state that

[1] & [2] Gandhiji gives the names in English.
[3] Gandhiji uses the Latin term.
[4] This was published also in *Young India*, 10-3-1920.

CWMG - XVI

I find myself unable to publish the suggested apology. The document in question came into my possession in the ordinary course and being of great public importance I decided to publish and comment upon it. In doing so I performed in my humble opinion a useful public duty at a time when there was great tension and when even the judiciary was being affected by the popular prejudice. I need hardly say that I had no desire whatsoever to prejudge the issues that their Lordships had to decide.

I am anxious to assure His Lordship the Chief Justice that at the time I decided to publish the document in question, I had fully in mind the honour of journalism as also the fact that I was a member of the Bombay Bar and as such expected to be aware of the tradition thereof. But thinking of my action in the light of what has happened I am unable to say that in similar circumstances I would act differently from what I did when I decided to publish and comment upon Mr. Kennedy's letter. Much, therefore, as I would have liked to act upon His Lordship's suggestion, I feel that I could not conscientiously offer any apology for my action. Should this explanation be not considered sufficient by His Lordship, I shall respectfully suffer the penalty that their Lordships may be pleased to impose upon me.

I beg to apologise for the delay caused in replying to your letter. I have been touring continuously in the Punjab, and am not likely to be free before the beginning of the next month.[1]

From a photostat of a copy : S.N. 7128a; also *The Bombay Law Reporter*, Vol. XXII

[1] Before however this letter reached the Registrar, he had, on the same day, "*suo moto* applied for a rule *nisi* calling upon Messrs Gandhi and Desai to show cause why they should not be committed or otherwise dealt with according to law for contempt of court in respect of the publication of the said letter". The application was granted by Justices Shah and Crump on that day, but the rule itself was not actually issued till December 19.

CWMG - XVI

220. REFORMS

By the time this article appears in print, the Reforms Bill will have become or will be about to become law. What shall we do with these reforms? The answer to this question depends on the kind of reforms they are.

If we measure them with the yardstick of the Congress-League Scheme[1], we ought to reject them; if we accept the resolutions passed at the last Congress, we shall find an ocean of difference between them and the reforms.

What do we mean by "rejecting" the reforms? "Rejecting" them means refusing to work them. Not working them means abstaining from voting, from enlisting ourselves as voters or standing for election as members. No one is ready for such rejection, nor have we made any efforts towards that end. The deputations[2] which went to England gave no indications to that effect.

It must also be admitted that the nation is not yet ready for such rejection; it has not had the required political education. Whenever something is disapproved by us so utterly that its acceptance will kill the soul, then we are entitled, we owe it as a duty, to reject that thing; the idea that it is only by such rejection that we can raise ourselves in the shortest possible time has not yet taken root in us.

According to the canon 'the doubter goes to destruction,'[3] we shall not be ready for great sacrifices so long as we doubt this idea. We are able to experiment thus only in small matters. By "small" we mean such matters as those in which sacrifice brings immediate result and involves no risk of serious danger. If we reject the reforms, it seems more likely that we shall get no immediate benefit. Hence, it will not be advisable for us to reject them.

[1] *Vide* Vol. XIV, Appendix II.

[2] The reference is to the several deputations which visited Britain to represent the reactions of different schools of political thought to the Government of India Bill, which was introduced in the House of Commons in July, 1919. These were: the Congress deputation, among whose members were Vithalbhai Patel, Lokamanya Tilak, B. C. Pal and V. P. Madhava Rao, the Moderate deputation, the Justice Party deputation and two Home Rule deputations representing the division of opinion in the All-India Home Rule League.

[3] *Bhagavad Gita*, IV, 40

CWMG-XVI

We may certainly criticize the reforms, but the criticism should be moderate and intended only as an expression of our disappointment. We can and must say that we will struggle for more.

But the more important thing is to find out how we can make the best use of these reforms and use them so.

We must acknowledge here that the Bill introduced in the House of Commons has been amended and important rights have been conceded to us. At one time we had very little hope of securing them. It even used to be said that the Reforms Bill would not be passed at all at present. Instead, the Bill will now pass with some welcome amendments. We may derive what comfort we can from these things. There is no doubt that the real credit for these improvements goes to Mr. Montagu. That the Reforms Bill will pass in no more than a few days now should also be credited to Mr. Montagu's account.

After studying the reforms, the nation should try to send honest and competent representatives to the legislatures. To the extent that the representatives care little for honour, for position and consequential material benefits, to the extent that the service of the people is their chief aim, the reforms will be better used and we shall be qualified the sooner for full responsibility and succeed in securing it.

What about the Rowlatt Act? What about the Punjab? We had the best remedy for these, if we could have rejected the reforms. Now the only course for us is to make good use of the new councils for securing justice in both these matters. The Rowlatt Act ought to be repealed and agitation to that end can be carried on in the Legislative Assembly. If we fail, our weapon is ever ready with us. The same about the Punjab. It has yet to get justice and the place where we can secure this, too, is the Legislative Assembly. In both these matters, the new representatives and the reforms will be on their trial.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 14-12-1919

CWMG - XVI

221. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING

LAHORE,
Sunday [*December 14*] *1919*

MY DEAR CHILD,

I have your letter and had the vest also. May I thank you for it? I am having it washed.

Have you commenced spinning? I would like you to study my article on swadeshi in *Young India*.[1] Will you please learn spinning and religiously give it one hour every day? Your and my forefathers wore only hand-spun and hand-woven clothing. The words spinster (from spinning) and wife (from weaving) are highly significant. I would like you to set an example to the ladies of the Ashram in regular spinning. Is Fatima doing any now? If not please tell her and Amina not to neglect it. They were to do it for a fixed time every day and so were all the ladies for that matter.

I am glad they all nursed you during your illness. Mutual help and service is really the first step to a truly godly life.

With love,

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat of the original in N.A.I.; also *My Dear Child*, pp. 46-7

222. LETTER TO EDMUND CANDLER

2, MOZANG ROAD,
LAHORE,
December 15, 1919

DEAR MR. CANDLER,

I thank you for your letter[2] of the 12th instant. I appreciate the friendliness underlying it and I entirely accept your assurance that no offence whatsoever was intended by you.

My attention was drawn to the article in question and I did consider that it was unwisely worded. I felt too that both Hindus and Mahomedans were likely to be offended by the manner in

[1] *Vide* "Swaraj in Swadeshi", 10-12-1919.
[2] *Vide* Appendix IX.

CWMG - XVI

which I was caricatured. But your letter must silence all hostile criticism. Modern journalism certainly permits attacks on the supposed weak points of those whose policy is criticised and I grant that you intended to do no more. I thank you too for putting me the questions you have. They enable me to explain my position more fully than perhaps it has been by my writings and speeches.

As to your first question I do not wish and have never wished to embarrass Government and I have never worked up an anti-British campaign for any cause whatsoever. My personal religion would forbid me to do either the one or the other. But sometimes one's right conduct does embarrass those who do not for the moment appreciate it and in that sense I admit that my conduct like that of any reformer has embarrassed people. But I cannot be accused of partiality. Relentless pursuit of truth and conduct flowing from it have embarrassed the dearest ones not excluding my wife and children. But I was no more anti- the dear ones than I am anti-British. I have the privilege of the friendship or the goodwill of hundreds of Englishmen and Englishwomen. I would be unworthy of their friendship or goodwill if I harboured anti-British feelings. My stubborn opposition to some acts of the British Government must not be mistaken for unfriendliness. Such peculiar notions are entertained about friendliness and loyalty in India that any strong expression of displeasure in regard to acts of Government passes for disloyalty. You will agree with me that real loyalty that dares to utter unpalatable truths must in such an atmosphere be a rare virtue.

As to your second question, I confess that my regard for the claims of the Turk is derived totally from my regard for my fellow-countrymen, the Mahomedans. I should forfeit the right to call them fellow-countrymen if I did not feel for them in everything vitally affecting them provided that their cause was just. The peace of my country is likely to be placed in jeopardy, not by my earnest effort to guide the Mahomedan feeling in the right channel, but it certainly will be by any thoughtless or ignorant action of British Ministers. I venture to claim that I have rendered a service of the highest order by advising the Mahomedans of India to express their sentiments in a restrained manner and by advising the Hindus to make common cause with them.

You are right, however, in questioning the wisdom of going against the opinions of men like Gladstone, Morley and Bryce, for whom I certainly entertain high regard, but the necessity for the question really arises from your not knowing the Mahomedan claim for Turkey. I invite you to study their view-point. They

ask for nothing that has not been granted to the other Powers or that was not vouchsafed to them by the British Ministers themselves. Their claim, as you may be aware, has been backed by the majority of the ex-Governors and other distinguished Anglo-Indians. What has the treatment or ill-treatment by Turks of subject races to do with the Khilafat question, i.e., the integrity of Turkey or the Turk's custody of the holy places of Islam? Must Constantinople be wrenched from the Turks in order to safeguard the rights of subject races? If you as a journalist and an Englishman would preserve the peace of India and would have India to celebrate peace in a true manner, you would ask Englishmen living in India to make common cause with the Mahomedans and thus let the British Ministers know the real feeling of India so that justice might be done whilst there is yet time.

As you have permitted me to publish your letter, I am sending it and my reply to the Press.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

The Tribune, 18-12-1919

223. PUNJAB LETTER

[About *December 15, 1919*][1]

CHUHARKANA

I wrote my last letter from Sheikhupura. This town was built by the Emperor Jehangir and has a fort and a large temple. They are said to be worth a visit though, of course, I did not have the time to go there. It is said that the Golden Temple at Amritsar is a copy of this one, and smaller.

From Sheikhupura we went to Chuharkana. This village is some distance from the station. Our work was in the Chuharkana *mandi*. Here the market is called *mandi*. But there is a difference between the bazaar of Gujarat and the *mandi* of the Punjab. Here the *mandi* means a large square surrounded by houses. All kinds of goods are brought to the square and the shops are situated round it. The *mandi* in Chuharkana is comparatively large and goods worth thousands lie there. Some big canals start from near Chuharkana and, as a result, there is a large yield of cotton and

[1] Gandhiji's visit to Delhi, referred to in the letter, took place on December 11. Probably he wrote it on the following Monday, which fell on this date.

CWMG-XVII

other crops. We noticed that the people had set the station on fire and had done other damage also. As usual, a large meeting was arranged near the *mandi*. Crowds had collected at the Chuharkana station and we had to walk with them to the place where we were to stay. But the crowd surged towards me with such force that we could scarcely proceed. The people around me tried their best to protect me but my bare feet were crushed all the same. Every person coveted *darshan*. There is always much dust near a village and not a little of it went into our mouths, noses and ears. The noise was no less. At the meeting, therefore, I spoke to the people at great length about the need for discipline. I said that it was certainly to be welcomed that people feel respect for those whom they look upon as great, but that, unless this feeling of respect expressed itself in the right manner, it was bound to harm the country. There is greater inconvenience, moreover, where proper arrangements have not been made and people trained in advance. It is easy to ensure, with a little training, that people make way for others and walk behind and at some distance from the person whom they wish to honour, make no unnecessary noise and follow the directions of a leader.

Disorder at Meeting

When the meeting commenced, the uproar was beyond description. Everyone was shouting. This state of affairs became intolerable to me. I immediately made a polite appeal to the people, telling them that, if they did not become quiet and sit down, they would prevent themselves from hearing the very words for which all this noise was being made. The people then sat down and became perfectly quiet. I pointed out the mistakes they had, out of their love, made when we were near the station. When the meeting ended, the crowd dispersed quietly and did not press round me. There is no lack of understanding or power of thinking among the people, they only need someone to guide them. I explained to them in this meeting that the mistakes they had committed in attempting to set fire to buildings were also the result of lack of training. Many had had no intention of setting fire to buildings but, when one person started doing so, another followed suit. If the people had been trained to think before doing anything and to follow a responsible leader, such incidents would not have occurred.

A Scene in Delhi

On December 11, I had occasion to pay a flying visit to Delhi. I was to go there for work in connection with South Africa, but

I accepted an invitation to preside over a function of the Seva Mandal established by Shri Ram, a well-known barrister there. It became known that I was to preside. Consequently, uninvited guests flocked in their thousands and pushed their way in through the entrance. They could not tolerate the idea that only ticket-holders should be allowed entry on such an occasion. All were embarrassed. So was I. How unseemly that these people who had come to see and honour me should not have been able to behave with greater restraint!

Leaders and Public

But this was not due to discourtesy. Are we taught anywhere that our habit of rushing towards a person whose *darshan* we seek is improper? Not in places of pilgrimage. Whether in temples or in *havelis*[1], "first come first served" and "might is right" are the laws that prevail. The educated or highly placed either avoid such places or, if they visit them at all, make special arrangements for themselves. The evils remain as they are. The Seva Mandal gave assistance during the plague, arranged for cremation of dead bodies and provided medicines. All this is certainly necessary. If even this had not been made available all over the country, we would have been wiped out long ago. But this is not enough. It is very limited service. Prizes and certificates were to be distributed at the Seva Mandal meeting. These were all in English! The reason for the rush then became clear to me. There is no close touch between the leaders and the people. We do not realize the need to provide the people the most necessary training, nor have we secured the means for it. Those who had forced their way in did not know English. We gave medicine but, when the patients were cured, we did not know how to teach them to play their part in a democracy. We think that for this they must first learn English because we think we ourselves have got the training through English. And so the common people rushed in today, as is their wont. I placed these facts before the meeting. The audience understood my meaning and was ashamed. There is a new awakening in the country. The common people now want to play their part, are ready for self-sacrifice, but do not know the way. And so long as we do not speak to the people in their own language, what can they understand? How can they understand?

[1] *Vaishnava* temples

CWMG - XVI

Lyallpur

I shall now revert to Chuharkana. From there we went to Lyallpur. This is a separate district and is one of the five where Martial Law had been proclaimed. The district takes its name from Lyallpur, which is quite a new town named after Sir Charles Lyall[1]. The town came into being in 1896. There is a clock tower at the centre of the city, set in a large circle from which eight roads fan out. Houses and shops have been built along them. We can see that all these have been newly built. This is the place known as the main canal colony. The finest wheat and cotton crops grow in this canal area and the people are fairly prosperous. Lyallpur has a population of about 30,000. During the Martial Law, hell had been let loose here. The people had done no harm whatsoever, yet many prominent persons were arrested and unnecessarily harassed. Here also there was a huge meeting. There was a separate meeting for women and, although the men's meeting was held far from the town, women were present in large numbers. The arrangements at Lyallpur were comparatively good. Wherever the people have received even a little training, the effects are immediately apparent. I have been informed that the spinning programme can succeed very well in the Lyallpur area.

Spinning-wheel with Ten Spindles

A craftsman from Ludhiana has left a ten-spindled spinning-wheel with me. The design is quite good, simple and cheap. But he could not spin on all the spindles simultaneously. He was intelligent but had not been able to make progress for want of experience. When the thing was explained to him, he followed it all right, and he has promised to try again. Having seen this spinning-wheel, I have a hope that we may see a ten-spindled spinning-wheel in India. Someone from Kanpur has also informed me that he has constructed such a model. I hope that craftsmen familiar with this work will make efforts and produce, within the time limit, a spinning-wheel which will win the prize.

Journey Ends

The visit to Lyallpur was the last lap of my journey. Still the Gujrat district remains. But I have decided to devote time

[1] Sir Charles James Lyall (1845-1920); English orientalist; served in Bengal Civil Service, Chief Commissioner of Central Provinces, 1895-98; Secretary, Judicial and Public Department, India Office, 1898-1910

CWMG - XVI

now to writing the report. After giving a week to this, I hope to tour the Gujrat district.

Arrival of Mr. Jayakar

Mr. Jayakar[1] has come from Bombay to assist the Congress Sub-committee. At the moment he is helping Mr. Abbas Tayabji[2]. Mr. C. R. Das has done with Amritsar and come to Lahore. Pandit Motilal Nehru, having accepted the Presidentship of the Congress, has resigned as Commissioner and Pandit Malaviyaji has accepted the resignation. The Hon'ble Fazlul Huq who went to Bengal has not yet returned. Pandit Motilal Nehru is busy preparing his speech. It is expected that he will deliver it in Hindi-Urdu. Copies of the English translation will be kept ready and will be distributed to those who do not know Hindi or Urdu. Though the report of the Sub-committee will be completed early, it will not be published till after the report of Lord Hunter's Committee is released. This is only proper because it will be discourteous to make our report public before Lord Hunter submits his.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 21-12-1919

224. INDIAN SITUATION IN EAST AFRICA[3]

Lahore,
December 16, 1919

Mr. Gandhi, in explaining the position, states that:

The anti-Indian agitation in East Africa is utterly unscrupulous and lacks even the plausibility that attached to the kindred agitation in South Africa, for the European colonist in South Africa claims South Africa as his home and further claims that he is the

[1] Dr. Mukund R. Jayakar; Barrister; Member, Bombay Legislative Council; worked with Gandhiji in 1919 on Congress inquiry into Punjab repression; Federal Court Judge, 1937-9; Vice-Chancellor, Poona University

[2] Abbas Tayabji, Gandhiji's friend and lieutenant in the earlier civil disobedience campaigns in India

[3] This was Gandhiji's explanatory note with reference to the following message received from C. F. Andrews, from Nairobi: "The East African Indian situation is most critically dangerous because a united attempt is being made by European Associations to close the door against future immigration and to stop Indian franchise. The chief reason is stated to be that through the Indian contact depravity is the result, but advance under Christian Western

pioneer settler, whereas in East Africa the European can advance no such claims. He is there purely and simply for exploitation. It is the Indian who was the pioneer settler in East Africa long before a single European set foot on the East African soil. Before the uplands of East Africa were developed through Indian labour, European greed had found no scope for itself; but now that Nairobi affords a beautiful climate and an unlimited opportunity for game, the European has become impatient of the Indian merchant and landed proprietor. It is impossible to tolerate any diminution in our right in East Africa to settle there and to exercise even political influence. It is to be hoped that the Government of India and the Imperial Government will jealously guard the rights of Indians in East Africa and that the public bodies throughout India will speak with no uncertain voice upon the question.

The Bombay Chronicle, 17-12-1919

225. INDIANS ABROAD

South Africa, East Africa and Fiji present to-day problems for solution and test our capacity for nationalism. Not until we feel for the meanest of our countrymen as each one of us feels for himself, can we be said to have a consciousness of our nationality. Those of our countrymen who have settled in the different parts of the world look to us for guidance, help and protection.

And just as the spirit of nationality is being tested, so is that of imperialism. If imperialism means anything, it must mean and include the capacity for protecting all interests that belong to it. According to that test, Indians who have settled abroad claim double protection, viz., from us and from the Imperial

civilization. The Government Economic Commission report recently published takes the same attitude mentioning specifically the Indian moral depravity and approving the South African exclusion policy. Intense indignation was expressed here by the local Indian Congress gathering which was remarkable for its weight and numbers. I have decided, on urgent request, to stay till January here. The Congress Committee decided on my suggestion to abandon the claim for preferential treatment in German East Africa while demanding complete continuance of all existing rights. Circulate and explain the situation." The statement appears to have been released generally to the Press as an Associated Press message and was published in several newspapers. The text of the cable quoted here has verbal variations from that quoted by Gandhiji in the following item.

Government. And yet, both seem so far to have mainly failed in the discharge of their trust.

For though we may gain before the end of the year a final declaration that the Fiji indentures are over once and for all, it reflects no credit either on the Imperial power or on us that the corrupt and immoral system could persist for so many years. And if we gain the end, it would have been due largely to the single-minded efforts of those two gentle Englishmen—Messrs Andrews and Pearson. But much more yet remains to be done. The Fiji Government has so cruelly neglected the welfare of these unhappy labourers that they are without proper facilities for education. They are in search of men who would educate them and guide them. Frankly we have not men enough in India who would do such work as a labour of love.

The problem in East Africa is become more and more serious, as the following cablegram, received by Mr. Gandhi from Mr. Andrews who is at Nairobi, shows:

> East African Indian situation is now most critically dangerous because united attempt is being made by European associations to close the door against future immigration and to stop Indian franchise. The chief reason is stated to be that Africans morally deteriorate through Indian contact but advance under Christian Western civilization. Government Economic Commission's report recently published takes the same attitude mentioning specifically Indian moral depravity, approving the South African exclusion policy. Intense indignation was expressed here by the local Indian Congress gathering which was remarkable for its weight and numbers. I have decided on urgent request to stay till January here. The local Congress Committee has decided on my suggestion to abandon the claim for preferential treatment in German East Africa while demanding complete continuance of all existing rights. Circulate and explain situation in the Press and the Congress.

The cablegram shows the unscrupulousness of the agitation against the Indians. Those who prate about the Christian civilization are strangers to the Christian teaching and know nothing of the manner in which the Indian settler has raised the native of Africa. They ignore the teaching of history that the Indian settler penetrated East Africa when there was no European there and affected for the better manners and customs of the people. The Indians who went to South Africa did not force their customs upon the Africans nor did they take the brandy bottle in the one hand and the gun in the other, for they did not go to East Africa with the intention of "civilizing" the barbarians. They frankly went

there to trade among the natives of the soil with their permission and left traces of their civilization among them in the same manner as any two sets of people are bound silently to be affected by each other's conduct. It is a simple misrepresentation of known facts to say that the presence of Indians in the midst of East Africans has been in any shape or form detrimental to the latter.

What are we to do in the teeth of this unscrupulous agitation ? In East Africa the European has not even the plausible argument, that he has in South Africa, of being the pioneer settler, for the Indian is the pioneer. The development of East Africa is due to Indian labour which worked in the midst of grave danger to health. If the Imperial Government surrenders an iota of the rights of Indians to the interested agitation of the European rivals, it would be a betrayal of trust. Mr. Andrews mentions the claim of domiciled Indians to preferential treatment. They have wisely given it up; not that they are not entitled to it in accordance with the standard of their detractors, but they give it up in order to smooth the situation and in order to keep themselves absolutely in the right. Here then is another problem for us and the Imperial Government, if we are to justify our respective claims.

Then there remains South Africa, which is really the most difficult of all. We reproduce in this issue the text of General Smuts' not unsympathetic reply[1] to the Indian Deputation that waited on him. Never has a community been engaged in an unequal fight such as our countrymen are in South Africa. Compared to their rivals they are poor. They have no political power and they have been engaged ever since 1880 in protecting the right to exist with self-respect—a right which any civilized Government would not deny even to utter strangers. It speaks volumes for their courage and resourcefulness that they have been able to hold their own in the manner they have.

Young India, 17-12-1919

[1] *Vide* Appendix X.

CWMG - XVI

226. LETTER TO SIR GEORGE BARNES

[After *December 19, 1919*]

[SIR GEORGE BARNES
DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE & INDUSTRY
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
NEW DELHI]

DEAR SIR GEORGE BARNES,

Several postal clerks have been to me. They have been asking for an increase since 1918 but none has yet been granted. They have recently learned that an increase has been granted to the telegraphists. That has made them more restless. The latest reply given to them is over the signature of the Postmaster General, Punjab, as follows:

POST AND TELEGRAPHS
SPECIAL CIRCULAR NO. 11

LAHORE,
December 19, 1919

TO
ALL SUPERINTENDENTS, HEADS AND SUB-POSTMASTERS
PUNJAB AND N.W.F. CIRCLE

I have received a number of telegrams and representations from the staff regarding the revision of pay of the clerical establishment. These representations give the impression that nothing has been done in the matter. This is not the case. The question was taken up by the Director-General early in the calendar year and his proposals were placed before the Government of India. The scheme is a large one and is now before the Secretary of State. It is hoped that his orders will be received by the end of the current month and that the new scale of pay will have retrospective effect. I much regret the delay for which the Director-General is not responsible. Meanwhile it is merely waste of time and money to send telegrams and representations to the Government of India and the Viceroy.

P. G. ROGERS,
POSTMASTER-GENERAL,
PUNJAB AND N.W.F. CIRCLE.

The reply can hardly satisfy those who have not enough for bread and butter. I have asked the clerks to exercise patience.

But I trust you will treat this as a matter of urgency and issue some reassuring declaration.

Yours sincerely,

From the pencilled draft in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 7082

227. FRAGMENT OF NOTE[1]

[After *December 19, 1919*]

But the best part of Mr. Shastri's work for his country is being done behind the curtain. When however the history of the reforms comes to be written, the country will know what part Mr. Shastri has played in the advancement of the cause we have all at heart. There is a great deal too. . . .

From a photostat of a copy in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 7082

228. PUNJAB LETTER

LAHORE,
Sunday [*December 21, 1919*][2]

JALLIANWALA BAGH

I accompanied the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mr. Neville to Amritsar, Jallianwala Bagh and the streets where passers-by were made to crawl on their stomachs. We travelled by car and, on the way, got down to see the Khalsa College. This College has an extensive campus. The students are mostly Sikhs. There is an attached hostel. The College owns 100 acres of land. The buildings are still under construction. Mr. Wathen is the Principal. The students are taught agriculture too, the training being of a practical nature. I hope to give further information about this some other time.

We went on to Jallianwala Bagh. The name Bagh is a misnomer. Jallianwala is a surname and belonged to the original owner of the Bagh. This Bagh is now the property of about 40 people. It is not a garden but a rubbish dump. It is flanked on all

[1] It is not clear whether this formed part of a letter or other writing. It was written at the back of "Letter to Sir George Barnes"; *vide* the preceding item. The reference to Shastri is to V. S. Srinivasa Sastri.

[2] The letter was evidently written on the Sunday preceding the Congress session.

CWMG - XVI

sides by the backs of houses and people throw refuse on to it from their rear windows. It contains three trees and one small tomb. It is an open space which can be approached by a narrow lane. It was through this that General Dyer made his entry. Hence the people who had collected there on April 13 were virtually trapped. There are 3 or 4 exits, but to use them one has to jump over a wall. It was in this way that thousands that day saved their lives.

There flowed in this Bagh a river of blood, the holy blood of innocent people. Because of this the spot has become sanctified. Efforts are being made to obtain this spot for the nation. It will, indeed, be a matter of shame for us if we do not succeed.

Preparations for Congress

By the time this letter is published, the first session of the Congress will have been over. All preparations are under way. Thousands are expected to attend. Pandit Motilal is working on his speech. Swami Shri Shraddhanand is ready with his. It is in Hindi.

Miscellaneous

Mr. Jayakar, who is here, has been appointed Commissioner in place of Pandit Motilal.

The Hunter Committee's work in these parts is nearly over. It will commence its sittings in Ahmedabad on January 5.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 28-12-1919

229. SPEECH AT ALL-INDIA HUMANITARIAN CONFERENCE[1]

Amritsar,
December 28, 1919

Before dissolving the Conference, Mahatma Gandhi said that he could not conduct the proceedings when there was so much confusion and noise and it would be cruel on his part to prolong the sitting in that state. He considered himself the most unfortunate in that he could not address the Conference at that stage, but he appealed to them, if they had any regard for him, to follow vegetarianism and to abstain from killing animals of any sort. People of the Punjab, he was told, were flesh-eaters and it would be a

[1] Held under the auspices of the Bombay Humanitarian League, it drew such a vast concourse of people that it was difficult to address them. After the resolutions had been adopted, Gandhiji spoke briefly.

CWMG - XVII

happy day, indeed, to see them understand the value of vegetarianism. He also spoke of ahimsa in detail and the importance of preserving milch and dry cattle, which were the real wealth of the country. He then declared the Conference dissolved.

The Tribune, 31-12-1919

230. SPEECH AT AMRITSAR CONGRESS[1]

December 29, 1919

Mahatma Gandhi rose[2] amid tremendous cheering and in proposing the second resolution said the resolution[3] entrusted to him was a very important one. All the Indians were agreed that India was entitled to responsible Government. If that was so, they must render help to their brothers and sisters who were at that time suffering in South Africa. The atrocities to which their brethren in the Punjab had been subjected this year were heart-rending, and there was not a man in India who did not sympathise with them in their troubles. But the conditions in South and East Africa were still worse and demanded their immediate attention. Mahatma Gandhi traced the introduction of the indentured system to the request of the whitemen of Natal in South Africa to the Indian Government for Indian labour. That system, he was bound to say, was enormously worse than life in the Indian jails. Sir William Hunter had called it a system of slavery. Under this system their brethren had gone to South Africa.[4] The success of Indians in trade had given rise to those tyrannies under which they were now suffering. Their trade was crushed. It was ruled that indentured labourers could not enter into trade but must live under indenture. It was said that Indians were of dirty habits, and being of a different civilization from the whitemen's, the latter could not live with them. False charges were laid against them and it was tried to send them back to India. South Africa was the place where the Indians had fought in order to keep up the honour of their country and twenty thousand[5] men had to go to jail for it. The result was that they were allowed to remain there. In 1914 several

[1] The Indian National Congress held its session at Amritsar during December 27, 1919 and January 1, 1920. Gandhiji first spoke in Hindi.

[2] Gandhiji was reported to have made the speech seated because of indisposition.

[3] This was on Indian settlers in South Africa. The second part of the resolution dealt with conditions in East Africa.

[4] According to reports in *The Leader*, *The Tribune* and *New India*, Gandhiji here cited the example of Ali Bakar Ahmed who had migrated to the Transvaal and prospered.

[5] This is obviously an error; the figure is 2,000, as mentioned in newspaper reports.

CWMG - XVI

privileges were granted to the Indians. Similar was the case of the Transvaal. The Indians there wanted proprietary rights and rights of trade, but these were denied to them. They wanted the Indian Government to secure those rights for them and to use means to maintain the honour of India. The second part of the resolution related to East Africa. There the people had not gone under indenture, but for purposes of trade. Several Mohammedan brethren had gone to Zanzibar and had succeeded so well in trade that even the Africans had come under their influence. They had to cross wild, dense and dangerous jungles to reach those places and began by means of love with the natives to trade there. After a time the whitemen too plucked courage to go to those places. They then called the Indians for their help. Our Sikh brethren went to Uganda, etc.; and it was through Indian labour that the construction of the Railway was made possible there. After all this the whitemen wanted to turn the Indians out of the place which they had made habitable with their labour. Mahatma Gandhi proceeded to say that they asked the Indian Government, who was a trustee for India, and the Indian National Congress, which was a representative body, to interfere[1] in the matter and to save their suffering Indian brethren in Africa. Mahatma Gandhi then read the resolution which was as follows:

(a) This Congress protests against the attempt being made in South Africa and particularly to deprive the Indian settlers of the right of property and trade hitherto enjoyed by them and trusts that the Government of India will secure the repeal of the recently enacted legislation and otherwise ensure the protection of the status of the Indian settlers in South Africa.
(b) This Congress is of opinion that the anti-Indian agitation now going on in East Africa is utterly unscrupulous and trusts that the Government of India will safeguard the right of free and unrestricted emigration from India to East Africa and the full civic and political rights of the Indian settlers in East Africa including the East African territory conquered from Germany.

Mahatma M. K. Gandhi speaking in English said:

This is the letter addressed to the Congress by Mr. C. F. Andrews.[2] As you know, he was at the time in East Africa investigating the position there. He writes:

> Gentlemen of the Indian National Congress, you will understand the deep pain and indignation which the following challenge to Indian

[1] Perhaps, this should be 'intervene'.

[2] This was published in *The Indian Review*, January 1920. Verbal discrepancies in this version, extracted from the Congress Report, have been corrected in the light of the text in the *Review*.

residents in East Africa on the part of the European settlers has caused me. I enclose at the end of this letter a copy of the two principal documents dealing with the subject. My indignation has grown deeper still since I have seen with my own eyes how unjustified the attack on Indian moral character has been. If the challenge had been made merely on economic grounds, the attack could have been met without any feeling of resentment. There is no dishonour in being called more industrious and thrifty than other people, and, hitherto, this has been the only ground, openly alleged, for refusing Indian immigration. But this new challenge from East Africa is of an entirely different nature. Here the main line of attack is against the Indian moral character itself. It is brutally stated, the Indian moral depravity is so great that Indians cannot be allowed to contaminate the Africans any longer. Let me quote from the two main documents which have levelled this gross charge against us. The first is a declaration of the Convention of Associations of East Africa, the most important non-official body of Europeans in the country, which has often gone by the name of the Whiteman's Parliament. The declaration begins as follows: "This Convention wishes to point out to the Government that during the discussion of a petition regarding Indians as also those affecting the native peoples of this country, they had the assistance of four missionaries, one being a Roman Catholic and three being from the Missionary Conference which was sitting in Nairobi at the same time as the Convention."

It proceeds in this way: "That whereas our national ideals of enlightenment and progress are crystallised in our Christian Western civilisation and it is our duty to make sure that the best contained therein is readily available for the needs of awakening Africa, and whereas the maintenance of this country depends entirely on the prestige and force of character of the white man, and, whereas certain Indians have entered this country as traders, clerks and assistants and whereas these people follow in all things a civilisation which is Eastern and in many respects repugnant to ours." Here then is the main charge stated in somewhat guarded language. It is more openly explained in the conclusion. The Declaration proceeds: "We conceive short of the retrocession of the territory to Germany, of no transaction more immoral and more certain to recoil on our heads than the betrayal to the Asiatic of a section of the African peoples whose destinies have fallen into our hands and who at present are unable to protect themselves. We submit that to buy off Indian or other agitation at the expense of the natives of Africa would be a policy neither wise nor honourable."

The second document is of even greater practical significance. It is, to all intents and purposes, an official record. It forms part of the report of the Economic Commission which was presided over by one of the leading

CWMG - XVI

Government officials. The findings were unanimous. I quote the following:

"There are", again I am quoting from the Declaration, "unfortunately other reasons of even greater weight against all Indian immigration into this or, indeed, any part of Africa. Physically, the Indian is not a wholesome influence because of his incurable repugnance to sanitation and hygiene. The moral depravity of the Indian is equally damaging to the African who, in his natural state, is at least innocent of the worst vices of the East. The Indian is the inciter to crime as well as to violence. It is our firm conviction that the justification of our occupation of this country lies in our ability to adapt the native to our own civilization. If we further complicate this task by continuing to expose the African to the antagonistic influence of the Asiatic as distinct from European philosophy, we shall be guilty of a breach of trust."

Mr. Andrews proceeds:

The only minority report on the Indian question was an additional note of Mr. Powys Cobb. He states that the quotation which he makes about Indians was drafted by the whole body of the Commission but was omitted at the last meeting. But Mr. Powys Cobb would not be satisfied with its omission, and inserts it under his own signature as a note. It is significantly similar to the Declaration of the Convention of Associations, and proves that there is practically no difference between the official and the non-official view of Indian morality among Europeans generally. Mr. Powys Cobb's quotation which, you might as well have, is as follows :

"We (i.e., the Commissioners) have already stated in Chapter VII what we submit are final reasons against the betrayal to the Asiatic of any section of the African peoples, the responsibility for whose destinies has fallen into our hands. Short of the retrocession of the territory in question to Germany (Mr. Cobb's advice is) . . . if India requires an outlet, there are vast empty spaces in Asia awaiting development to which it might now be practicable for her to apply her energies."

Mr. Andrews concludes:

Gentlemen of the Congress, if there had been any valid grounds for this attack upon the moral character of the Indian community, I should not have hesitated to expose the facts. On a former occasion, in Fiji, I had to do this very thing with regard to Indians labouring under the indenture system. I did not shrink then, as you all know, from telling you the plain unvarnished truth. But here, after the most careful examination on the spot, I am convinced that the attack is groundless in its main challenge. I have found young Gujaratis, who now form the main body of those that have come from India to East Africa, leading a domestic and social life which, taken as a whole, is a credit to their Motherland. I

cannot do more in this letter than state emphatically this conclusion to which I have come. If it had been possible for me, I should *have returned* myself to lay before you the whole matter. But I must proceed immediately to South Africa. I trust that you yourselves, gentlemen, will accept the challenge and uphold the character of the children of the Motherland. I trust also that you will protest both at the Congress itself and at the All-India Muslim League and throughout the length and breadth of India against this deliberate policy of excluding Indians on the ground of moral unfitness from the whole of Africa.

I commend both the resolutions to the Congress, and I hope, and I have not the slightest doubt, that the Congress will take up the challenge and return the reply that is deserved by the Europeans in East Africa.[1]

Report of the Thirty-fourth Session of the Indian National Congress

231. THE ROYAL PROCLAMATION

The Proclamation issued by the Sovereign on the 24th inst. is a document of which the British people have every reason to be proud, and with which every Indian ought to feel satisfied. Coming on the top of the disclosures made before Lord Hunter's Committee, the Proclamation gives one an insight into the true British character. For, as the Proclamation shows it at its best, General Dyer's inhumanity shows it at its worst. The Proclamation is the evidence of the intention to do justice, as General Dyer's deed is proof of man becoming devil under fear and excitement. I believe that the juxtaposition of the two events is a pure accident. The Proclamation was the inevitable consequence of the great measure which has received Royal assent. It was the finishing touch. The Reforms Act coupled with the Proclamation is an earnest of the intention of the British people to do justice to India. And it ought to remove suspicion on that score. But that does not mean that we may sit with folded hands and may still expect to get what we want. Under the British Constitution no one gets anything without a hard fight for it. No one for a moment believes the statements made in the Parliament that the reforms have not been granted because of the agitation. We must lay to heart the advice of the President of the Congress that we shall gain nothing without agitation. We would have been nowhere if there had

[1] The resolution was seconded by Nadirshah Cama from South Africa and supported by K. Natarajan, editor of *The Indian Social Reformer*, and others.

been no Congress to agitate for the rights of the people. Agitation means no more than movement towards something. But just as all movement does not mean progress, so does all agitation not mean success. Undisciplined agitation, which is a paraphrase of violence of speech or deed, can only retard national growth and bring about even unmerited retribution such as the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre. Disciplined agitation is the condition of national growth. The most correct agitation, therefore, consists in the most correct action and we have little doubt that the Royal Proclamation and the Reforms mean not less agitation and less work but more agitation and more work of the correct type.

The Reforms are undoubtedly incomplete; they do not give us enough; we were entitled to more, we could have managed more. But the Reforms are not such as we may reject. On the contrary they are such as to enable us to expand. Our duty, therefore, is not to subject them to carping criticism, but to settle down quietly to work so as to make them a thorough success and thus anticipate the time for a full measure of responsibility. Our work, therefore, may now well consist in agitation turned inward. Let us concentrate on ridding ourselves of social abuses, on producing a strong electorate and on sending to the councils men who would seek election not for self-advertisement but for national service.

There has been much mutual distrust between us—the English and ourselves. General Dyer forgot the dignity of man and became unmanly because he was seized with distrust and consequent fear. He feared that he might be "assaulted". The Proclamation, more than the Reforms, replaces distrust by trust. It remains to be seen whether the trust will filter down to the Civil Service. But let us assume that it will, and let us respond in the fullest measure. We cannot be wrong in so doing. To trust is a virtue. It is weakness that begets distrust. The best satisfaction we can show is undoubtedly to work gracefully and ungrudgingly. Our honest work will constitute the best guarantee for quickening the pace of progress towards the goal.

Throughout all these years, the one figure that has laboured for India without, for a single moment, turning back is Mr. Montagu. We have had many Secretaries of State who have adorned their office. But no Secretary has so well adorned it as Mr. Montagu. He has been a true friend of India. He has earned our gratitude. And for Lord Sinha? He has added lustre to his country. India has every reason to be proud of him.

Young India, 31-12-1919

232. *LETTER TO STUDENTS*

[*1919*][1]

A student means one who is hungry for learning. Learning is knowledge of what is worth knowing about. The only thing worth knowing about is the *atman*. True knowledge is thus knowledge of the Self. But in order to attain this knowledge, one has to know Literature, History, Geography, Mathematics, etc. All these are by way of means. Knowledge of letters is considered essential in order that one might acquire knowledge of these subjects. It is not as if men of knowledge without this equipment do not exist within our experience. One who knows this would not go mad after knowledge of letters or of literature and other subjects; he would become mad only after knowledge of the Self. He will give up anything which proves an obstacle in the pursuit of this knowledge and dedicate himself only to that which helps him in that pursuit. The student-life of one who realizes this never ends and, whether eating, drinking, sleeping, playing, digging, weaving, spinning or doing any other work, he is all the time growing in this knowledge. For this purpose, one has to develop one's faculty of observation. One would not, then, always need a multitude of teachers or, rather, would look upon the whole world as one's teacher and accept everything in it which is good.

BAPU

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5982

[1] The date of this letter is not available.

CWMG - XVI

233. SPEECH ON REFORMS RESOLUTION AT AMRITSAR CONGRESS[1]

January 1, 1920

Mr. Gandhi, speaking in Hindi, said that he was pained to speak against the resolution moved by Mr. Das and seconded by Mr. Tilak. He agreed with the resolution to a great extent but he was not prepared to characterize the Reforms as "disappointing"[2].

By "disappointing" it was meant that one was unable to do any work in that connection. But those who called the Reforms "disappointing" had said that they would fill the Council with their own candidates. Mr. Gandhi asked the Congress to consider that. If they wanted to utilize the Reforms Act, why should they call it "disappointing"?

He, then, moved his amendment which differed from the one printed in the agenda paper yesterday. Mr. Gandhi's altered amendment omitted the word "disappointing" at the end[3] and ran:

Pending such introduction [of Responsible Government] this Congress begs loyally to respond to the sentiments expressed in the Royal Proclamation, namely, "Let it (the new era) begin with a common determination among my people and my officers to work together for a common purpose" and trusts that both

[1] Gandhiji spoke on the resolution moved by C. R. Das which read as follows:
(a) "That this Congress reiterates its declaration of last year that India is fit for full Responsible Government and repudiates all assumptions and assertions to the contrary wherever made.
(b) That this Congress adheres to the resolutions passed at Delhi Congress regarding Constitutional Reforms and is of opinion that the Reforms Act is inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing.
(c) That this Congress further urges that Parliament should take early steps to establish full Responsible Government in India in accordance with the principle of self-determination."

The resolution was supported by S. Satyamurti, Hasrat Mohani, Rambhuj Dutt Choudhry and Chandra Bansi Sahai. The report of Gandhiji's speech in Hindi is taken from *The Tribune*, 3-1-1920.

[2] Tilak had observed in his speech that "the expressions 'inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing' were not at all new. They had expressed them in previous Congresses and their objection still remained. Some people would have liked to take away the word 'disappointing'. He saw no reason for this. Nothing had happened in the interim to change their view."

[3] As a consequential change the word "and" after "unsatisfactory" was shifted and placed after "inadequate".

the authorities and the people will co-operate so to work the Reforms as to secure an early establishment of full responsible government and this Congress offers its warmest thanks to the Right Hon'ble E. S. Montagu for his labours in connection with them.[1]

MY DEAR FRIENDS,

I have done with Hindi, and by the indulgence of the President of this Congress who has laboured for us throughout all these anxious days in the midst of the greatest difficulties of which you can have no conception, I shall occupy a little more of your time and make a final appeal to those friends who have not been able to follow me in this matter. You have heard those who spoke in English. I do not need to read my amendment to them. You have seen the amendment that stands in my name. I want to give you the fullest assurance that nothing could have pleased me more than not to have appeared before you in order to divide this House, but when I found that duty demanded of me that I should say a word, even against revered countrymen of mine, even against those who have sacrificed themselves for the sake of the country, when I found that they did not make sufficient appeal to my head or to my heart, and when I felt that an acceptance of the position that underlay their proposition would mean something not good for the country, I felt I at least should have my own say and make my own position clear to the country. Throughout my life I have understood the principle of compromise; I have understood the spirit of democracy. I yield to no one in my regard for both these things, but throughout my life I have also found that there come occasions in a man's life who wants to regulate his life according to the voice of his own conscience, according to the immutable laws of God as he understands them; I say there come occasions in the life of such a man when he must grasp and embrace, as he would embrace a brother parting with his dearest friends, and that time stared me in the face two days ago. It is not a matter of removing a word here and a word there. If I could have managed to have the word "disappointing", believe me, I would not have risen before this audience, wasted your time and my nation's valuable time in higgling over a word. I say to you it is not right to have the word "disappointing". You saw an amendment[2] in my name

[1] Gandhiji then spoke in English.

[2] The amendment was to the following effect: "In the opinion of the Congress, whilst the Reforms Act falls short of the requirements of the situation in India and therefore inadequate and unsatisfactory, the Congress recognizes, it

yesterday which I have withdrawn. It expressed my opinion in more graceful language: I do not claim any better knowledge of English on that account, but I had pinned my heart on it, and that is my estimation of my own phraseology. I contend that that amendment expresses the same thing in more graceful language, but I say to myself, and I said to myself yesterday, "Never mind the grace. If you can get the substance in another language, you shall take it." I have, therefore, taken those three paragraphs in the resolution in their entirety with the exception of the adjective "disappointing", because that also entirely represents my feeling. I do believe with Tilak Maharaj, Mr. Das and all the other friends, that we are fit for responsible government fully to-day. (Hear, hear.) I do believe that what we are getting falls far short of the Congress ideal. (Hear, hear.) I do believe that at the earliest possible moment we should have responsible government. I am in accord with them. What then? All that is gone. But how are we to build our future? That is a question to which they addressed themselves and I addressed myself, and their conclusion was, let the country go as it will. We shall not give the lead to the country from this platform. What was the meaning of it ? The meaning as I gave to it was, our policy must be obstructive, 'co-operation', yes, but in the mind, it shall not be in the air. If there is to be co-operation under definite conditions, then I say, let us lay down those conditions. But let us make our point perfectly clear. Their position again was, why should we thank a servant of ours ? After all, who is Mr. Montagu? He is our servant. If he has done a little bit of his duty, why do you want to thank him? It is an attitude you may sympathize with sometimes, but I say to this great audience that that is not an attitude which is worthy of yourselves. If in the heart of your hearts you can say that Mr. Montagu, throughout his career as Secretary of State for India, has done one thing, namely, he has overborne the opposition led by Lord Sydenham against this Bill and he has resisted all encroachments upon the liberal provisions, few enough I admit, but liberal provisions of that Bill, then I say to that extent and that extent only, Mr. Montagu deserves our whole-hearted thanks. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) That is all that my amendment means.

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is a definite step towards Responsible Government and without prejudice to its full rights to agitate at the earliest opportunity for remedying the glaring omissions in the said Act, it calls upon the people to co-operate with the authorities in making the Reforms a success and that this Congress expresses its cordial thanks to the Right Hon'ble E. S. Montagu and Lord Sinha for their labours on behalf of India in connection with the constitutional reforms."

My amendment also means that we may not say these reforms are disappointing in the sense in which that word is used there. I suggest to you that if a man comes to me and disappoints me, I do not co-operate with him. If I get a sour loaf, I reject it; I don't take it. But if I get a loaf which is not enough or which does not contain sufficient condiments in it, I shall see to it that I get condiments too at a later stage, but I take a bite; then it is not disappointing. Therefore, my amendment means nothing more and nothing less than that. We should stare the situation in the face as it exists before the country today, and if, as I say, Tilak Maharaj tells you that we are going to make use of the Reforms Act, as he must, and as he has already told Mr. Montagu, as he has told the country, that we are going to take the fullest advantage of the Reforms, then I say be true to yourselves, be true to the country and tell the country you are going to do it. But if you want to say, after having gone there, you shall put any obstruction, say that also. But on the question of the propriety of obstruction, I say, that the Indian culture demands that we shall trust the man who extends the hand of fellowship. The King-Emperor has extended the hand of fellowship. (Hear, hear.) I suggest to you that Mr. Montagu has extended the hand of fellowship, and if he has extended the hand of fellowship, do not reject his advances. Indian culture demands trust, and full trust, and if we are sufficiently manly, we shall not be afraid of the future, but face the future in manly manner and say, 'All right, Mr. Montagu, all right, all officials of the bureaucracy, we are going to trust you; we shall put you in a corner, and when you resist us, when you resist the advance of the country, you shall do so at your peril.' That is the manly attitude that I suggest to you. I therefore say you are bound that, if in the heart of your hearts you consider that these reforms enable you to advance further to your goal, if you believe that these reforms can be used as a stepping-stone to full responsible government, then I say, give Mr. Montagu his due and tell him, 'We thank you'. But if you say to Mr. Montagu, 'We thank you', the corollary to that is that we shall co-operate with him. If you say to Mr. Montagu, 'We do not thank you, we know what your reforms are, we know your intentions, we shall frustrate those intentions by obstructing you at every stage;' if that is your position, make it clear before the world and work for it. I shall challenge that position, and I shall go across from one end of India to the other and say we shall fail in our culture, we shall fall from our position if we do not do our duty that culture demands, if we do not respond to the hand that has been extended to us. I decline

to distrust him, and I say we shall co-operate in so far as the country's good is advanced. We shall obstruct you, we shall fail you, we shall defeat your purpose, if your purpose is in any shape or form to diminish the glory of India. That is the amendment that I have come to place before you. I again appeal to Tilak Maharaj, and I appeal to Mr. Das and to every one of you, not on the strength of my service—it counts for nothing, not on the strength of my experience—but on the strength of inexorable logic. If you accept your own civilization, I ask the author of the commentaries on *Bhagavad Gita*[1], if he accepts the teachings of *Bhagavad Gita*, then let him extend the hand of fellowship to Mr. Montagu (Here, hear, and applause.)[2]

Report of the Thirty-fourth Session of the Indian National Congress

234. TELEGRAM TO HABIBUDDIN[3]

[AMRITSAR,]
January 3, 1920

UNABLE COME. EXPLAINED FULLY YOUR REPRESENTATIVE.

From the pencilled draft: S.N. 7024

235. LETTER TO DY. REGISTRAR, HIGH COURT, BOMBAY

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
January 4, 1920

MR. GHARDA,
DEPUTY REGISTRAR
BOMBAY

DEAR MR. GHARDA,

I have just arrived from the Punjab to find the rule *nisi* served on me. I take it you received my letter[4] addressed to you from Delhi in the matter. It is evident that the order was granted about the time I wrote my letter from Delhi. I observe that I have

[1] *Gitarahasya*, which Tilak wrote during his incarceration at Mandalay.
[2] The resolution was seconded by M. A. Jinnah and supported by Madan Mohan Malaviya, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya and C. S. Ranga Iyer.
[3] Gandhiji was invited to visit Jamshedpur in connection with a strike.
[4] *Vide* "Letter to Registrar, High Court, Bombay", 11-12-1919.

CWMG-XVI

to appear on or after the 21st day after the service of your notice. The notice was served on the 2nd instant. Does it mean that the matter will not be heard on the 23rd instant? All I wish to say is that I have not yet finished my work in the Punjab. I expect to be in the Punjab about the 20th instant and to be there for nearly two months. I shall therefore esteem it a favour if His Lordship the Chief Justice will accommodate me for that period.

I may mention too that I do not desire to engage counsel or to offer any defence, save for a statement like the one embodied in my letter from Delhi of 11th Dec. '19, and I am anxious, too, that the date of hearing may not be known to the public. Will you therefore kindly see His Lordship and let me know whether a date for the hearing can be fixed sometime in April?[1]

I take it that the matter against the publisher, Mr. Desai, will be heard the same day as against me.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat of the handwritten office copy: S.N. 7128-A

236. STATEMENT TO DISORDERS INQUIRY COMMITTEE

[SABARMATI,
January 5, 1920]

For the past thirty years I have been preaching and practising satyagraha. The principles of satyagraha, as I know it today, constitute a gradual evolution.

Satyagraha differs from passive resistance as North Pole from South. The latter has been conceived as a weapon of the weak and does not exclude the use of physical force or violence for the purpose of gaining one's end, whereas the former has been conceived as a weapon of the strongest and excludes the use of violence in any shape or form.

The term satyagraha was coined by me in South Africa to express the force that the Indians there used for full eight years and it was coined in order to distinguish it from the movement then going on in the United Kingdom and South Africa under the name of passive resistance.[2]

Its root meaning is holding on to truth, hence truth-force. I have also called it love-force or soul-force. In the application

[1] The hearing was fixed for March 3; *vide* "Letter to Registrar, High Court, Bombay", 24-1-1920.

[2] *Vide* Vol. VIII, pp. 131-2 and *Satyagraha in South Africa*, Ch. XII.

of satyagraha, I discovered in the earliest stages that pursuit of truth did not admit of violence being inflicted on one's opponent but that he must be weaned from error by patience and sympathy. For what appears to be truth to the one may appear to be error to the other. And patience means self-suffering. So the doctrine came to mean vindication of truth, not by infliction of suffering on the opponent, but on one's self.

But on the political field, the struggle on behalf of the people mostly consists in opposing error in the shape of unjust laws. When you have failed to bring the error home to the law-giver by way of petitions and the like, the only remedy open to you, if you do not wish to submit to error, is to compel him by physical force to yield to you or by suffering in your own person by inviting the penalty for the breach of the law. Hence satyagraha largely appears to the public as civil disobedience or civil resistance. It is civil in the sense that it is not criminal.

The law-breaker breaks the law surreptitiously and tries to avoid the penalty; not so the civil resister. He ever obeys the laws of the State to which he belongs not out of fear of the sanctions but because he considers them to be good for the welfare of society. But there come occasions, generally rare, when he considers certain laws to be so unjust as to render obedience to them a dishonour. He then openly and civilly breaks them and quietly suffers the penalty for their breach. And in order to register his protest against the action of the law-givers, it is open to him to withdraw his co-operation from the State by disobeying such other laws whose breach does not involve moral turpitude.

In my opinion, the beauty and efficacy of satyagraha are so great and the doctrine so simple that it can be preached even to children. It was preached by me to thousands of men, women and children commonly called indentured Indians, with excellent results.

When the Rowlatt Bills were published I felt that they were so restrictive of human liberty that they must be resisted to the utmost. I observed too that the opposition to them was universal among Indians. I submit that no State however despotic has the right to enact laws which are repugnant to the whole body of the people, much less a government guided by constitutional usage and precedent such as the Indian Government. I felt too that the oncoming agitation needed a definite direction if it was neither to collapse nor to run into violent channels.

I ventured therefore to present satyagraha to the country emphasizing its civil resistance aspect. And as it is purely an inward and purifying movement, I suggested the observance of

fast, prayer and suspension of all work for one day—the 6th of April. There was a magnificent response throughout the length and breadth of India, even in little villages, although there was no organization and no great previous preparation. The idea was given to the public as soon as it was conceived. On the 6th April there was no violence used by the people and no collision with the police worth naming. The hartal was purely voluntary and spontaneous. I attach hereto the letter[1] in which the idea was announced.

The observance of the 6th April was to be followed by civil disobedience. For the purpose the Committee of the Satyagraha Sabha had selected certain political laws for disobedience. And we commenced the distribution of prohibited literature of a perfectly healthy type, e.g., a pamphlet[2] written by me on Home Rule, a translation of Ruskin's *Unto This Last*, *The Defence and Death of Socrates*, etc.

But there is no doubt that the 6th of April found India vitalized as never before. The people who were fear-stricken ceased to fear authority. Moreover, hitherto the masses had lain inert. The leaders had not really acted upon them. They were undisciplined. They had found a new force but they did not know what it was and how to use it.

At Delhi, the leaders found it difficult to restrain the very large number of people who had remained unmoved before. At Amritsar, Dr. Satyapal was anxious that I should go there and show to the people the peaceful nature of satyagraha. Swami Shraddhanandji from Delhi and Dr. Satyapal from Amritsar wrote to me asking me to go to their respective places for pacifying the people and for explaining to them the nature of satyagraha. I had never been to Amritsar and, for that matter, to the Punjab before. These two messages were seen by the authorities and they knew that I was invited to both the places for peaceful purposes.

I left Bombay for Delhi and the Punjab on the 8th April and had telegraphed to Dr. Satyapal, whom I had never met before, to meet me at Delhi. But after passing Muttra[3] I was served with an order prohibiting me from entering the province of Delhi. I felt that I was bound to disregard this order and I proceeded on my journey. At Palwal, I was served with an[other] order prohibit-

[1] This was given as Annexure A; *vide* Vol. XV, pp. 145-6.
[2] *Vide* Vol. X, pp. 6-68.
[3] Mathura. The order was served at Kosi.

ing me from entering the Punjab and confining me to the Bombay Presidency. And I was arrested by a party of police and taken off the train at that station. The Superintendent of Police who arrested me acted with every courtesy. I was taken to Muttra by the first available train and thence by goods train early in the morning to Sawai Madhopur, where I joined the Bombay Mail from Peshawar and was taken charge of by Superintendent Bowring. I was discharged at Bombay on the 10th April.

But the people of Ahmedabad and Viramgam and in Gujarat generally had heard of my arrest. They became furious, shops were closed, crowds gathered, and murder, arson, pillage, wire-cutting and attempt at derailment followed.

I had worked in the midst of Kaira *raiyats* just before and had mixed among thousands of men and women. I had worked at the instance of and with Miss Anasuya Sarabhai among the mill-hands of Ahmedabad. The mill-hands appreciated her philanthropic work and adored her. The fury of the labourers in Ahmedabad reached white heat when a false rumour was started that she too was arrested. Both of us had visited and interceded for the mill-hands of Viramgam when they were in trouble. And it is my firm belief that the excesses were due to the great resentment of the mobs over my arrest and the rumoured arrest of Miss Anasuya Sarabhai.

I have mixed with the masses in practically the whole of India and talked to them freely. I do not believe that there was any revolutionary movement behind the excesses. They could hardly be dignified by the term 'rebellion'.

And, in my opinion, the Government erred in prosecuting the offenders for waging war. This hasty view has caused unmerited or disproportionate suffering. The fine imposed on poor Ahmedabad was heavy and the manner of collecting it from the labourers was unnecessarily harsh and irritating. I doubt the justice of inflicting on the labourers a fine so large as 1,76,000 (one hundred and seventy-six thousand) rupees. The imposition of the cost from the farmers of Barejadi and from the *Banias* and *Patidars* of Nadiad was totally unjustified and even vindictive. I think that the introduction of Martial Law in Ahmedabad was also unjustified and its thoughtless administration resulted in the loss of several innocent lives.

At the same time, and subject to the reservations mentioned by me, I have no doubt that, in the Bombay Presidency, the authorities acted with considerable restraint at a time when the atmosphere was surcharged with mutual suspicion and the attempt

at wrecking the train which was bringing the troops to restore order had naturally angered the authorities.[1]

Evidence Before Disorders Inquiry Committee, Vol. II, pp. 251-4

237. LETTER TO SECRETARY, DISORDERS INQUIRY COMMITTEE

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
[*January 5, 1920*][2]

DEAR SIR,

I beg to enclose herewith my statement[3] for submission to the Disorders Inquiry Committee. If the Committee wish to entertain my evidence I shall esteem it a favour if I am given *an early day* so as to free me for my other engagements.

I wish to apologize for the delay in sending my statement. My other preoccupations are my only excuse. I arrived in Ahmedabad only yesterday.

Yours s[incere]ly,

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 6988

238. THE CONGRESS

The Congress this time was for many of us a pilgrimage because of its having been held in Amritsar. Jallianwala Bagh was visited during the Congress week by the thousands of delegates and visitors with the pilgrim mind. It is said that some touched the blood-stained earth with their foreheads, some took away with them a little of that earth to be preserved as a sacred treasure. Some used it as *vibhuti*[4] and smeared their foreheads with it. All went to the Bagh as a sacred duty. There is no doubt many went to

[1] The statement was accompanied by three other annexures; for Annexures B and C, *vide* Vol. XV, pp. 220-4 and 207-9, respectively. Annexure D is not available. The statement was also published in *Young India*, 14-1-1920.

[2] The original has "5th April", which is evidently a slip.

[3] *Vide* the preceding item.

[4] Sacred ashes

CWMG - XVI

the Congress only as a mark of their respect for the memory of the innocent dead.

The speeches of Swami Shri Shraddhanandji, the chairman of the Reception Committee, and of the Hon'ble Pandit Motilal Nehru were models of sobriety and breathed an earnest spirit. Each bore the individuality of its author. The Swami's had a religious ring about it. He was full of goodwill towards mankind. "How can we hate Englishmen if we love Andrews, Wedderburn, Hume, Hardinge and others? We must conquer the English with our love," said the Swami. The Pandit's language, though perfectly courteous and restrained, is bitter. He compels a tear from the eye as he takes you with him through the different acts of the Punjab tragedy. He has examined the events of the Punjab with his legal acumen. Iron has entered his soul. He demands stern justice against the culprits.

The Presidential speech suffers for being in English. It was painful to see him labouring through his speech spoken in a foreign tongue before an audience of nearly 15,000 people not one-seventh of which could follow his English. The Congress proceedings have conclusively demonstrated the necessity of their being mainly, if not entirely, conducted in Hindi. That is the only course left open to us if we would work for the masses and draw upon them for delegates. In the Central Provinces, the United Provinces, Delhi, the Punjab and Bihar, only Hindustani is spoken and in all the other parts of India except the Presidency of Madras, Hindi can be generally understood. For it is a language cognate to the vernaculars of the other provinces. Madras alone presents any difficulty and, for the sake of a few hundred delegates from that Presidency, it would not be proper to do violence to thousands who cannot understand English but who can more or less understand Hindustani. The only straight, economical and politically sound course is to make the proceedings of the Congress predominantly Hindustani, the Dravidian members being free to speak in English or, for that matter, in Tamil or Telugu. I grant that for a few years the Subjects Committee must deliberate in English, but if we are to give a proper political education to the country through the medium of the Congress, it must be clear to everyone that it can only be done through Hindi. I trust, therefore, that those in the Madras Presidency who are desirous of doing all-India public work outside their Presidency and of aspiring after becoming delegates of the Congress will make haste to learn Hindi. They have got facilities in the Madras Presidency for learning Hindi, and if they will begin now and give at least one hour per day re-

gularly to it, they will, by the end of the year, be able generally to follow the proceedings of the Congress. All must recognize that the insistent demand of the delegates from year to year for Hindustani cannot be resisted for any length of time.

Another absurdity which is becoming more and more grave needs also to be removed. Very few people could follow the President while he was reading his speech. The very best of leaders may not occupy the attention of the audience for longer than an hour. The President's address was necessarily long. It occupied thirty-eight foolscap pages in print. Fortunately, Pandit Nehru skipped over many pages whilst he was reading it, but he would have taken no less than three hours if he had insisted on reading the whole of the thirty-eight pages. It is highly necessary, therefore, that the addresses of the chairman of the Reception Committee and the president should be printed in Hindustani (both in Devanagri and Urdu scripts), English and the vernacular of the province in which the Congress is held, and distributed at the entrance either gratis or for the cost price. They ought not to be distributed in the pandal, as is often done much to the inconvenience of everybody. Both the chairman and the president might read or orally give the summary of their addresses, each occupying no longer than thirty minutes.

The third absurdity is the terrible, evergrowing waste of money in creating a huge pandal. The Indian climate admits of holding meetings in the open air. But I refrain from saying more on this matter as the All-India Congress Committee has appointed a Subcommittee consisting of Messrs Kelkar, I. B. Sen, A. Rangaswami Iyengar, the Hon'ble V. J. Patel and myself to consider the whole constitution of the Congress.

The resolutions of the Congress show that there are very sharp divisions and, as time goes forward, parties are inevitable. Hitherto, the Congress has represented only one party but it cannot be kept any longer as a one-party organisation if it is not to have seceders from it on an increasing scale from year to year. Measures must be devised whereby all parties can be represented on it and the annual assembly can retain its truly national character.

Let us consider the resolutions. Take the condemnation of the excesses. There is no doubt that without that resolution some of the resolutions would have lost all force and value. We could not with any justification condemn the excesses of the authorities and therefore urge the dismissal of General Dyer or Sir Michael O'Dwyer or even the Viceroy's recall, if we were not ready to condemn our own. That resolution was the necessary *prayashchitta* for

the mob frenzy in April. If we are to make orderly progress, we must unequivocally disapprove of violence being committed by the people in any shape or form. It is true that often in the West mob violence is resorted to, but by creating a strong popular opinion against it we must make such violence impossible in India. Few can deny that on the sixth of April India found itself in possession of a new force and a new power—a force that could prove irresistible under almost every conceivable circumstance provided that truth was on our side. It is my firm belief that had the development of satyagraha not been interrupted in April by our own folly, not only would the Rowlatt Act have been removed from the statute-book but we would have been spared the humiliating and degrading spectacle of a British general running amuck. Indeed, we shall find it impossible, when we have full control over our national affairs, to carry on the government of the country without self-restraint. In a vast country like India where the people are ordinarily peaceful, we shall find it impossible to carry on the government if mob rule becomes the custom of the land and, in order to check that tendency, popular opinion is a far greater and more potent instrument than the employment of physical force. I would, therefore, give the first place in point of importance to this resolution as a token of the correctness of our conduct and for the sake of a lead to the country. These resolutions of the Congress, especially those that require any action on the part of the people, are valuable for the formation of public opinion and I hope that workers, recognizing the full force of the truth underlying the resolution, will on due occasion impress upon the people the necessity of refraining from violence.

Only less in importance than the resolution on condemnation was the resolution on Reforms. Whilst I subscribe entirely to the proposition that India is fit now for Responsible Government, I do not for one moment believe that we can get it without working for it. We can work either by adopting obstructive tactics or by co-operation. Healthy obstruction is a condition of our being. We must ever obstruct untruth, injustice and evil. It was because I did not consider, and do not consider, the Reforms to be an evil or unjust and because I consider them to be a progressive step towards Responsible Government, that I decline to consider them to be disappointing, however inadequate and unsatisfactory they may be. I endorse Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal's opinion that for me to decline to consider the Reforms disappointing means that I did not expect them. I had certainly much fear that the Reforms might not go through when they did and I was unprepared for

material improvements in the measure as it was originally published. The opponents of the amendment admitted that they would co-operate when co-operation was essential for the country's good and not hesitate to obstruct when obstruction advanced it. That no doubt was the only meaning, and no other, of the amendment of which I had the honour to be in charge. But let it be said to the credit of the opponents that they resisted the amendment as long as they could because they frankly said that they had no faith in the bureaucracy even under the altered conditions. In my humble opinion it is a wrong attitude. The Royal Proclamation has been framed in a most liberal spirit. It is full of goodwill and it would have been wrong on the part of the Congress not to have responded to the King's call for co-operation. My faith in human nature is irrepressible and, even under the circumstances of a most adverse character, I have found Englishmen amenable to reason and persuasion, and as they always wish to appear to be just even when they are in reality unjust, it is easier to shame them than others into doing the right thing. Be that however as it may, it would be a fall from our culture and it would be unwise not to grasp the hand of fellowship extended through the Proclamation. If we are strong, we shall lose nothing by beginning with co-operation. We at once place the bureaucracy in the wrong by our readiness to co-operate for the common purpose.

It was equally important for us to thank Mr. Montagu for his valuable services in connection with the Reforms. The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mr. Jinnah and I therefore felt that, even at the risk of dividing the house, we were bound to press the amendment home. That ultimately there was a compromise shows the good nature of Lokamanya Tilak and Mr. Das. It was a perfect pleasure to see both of them, whilst holding to their views, anxious not to divide the house. And it was equally a pleasure to see so many on the platform working to secure a compromise.

Young India, 7-1-1920

CWMG - XVI

239. LETTER TO G. E. CHATFIELD

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
January 8, 1920

DEAR MR. CHATFIELD,

The manager of the Ashram, Mr. Maganlal Gandhi, has applied for some time for permission to build a stable in the non-Inami[1] Ashram ground, but the permission has not yet been received. The stable is to be used for keeping cattle. I understand that some inquiry has been made about the use to be made of the cattle. This question would have been unnecessary if it had been recognized that we are essentially an agricultural colony. The manner in which the whole ground is being used shows it. We have now a fairly large number of cattle. And it is risky to keep them without proper shelter for any length of time. I shall therefore thank you if you could see your way to issue the permission at once. I shall be able to satisfy you any day that we are not using the cattle for trade purposes. We keep cattle for ploughing for the manure they give, and the cows and buffaloes for the milk they give for our food in addition to the manure.[2]

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat of a draft in Gandhiji's hand : S.N. 7037

[1] State lands

[2] Chatfield replied the same day : "If it is simply a matter of using your own agricultural land for cattle byres or cattle stands, I shall not have the least objection. Indeed if the cattle are for use on your land here, such buildings are farm buildings and as such do not require my permission under the LRA."

CWMG - XVI

240. EVIDENCE BEFORE DISORDERS INQUIRY COMMITTEE

[AHMEDABAD,
January 9, 1920]

MR. M. K. GANDHI, BAR-AT-LAW, AHMEDABAD

By the President[1]*:*

Q. Mr. Gandhi, we have been informed that you are the author of the satyagraha movement?

A. Yes, sir.

I would like you to give us an explanation of what that movement is.

It is a movement intended to replace methods of violence. It is a movement based entirely on truth. It is, as I have conceived it, an extension of the domestic law on the political field, and my own experience has led me to the conclusion that that movement and that movement alone can rid India of the possibilities of violence spreading throughout the length and breadth of the land for the redress of grievances, supposed or real.

So far as it has any bearing upon our enquiry, you adopted it in connection with the opposition to the Rowlatt Bill?

Yes.

[1] The Disorders Inquiry Committee was presided over by Lord Hunter. The Committee consisted of Justice Rankin, W. F. Rice, Major-General Sir George Barrow, Jagat Narayan, Thomas Smith, Sir C. H. Setalvad, Sultan Ahmad Khan, and N. Williamson as Secretary. The Committee first met at Delhi on October 31 and from November 3 to 10, 1919; it then collected evidence at Lahore from November 13 to 21 and again on December 11. Among the non-official witnesses examined at Delhi were Hakim Ajmal Khan, S. K. Rudra, Lala Shankerlal and Swami Shraddhanand. Brigadier-General Dyer appeared before the Committee at Lahore. The session at Ahmedabad lasted from January 5 to 10. Chief among non-official witnesses who testified before the Committee were, apart from Gandhiji, Haribhai Desaibhai Desai, President, District Local Board, Jivanlal Vrajrai Desai, Secretary, Ahmedabad branch of the Home Rule League, Krishnalal N. Desai, Secretary, Gujarat Sabha, Ramanbhai M. Nilkanth, President, Ahmedabad Municipality, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Secretary, Satyagraha Sabha, Ambalal Sarabhai and Anasuyabehn Sarabhai. Gandhiji's evidence before the Committee was taken on January 9. The Committee held a one-day sitting at Bombay on January 15. A condensed version of Gandhiji's evidence before the Committee appeared in *Young India*, 21-1-1920 and 28-1-1920.

CWMG - XVI

And in connection with it you asked people to pledge themselves by what is known as the satyagraha vow?

I did.

Am I correct in holding that the satyagraha vow is this? Starting with the narrative as to the objectionable paragraphs of the Rowlatt legislation, satyagrahis pledge themselves to civilly disobey the Rowlatt Act and such other acts as the Committee to be appointed may determine. Was it your intention to enlist as many satyagrahis as possible?

Yes, consistently with the carrying on of the movement in a proper way, that is to say, if I found a million men who were capable of understanding the truth and adhering by it and never using violence, I would certainly be glad to have the million men.

You will get as many satyagrahis as possible if you are satisfied that they understand the nature of the movement?

Yes.

Is not your movement a movement essentially antagonistic to Government? Don't you substitute the determination of this Committee for the will of Government?

Not in my opinion. This is not the spirit in which the movement has been conceived, and that is not the spirit in which the movement, wherever I have led it, has been understood by the people.

Look at it from the point of view of Government, Mr. Gandhi. If you are the Government yourself, what would you say to a movement that was started by someone to the effect that none of your laws were to be obeyed and instead the will of some committee was to be obeyed?

That would not be stating the whole of the case for satyagrahis. I would put it this way. If I was in charge of the Government of a country and I found myself face to face with a body of men who were determined to find out the truth, who were determined to seek redress in connection with unjust laws without inflicting violence, without rioting, without arson, I would welcome the body of men and I would consider that they were the best constitutionalists, as Governor, I could get by my side, because they would keep me in the right track.

I suppose it is the case in India as elsewhere that people differ as to the justice or injustice of particular laws?

Yes; and that is the reason, the main reason, why violence is eliminated here. The satyagrahi gives his opponent the same right of independence and feeling of truth that he reserves to himself,

seeing that he wants to fight for truth he will do so by inviting injury upon his own person.

Before you come to the question of violence, I was looking at it from the point of view of the continuing of Government. Would it be possible to continue Government if a body of men stood up against Government who were to accept not the Government's view of what was right or what was wrong, but the view of an independent committee?

I think that it would be quite possible, and I have found within my experience of 8 years of continuous struggle in South Africa that it was so. I found General Smuts who went through the whole of that campaign, said in the end, that if all conducted themselves as the satyagrahis had done, he should have nothing to say.

That was in connection with a particular campaign. There was nothing objectionable, but, so far as I recollect—I may be wrong—there was no such pledge as was given here?

Certainly. Every satyagrahi was bound to resist all those laws which he considered to be unjust and all those laws which were not of a criminal character in order to bend Government to the will of the people.

You see in your present pledge[1], you have gone a step further. It is not what laws the satyagrahi considers unjust but it is what the Committee considers unjust that he has got to disobey?

I was only this morning discussing about it. That pledge or part of the pledge is really a restraint. If you will re-read it, you will find that that pledge or that part of the pledge is designed to be a restraint upon individual liberty so far as the breach of laws was concerned; and as I intended to make it a mass movement, I felt that some such step[2] was necessary that no man should become

[1] This formed part of the manifesto drawn up at a meeting of the Satyagraha Sabha at Ahmedabad on February 23, and read as follows: "Being conscientiously of opinion that the Bills known as the Indian Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill No. I of 1919 and the Criminal Law (Emergency Powers) Bill No. II of 1919 are unjust, subversive of the principle of liberty and justice, and destructive of the elementary rights of individuals on which the safety of the community as a whole and the State itself is based, we solemnly affirm that, in the event of these Bills becoming law and until they are withdrawn, we shall refuse civilly to obey these laws and such other laws as a committee to be hereafter appointed may think fit and we further affirm that, in this struggle, we will faithfully follow truth and refrain from violence to life, person or property."

[2] According to the report in *Young India*, this referred to "the constitution of some such committee" as the Satyagraha Committee.

the lord of the masses, so far as the satyagrahis were concerned. Therefore I conceived this plan that the Committee should be able to say what laws may be broken *en masse*.

We know the saying that doctors differ, and I understand from Mr. Desai that even satyagrahis differ occasionally?[1]

I have not the slightest doubt and I have found it to my cost.

I put this case to you. Supposing a satyagrahi was satisfied in his own mind that a particular law was a just law and ought to be obeyed but the Committee of satyagrahis said 'disobey this law', what was the satyagrahi who signed such a pledge to do?

He is not bound to disobey that law which he does not consider to be unjust and we had such satyagrahis in abundance.

According to the terms of the pledge, as I understand, he would be bound to disobey that?

Not as I have conceived the pledge and not as I have interpreted it. If the Committee will say that my interpretation of the pledge is faulty, all I can say is I should mend the error the next time I start a satyagraha campaign.

I do not wish to give you advice Mr. Gandhi, I know that you would not take it, if I did. But this satyagraha is a rather dangerous campaign.

I wish I could disabuse the Committee really of this attitude that it is a dangerous campaign. If you will conceive the campaign as designed in order to rid the country of the school of violence, then you will share the same concern that I have that, at any cost, a movement of this character should remain in the country and purify it certainly.

In connection with the Rowlatt legislation, I know we have been told that there was a very general widespread Indian opposition to the Rowlatt legislation. Look at that legislation from an independent standard, apart altogether from the Indian or European standpoint. Would you indicate briefly to me what the essence of your objection to the legislation is ?

As I read the Rowlatt Committee's report and came to the end of it, and I saw the legislation that was fore-shadowed, I felt that it was not warranted by the facts that were produced by the Committee. As I read the legislation itself, I felt that it was so restric-

[1] The reference is to the view of Jivanlal Vrajrai Desai, Secretary of the Home Rule League, Ahmedabad and a member of the Satyagraha Sabha. In his evidence before the Committee on January 8, he had expressed the opinion that the satyagraha movement "should be strictly confined to the educated classes".

CWMG XVI

tive of human liberty, that no self-respecting person or no self-respecting nation could allow such legislation to appear on its regular statute-book. When I saw the debates in the Legislative Council, I felt that the opposition against it was universal and when I found that agitation or that opposition flouted by the Government, I felt that for me, as a self-respecting individual, as a member of a vast Empire, there was no course left open but to resist that law to the utmost.

So far as the objects of that legislation are concerned, have you any doubt that the objects were to put down revolutionary and anarchical crimes?

I have no doubt that the object was laudable.

Those are quite laudable objects?

Quite so.

Your complaint, then, must be as regards the methods adopted?

Entirely that.

If I have understood it rightly, what you complain of is that greater power has been given to the executive than they enjoyed before?

That is so.

I understand that the executive had these powers during the period of the European War under the Defence of India Act?

That is true. The Defence of India Act was an emergency legislation. The Defence of India Act was designed to secure the co-operation of everybody in order to put down any violence that might be offered by any school at the moment; and it was with the greatest reluctance that the people really accepted the Defence of India Act, but the Rowlatt legislation was of a different character altogether as I apprehended; then the people had the additional advantage of having the experience of the working of the Defence of India Act.[1]

Suppose now, Mr. Gandhi, that the Rowlatt legislation was to be put into operation; in the first instance, the Local Government should be satisfied that there was a state of anarchy existing, and in the second place, the Government of India had to take that attitude. Would you see any serious objection to it?

I would see most serious objection. I would not as legislator leave that power in the hands of an executive which I had repeatedly found wanting. I have known the executive Government

[1] *Young India* here has: " . . . now the experience of the working of the former Act has strengthened my objections to the Rowlatt Act."

CWMG - XVI

in India to have run mad. I would certainly not arm a Government of that character with any such arbitrary powers.

Then your objection really comes back to this, that you think that the Government of India in the prosecution of a laudable object adopted a wrong measure. Is not the proper method of dealing with that from a constitutional point of view to endeavour to get the legislation remedied by satisfying the Government of the inexpediency of the measure?

I tried to get that done. On bended knee I pleaded before Lord Chelmsford, and before other English officers I had the pleasure of meeting, and placed my view-point before him also. I am glad to say that some of them accepted the view that I placed before them, but they said that the Rowlatt Committee made these recommendations and they were helpless. I think we exhausted all the resources open to us.

If an honest opponent differs from your view, you cannot expect to satisfy him of the rightness of your cause all of a sudden. You must do so by degrees?

Yes.

Is not refusing to obey that or any other law you choose to select a rather drastic way of attempting to do that?

I respectfully differ. When I find that even my father has imposed upon me a law which is repugnant to my conscience, I think it is the least drastic course that I adopt by respectfully telling him, "Father, I cannot obey this." I do nothing but justice to my father when I do that. If I may say so without any disrespect to the Committee, I have simply followed that in my own domestic circle, and I found I had done so with the greatest advantage. I have placed that before Indians and everybody for acceptance. Rather than feel angry with my father, I would respectfully tell him, "I cannot obey this law." I see nothing wrong in that. If it is not wrong for me to say so to my father, there is nothing wrong for me to say so to a friend or to a Government.

Now, in the prosecution of your satyagraha movement against the Rowlatt legislation, you resolved to open a hartal throughout India?

Yes.

When the hartal was on, no business was to be done, thereby to show disapproval of Government's action?

Yes.

Hartal means then general cessation of business throughout the whole country?

CWMG - XVI

Yes.

If you have a general cessation of business for a brief time nothing harmful might result. But if the cessation is for a lengthened period, will it not be productive of great harm to the people?

Very great.

As regards your hartal, it was originally to be held on the 30th March?

I had simply said the second Sunday after the publication.

The second Sunday was the 6th April. Some people seemed to have made a miscalculation?

No miscalculation. Those who came to know of the Viceregal assent immediately after it was given, for them the calculation would be 30th March. That was brought to the notice of the people in Madras. I immediately sent a telegram fixing the 6th April, but at the end of the day telegrams had gone all over India when this letter[1] was published fixing the second Sunday after the Viceregal assent was given in Delhi. Unfortunately, the hartal came prematurely.

When the hartal came in Delhi, unfortunately serious riots took place?

Yes.

As regards the hartal, is it your view that the abstention from business should be entirely passive?

Entirely.

Then anything like what I may call active persuasion on the part of those who observed any hartal, to get others to follow their example, would be disapproved?

Entirely; if that active persuasion was exerted on the day of the hartal. In any case that would be disapproved. It will not be disapproved if in preparing the people for the hartal leaflets were distributed and people were told from platforms, in their different houses also, that it was a proper thing for them to do.

We know as a fact that there were a great number of meetings held in connection with your movement when gentlemen in sympathy with your views endeavoured to persuade the people generally as to the propriety of adopting the course you advocated; and in consequence of that general agitation,

[1] Gandhiji issued the text of this to the Press on March 23, 1919; *vide* Vol. XV. This was given as Annexure A to Gandhiji's written statement; *vide* "Statement to Disorders Inquiry Committee", 5-1-1920.

CWMG - XVI

there was a very general campaign throughout the country to observe the hartal conforming to your views?

Yes.

But now if I follow you aright, you disapproved of any people observing the hartal endeavouring to make people to get down on the day of the hartal from their tongas or motor cars in which they happened to be driving?

I felt very much grieved when I heard that.

That would be fully against your doctrine?

Very fully.

And if anything of that sort occurred, inevitably violence or riot would ensue?

Yes, that would.

May I take it, that you won't disapprove of the action of the police or civil authority in interfering with those who were observing the hartal and also endeavouring to force others to adopt a similar course, so long as the police acted with sufficient restraint and forbearance?

I saw no recourse was open to the police but to do that.

And if that is your view, from what happened *a fortiori*, I take it as your view that it was improper on the part of any people to go to the shop-keepers and tell them to close their shops?

On the day it was highly improper.

It would be still more highly improper to jostle the unfortunate shop-keepers who have not been willing to close their shops, from the satyagraha standpoint?

I will hold it to be criminal.

In connection with the hartal on the 6th, there was no violence, but we had a considerable amount of evidence on all these times of persuasion being brought to bear upon people to make them observe the hartal?

There was that.

Those were indications of improper action?

Certainly.

Your lieutenant in Delhi is Swami Shraddhanand. . . .?

I would hardly call him my lieutenant. I would like to call him my esteemed co-worker.

He wrote to you a letter[1] upon the subject of hartal. He indicated to you that after what occurred in Delhi and, I think also in the, Punjab it was

[1] The letter could not be traced by Gandhiji. Swami Shraddhanand produced only a draft, while giving evidence before the Committee at Delhi on

CWMG - XVI

manifest that you could not have a general hartal without violence inevitably ensuing?

I do not think he said that in so many words. I cannot recall the contents of that letter.

It was very much to that effect?

I think what he said was—he went much further—that it was not possible; he was not referring to the hartal, but the law-breaking campaign; he suggested that the satyagraha campaign could not be carried on with impunity among the masses of people, but there was really a difference between him and me. When I suspended civil disobedience he thought that I ought not to suspend civil disobedience, but when I found it necessary to suspend civil disobedience, because I had not obtained sufficient control over the people in order to prevent violence, then he said: "If this is the position you take up, the moral for me to draw is that satyagraha can never be put into action as a mass movement." I think that is the drift of his letter. I had to discuss it with him also.

Did he agree with you?

I do not know whether he is still holding that view today. Facts might have converted him. I feel that suspension of civil disobedience is as much a necessity as prosecuting civil disobedience.

You see, if you have complete abstention from work and simultaneously you have the application of such a doctrine as civil disobedience of law among the masses of idle people, there will be great difficulty in distinguishing between passive and active resistance, Mr. Gandhi.

I will like Your Lordship to draw a sharp distinction between hartal and satyagraha proper. Hartal may sometimes be satyagrahic or may not be. Here civil disobedience as such had absolutely nothing to do with hartal. Hartal had a two-fold purpose; one to strike the imagination of the people as also to strike the imagination of the Government; but the second was a discipline for those who have to offer disobedience. I had no method of understanding the mind of India except by some such striking thing. If

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November 5. He summed up the purport of his letter to Gandhiji as follows: "I thought the satyagraha started by Mr. Gandhi—civil disobedience of laws—was unsuited. The movement of Mr. Gandhi as regards civil disobedience being part of satyagraha was unsuited to the conditions in this country."

I had simply satisfied myself with fasting. I would not have known how many fasted, or with prayer, I would have not known how many prayed. The hartal is a proper index to show how far I could carry my principle.

I quite follow the difference between the two things. But if you have the hartal in the same time as satyagraha doctrine is being preached? It was being preached at public meetings?

Certainly, on that very day.

Do you not create a condition of very great danger to peace and order?

On the contrary, I promote peace. And I have done it myself on the 6th of April, because I was there in Bombay, and there was some fear of people themselves offering violence. And I am here to tell you that no violence, no real violence was offered by the people, because people were being told the true nature of satyagraha. It was an amazing sight for me to see thousands of people behaving in a perfectly peaceful manner. That would not have been the case if the satyagraha doctrine had not been preached in the right key. It all depends on the doctrine of satyagraha or the doctrine of hate in the form of satyagraha. But to enforce satyagraha and call upon those who are engaged in hartal to break the law is a different application and it is that which I am trying to distinguish.

Coming to the occurrences in which you yourself were implicated, you intended to proceed to Delhi and to the Punjab and you were met at Palwal and escorted back to Bombay?

Yes.

As I understand, were you formally arrested?

I was absolutely in form and substance arrested and I was surprised to find it so often said that it was not so.[1] The train pulled up between Muttra and Palwal and the order was served on me when we reached the border and the police officer exceedingly courteously reasoned with me saying how bad it would be for them to arrest me at a wayside station and how it would not be possible to have a magistrate and that he did not know what proceedings would be adopted. We reached Palwal. At that station, I saw not only the Superintendent of Police, I think

[1] In his evidence before the Committee on November 5, the Chief Commissioner of Delhi had parried the question whether Gandhiji was not in fact arrested and replied that "he was taken under surveillance".

it was the Delhi Superintendent of Police, but also a party of officers. I suppose they were police constables, I cannot say exactly who they were and the officer placing his hand on my shoulder said, "Mr. Gandhi, I arrest you." He served two orders on me, then he asked me quickly to remove my luggage, not myself personally, but he had the luggage removed and I was called upon to point out the things that had to be removed. He asked whether there was any man who wanted to be with me. Then there was a friend who came with me. There was a police guard. I intended to go to the platform to clear my throat and the police challenged me. They were right. There were all the simple ingredients of proper arrest.

We heard of far-reaching ingredients.

I do not say it was anything bad. The police performed, as they themselves said, the painful duty, as gently and as courteously as any gentleman could possibly do.

Do not you understand that all that was required of you was, in consequence of the order of Government, you were not to proceed to Delhi or the Punjab but you should go back to Bombay?

Yes; that was what the police said at the place where the train was held up. By the time I was arrested I had actually committed an offence. Therefore I was arrested. The officer arresting me did not know how I was to be dealt with. When I came to Muttra I received further orders.

And the nature of the further orders was that you were asked to go back to Bombay?

Not at all. I was taken under escort. There were two changes at Muttra. There was this police officer. He did not know what was to be done. He said I would have to be taken straight to the Secretary and therefore I would have to await orders as to what would be done to me. Then he exchanged some words with Mr. Bowring at Sawai Madhopur where the Peshawar train joined the Bombay train. I was taken to the Commissioner who had certain orders and it was he who produced the order when I was taken to Bombay. But Mr. Bowring himself was unaware of what was to happen to me when I was to be taken to Bombay. He was met, I believe, at Surat by an officer who came there from Bombay. He had a chat with me. It was daybreak. Mr. Bowring had a conversation with this officer, then he told me that I would be free in Bombay.

CWMG - XVI

It amounts to this, that in consequence of an order of Government it was made clear to you that you would not be allowed to proceed to Delhi or the Punjab, but if you remained at Bombay you will be allowed perfect freedom?

Certainly in the Bombay Presidency.

Of course that is a little different from the idea that you have been taken and forcibly thrown into jail?

I do not know if anybody charged Government with forcibly throwing me into jail. Everybody asked what is the truth, when I was arrested. I do not think that anybody had made it a matter of complaint against Government, except that Government had no business to turn me away from a mission of peace which Government knew I was bent on.

There may be a difference of opinion, quite as honest difference of opinion, between you and the Government?

I have accepted that position.

Rightly or wrongly, if they had thought that if you were allowed to proceed to Delhi in order to propagate the doctrine, riot might ensue, they would be justified in taking that action?

From their own view. From that standpoint I have absolutely nothing to say.

Subsequently to your arrest, very unfortunately serious incidents occurred in Delhi and the Punjab and also in Ahmedabad here? The only matter we have got to deal with here is as regards Ahmedabad itself. In Ahmedabad, as we have been told, you enjoyed great popularity among the mill-workers on account of the fact that you intervened successfully in one of their disputes[1] and your arrest seems to have created a great resentment on their part, and very unfortunately again, on the part of the mob, on the 11th and 12th at Ahmedabad and Viramgam. So far as these incidents are concerned, you have no personal knowledge?

I have no personal knowledge.

I do not know whether there is any matter in connection with them on which you would like to present your views which would be useful in enabling us to form our opinion?

I would venture to present this thing in connection with these riots. I consider that the action of this mob, whether in Ahmedabad or in Viramgam, was totally unjustified, and I have

[1] The reference is to the Ahmedabad mill-hands' dispute during February-March 1918; *vide* Vol. XIV.

CWMG - XVI

thought that it was a very sad thing that they lost self-control.[1] I do not wish to offer the slightest defence for the acts of the mob, but at the same time I would like to say that the people amongst whom, rightly or wrongly, I was popular were put to such severe stress by Government who should have known better. I think the Government committed an unpardonable error of judgment and the mob committed a similar unpardonable error, but more unpardonable on the part of the mob than on the part of the Government. I wish to say that also as a satyagrahi, I cannot find a single thing done by the mob which I can defend or justify. No amount of provocation, however great, could justify people from doing as they have done. It has been suggested to me that all those who did it were not satyagrahis. That is true. But they chose to take part in the satyagraha movement and came under the satyagraha discipline. These were the terms in which I have spoken to the people; and it gives me the greatest pleasure and also pain to declare my settled conviction before this Committee also. I have said this elsewhere. I would proceed further with what I have come to know.

Very well.

As soon as I came here I endeavoured to do what I was capable of doing in order to repair the mischief and the error, as I sensed at the time. I placed it before the people and at the disposal of the authorities also, and I had a very long interview with Mr. Pratt and with other officers. I was to have held a meeting by their consent. I think Mr. Robertson also was present at the time, on the 13th; but I thought that it would not be possible for me to hold the meeting that day. Whether it was Martial Law or whatever it was, that was not the deciding factor; my co-workers were not able to reach the people; they sent volunteers to send notices. I conferred with Mr. Pratt and he said, "Yes, you could hold the meeting on the 14th." So the meeting took place on the 14th.[2] There I adumbrated what I felt. It happened that there I used the words "organisation" and "education" both of which terms have been so much quoted against me and

[1] On April 10, 11 and 12, the mob committed various acts of violence such as the burning of Government offices and railway stations, disruption of communications and assaults on or murder of Europeans or Government officials.

[2] *Vide* Vol. XV, pp. 220-4.

against the people.[1] If against me, it is no matter; but if against the people, it matters very materially. The speech itself was in Gujarati. If you will read it—of course, you won't, but Sir Chimanlal[2] will.

He will be able to guide the Committee there and he will correct me if I am misunderstanding or misinterpreting the meaning of the terms. I have translated a Gujarati word which simply means those who know how to read and write, *shikhela*, and I chose the word *bhanela* as I sensed the thing before me at the time. I had no time to keep together all the evidence that could have come before me. I used the word *bhanela* in the sense of "leader", "a man who can read and write". I have spoken not of "organisation" but I might have said this thing: "done in an organised manner." I do not wish to withdraw a single word from that. But I want the Committee to understand, if I could make the Committee understand, that I referred only to the events in Ahmedabad. I had then no knowledge even of what had happened in Viramgam; but at Ahmedabad, looking at the whole picture and talking to the people, because I had talked to a large number of people who were before me, not merely at the meeting but also before the meeting, I felt that this thing was organised and I hold on to that even now. I had no hesitation in saying to Mr. Guider[3], I had no hesitation in saying it to Mr. Chatfield. I am here to repeat that statement. In my opinion, the thing was organised, but there it stands. There was no question whether it was a deep-laid conspiracy through the length and breadth of India or a deep-rooted organisation of which this was a part. The organisation was hastily constructed; the organisation was not in the sense in which we understand the word organisation. There is my expression, "This thing has been done in an organised manner." I certainly felt strengthened in my supposition as I marched along with the facts I was getting. I wish also to place my position before the Committee. When I was addressing many people, I was not concerned with what steps the Government will take and it was necessary for me to diagnose the

[1] The actual passage under reference was: "It seems that the deeds I have complained of have been done in an organised manner. There seems to be a definite design about them, and I am sure that there must be some educated and clever man or men behind them."

[2] Sir Chimanlal H. Setalvad (1865-1947); leading lawyer and member of the Disorders Inquiry Committee

[3] J. A. Guider, Deputy Inspector-General of Police, C.I.D. Bombay. He was entrusted with the investigation of the riots in Ahmedabad.

situation before the people. I was not concerned with giving any information to the police and when Mr. Guider came to me, I said, "It was none of my business. I was simply a reformer, and if I could wean the people from the error of their ways," my position was justified and my task was finished; if he thought that he could get a single name from me he was mistaken. I said I was taking a serious responsibility as a citizen and also I understood that responsibility. So you would put a proper valuation on my work. It is an improper valuation on that word to hitch it on to any organisation, real or fancied. If I confined that word to Ahmedabad alone, to masses of absolutely unlettered men, who would be able to make no fine distinctions—then you have got the idea of what that organisation is. This exactly is my opinion as given to him, and I have no hesitation in giving that opinion to the Committee. There were those poor deluded labourers whose one business was to see me released and see Anasuyabai released. That it was a wicked rumour deliberately started by somebody I have not the slightest doubt. As soon as these things happened the people thought there should be something behind it. Then there were the half-educated raw youths. This is the work of these, I am grieved to have to say. These youths possessed themselves with false ideas gathered from shows, such as the cinematograph shows that they have seen, gathered from silly novels and from the political literature of Europe. I know that school. I have mixed with these men and I have endeavoured to wean them. I may, however, tell the Committee that there are today, I won't be able to say 100, but I will not be surprised if I count it by the 20, men who have ceased to belong to the school of violence because of this. But it was an organisation of this character. I think I have now given the full meaning of what I have said. I want deliberately to except those who go by the name of university men or degree men. I do not for one moment wish the Committee to understand that the degree men and the university men are incapable of doing that. On the contrary, the university men have also often implicated themselves in these things but not in Ahmedabad, not for this purpose. I am not aware of a single university man having instigated these things.

As regards the organisation, you think it started on the 10th?

Mr. Chatfield has said that.[1] I have not really taxed my mind

[1] Chatfield had testified, during his examination on January 5: "Mr. Gandhi told me in private conversation that he knew that this was organised on the night of the 10th and that he knew who organised it."

on it, but it was an organisation or attempt made before the rioting took place.

I am not going to ask you to name any people in connection with this matter. Your view in so expressing yourself was apparently that there was a common purpose among the people who were affected on the 10th and 11th?

I would not say there was a common purpose, I think I would be then exaggerating it on the other side. Not a common purpose that fired the whole mob, but I think Your Lordship will agree with me that a common purpose may be restricted to two or three men and they are able to affect a whole mass of people, but once they have affected the people with their ideas, although originally they are the responsible people, the whole people are affected.

On this particular occasion on the 10th, 11th and 12th the affection took the form of the obliteration of all trace of Government; was not that so?

I think it was certainly anti-Government and I had not yet been able to make up my mind whether it was anti-European also. I am not really able to assist the Committee on that point. I would like to believe that it was not anti-European. There were certainly silver lines to this cloud.[1] But I should certainly feel exceedingly hurt if I made the discovery, but I would place it before the Committee if I found that.

I am not sure whether you desire to answer this question or not. According to satyagraha doctrine, is it right that people who have committed crimes should be punished by the civil authorities?

I am not prepared to say that it is wrong but there is a better method. It is really a difficult question to answer, because you do not anticipate any pressure from outside. But on the whole I think that it would be the proper thing to say that a satyagrahi cannot possibly quarrel with any punishment that might be meted out to offenders and therefore he cannot be anti-Government in that sense.

But apparently it is against the doctrine of the satyagraha to give assistance to Government by way of placing information that would lead to the conviction of offenders?[2]

[1] For instance, certain European missionaries were spared by the mob.

[2] Gandhiji had telegraphed to J. A. Guider on May 11, 1919, that the inmates "cannot consistently with Ashram principles give evidence against people"; *vide* Vol. XV, pp. 301-2.

According to the [principles of] satyagraha you say it is inconsistent.

It is inconsistent?

That would be inconsistent.

Why?

For the simple reason that a satyagrahi's business is not to assist the police by that particular method which is open to the police or which the police adopts, but he helps the authorities and the police by making the people more law-abiding and more respectful to authority. But when he sees lapses, it is no part of his duty to combine his reform work with police work. The two are contradictory and inconsistent. I know, Mr. Guider has challenged that.[1]

You gave an answer to Mr. Guider and it was really on that answer that I was asking this question ?

And he has not been able to dislodge me from that position.[2] And I am fully aware that I have not dislodged him from his position.

Supposing a satyagrahi had seen one of the more serious crimes committed in the course of these riots, actually committed in his own presence, would there be no obligation upon him to inform the police?

Of course I have answered that before Mr. Guider and I think I must answer that here also. I do not want to misguide the youth of the country, but my answer is that even then he cannot go and give evidence against his brother, and when I say against his brother there is no distinction here of country or anything of that kind at all.

As I understand your satyagrahi vow, it is wholly independent of Indian or European nationality ?

Certainly. And what I would suggest is that it is inherent in the thing. He cannot do the two things. I have now mixed with criminals of the deadliest type for a number of years and I know that I have been instrumental, however poorly, but still I have been instrumental in weaning them over. I should forfeit

[1] Guider had interviewed Gandhiji on April 17. His testimony before the Committee on January 7 was that Gandhiji had told him "that certain things had been known to him but he was not disposed to disclose them without the permission of the persons who had communicated them to him".

[2] Guider had reported this to Chatfield, who interviewed Gandhiji towards the end of May, but failed to persuade him to divulge the information. Similar attempts made by Commissioner Pratt had proved equally infructuous.

their confidence if I disclosed the name of a single man. My business ends there. I should pay with my life, if I have the courage, in weaning the man who is about to do a criminal act, but if I have done that or after I have found myself unable to do it, the other duty does not devolve upon me, viz., of going and straightaway lodging the information before the police.

Of course, you see there is a distinction, Mr. Gandhi, between divulging a communication that has been made to you in confidence and making a statement as regards a crime that has been committed in your presence? And you say it is not the duty of a satyagrahi to assist the police?

I would say that it is the straightest conduct of a satyagrahi not to do so and not to give evidence in a court of law even in connection with a crime which has been committed under his own nose and which he has assisted in preventing, but I do not want to carry that doctrine to that dangerous limit. I think it is open only in the rarest cases possible, but it would be a prostitution of the doctrine if a satyagrahi, having signed a pledge, absolved himself from bringing criminals to justice; nor does that follow from the satyagrahi pledge. But if a man modelled his life according to the principles of satyagraha as I venture to think I have conceived them, I think there is no room for him to do so. But in order that I may not be misunderstood, I am not able to say today that I will not give information against a man whom I have seen in the act of committing a crime because I do not claim to be a perfected satyagrahi, I am aiming at becoming it and when I have become that, probably God will never put such temptations in my way, but if they were there, I would certainly not give evidence. But today I am unable to say of myself that I would not do so.

Now there is one other point on which you may desire to express your views. As regards the measures which were taken by the Government to repress the riot, what have you to say about them?

In Ahmedabad I think that, whether there was technically Martial Law or whether there was not, the impression left on my mind by Mr. Pratt and the other gentlemen who were there was clearly that there was Martial Law. I feel that Martial Law was not necessary, but I am not really competent to judge that. I think that the Government acted with the greatest restraint and with forbearance under provocation of a serious character. In the case of a troop train, coming to suppress disorders, being in danger of being derailed and escaping derailment, I can understand troops of that character dealing destruction in a fit

of fury.[1] It would be mad, but I would find it in my heart to excuse an act of that fury. I think, therefore, there was self-restraint on the part of Government and on the part of those who were actually conducting the business. I think, at the same time, that the terms in which the military notice was couched were open to very serious objections. I think they were totally unwarranted by the situation as it faced the military, and I do believe that as a result of that several inoffensive lives were lost. If the military rule or semi-military rule had been carried on for any length of time, I do not know what would have happened.

Do you know of any case where groups of people were fired on without first having been asked to disperse?

If I am to believe the statements that were made before me, I think that that has happened, and I should certainly not be surprised if that has happened. I saw the troops that were posted. Some of them were mere lads. Mr. Pratt brought that danger face to face with me. It is one thing, he said, to issue these orders; it is another thing to have these orders carried in the spirit in which they have been issued, and he himself did anticipate the danger of these young lads simply playing with the people and playing with fire and I do feel that some such thing has happened.

You think something of the sort may have occurred?

I do not say "may have", I think something of that kind has occurred. I think the people who came to me did not exaggerate and I cross-examined them very severely and they said, "No, we have not received warnings." It does not matter if you have got a group of 9 people, that is not a crime; a 10th man comes without wanting to be the 10th and the military fire, and what is the value even of a warning being given to men who do not know the thing?

Of course, the object of that order was to prevent groups of people going and indulging in acts of violence?

I think there was a much better way of doing that.

What better way?

A better way would be not to fire. To give these directions to irresponsible lads was the height of folly.

[1] A train bringing reinforcements from Bombay was derailed near Nadiad on April 11; another escaped derailment at Barejadi station.

CWMG - XVI

If a complaint is to be made that any irresponsible lad has acted contrary to the way in which he had instructions to act, we should know what that incident was and also the facts?

I quite agree with Your Lordship. I can only give you my impression. I am unable to prove the thing and I understand the responsibility rests on my shoulders; but if you ask me to give my impression, it is that such things must have happened. What I feel is that any civilian should have realised that as inevitable in the nature of things.

Is there any other matter in this connection?

I have said in my statement, and I should like to repeat it, that I do not know that the people were not sufficiently punished, though I would again make the admission, and make it with the greatest pleasure, that the work of the troops here was done consistently with the laws of civilised justice. There was nothing to be said against that. I have urged already that the sections under which the prosecutions were undertaken ought not to have been brought into use. There was nothing to warrant that, and certainly nothing to warrant that when the trial took place.

You mean the sections as regards waging war; of course, that is after all a legal question?

It is, but I place it before this Committee in order that they may have a proper bearing in so far as I can enable the Committee to have that, as to the measures taken by the Government. And as I have paid, and I think a deserved, tribute to the Government for their forbearance, I do not want myself to be misunderstood as endorsing all that has been done, and so I am as gently as possible urging upon the Committee these defects, even in this admirable handling by the administration.

But that looks very like as though you were making a complaint against the Government Advocate that he did not understand the proper charge?

I think it was more than that, it was not the Government Advocate who merely chose, though technically it was. But that is not how the thing happened. That is within my experience and quite rightly. No Advocate would take upon his shoulders the entire responsibility of choosing the section, but he would be naturally guided by the administrative bent at the time and the Government might have instructed the Advocate, the Government Counsel, not to do that; but I do ask myself whether it was necessary for them to impose that heavy contribution

CWMG - XVI

upon Ahmedabad.[1] But the sorest point with me is that they should have imposed that very severe contribution upon the labourers and in the manner they did. The manner in which it was executed, in my opinion, was unforgivable.

We had a statement from Mr. Ambalal Sarabhai.[2]

And I ventured to differ from him in spite of my regard for him and his fairness. I think he erred, and erred grievously, against his own people, the labourers.

I am not sure that you are not going a bit beyond the scope of our enquiry?

You have put before me a sore point.

There may be difficulties of course between employers and employees, but we have nothing to do with that.

I fully understood that and no man can more fully appreciate Mr. Ambalal's difficulty than I can. And I wish to finish this part of my statement by saying that I think that the action of the Government in connection with the Nadiad and Barejadi case was totally unjustified, and I would ask the Committee to read the correspondence[3] between Government and the Collector of Nadiad and you will find there arguments urged for inflicting that fine totally irrelevant to the scope.

It is a question really of the laws of India, but is it not in accordance with those laws that, if an additional police force has to be got for any particular district, that district has to pay for it?

Surely, Sir, it is not obligatory upon the Government to do that. It is open to the Government to make the people pay; it is open to the Government to single out a class of people for that treatment, but it is nowhere, according to my reading of that law, giving such wide discretion to the Government, obligatory upon the Government to take that expense from the people.

How are they to recoup themselves?

Recoup from the general revenue. If they consider a particular district is insufficiently policed, surely they do that. They get it from the general revenue. And I certainly hold very strong opinions, knowing as I do the people of Nadiad and the people

[1] A punitive fine of Rs. 9 lakhs was levied, ostensibly with a view to compensating the loss of property during the riots.

[2] Sarabhai had observed, *inter alia*: "The method of levy though inequitable and unjustifiable has been, in my opinion, the least provocative."

[3] This is not available.

CWMG-XVI

of Barejadi, that there was no occasion whatsoever for posting a single additional policeman. The people of Nadiad under the most difficult circumstances acted with the greatest self-restraint, and I have investigated that matter as fully as I was capable of doing in conjunction with Mr. Ker, the Collector, and I am here to tell the Committee that it is my deliberate opinion that the people of Nadiad were not in league with those who went there to derail, but that they exercised all the powers that were at their disposal in order to restrain them, and they got a handsome tribute from the Collector and a compliment for their assistance. And I would say the same thing for the people of Barejadi.

That I think deals with the points you wish to bring before our notice?

I think so, Sir.

By the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Rankin:

Mr. Gandhi, you have given us your views about civil disobedience and I do not want in the least to make you argue the point over again with me. But I want to get some facts and dates roughly from you if I can. I think the satyagraha vow was settled somewhere about the third week in February?

I think that is very nearly right.

I think what has been called your *hukm* was dated somewhere about the 23rd of February?

Yes.

At that time the Rowlatt Bill No. 2 had not yet been passed, it was passed later on in March?

Possibly.

The vow[1] as printed, which is before us, shows that it was known that the Bill would be passed, but it had not yet been passed?

Yes.

And for some time before the 23rd of February I think the Press in India, not that it was any part of my duty to know this at that time, but from the papers put before us, the Press in India, seems to have been ringing with proposals about the way in which to protest against those Acts if they were passed. And I daresay you had to consider a great many suggestions before you made up your mind about the form of your protest, and among the suggestions you had to consider was there a suggestion, widely spread throughout India, that it would be a good method of protest if people were to refuse to pay their land revenue and taxes? I think you had a good many forms of protest suggested to you by irresponsible people, and the satyagraha vow which

[1] This was the Satyagraha Pledge, quoted in the statement of the Government of Bombay to the Committee.

CWMG - XVI

you settled in the third week of February was what you thought the best method of protest at that time?

Yes.

Now did you have to consider—I ask you this because of a speech of yours which I think I have read—were you asked to consider whether it should be laid down that orders passed by local magistrates under the Criminal Procedure Code should be disobeyed?

Of course that was placed before me.

You never committed yourself to that? You thought it might be inadvisable?

Not only I never committed myself, but I opposed it strenuously.

Had you expressed, by the 8th of April let us say, a view on that subject one way or the other?

By the 8th of April I had sufficiently expressed that view, because it was urged upon me by friends that we should commit a breach of the laws governing processions and so on, and I had suggested that we could not possibly do that, we ought not to do it. I had even issued instructions that all police orders should be scrupulously obeyed and carried out.

Can you give me the date of any instructions that were issued publicly, either by yourself or the Bombay Sabha on that point?

I can only say it was between the 6th and the actual civil disobedience. I can only offer to the Committee to send all the papers that I can trace.

I do not want to put you to any undue trouble, but speaking for myself, if you can give me some document which shows that you have repudiated the notion that there was to be any disobedience against local magistrates, I shall be very glad.

I shall, if it is there, do that.[1]

I am rather anxious, Mr. Gandhi, to find out from you exactly what made you start upon your journey to Delhi, which was interrupted. Will you tell me shortly in your own way the facts that led up to that act and what exactly you intended to do when you got to Delhi?

I think it was about the 1st of April, or even a little before, I had received a letter from Dr. Satyapal from Amritsar saying he had been trying to follow the satyagraha movement, that he

[1] Gandhiji sent some extracts with "Letter to Justice Rankin", 11-1-1920. The enclosures are not available.

CWMG - XVI

appreciated the thing and he liked it immensely, but that he himself did not fully understand it, nor did the people. Would I not go over to Amritsar, be his guest, and deliver a few speeches explaining the doctrine of satyagraha, as they were, on a superficial observation of it, enamoured of the thing? As I happened to know from information given to me by the police officers that this letter was intercepted, copied by them and then given to me, I told Dr. Satyapal that I should do so at the very first opportunity that I had. Meanwhile I received a letter from Swami Shraddhanand saying that I shall go to Delhi. The people of Delhi were becoming unamenable to the control of the leaders. Really all these people never responded in Delhi, least of all the big cities of India, that is my impression and that is the information they have given me. He said if you only come here, even if it is for a day, I should be pleased, and he sent not only one telegram but he sent two or three, at least two I know.[1]

About what date? Was it after the events of the 30th in Delhi?

Yes, after the events of the 30th of March and before the hartal of the 6th, and so I think I sent a telegram to him saying I would do so, but I would come immediately after the hartal.[2] I was most anxious for the thing to pass off nicely in Bombay and so it did. I was most anxious we should start our civil disobedience while the whole thing was arranged, so we did that for one day, and on the 8th I took the train. But I got his first wire between the 30th of March and the 6th of April.

Again, I do not want to put you to any trouble about it, but do you happen to have these wires or copies of them?

If I have them, I shall certainly let you have them. My general routine is to destroy all these documents, simply because I do not want to burden myself. But it is likely that I may have those telegrams. If I have them, I will furnish them.[3]

[1] Swami Shraddhanand referred to the telegrams in his written statement to the Committee. In sending the first telegram, he "was certain that Mahatma Gandhi's personal contact with the people will make our task of infusing the principles of satyagraha into them easy". The second wire thanked Gandhiji for agreeing to visit Delhi.

[2] According to Swami Shraddhanand, Gandhiji replied that he would leave Bombay on the evening of Tuesday, i.e., 8th. On that day he wired again: "Reaching tomorrow evening. Please keep my arrival strictly private; can bear no public demonstration."

[3] The source carries here a footnote: "Not traceable by Mr. Gandhi or elsewhere."

CWMG - XVI

As I gather, the attitude the Swami adopted in writing to you was that, in order that the satyagraha movement might have the benefit of a further extension of influence through your going to Delhi, he wished you to go there?

Certainly.

He was not inviting you to go to Delhi for the express purpose of pacifying the crowds that had got riotous and out of hand, but in the ordinary course of the satyagraha propaganda?

Not in the same manner that it was arranged for me to be in Amritsar. He definitely mentioned that "we may not be able to restrain the crowd". He said, "I have tried my utmost up to now, but I may fail and so I would like you to come up. Your presence will have a pacifying influence." If I can get those letters, I shall be pleased to give them to you.

Am I right in supposing that, so far as you are concerned, it was no part of your intention in going to Delhi for the first time in order to have a collision with the authorities in the interests of the satyagraha movement?

None at all.

You knew, I think, at that time, that the Swamiji was having difficulty in getting the crowds in Delhi to do what he wanted and that the police authorities were having an anxious time of it?

Yes.

You say you had no intention of proceeding to Delhi to make the position worse but to make it better?

I was proceeding to Delhi to help the authorities.

There are just one or two things that I would like to ask you about. I do not believe in quoting speeches, Mr. Gandhi. I have some reports before me and I cannot read through the whole, but I will read a few lines from your speeches at Ahmedabad on the 13th April.

On the 13th or 14th?

On the 14th. You were speaking in Gujarati and it is a speech[1] which you began by saying that what had happened in Ahmedabad during the past 4 or 5 days had disgraced the city. What you appeared to have said according to this report is, "he told them that these disturbances had done no good to Ahmedabad, that they had done considerable harm to the passive resistance. If after his arrest people had preserved peace, the Rowlatt Bill would have been cancelled or on the verge of being cancelled. It would not be a matter of wonder now if there was a delay in the cancellation of the Bill. When he got free on Friday, he intended to start again for Delhi on Sunday to try and get himself re-arrested as the cause of passive resistance would have been greatly

[1] *Vide* Vol. XV, pp. 220-4.

CWMG - XVI

strengthened. Now instead of going to Delhi he had to carry on passive resistance against themselves." Was that simply a passing thought in your mind or had you in a cooler moment formed the determination really to go back to get yourself re-arrested ?

I had done that. I had told Mr. Griffith, the Commissioner of Police, that it was my intention to do so unless I found something serious.

Do you mean Mr. Jeffries?

Mr. Griffith, the Commissioner of Police in Bombay. I mentioned that fact to Mr. Pratt also.

I have not heard of him yet. He is new to us. Now let us take it that you had been unjustly turned back from Delhi, but what was the object of going back to get yourself re-arrested ?

As a satyagrahi having once been arrested and set free, it is our duty to seek re-arrest and seek imprisonment again and again. That was the object and nothing else.

I do not know—of course you know better than I do—it is not the object of a satyagrahi to go and get himself imprisoned always, is it?

No, it is not always.

What is the particular reason from your point of view to get yourself re-arrested ?

To invite self-suffering. If I embark upon a campaign of civil breach that is the only way by which I can make good that campaign.

Was it your idea that if you went back to Delhi and you were arrested, that that would inflame the country or parts of it and have a greater effect in stopping the Rowlatt Bill?

Not at all. If that was so, I would have proceeded straight, without the slightest hesitation or consideration. Here I just want to supplement my information by saying that, at that time, I had no idea of what had occurred in Amritsar or elsewhere.

The events at Amritsar occurred on the 10th[1] which was when you were travelling back in the train. At what time did you actually arrive back in Bombay ?

On the 11th.

At that time I take it that there were urgent messages for you to come to Ahmedabad?

Yes.

Did they meet you immediately on your arrival at home ?

[1] There were acts of mob violence involving arson, looting and murder of some Europeans.

CWMG - XVI

No. I was not met by any friend so far as I am aware.

Did you get a message to come to Ahmedabad the moment you arrived in Bombay?

I got the message the next day. I arrived on the 11th. I got the message on the 12th.

Your facilities for keeping abreast of what was happening all over the country during those days were very bad, and you were not fully posted up with what was happening?

No.

That point about going back to Delhi I put it to you again, because it was only a few days after you had been arrested and turned back. What I understood you to say was for the first time when you went to Delhi it was not part of your object to get into collision with the police but you went there to make the position better?

Yes.

I don't think I have before me in an authoritative form the facts as to the action you took to bring to an end the practice of what is called civil disobedience. I think you did feel yourself compelled to advise the temporary suspension of civil disobedience, and according to the document before me, that was done about the 18th April?

Yes.

And that was done after you got back from Ahmedabad, and you addressed a letter to the Secretaries of the Sabha in which you said that "it is not without sorrow that I feel compelled to advise the temporary suspension of civil disobedience. I give this advice not because I have less faith now in its efficacy, but because, I have, if possible, greater faith than before. It is my perception of the law of satyagraha movement that impels me to suggest suspension. I am sorry that when I embarked upon a mass movement, I underrated the forces of evil, and I must now pause and consider how best to meet the situation."[1] Now, you seem to have stated there very frankly that, when on the 23rd of February you embarked upon satyagraha and civil disobedience as a mass movement, you had underrated the forces of evil, and I suppose that the experiences through which India had passed during the intervening period led you to think that it was doing more harm than good in that form?

Yes.

After that date, the 18th April, I think from time to time you were requested for instructions whether it was going to be restarted again; was it ever in fact restarted again?

No.

[1] *Vide* Vol. XV, pp. 243-5.

You have kept it in suspension since that date?

And then a notice was issued that it will be started, I think, on the 1st of August or the 1st of July. I forget now the exact month, when I saw there was a fair control over the situation, but yielding to the better knowledge and the better information of the Government of India, it was Lord Chelmsford's desire conveyed to me through His Excellency the Governor of Bombay and supplemented by the advice of the Governor of Bombay also, I felt that, in order to make good my claim as a satyagrahi, I should yield and I yielded.

I think there is a letter over your signature in which you put the matter thus: "As long as we practise truth and ask others to do so, satyagraha can never be said to have ceased. And if all practise truth, and refrain from violence to person and property, we would immediately get what we want. But when all are not prepared to do so, when satyagrahis are only a handful, then we have to devise other methods deducible from satyagraha. One such method is *civil disobedience*. I have already explained the reason why this civil disobedience has been for the time being suspended. As long as we know that there is every likelihood, bordering on certainty, of rioting and violence following civil disobedience, so long disobedience of laws cannot be regarded as civil disobedience, but it is disobedience that is thoughtless, uncivil and devoid of truth."[1] And for those reasons you suspended it after experience had shown you that the line between civil disobedience and other disobedience was more difficult to draw for other people than you had thought?

Yes.

I want to ask you, Mr. Gandhi. You have been taking an interest in politics all over India, and I want you to speak, so far as you can, for the whole of India as regards this point. Looking back upon what happened in the Punjab and Delhi and other places, do you think that, by a misinterpretation of the principles of satyagraha, there has been a tendency all over India in April and May of last year to have an undue sympathy with lawlessness and an inadequate perception of the necessity of obedience to law?

So far as I have been able to gauge the public feeling, I do not think that would be a correct statement.

Do you feel guilty yourself of having done anything to damage the law-abiding instinct of the Indian people by the satyagraha movement?

I feel guilty of having temporarily damaged that instinct in some people. I do feel that. But I do not feel for one moment that there has been a spirit of lawlessness amongst the people as a whole.

[1] *Vide* Vol. XV, pp. 265-6.

Of course in some parts of India there was greater reason than in others for being in a state of excitement. The Punjab is an instance, and there are other instances which I need not mention, but I understand it, or rather put it, that where people got more excited, there they were more liable to misinterpret what you wanted?

I think where the people did not understand the doctrine there they were liable to misinterpret it. I found to my most agreeable surprise that, for the first time people from the Punjab came to me voluntarily and said, "Oh, if only we had understood the doctrine, how differently we would have acted."

And it is the case, is it not, that before you started this particular movement in the third week of February, a campaign had been going on for a substantial time in which the disobedience of law had played a prominent part in the papers all over India?

Oh, yes, certainly.

Your view was to appoint a committee which should decide what laws to disobey. . . ?

That is so, and we often discussed it at our meetings, and I made it as plain as it was possible for me to do so.

Your intention was to have a committee in Bombay both for Bombay and Ahmedabad?

That is all.

And, of course, your intention was that this civil disobedience should be practised in parts of India where they would have such sabhas. Did you intend that each place should have its own sabha to prescribe particular laws to be disobeyed?

That was done, but I think it was only nominally done, because the sabhas, in each place where it was actually done, appointed me as the President, because they felt, and very naturally too, they felt in that respect they should be guided by me. There was a local committee formed in Madras and they made me President, and I rather liked the idea, and that was the same thing in the United Provinces, so that we should have the same policy all over.

Did you contemplate that different laws should be prescribed for different areas for the purposes of being broken?

I contemplated that if the necessity arose, but not otherwise.

I see in your speeches that your movement is referred to sometimes by the phrase "civil disobedience" which comes apparently from Thoreau, and sometimes by the phrase, which is more familiar to an Englishman, "passive resistance". Now if an order comes to a man from Government or from anybody else, and if his conscience says that it is not right, it may be up to him

CWMG - XVI

simply to do nothing if not to obey, but civil disobedience goes further than that. Does it not?

Certainly.

First of all, civil disobedience as a propaganda was a means, as you put it speaking of South Africa, of bending the Government to the will of the people?

Certainly.

Secondly, the disobedience may be active as well as passive, but still be civil according to your satyagraha doctrine?

Yes.

And thirdly, the Committee may fail to prescribe the law to be broken which is against one's conscience or prescribe a law which is not against one's conscience to be broken?

Certainly.

Those differences as I understood you to say you perceived from your former propaganda and this is your way of putting the passive resistance doctrine into force?

That is why I have not called it a passive doctrine, because there is nothing passive about this thing. It is active, but not in the physical sense.

For instance, if there is a law which says that you must not publish a newspaper unless you register it, and you publish it, is it not passive resistance?

It is active and intensely active.

In the same way you go and get yourself arrested when you are told not to go to Delhi and that would be active resistance?

Certainly.

What I want to know is whether you appreciate the fact, as it appears to me is the case, that civil disobedience as understood by you and what is called passive resistance are really two very different things?

I accept that. There is a fundamental distinction.

You said it was an extension of the domestic law on the political field, that what is repugnant to one's conscience he has a right to refuse?

That is true.

By Sir C. H. Setalvad:

You were asked about the Rowlatt Bills and you were told that the Rowlatt Act that was passed really re-enacted the provisions of the Defence of India Act to a certain extent. The Defence of India Act provisions were submitted to merely as an emergency measure for the period of the War, but that

would not justify keeping all those provisions after the War was over. That was one of the objections to the Bill?

Yes.

Then it was pointed out that the extension of the Rowlatt Act as passed to any particular province or locality could only be if the Government of India extended it. Have you not found that similar extensions under other Acts that were made were based on what the people considered to be very insufficient grounds?

Yes.

And the main objection to the Rowlatt Bills was not this, but that it attempted to place a considerable power in the hands of the executive uncontrolled by the judiciary?

Yes.

And also the manner in which the Act was passed in the Legislative Council in the teeth of all combined non-official opposition and that too on the eve of a substantial measure of self-government being granted created the greatest resentment throughout the country?

Yes.

With regard to your satyagraha doctrine, as far as I am able to understand it, it involves a pursuit of truth?

Yes.

And in the pursuit of truth to invite suffering on oneself and not to cause violence to anybody else?

Yes.

That I understand is the main principle underlying?

That is so.

Now in that doctrine, who is to determine the truth? That individual himself?

Yes, that individual himself.

So each one that adopts this doctrine has to determine for himself what is the truth that he will pursue?

Most decidedly.

And in doing that different individuals will take very different views as to what is the truth to be pursued?

Certainly.

It might, on that footing, cause considerable confusion?

I won't accept that. It need not lead to any confusion if you accept the proposition that a man is honestly in search after truth and that he will never inflict violence upon him who holds to truth. Then there is no possibility of confusion.

CWMG - XXVI

A man may honestly strive after truth, but however honestly a man may strive, his notions of truth will be quite different from the notions of truth of some other people or his intellectual equipment may be of such a character that his conclusion as regards truth may be entirely opposite to the conclusion of somebody else?

That was precisely the reason why in answer to Lord Hunter I suggested that non-violence was the necessary corollary to the acceptance of satyagraha doctrine.

I quite see that non-violence is a common factor to all but what truth a particular person should pursue, on that there will be immense difference of opinion?

Certainly.

You recognise, I suppose, Mr. Gandhi, that in order properly to follow in the right spirit in which you conceive the doctrine of satyagraha, pursuit after truth, in the manner you describe, the person must be equipped with high moral and intellectual equipment?

Certainly, a man who wants to pursue truth independently has to be equipped with high moral and intellectual equipment.

Now do you expect that standard of moral and intellectual equipment in the ordinary man?

It is not necessary for me to have that standard from all who accept the thing. If, for instance, A has evolved a conception of truth which B, C and 50 others accepted implicitly from him, then, I need not expect from them that high standard which I would expect from A, but the others will follow that. They will know that they are not to inflict any violence, and you create a large body.

It comes to this, that the person or persons with high moral and intellectual equipment that I have spoken of would come to a particular conclusion. Then, a large number of other people have to blindly follow him?

Not blindly. I would not say blindly, but I would not expect the same standard of intellectual or moral equipment from them as I would expect from A.

I thought you agreed with me that, in order to practise in the right spirit your doctrine of satyagraha, a person should be fitted with high moral and intellectual equipment, but you say it is not necessary to exact that standard from all people because all that they need do is to follow what a person of that high intellectual and moral equipment has decided?

You may put it that way if you wish to. But all I wish to urge is that each individual, unless he wants to carry on his pursuit independently, does not need to do so. I simply say that if

CWMG - XVI

one man conceives a plan of life, it is not necessary for all the others, before they can follow that, to have the same intellectual and moral equipment. If you have appreciated that from what I have said, I have nothing more to say.

I take it that your scheme, as you conceive it, involves the determination of what is the right path and the true path by people who are capable of high intellectual and moral equipment and a large number of other people following them without themselves being able to arrive at similar conclusions by reason of their lower moral and intellectual equipment ?

I cannot subscribe to that, because I have not said that. I do not say that they are not to exercise their judgment, but I simply say that, in order that they may exercise their judgment, the same mental and moral equipment is not necessary.

Because they are to accept the judgment of people who are capable of exercising better judgment and equipped with better moral and intellectual standard?

Naturally, but I think that is in human nature, but I exact nothing more than I would exact from an ordinary human being.

I will put it in another way. The success of your propaganda must depend upon a large number of people accepting the conclusions of people in whom they have faith and who are fortunate enough to have that high moral and intellectual equipment. If everybody without that moral and intellectual equipment begins to think out for himself what is the right path, you will end in confusion. So the success of your scheme implies and must involve this, that a certain number of people endowed with that high moral and intellectual equipment will pursue the truth and determine what it is, then, a large number not so endowed will accept their conclusion and follow them?

I do not accept that as a natural conclusion, that the success of the movement depends upon that. In satyagraha the success of the movement depends upon the existence of one full satyagrahi. One satyagrahi can achieve success in the manner and in the sense that in the plan of violence numbers of people cannot do.

The first part of it, I understood, Mr. Gandhi, is that it is a doctrine of pursuit of truth in the sense that you have suggested and it can only be rightly worked out by a person fitted with high moral and intellectual equipment which the ordinary masses do not possess?

Of making an independent search, that is how I would like to put it.

Therefore, so far as they are concerned, they have to accept the conclusions of people who are capable of doing it ?

Not without sufficiently exercising their judgment.

CWMG - XVI

They can only exercise such judgment as they have?

Certainly.

And as you have said, the real pursuit of truth in the manner you have described requires such high moral and intellectual equipment that it is beyond the ordinary individual?

That is true with reference to any original thing.

I am not pointing this as a reproach against the movement. I am only understanding the position.

Perhaps, I am reading actually more in your words than I am entitled to.

You need not view my questions with undue suspicion?

It is not suspicion, Sir Chimanlal, but I simply do not want the Committee or you, for that matter, to misunderstand my position. That is all.

I understand you to say, Mr. Gandhi, you do not consider yourself a perfect satyagrahi yet?

No.

If that is so, Mr. Gandhi, it is almost impossible for ordinary people to ever hope to be that?

I do not by any means consider myself to be an extraordinary man.

You may not consider yourself, but looking to your life and your habits the people know that you are an extraordinary man and can pursue a doctrine such as the satyagraha perfectly. But are there not many people for whom it is almost impossible to hope to pursue it correctly?

They perhaps in that case would not have understood the scope of satyagraha at all. It would mean that they had felt quite disgusted. Now, take for instance, the 40,000 Indians in South Africa who are totally uncultured and illiterate, and these people never came to that conclusion.

I may be wrong. But when you speak of the 40,000 in South Africa, I think they simply followed your lead?

Yes, followed my lead after having examined the position. If I take you through the streets of South Africa, and should you have the time to do it, you will find that your countrymen were capable of doing it because they did not follow me blindly.

True, but there in South Africa you had a broad simple issue?

Yes.

CWMG - XVI

And it was an issue with regard to which the sympathy of the civilized world was with the people who were following satyagraha and that very much differentiates the situation from the situation that you have here?

Not on the concrete instance of satyagrahi control. I have had to consolidate more information here on my side than I had in South Africa. They were divided in two forces of hostile camps there.

That may be, but still you had a clean-cut issue?

So also here.

Here you say you had on this particular occasion the Rowlatt Bill agitation, but once you start this doctrine of satyagraha and introduce it into political campaigns and activities in a country like India, situated as we are, it is not one clean-cut issue that we arrive at. There would be varied and complicated situations to which you would have to apply this doctrine ?

I do not apply the doctrine to every situation in life. I simply present satyagraha as an instrument of infinitely greater power and infinitely purer than violence.

Then, I take it, you will agree that it is not a doctrine that you would apply to every grievance or every situation that may arise?

Most certainly not. Not if only because of the automatic limits of the doctrine imposed, because everyone is not ready to suffer. Everyone is ready to strike a blow if he would receive one in return.

You say that an ordinary man is quite ready to strike a blow, so your doctrine involves eschewing that altogether and, on the contrary, the suffering ones go on suffering. Now, does not that require very extraordinary control over ordinary human passions?

Not to my experience. It does not really require that extraordinary control for sufferings that you imagine. Every mother suffers and she is not exceptionally gifted with any great virtue.

Now, take a case in ordinary life. If you get a blow and you determine to suffer it according to your doctrine, surely that does require extraordinary control over ordinary human passions?

Then, your countrymen have got that extraordinary control.

Do you think they have exercised it or exhibited it in all these places?

Yes, they have exhibited that in a very large measure.

Take Ahmedabad. Do you think they exhibited that control over their passions when on hearing of your arrest they burst forth and committed all these atrocities which you clearly denounced? Do you think they exhibited this self-control and self-restraint?

All I say is that throughout India where you find these isolated instances, you find innumerable instances where the

people exercise the most exemplary self-restraint and hence we have earned the title of the "mild Hindu".

I daresay many people did not take part in these disturbances and in that sense it is self-restraint. But you see the point is how, on hearing of your arrest, which was the first provocation to them, they burst into ebullitions, and these atrocities in Ahmedabad followed almost at once.

To me it just shows that even we have not gone far enough. I moved 7 lakhs of people in Kaira, they are high-spirited people, and yet they acted with the greatest self-restraint in the face of very grave provocation at the time of the Kaira trouble, which was not for one day but continued for six months.

So you consider these many manifestations of violence in different parts as merely an accidental or a passing phase which is not likely to recur?

I do not say so, but it will certainly be rare and rarer still from a clear conception that the country has now got of satyagraha. I have no doubt in my mind about it.

Do you think that the country has now realized the high ideals that you have placed before them?

Not in its full sense, but the country has sufficiently realized the high ideal to enable a man like myself to try it again and, I would not hesitate to try it again if a situation warranting such control faced me, but as I have said, it is not every day that you want to break laws.

Do you feel sure that if you started it again, similar disturbances would not result in any place?

It is very difficult to say beforehand when such a situation faces me, but I do feel sure that the country is all the purer and better for having gone through the fire of satyagraha.

Now, as I understand you from your statement, the satyagraha doctrine is used in the political sphere to oppose unjust laws?

Yes.

And that is to be done by inviting penalties under that law, by breaking that law. And you say your doctrine inculcates this with regard to such laws in connection with which the rendering of obedience be a dishonour, and you go so far as to say that in order to register your protest against any such law one would be entitled to withdraw co-operation altogether from the State?

I have not said that there, i.e., "to withdraw co-operation". But I would accept that proposition also when a situation may be reached in which case it would be a proper thing to withdraw complete co-operation from the State.

Now ordinarily I take it that your doctrine is co-operation with Government?

Yes.

I mean to say, in the very interest of the country for its ordered development, for which there ought to be co-operation?

Yes.

And there ought to be an elimination as far as possible of any race hatred or race feeling or bitterness of that kind?

Yes.

Tested in this way, when your doctrine says with regard to any particular law or laws to invite suffering and go to jail by breaking them, you hope thereby ultimately to excite the sympathy of the people in authority and to make them see the correct view of it?

I should eliminate the hope. That hope is not a necessary ingredient.

If I remember, I think, in your statement you mention it?

When I place the doctrine before the people I place that also before them, but it is not an essential part of the doctrine. The essential part is not to accept and obey a law to obey which is a dishonour, therefore, it becomes a necessity of the situation for us to do that, but that by itself is the register of a protest by honest action, which brings about the sympathy of the world and the repeal of that legislation. It is one of the conditions of that act. A man may say, "No, the whole world will rise against me", but he must still make good his protest.

It is true the result may also be that, though it may not be the strict ideal of satyagraha. According to you one should not do it for achieving that result, but the hope may be that, if you can get a number of people going to jail and suffering, then, the authorities may be moved by sympathy and may realize the correct point of view as you consider it. Now, if that is done on any particular occasion and if several people went to jail in this way and suffered, will it not also create to a certain extent a feeling of hatred against the Government in the minds of people who would naturally feel that they were so helpless before this Government that the only thing they could do was to go to jail. Would it not naturally create, in these circumstances, although you may restrain yourself and not proceed to violence, in your mind, a certain feeling against the authority with regard to whom you have to take this action of inviting suffering on yourself?

It is totally contrary to my 30 years' experience. I myself, and all those who have been associated with me, have not by reason of suffering been filled, at least, with any greater ill will

than is professed to be, but I know of scores of instances in which they have got rid of the ill will, because this is a doctrine in which you get rid of that kind of passion and ill will in the quickest manner possible. See what is happening today in South Africa after the close of such a bitter struggle causing the suffering of innocent men. The Governors and the Indians have gone on the best of terms and even when they were labouring under very serious disabilities at the time of the War, the Indians offered their services absolutely voluntarily and there you had no recruitment or anything of that kind. It was all optional, and those who cared to go did so and they served under the very gentlemen who, in their opinion, had subjected them to the greatest hardship; and General Smuts, when he returned, was the recipient of an address from the people who voluntarily voted that address to him, and whom he had, in their estimation, oppressed during the passive resistance struggle.

Then when the Rowlatt Bills were passed, you decided to present the satyagraha doctrine to the country?

Yes.

And you wanted the masses to be satyagrahis in that sense?

To take part in the movement without pledging themselves to the satyagraha vow.

True, they may or may not take the vow, but you wanted them to be satyagrahis in spirit, to follow the doctrines of the satyagraha movement?

That part of the movement not devoted to civil disobedience, that is to say, I would warn them and invite them to take part in meetings to be organized, but I would not invite them to take part in the civil breach of the laws, and I would not make them to force others who do not wish to take part.

You never intended that the masses should take part in the civil disobedience part of the movement?

Unless they definitely took the pledge. I would then take the masses also with me.

But you did want them to follow the satyagraha doctrine?

Certainly. You may perhaps recall I framed another statement of pledge to be signed by all after this violence which omitted mention of civil resistance but simply mentioned the following of truth at all costs and asking others also to do that. I omitted from that even the taking of self-suffering.

By whom was this statement to be signed?

It was a pledge to be signed by a large number of people who are not in my circle and who are not civil resisters.

CWMG - XVI

Your idea is this that the masses or a large number of people should not be asked to subscribe to civil disobedience?

I do not say that. I simply say that, in opposition of the violent movement, I issued another pledge which was intended to be signed by everybody who cared to do so, which simply bound him to observe the truth in all his dealings and not to inflict violence, i.e., to omit civil disobedience and, therefore, the inviting of suffering.

Because you considered civil disobedience in consequence of the suffering following on that, to be not quite suited to the ordinary masses?

No. I had suspended the movement at the time and yet I wanted to place something before the country. Naturally, a leader would sometimes emphasize one part of his propaganda and sometimes another. At this time when I saw that the civil disobedience part was misunderstood by the people, I suspended that, but I wanted to emphasize the principle—a part of it—the non-violence part of it, and so I eliminated civil disobedience, not because it was unsuited to the masses, but because it was unsuited to the season, in other words, it was not in season to preach it.

Because of your experience of the occurrences that took place in April, you came to the conclusion that civil disobedience propaganda was unsuited to the occasion?

For that season, I have not come to any such conclusion as you postulate.

I do not suggest that but you came to the conclusion that looking to the circumstances then existing satyagraha was unsuited?

Yes.

And therefore you suspended it?

Yes.

And you came to that conclusion because the events showed you that the people had not really understood what you meant by civil [dis]obedience?

Yes.

And they had thereby misled themselves?

Yes.

When you first decided about civil disobedience I suppose it was in connection with the Rowlatt Act?

No, when the pledge was first signed, the whole thing was contemplated at the very first sitting in Ahmedabad at the Ashram.

The disobedience of the Rowlatt Act as well as other laws?

Yes.

CWMG - XVI

You see, I just want to correct my impression.

Yes, many have really thought that the other laws came in after. That is not so.

If I remember aright, Mrs. Besant first took the vow?

Well, there are two versions to it. She took the vow and she did not. I was told that she had really taken the vow *in toto* less the Committee clause. She did not want to be dominated by a committee. As you have now seen it was a question of limitation, but she misunderstood that.

Was it not like this, viz., that she pointed out that it was not possible to disobey the Rowlatt Act, unless you brought yourself under the provisions of the Act by becoming a seditionist or an anarchist?

I remember to have read it in the papers, but that was previous to the telegram and conversation of hers, so far as I recollect.

She did point that out?

Of course, there she misread the law, but she did say that.

What I want to be clear about is whether it was on her pointing out what I have stated that the determination was arrived at to disobey other laws?

Not at all. It was some days at least after the pledge was published that Mrs. Besant wrote what you have stated. Mrs. Besant knew nothing of the pledge then at the time it was signed at Ahmedabad.

I simply want to know whether my recollection is correct. She pointed out that the very nature of the Act did not lend itself to such disobedience, but as regards disobedience of any other laws, she refused to join that because she said that it would lead to chaos ?

Yes, I know she advanced that argument and she refuted the movement so far as it related to the disobedience of other laws, but I do not know on what grounds ultimately she refused to join the movement.

The ground was put forward by her in her paper ?

Certainly, she wrote an article to that effect in her *New India.*

That is, that disobedience of laws in that manner must inevitably lead to chaos ?

Yes.

Now with regard to civil disobedience of various laws, was the idea underlying it this to a certain extent, that if you disobeyed various laws the result would be to embarrass the Government or to make ordered Government

CWMG - XVI

impossible, that Government would be obliged to yield to the demand of the people with regard to the Rowlatt Bill and, thus, would be effected what you yourself described as bending the Government to the will of the people? Was that the idea underlying it?

It is not embarrassment of the Government, but the idea is the exercise of your right to withdraw your co-operation from Government that has forfeited all confidence and esteem, and it will all depend upon the measure of forfeiture of confidence.

Take this particular case we are dealing with—the Rowlatt Act. By the passing of the Rowlatt Act, did you and your co-workers come to the conclusion that in doing that the Government had so acted that they had forfeited their confidence and, therefore, all claim for co-operation?

Oh, no. Not at all.

I want to be clear.

The determining consideration was that the Rowlatt Act itself would not lend itself to active disobedience from moment to moment and, therefore, if we want to impress ourselves upon the Government, we must stick to some other channel and we did so by actively breaking other laws which did not involve moral turpitude.

Now, if you actually break other laws, would you grant that it would make, in a certain measure, ordered Government impossible?

I would not say that. Ordered Government would not be impossible in the case of totally inoffensive people. Naturally we have to assume that condition to be in existence with the people.

The laws that you determined to be disobeyed were laws that were obeyed by you and other people all these years ?

Yes.

When they were enacted, they were not considered by you to be so outrageous that you should not obey them. Then, determining now to disobey the laws which you had all these years obeyed, would it not look as if meant to make Government impossible ?

It would, if it covered a wide area. I would make Government impossible if I found that Government had taken leave of its senses entirely.

On that 10th April, Mr. Gandhi, you were not in Ahmedabad?

No.

You were on your way to Bombay.

On my way back to Bombay.

When did you arrive in Bombay?

On the 11th.

CWMG-XVI

On the 9th you were arrested at Palwal and you sent a message?

Before I was arrested I had dictated the message[1].

Are you aware that on the 10th in Ahmedabad a meeting was held where your message was read?

Yes.

In that message you had exhorted the people not to commit violence?

Yes.

And that message was, I understand, explained to the meeting?

Yes.

That was a very big meeting in Ahmedabad?

So I have heard.

In spite of that exhortation of yours, which was communicated to the people not to commit violence, the mob burst out into violence on the 11th?

Yes.

Doesn't it show, Mr. Gandhi, that it is very difficult to make the ordinary masses, as they are, grasp this theory of no violence and suffering on oneself?

I admit the difficulty of it certainly.

It is very difficult for them to practise that, i.e., no violence and suffering on oneself?

After having been used to methods of violence, one does find it difficult to exercise self-restraint.

In the circumstances, as they are at present, it is very difficult to practise abstention from violence in that manner?

Certainly.

The other part is easy for them to grasp, viz., that they are to oppose certain legislation or to oppose Government in enforcing that legislation. That is a thing which the ordinary mind very easily grasps?

I think you are right; but I do not think that I have found it easy to explain to the people and make them understand that it was very difficult to oppose unjust laws. On the contrary, it has cost me considerable energy and industry before I have been able to drive the truth home.

What I mean is if you tell the people that the Rowlatt Act is an unjust Act, or some other Act is an unjust Act, and we must oppose that, that is a suggestion which the ordinary mind will easily grasp and follow?

Certainly.

[1] This was annexed to "Statement to Disorders Inquiry Committee", 5-1-1920. For the text of the message, *vide* Vol. XV, pp. 207-9.

CWMG - XVI

Coupled with that, if you tell them that they should oppose that but abstain from violence, that part is very difficult, as they are constituted at present to grasp and follow?

Certainly.

Then you arrived in Ahmedabad on the 12th?

On the 13th.

You explained to the President what you meant by the statement you are reported to have made that this was organized by educated people. You have told us that you meant by that that there was no general conspiracy, but it was organized on the 10th, and that the people who organized it were people who could read and write. You do not mean the better educated classes had any hand in it?

No.

When you say that this was organized by some one, have you any evidence in support of that statement?

Yes; I have evidence in support of that statement.

I think you are not prepared to place that either before the authorities or before this Committee?

I am not prepared to give the names of the informants.

I do not want the names of the informants. But the informants must have given you certain facts or certain materials which led you to conclude that this was organized on the 10th. Have you any objection to place those materials before the Committee?

I do not know what you mean by material, but I have no objection to describing the nature of the things that were done on the 10th or whenever the thing was suggested to the crowds as to how they should act in the matter. There were some people who suggested to them the burning of the *chowkies*[1] and some people suggested how to do it.

Let us go step by step. As regards such information as you are prepared to give about the organization of the 10th, was there any meeting held on the 10th where they were told to do this?

I have no evidence of any meeting held in any house or anything of that kind, but I have evidence of people who were themselves told what to do.

Was that on the 10th?

I am not able to tax my memory to that extent, but if I said to Mr. Chatfield it was on the 10th, it is the 10th.

[1] Police posts

CWMG - XVI

I want to be quite clear about this. We have been told that on the 11th people on the spot were told to do various things. That is different from their being told deliberately on the night previous to do certain things?

Yes. I understand the distinction. As to the 11th, it is also equally true.

Let us first take the evening of the 10th. Have you got any information in proof of your statement?

I have.

On the 10th some people, whoever they were, went about telling people to work out a programme, which they had thought out. Is that so?

Perhaps I would not put it so strongly, I would put it this way, because this is what was impressed upon my mind at the time. I was told that during that night there were people who said, "You are fools, this is what you should do and this is how you should do the thing." What the whole conversation was I am unable to reproduce today, because I took no notes. On the whole the conversation which was described to me came to this that it was suggested to those who were about them that this is what they should do.

Did individuals go about on the night of the 10th for this purpose?

I would not even put it so strongly as that, because I have no evidence, but they seized the opportunity which offered itself to them.

The opportunity was on the 10th?

Supposing I was in my shop for instance and I saw people gathering round me, naturally on a day like that there would be a discussion and there would be crowds of people discussing as to how these things should be done or what was to be done. Somebody would say, "Don't you know what should be done? This is how things have been done and you ought to do this." I want to say, also that there was no destruction of life suggested by anybody so far as I know, but there was certainly destruction of property suggested.

Then this must have been done during the day on the 10th and the night of the 10th?

I do not know about the day on the 10th. I do know about the evening of the 10th but I have more abundant and clear proof about the 11th.

We are coming to the 11th presently. Let us confine attention to the 10th now. On the evening of the 10th, you say it happened in this way, that people congregated somewhere near shops or in some other place and somebody

told them, "Now, this is how you ought to proceed." That would be only when people by accident came there and when a man got an opportunity. Such an accident in that manner would not occur ordinarily in the evening or the night. It may happen during the day?

I do not know.

If it happened in the evening or on the night, it must be more organized in that people deliberately went about telling people what to do?

I would not be surprised if that were also true that some people might have deliberately gone about from place to place. I can certainly imagine the possibility of such a thing, but I have not got evidence to the effect that some people actually went about from place to place, but I have with me unimpeachable testimony that some people actually incited the people to this kind of violence.

On the 10th?

Yes.

You are the best judge of what you call unimpeachable evidence. Is it any evidence on which ordinary human beings in ordinary life can base their conclusions?

I think so. I have not employed any extraordinary method of reasoning before I accepted it. On the contrary I think that I would act with the greatest caution before I would accept any such testimony.

Were the people who gave you the information people who actually heard that or saw that done or did they hear it from somebody?

I have the testimony of those deluded people who were told this thing, and I have the testimony of some who did know also.

People who heard this being said?

Who were told themselves to do the thing and I have the testimony of some who themselves did it also.

Was this on a large scale or in an isolated manner?

It is difficult to say whether it was on a large scale. In a way I am prepared to say that it was on a large scale. Certainly there were isolated cases. These men did not busy themselves to that extent, that they made it a point to go about from end to end, but they certainly seized the opportunity of the temper of the people and put this idea into their minds. That is the real meaning of what I am saying.

What you say is really that the people burst out on your arrest on the 10th?

Yes.

CWMG - XXVI

They had no plan before that at all?

They had no plan before that.

Some persons saw that the crowds were excited in that manner and they took hold of that opportunity and misled them or diverted them into these actions?

I have not the shadow of a doubt about that.

And for that you say you have got direct evidence?

I have direct evidence.

Of people who saw that being done or who themselves had done it?

Yes.

I take it that your principles forbid you from giving that information to the authorities or to the Committee?

I could not give the names of the people who have done so, just as if I was acting as counsel for these people. My principles and law also would forbid that, and I occupy with them a position unfortunately more sacred than that of a counsel. I had people coming to me who wanted to surrender the swords that they had got from the Swami Narayan Temple, but unfortunately they had not the courage and the pluck to do so.

You have evidence before you that on the 11th some people led the mobs or suggested to them what to do?

I have no evidence as to people leading the mobs, but I have evidence again equally strong, perhaps stronger than the evidence with reference to the 10th, that youngsters and youths rebuked those who were idle and who would not go and assist in the work of destruction.

You have also definite information as to who those people were?

I cannot say that I have definite information, but I have had the names. I do not know them; I may have seen them, but I would not be able to identify them, that is to say, the people who said so. I do not know that at this distance of time I could even identify my informants.

You cannot identify your informants?

I cannot. One man was not saying this to me. For instance, a party from a village came to me and I said, "Hullo, this is what you have done and that is how you have understood my mission." They begged pardon of me. This is what happened on the morning of the 14th. They said they were exceedingly sorry but I would not find them doing the same thing again. I asked them to describe how they did it; then they described.

CWMG - XVI

If you ask me to identify them, I would not be able to do so, because I do not know them by names; I have not seen them either for any length of time, whereas I can identify some of my informants certainly.

The informants with regard to the 10th, you can identify?

With regard to the 11th, more clearly, but I think I can identify some with reference to the 10th also.

You say that some villagers came to you?

Quite a number.

And you rebuked them for having acted in that manner?

I simply took them to task. I asked them, "Why didn't you interfere? Why did you allow these things to happen under your very nose?"

Then they said that they were instigated or were asked by others?

No. They said, "*Prem.*" That was the exact word. They said, "Our love for you made us do this thing." Then I asked them to describe how they did it; then they described.

So far as you have described, it only comes to this, that they said they had done it and nobody asked them to do it?

I have given you three illustrations. One, of those men who knew the thing, but who were not themselves told to do the thing, another party who saw these things being done, the inciting and the act, whilst they themselves were mere spectators, and the third class of people who themselves were actors but not the incitors. I have not got any testimony or any confession from the instigators themselves.

There may not be confession by the instigators. But if you rebuked certain people for having done certain things, they would naturally shoulder responsibility on somebody else by saying, "True, I did it, but somebody else asked me to do it."

They may do that, but I think I should be able to discriminate between that and a true thing.

You formed your own conclusions?

That is all I can say.

You still adhere to them?

I do and as I am gaining experience, day after day, it confirms me in that conclusion.

I understood that with regard to the Kaira disturbances and the derailments, there also you had certain information?

Yes.

CWMG - XVI

Was that in your view an organized movement?

It was not organized, and it was done certainly by a definite party of people some of whom were really drunkards. They went to the station. Whether they went to the station with that intention or not, I have no clear evidence but having reached the station they said, "Let us do this thing."

It was not organized in the sense that the people of the town were behind it?

No; on the contrary, it is my conviction that, if the people in the town had come to know of any such thing, they would have gone and turned these men away. I may be mistaken, but that is my view and my view is based on the testimony of those for whom I entertain a very high regard. I do not think they will willingly deceive me.

About those people who were reported to you as having taken part in the derailment, they have never been prosecuted?

Whether they have been prosecuted or some others I do not know, because I do not know the names.

Then when these disturbances occurred, Mr. Gandhi, you suspended your satyagraha propaganda, so far as civil disobedience was concerned. That was on the 18th April?

Yes.

When you issued that notice, you realized, I think, that civil disobedience as a mass movement under the existing circumstances was not advisable?

Under those circumstances, it was not opportune at the time. I could not restrain the violence of the mob.

In the circumstances then existing you realized that it was not advisable that this movement should proceed as a mass movement?

Yes.

Then at that stage you merely suspended and you notified, if I remember correctly, that you proposed to resume it some time in July?

On the 1st of July.

Have you got the notice that you issued on that occasion?

I have, but I do not have it in my possession just now. But Mr. Justice Rankin had it.

Then you thought in two months people will come up to the standard and Government military arrangements would be complete?

I said that. That is the letter.

Then you suspended it till July in the hope that before that time, the masses would be educated as regards the correct principles of satyagraha and there would be no danger then to resume civil disobedience movement?

That is correct as a partial statement. What I felt was that if I suspended the thing for two months, I shall be able to overtake the misinterpretation and misunderstanding about it, and I shall be able to make the position much more clear than I had done or had been able to do before the people and Government.

I will come to the Government in a minute. I want to understand first this. When you suspended it you believed that the people had not fully understood your propaganda or creed and that they were not yet fit to exercise satyagraha, and certainly its offshoot of civil disobedience in the real manner in which you desired and you believed that they would be fit to do so within two months?

I did not believe they would be fit to do so within two months.

I want the actual expression used.

(Reads) "I am sorry that when I embarked upon a mass movement, I under-rated the forces of evil and I must now pause and consider how best to meet the situation. But whilst doing so I wish to say that from a careful examination of the tragedy at Ahmedabad and Viramgam, I am convinced that satyagraha had nothing to do with the violence of the mob, and that many swarmed round the banner of mischief largely because of their affection for Anasuyabai and myself. Had the Government, in an unwise manner, not prevented me from entering Delhi and so compelled me to disobey their orders, I feel certain that Ahmedabad and Viramgam would have remained free from the horrors of the last week. In other words, satyagraha has neither been the cause nor the occasion of the upheaval. If anything, the presence of satyagrahis has acted as a check, ever so light, upon the previously existing lawless elements. As regards the events in the Punjab, it is admitted that they are unconnected with the satyagraha movement.

"In the course of the satyagraha struggle in South Africa, several thousands of indentured Indians had struck work.[1] This was a satyagraha strike and, therefore, entirely peaceful and voluntary. Whilst the strike was going on, the strike of the European miners and railway employees, etc., was declared."

Take that portion where you refer to the reason for suspending it for two months.

[1] This was in October 1913; *vide* Vol. XII.

CWMG - XVI

I am coming to that.

"Overtures were made to me to make common cause with the European strikers. As a satyagrahi, I did not require a moment's consideration to decline to do so. I went further, and for fear of our strike being classed with the strike of the Europeans, in which methods of violence and the use of arms found a prominent place, ours was suspended and satyagraha from that moment came to be recognised by the Europeans of South Africa as an honourable and honest movement and in the words of General Smuts, 'a constitutional movement'. I can do no less at the present critical moment. I would be untrue to satyagraha if I allowed it, by any action of mine, to be used as an occasion for feeding violence, for embittering the relations between the English and the Indians. Our satyagraha must, therefore, now consist in ceaselessly helping the authorities in all the ways available to us as satyagrahis to restore order and to curb lawlessness. We can turn the tragedies going on before us to good account, if we could but succeed in gaining the adherence of the masses to the fundamental principles of satyagraha.

"Satyagraha is like a banian-tree with innumerable branches. Civil disobedience is one such branch. *Satya* (truth) and ahimsa (non-violence) together make the parent trunk from which all the innumerable branches shoot out. We have found by bitter experience that, whilst in an atmosphere of lawlessness, civil disobedience found ready acceptance. *Satya* (truth) and ahimsa (non-violence), from which alone civil disobedience can worthily spring, have commanded little or no respect. Ours then is a Herculean task, but we may not shirk it. We must fearlessly spread the doctrine of *satya* and ahimsa, and then and not till then shall we be able to undertake mass-satyagraha. My attitude towards the Rowlatt legislation remains unchanged. Indeed, I do feel that the Rowlatt legislation is one of the many causes of the present unrest. But in a surcharged atmosphere, I must refrain from examining these causes. The main and only purpose of this letter is to advise all satyagrahis to temporarily suspend civil disobedience, to give the Government effective co-operation in restoring order, and by preaching and practice to gain adherence to the fundamental principles mentioned above."[1]

" 'When is satyagraha going to be resumed,' is the question many have asked me. There are two answers. One is that satyagraha has not at all ceased as long as we practise truth and ask others to

[1] *Vide* Vol. XV, pp. 243-5.

do so, so long satyagraha can never be said to have ceased. And if all practise truth and refrain from violence to person and property, we would get all we want. When all are not prepared to do so, we have to devise other methods. One such method is civil disobedience. I have already explained the reason why this civil disobedience has been for the time being suspended. As long as we know that there is every likelihood bordering on certainty to rioting and violence following civil disobedience, so long disobedience of laws cannot be regarded as civil disobedience but is disobedience that is thoughtless, uncivil and devoid of truth. Satyagrahis may never commit such disobedience. My confidence in satyagrahis has led me to say that we shall be fitted to resume civil disobedience in about two months if the Rowlatt legislation is not withdrawn in the meantime. We may resume by the beginning of July next. In provisionally fixing this period, I am guided by the following considerations : One of them is that we shall have by that time spread our message throughout the country, namely, that during the tenure of civil disobedience, no one under the cover of Satyagraha, under a pretence to help it, should resort to violence, and it may be hoped that the people, convinced that the true interests of the country will be served by acting in accordance with the message of peace, will materially contribute towards India's progress, but it is possible that India may not understand satyagraha to this extent. In that case, there is one more way to help the non-recurrence of violence. Though the condition upon which it is based is humiliating, it is open to a satyagrahi to avail himself of this advantage. Now it becomes their duty to resume satyagraha under such conditions. The military dispositions that are now going on will ensure non-recurrence of violence. The recent outbreaks were so sudden that the Government were not prepared to cope with them; but the Government arrangements are likely to be effected in two months and breach of public peace will be well-nigh impossible, and therefore conscious or unconscious of the past, the satyagrahi, under that state of things, may without fear of any disturbance commit civil disobedience and thereby demonstrate that not violence but satyagraha alone can help us to secure justice."[1]

Then you hoped that within two months' time people would be fitted for the proper civil disobedience campaign. Has that hope been fulfilled?

Personally I consider that the hope would have been fulfilled if I had resumed satyagraha at the moment. I made that alto-

[1] *Vide* Vol. XV, pp. 265-6.

gether bold experiment on the 17th October. In fact, it has not been fulfilled. If all people become quite fitted to practise satyagraha doctrines—pardon me, I have not said that in my letter. What I have said is that we shall have the passive help of the people; they will not egg others to violence and will not do violence themselves.

If I heard you correctly, you used the words "fitted in two months, they would practise satyagraha"?

I have described here the sense in which 'fitted' is used. Fitted, because the people will have received the message, and they will be passive sympathizers with the movement along with the movement to go forward.

In the first part, you explained that people did not realize the real inwardness of your creed and therefore civil disobedience got associated with violence, and therefore you came to the conclusion that it was imperative in the interests of the country, of law and order, that it should be suspended?

Questions have been asked when it is going to be resumed. Then you say you would be able to resume it on the 1st July. In giving the reasons, you say "within that time people would become fitted".

By receiving the message of satyagraha.

You mean by that time people would realize the real inwardness of satyagraha and would be able to practise civil disobedience.

I won't expect the people to realize the inwardness of satyagraha but I would expect the people to realize that it is better for them to join the movement again, at least to refrain from disturbing the movement.

That is far different from saying "that I expect the people to be fitted, etc."

That is the meaning conveyed by the word 'fitted'. I would ask you to accept my interpretation of it. I think you will find it here; if not that is the interpretation.

Then you go on to express the apprehension that people may not get so fitted in the manner you have explained now, in which event also there will be no harm in restarting civil disobedience because the military dispositions by that time would have been so completely organized that any violence would be effectively dealt with; and therefore you advocate it, the restarting of civil disobedience, even if people did not quite get fitted in the sense you mean?

Certainly.

Just see what that means. The military dispositions should be kept in all parts of the country or certainly in some parts of the country in order that

some people may have the pleasure of breaking certain laws and violence may not result? Does it not involve that?

Not the interpretation warranted by this letter. I have not meant that. I simply say that I see the dispositions going on and I have every right to seize the opportunity.

If you will kindly read it again. You give two reasons, two circumstances on which you hope to start the movement again on the 1st of July. One is your hope that people would get fitted and therefore the chance of violence would be avoided. Secondly, even if they were not so fit and even if they were as before prone to go to violence, still the military dispositions now taking place in the country would be so complete within the two months that, even if people not fitted in that manner resorted in the old way to violence, there would be no great harm done to law and order because the military dispositions were there?

That is totally different from my wishing the military dispositions in order.

That is the meaning of what you say. I did not say you wished?

Then you are correct.

Whether you wish it or not, you say in fact, the military dispositions would be so completed in two months that you can then, even though the people were not quite fitted, without apprehension of disorder, restart civil disobedience because no great harm or violence will be done as the military is there to cope with it.

Certainly I meant that.

I ask you to follow me, and to see what that means. That involves that assuming that the people have not got so fitted within the two months, Government must maintain these military dispositions in various parts of the country in order that some people who have taken the vow—only some people—could have the pleasure of breaking some laws. Going further, it involves that in order that these few people who have taken this vow might be able to break the laws, certain laws, without any serious consequence to society, these military dispositions must be maintained at a considerable cost which must be paid for by the large masses of innocent people who have nothing to do with that. It must result in that?

That will be the result if the man who pretended to be a satyagrahi had really said good-bye to his senses. It could not otherwise result.

You yourself apprehended that it is possible that within two months men cannot be got so fitted as to avoid violence. Even then passive civil disobedience will be started, or ought to be started, on the 1st July, because, even though

people may be minded to do violence, they will be prevented from doing so because of the effective military dispositions?

Quite right. I am taking advantage there of a circumstance that is happening before me irrespective of what I may do. But I think it will obviate the necessity of asking questions on this score if I am making the position clear. As a satyagrahi I would never say I would not be guilty of doing any such thing, that in order that I may go with a handful of men breaking laws, the Government may impose a military force on the country. Then I would understand that the atmosphere had not been prepared for the reception of the doctrine and I must not do so.

I take it so far then you modified what you said?

I did so. I did not start the campaign as I had expected to on the 1st July, much to the disappointment of my co-workers who were with me in this letter of the 2nd May, only because the Governor-General and the Governor of Bombay felt that I had not sufficient data before me and this was how it was put to me : "Do you want India to be an armed camp?" I said, "No". "Then if you do not want India to be an armed camp, won't you suspend the satyagraha?" On this I suspended [it].

That shows that you on the representations that were made to you, modified the position you took up in this manifesto?

Certainly. I postponed the time.

You would start civil disobedience only when you are satisfied that the people have got so fitted that it would not result in violence?

Or otherwise some other circumstance presents itself to me which has fulfilled the propagation of that doctrine.

But that you would not start if the people do not become fitted, and if violence could only be prevented by military organisation?

Military organization got for the purpose.

You say with regard to the events in Ahmedabad on the 10th and 11th, that the action of the mob was no doubt unjustifiable and indefensible, but you speak of an unpardonable error of judgment on the part of the Government. Would you specify the acts of Government you characterize in that way?

I said that it was an unpardonable error of judgment on the part of the Government in having arrested me. That is what I am referring to. I am not thinking of any errors committed here. I have heard about cause being given to the mob by those two gentlemen—I forgot their names—I did not consider that in any way justified the mob in taking the law into their own hands.

You do not attribute any error of judgment to the actual measures taken in Ahmedabad?

I won't go so far as to say that. I am not prepared to say that there was an error of judgment. I have not troubled myself to find out what was true. Having made up my mind to consider that not even any excess by the people is pardonable, it was no part of my duty to put the thing in the scales. I am not prepared to say whether there was an error or no error.

I understand you to complain of the method of compensation, of recoveries made for the destruction of property?

From the labourers.

Do I understand you to say that the levy was made about the time of the Moharram, somewhere in September or October?

Yes.

Is it a fact that the labourers then on work whose eight days' wages were confiscated, a good number of them, were people who had not been in Ahmedabad in April at all?

Absolutely new men who had come from the villages later and who did not belong to the city of Ahmedabad and who were not in the city of Ahmedabad when these events occurred, and who newly joined the mills, came from other places outside Ahmedabad.

And you consider that very wrong—that these wages should be confiscated for events which occurred at that time?

Not only that, I want to add to the fact, which I can prove even today, that a large number of men, when this kind of campaign went on, simply went out of Ahmedabad, taking no part. They are also made to pay.

With regard to this it can be said that the residents of Ahmedabad, those who belonged to the mill population, are responsible for the excesses though individually they might not be, but with regard to those who came afterwards there was no semblance of excuse of that kind. That is your complaint? What is the other complaint with regard to the mill labourers?

The other complaint is that the manner of collection was so wholly bad, as also the amount. I think it was the distribution *per capita*. The mill labourers could ill afford to pay a week's wage. That was how it was calculated. I saw no calculation.

I do not follow you.

That it was a week's wages in each case. It was first of all not fixing the amount—I am speaking under correction. It was *per capita* of the whole city of Ahmedabad. That was bad, that a

labourer should pay individually precisely the same as the mill-owner himself. Have I made myself understood?

If I understand you aright, it is the incidence of the amount that you talk of, that the labourers as the richer classes had to pay the same amount? Is that really so? In addition to this, the income-tax people have been made to pay?

Yes; I am speaking under correction, but my impression as it was then left on mind was that. I am quite prepared to study the thing and submit my reason on the score. But all I wanted to submit before the Committee was, that the fine imposed on the labourers was excessive and as you have pointed out was exacted from many of those here who were not here at the time and the time chosen for exacting the fine was most inopportune. And there I wish to say that the authorities are not to blame for selecting that time. They did not select that time, because it was Moharram time; it accidently happened to be so. It was too late for them to make any alteration, but whatever it was, it was difficult for the labourers to understand that it was not deliberately chosen. So the time was inopportune and to take away a week's wage from the labourers was not a proper thing.

It was very heavy?

I did feel it.

Do you object to the exemptions as they were given?

I won't say anything about exemptions. I am not prepared to dispute the discretion vested in the authorities with reference to that. I am not prepared to say I have not seen any such glaring injustice in that. It would perhaps not be quite fair if I do not put my testimony to the handsomest manner in which the present Collector of Ahmedabad had dealt with anything that has gone before him and wherever he has committed errors of judgment that have appeared to me to be errors, they have been partly explained, and so it goes against my course to complain even of this tax upon the labourers, but as it so happened unfortunately, it was their misfortune; but he in the most gentlemanly manner possible took the whole of the blame, if it was blameworthy, on his shoulders. This was what he said : "It is my act; I must take the sole responsibility." But I, as a citizen, am here to say that, having definite information from the responsible men, he thought that that was the only manner in which he can make the collection from the labourers and that would be the proper sum to exact from.

By the Hon'ble Pandit Jagat Narayan:

You have been asked certain questions about the Rowlatt legislation. Will you permit me to ask one or two more? You have said that you had no objection to the Government putting down anarchical crime. It is the duty of the Government to do so. Then you were asked what were your objections to the Rowlatt Bill and you have given certain reasons. I would like to know whether Rowlatt Bill No. II did not create a new crime at all or was only a procedure?

The Rowlatt Bill No. I did create a new crime. No. II concerns itself with the trial of anarchical crimes. That is how I heard it put. As a matter of fact, these anarchical crimes could have been punished by the ordinary law of the land and they were so punished. It was only during the 3 years of the War that by special legislation the Defence of India Act was passed. . . .

And you thought that during the time of the War, though the whole nation showed its loyalty, it had been passed. When after the War was finished this procedure might be adopted for normal times. So, practically, your objection was not to the punishment of anarchical crimes but it was that the fundamental principles of justice as administered in every civilized country were departed from in this legislation.

With regard to the second point, you have mentioned to the Committee, and I have also gathered from your speeches, that during the last eight or ten years they had also similar safeguards.

Then as regards Bill No. II. What is your position?

I have certainly regarded the safeguards provided in this Rowlatt Bill to be not merely illusory but as dangerous traps. That is my impression of the safeguards provided for in the Rowlatt Act. Really I feel that it makes the executive still more responsible because it deludes itself into the belief that they are safeguarding the subjects whereas there are really no safeguards. That is my opinion.

As you are the fountain-head of the satyagraha movement I will ask you one or two more questions. I will deal only with the political aspect of the satyagraha movement. You will agree with me that every political movement for its success depends upon the number of its followers?

Every political movement.

I am only dealing here with the political aspect of the satyagraha movement.

Depends for its success on the number of its followers, yes.

Therefore [for] that portion of the satyagraha movement which dealt with political matters, the natural idea would be to get as many followers as possible?

Yes.

And the underlying idea of having a large number of followers is that, if a certain thing be done not by one person or two persons but be done by a large number of persons, the Government will be attracted ?

I won't agree with you there.

I will take the example of a strike. Do I understand you as saying that, supposing only one or two persons strike, will that have any effect? Or for the purpose of having an effective result is it not necessary for a large number of people to strike ?

I do not subscribe to that doctrine. When you are engaged in a political movement which is based on the strictest principles of morality, any single isolated good act has its consequence, no matter whether it is done by the humblest or the highest; that is my deliberate conviction.

I do not dispute that. You have stated here that your idea was to accomplish everything by spiritual force, or soul-force; that was the underlying idea. But in order to achieve any political object, it is necessary to have the force of numbers ?

That is to say if you will ask me to say 'yes' to a non-moral political movement, yes, but not to a movement which is emphatically moral and goes on to the political platform because it must.

So far as the moral aspect of it is concerned, I understand that follows the truth. Assuming this, you would depend for the success of your movement on a very large following? If the soul-force of one man accomplishes a thing in two months, probably the soul-force of 10,000 persons would accomplish it in ten days?

You cannot have an arithmetical calculation for a force like that. It is not like the question of an ordinary soldier, that if one man can shoot ten, then ten men will be able to shoot 100.

Anyhow 100 men, if they are of the same quality, will be able to shoot more than ten.

Imagine that ten satyagrahis with the same power behind them are working, then certainly they will be able to produce better results than one.

Having regard to the constitution of our Government here or in England, I think you will agree with me that there is no use fighting shy of the word "embarrassment" because the word has been used and you said so?

Not at all.

You will agree with me that any agitation, the most loyal and constitutional agitation, if it is against something done by authority, is bound to embarrass the authorities. Therefore in your satyagraha agitation, it may be

that you are fighting with soul-force, but one consequence is that you do embarrass the Government and you do not fight shy of that?

It is no question of fighting shy; when I was trying to dispute the use of the word embarrassment I meant that that was not the intention. I think the intention is a definite ingredient in determining the value of the embarrassment.

You do not say that any political agitation should not embarrass the Government?

No, I do not say that for one moment.

But it must be conducted, according to you, with truth and no violence?

But I would like to emphasize the distinction that ordinary political agitation starts with the definite intention of embarrassing the Government. The satyagraha agitation never starts with the intention of embarrassing anybody, but if embarrassment is the result, it faces it.

Therefore the embarrassment would be the result either of soul-force or the result of numbers, is it not so?

What I say is a satyagrahi would not shirk that issue, but would never want to embarrass.

But taking that example of a strike. I have not much experience of strikes, but I have a little. Do you think any strike has ever succeeded in which one or two persons who are against mill-owners say they will not work? Has that ever succeeded?

Oh yes, I can show you scores of instances, and I think any mill-owner will come here and say that, if the head man who controls a department strikes, it is quite enough to bend the mill-owner.

There again there is that force of numbers behind his back. I quite understand that, if a Gandhi strikes and goes to jail, it may cause a stir in the whole country, but supposing a common man, even a man who is not going to have recourse to violence, a man who is going to follow truth, a common man, says he will not pay taxes, a poor man, and he goes to jail, do you mean to say the Viceroy, the Governor-General or the King-Emperor would hear of what had happened?

I can certainly lay my hands on many a Viceroy of India who, if he found that there was a man whom he would value purely for his strictest morality, honesty and truth, would not sacrifice that man, and if that man struck he would consider that he would rather have a million men strike than that one man.

You will agree with me that hardly one in a million will be such a man as will come to the notice of the Viceroy or the King-Emperor?

I do not know that. I think a man who is strictly moral and who is working on a field which is touched by a Viceroy, would certainly make his impression, as did, I think Keshub Chunder Sen when Lord William Bentinck was Viceroy.

You are again talking of the highest men India has produced?

I cannot help that. It must be the desire of every citizen that India should multiply top men.

SIR C. H. SETALVAD: Panditji forgets that Mr. Gandhi by fasting for three days brought the mill-owners to their knees.

I am sorry, I am humiliated by the fact of my having brought the mill-owners down by my fast.[1]

A man who is loved like you or a person like Anasuyaben, supposing they are arrested again, do you mean to say that during the last four or five months you have so much prepared the people of Ahmedabad and Bombay that if they hear of your arrest, there will be no unrest?

There will be unrest enough. I think both Anasuyaben and I would be seriously disappointed if there was no unrest, but that unrest would take a different shape altogether.

That is your opinion, that that unrest would take the form of mourning and fasting and would not take the form of violence?

I am not able to say that with confidence, but I really do expect that we have very nearly reached that stage.

And certainly I think you will agree with me that, having regard to the percentage of education so far as India is concerned, it is very difficult to expect that illiterate men who love you will be able to control their passions and look upon things in that philosophic light?

Not at all, it is not that class of education which you have in mind which I need for the propagation of satyagraha.

In course of time you may prepare them for that; I am talking of the present time.

I would not say the propagation of the satyagraha doctrine is more difficult here because of our illiteracy. Illiteracy I hold to be deplorable in common with all our countrymen, but I do not consider that illiteracy is a bar to the propagation of satyagraha. If I fear any danger, I fear that danger from the half-lettered men.

I will give up the word illiterate. Do you say it is very easy to control a city which contains more than 300,000 inhabitants and Bombay city which contains more than 1,200,000 inhabitants? Supposing all these people were to

[1] *Vide* Vol. XIV, pp. 265-6.

CWMG XXVI

revere and love you and respect you, will they stand and look upon your arrest from a philosophical point of view?

I have admitted the difficulty of the task, but I dispute the impossibility of it, nor do I consider it is so difficult that it is well-nigh impossible. I consider that it is difficult but it is not at all insurmountable.

Then I take it that hartal is not an essential part of the satyagraha movement at all?

It is no integral part of it.

And, therefore, so far as hartal is concerned, it is not necessary for the propagation of the satyagraha movement to order a hartal every second day or every month?

Not at all.

And having regard to the experience that we have had, it is probable that the satyagraha movement will continue without a hartal?

If it is necessary. I have contemplated a hartal and, in order that I might try it in connection with Mr. Horniman, I ordered it and in connection with the Khilafat movement, and on both occasions we were wholly successful, although there was a hartal on an extensive scale and of its type absolutely complete in so many places in India.

I may be wrong in my facts, but am I right in supposing that the success of your movement in Africa depended on large bodies of persons going to jail?

Yes, or rather because they did not use any violence.

And at the same time very large numbers of them went to jail?

Certainly.

You did not get what you wanted because a handful of them went to jail?

Well, when we had got what we wanted, there were not that large number of men in jail as you imagine. I do not dispute the point that the largeness of the number of people going to jail had its due effect. Of course, the South African statesmen can speak with better authority, but my own impression is that it was the correctness of the movement which really gained adherents in the highest ranks of society in South Africa. We were after all a handful who would have been blotted out of existence if we had deviated by a hair's breadth from the correct path.

I do not know if you agree with me that the largeness of the number was a great factor in the success?

I would say it had its due weight.

CWMG-XVI

Now with regard to one other matter you have touched upon, I want to make it clear, because I find you have mentioned that fact in one of your Madras speeches. One of your objects in starting the satyagraha movement was that you found in India there was an extremist class, a certain class bent upon violence and anarchy, and your object was to give this class of persons a better platform to work on, a more spiritual and more moral platform?

Certainly.

A question was put to you by Sir C. H. Setalvad, and as I don't agree with him, I want to have your opinion. Supposing individuals be prepared to disobey any law according to their own lights, I do not understand how that can possibly cause any embarrassment to anybody. Supposing I live in a municipality and I find a tax that has been imposed is not a good tax and if in the following of that truth I am required to go to jail, I do not think I require any moral training. If a man is required to go to jail according to the dictates of his conscience, he does not require any moral training. I think he is the best possible man for being a citizen. Do you agree with me that the mere fact of different individuals breaking different laws in different parts and going to jail cannot possibly embarrass Government unless and until it is a mass movement?

That is so.

It would not create any hopeless position at all?

No, certainly, but I won't say that it would create a hopeless situation if there was a mass movement.

What I mean to say is that I do not see any difficulty; I think that is the highest principle that can be inculcated and I think, if I have judged your speeches aright, that one of the underlying ideas of the satyagraha movement was that you found that one of the besetting sins of the present-day Indians is that, owing to their long slavery, they cannot stand up for the right, and they servilely do things which are against their own conscience and I have seen it stated you wanted them to become more straightforward and more moral. You make a difference between a straightforward man and a man who only for the pleasure of breaking laws breaks them?

I think that is obvious.

I think that is your principle?

I would draw a sharp distinction between lawlessness and assertiveness.

You have been accused of inconsistency and I will put that before you and I want your explanation. It appears that you made a statement to the officials that you did not want to drag the mill-hands into this movement?

Yes.

And at the same time, in one of your speeches, you have said the mill-hands should come to your meetings, but they should first obtain the permission of the mill-owners, and from this the inference is drawn that here is Mr. Gandhi who in one breath says he does not want to drag the mill-hands into this movement and in the next breath he incites them to come to his meetings and become satyagrahis?

I should like to see the passages. I can recall two occasions. There was an occasion when I said I did not want the mill-hands to join this movement at all.

And on the second occasion you said they should not come to the meetings until they got permission?

True, and as a matter of fact, between these two positions I see no inconsistency whatsoever, because I was anxious that the mill-hands should not come to us holus-bolus; I said no mill-hand. The instructions given to the secretaries of the Satyagraha Sabha were that they were not to take in a single mill-hand on the satyagraha pledge unless he was seen by me or better still, by Anasuyaben because she would know, she would guarantee that that man understood the position, and he would be able to do so.

Then there is another matter about your helping the authorities with evidence. Your objection is to disclose the names?

That is so.

And you had no other objection in helping the authorities for the procuring of evidence. I find here, as a matter of fact, that you went to certain people who were in jail?

I did.

And you exhorted them to confess their guilt?

Not only that, I very nearly succeeded but for two mishaps. I would have completely succeeded in getting every one of the wire-cutters to make a confession. But I saw them together with Mr. Ker. It was nearly 11 o'clock at night, and his assistant was also present, and the men said if they were sent under escort or somehow among the people, they would get the real men, and if some of them themselves had done the thing, they would say so.

And, therefore, you did propose that they should make a clean breast of it and help the authorities?

I went much further than that in trying to do that. I wanted to go to Nadiad to finish the work, but an equally important matter in connection with helping the authorities engaged me and

CWMG - XVI

kept me in Bombay. Meanwhile, some proceedings were taken here, and a third attempt was made when I really did not succeed because of the sections under which they were tried. The men were so frightened that they would not listen to me when I suggested that they should make a confession. Of course I did not see them directly then, but Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel, a co-worker of mine, tried. He took the message from me, he saw the men in person but he did not succeed.

I think you will agree with me that if respect for law is diminished in the mass mind, that would be a hopeless position, however good, bad or indifferent the laws may be?

I won't say that respect for law and order means respect for such law and order that promotes the well-being of a nation; but that presupposes discrimination on the part of the people. People will become lawless; they have become lawless for ages past. In that question what I had to address myself to was whether they should continue to become lawless in the manner in which they have been, that is, either surreptitiously breaking a law and if arrested putting up any kind of defence, or resorting to secret violence or open violence, none of which things can possibly promote the well-being of a community.

My point is, having regard to the circumstances, a sort of sanctity attaches to the laws of the Government of the time being?

Not in my estimation.

I do not mean that philosophers look upon things in this way?

I look upon it as a practical man.

That is not the best check on the masses?

Not a blind adherence to laws, no check whatsoever. It is because either they blindly adhere or they blindly commit violence. Either event is undesirable.

So long as every individual is not fit to judge for himself, he would have to follow somebody?

Certainly, he would have to follow somebody. The masses will have to choose their leaders most decidedly.

Supposing your own ministers pass any law, would it be open to anybody and everybody to break them?

Will it be open to the masses? I think it will be more open to the masses when India has her own ministers, because whilst English ministers have at least the benefit of ignorance on their side, unintentionally, our own ministers will have absolutely no such excuse.

CWMG - XVI

Is not the remedy to turn those ministers out and not to break the laws?

I have known in most democratic countries ministers who have made themselves irremovable somehow or other. In that event what is a poor respectable minority to do? That minority will certainly bring down the tallest minister by offering stubborn civil resistance, and such a position I do anticipate happening in India also.

I am troubling you but I do not understand. Supposing your own minister, your own representative Government, passes a law, that is a guarantee that it is a good law, and do you mean to say that under your satyagraha principles it is open to any body of men to preach the breaking of those laws and to break those laws? The remedy is to turn out those ministers?

A satyagrahi would exhaust all means possible, but I simply gave you a concrete instance of a minister under a democracy having made himself practically irremovable because he would not listen to those who have got the voice of conscience in them. What are those people who have got that voice within them, then, to do; although it is their own domestic affair of their Government, even so it would be not only open, but it would be the duty of a body of satyagrahis to offer civil disobedience, but when they can turn out the minister, naturally let them do so. If I could have turned out Lord Chelmsford, I would have said, "Lord Chelmsford, you go if you do not remove the Rowlatt Act," and I would have got some other Viceroy from England.

I hope you are not going to give evidence in Bombay.

The Committee has two functions here, I do not know. I have no evidence to give in Bombay.

I wanted to ask you one thing about Bombay which you witnessed yourself.

Certainly everything about Bombay, or if the Committee wishes to travel outside Bombay, I am at the Committee's disposal.

I know as a matter of fact you are not keeping very good health ?

I am not keeping very good health just now.

During the last two or three years ?

During the last two years.

And at different times you were in so indifferent health that you were not able to read even your address?

Yes.

And you asked other people to read your address?

Yes.

And you were not shamming?

I hope so.

You were at Bombay when some of these things were going on at Bombay?

Yes, I was there.

And you wanted to address a meeting?

Yes.

On what date?

On the 6th I addressed several meetings.

Any subsequent to that?

I addressed a meeting on the 11th on my return from Delhi.

And you got the sanction of the authorities there?

Oh, yes.

But the military or the police were in possession of the streets and you could not pass without a permit being obtained?

No, I do not think the military or the police were in possession of the streets.

The streets through which you had to pass?

No, the crowd gathered at Chowpati.

I am talking of Pydhownie.

Oh, yes, they were there.

And when your motor passed that street you had the sanction of the authorities to pass?

No, I did not receive any sanction. I simply went there as there was danger of violence breaking out. Messages came to me immediately I reached my house and I sent some friends informing the crowd that I was free and that did not answer, and I think Mr. Hansraj came and asked me to go there, otherwise the crowd would not be pacified.

Did you succeed in pacifying the crowd?

I think the crowd was pacified enough.

If it be said the attempt was futile ?

I do not think it would be correct to say my attempt to control the crowd was futile. The crowd was insistent on passing the street; their passage was prevented by the military or the police whoever these officials were, and I was in front in the car with Anasuyaben, and I was reasoning with the people who were within the reach of my voice asking them to go by the lane that the officials had pointed out, and they were turning. Meanwhile, the

CWMG - XVI

police had ceased resisting and a portion of the crowd was making way in that direction also because the police had ceased to resist, but I do not mean to imply therefore that the police had ceased to resist because they wanted to, but I think they felt the pressure of the crowd so much that they ceased to resist, when suddenly there was a dash from the cavalry or the horsemen.

Here it is said that Mr. Gandhi was held up, the crowd was extremely angry, and the police officer, seeing the cavalry in possession, used his discretion and allowed him to pass?

Allowed me to pass? I do not know what they did; I certainly passed. The motor did not stop for a single minute.

And when the cavalry saw the excited crowd, they charged on the crowd?

They charged upon the crowd but they charged at the point I have mentioned.

Did you complain of this charge to anybody?

Yes.

In your opinion was that charge justifiable?

My own opinion as an onlooker is, they could have avoided the charge. It was not necessary for them to make the charge because the crowd was turning in the other direction.

Even your life was in danger and you had to leave your motor-car?

No.

Here it is said: "It is interesting to note that while Gandhi has regularly adopted the pose of the interesting invalid when addressing meetings, the officer in command of the armed police reports that he showed wonderful agility and nimbleness in escaping from his car when the cavalry were charging."

Anyhow, that is untrue.

You have deposed to the evidence of which you were in possession about this organization on the evening of the 10th, and also about the firing that took place under the Martial Law orders, and you said that, in your opinion, certain innocent persons were wounded or shot down. May I take it that according to you both these facts are equally reliable?

I think so.

You also believe that evidence in the same way as you believe the evidence with regard to the conspiracy and organization?

I do believe so.

You make no difference between the two sets of circumstances?

No.

CWMG - XVI

By Sardar Sahibzada Sultan Ahmed Khan:

I want to ask you a few questions, Mr. Gandhi. Now going back for a moment to the Rowlatt legislation, you are no doubt aware that, before the War, there were a great many anarchical crimes in India?

I would not subscribe to the statement that there were a great many anarchical crimes in India.

There were at any rate dacoities and murders in Bengal by people who were not afraid of Government. There was a bomb thrown on the Viceroy at Delhi?

Certainly.

There were a great many trials held in Bengal?

Certainly.

And it was due to these occurrences and to keep law and order a Commission was appointed consisting of three eminent judges presided over by Mr. Justice Rowlatt?

Yes.

They went into the question very carefully and after a very careful investigation of the whole case, they submitted a report to the Government, and in that report, I understand, they made certain recommendations for a certain kind of legislation. I heard you to say that you did not agree with the conclusions of that report?

I said that.

What are your grounds for not agreeing with that legislation?

Because the facts that have been marshalled in the Rowlatt Committee's report did not irresistibly lead me to the conclusion that any such legislation was at all necessary. On the contrary, upon those facts I would have written a report totally contrary to the Rowlatt report. That was the impression left on my mind.

But you do not deny that, so far as the information in the hands of the Government was concerned, it is a fact that serious crime was happening in the country?

No more serious than in any other country, and certainly there is no serious crime in India. This anarchy proper has been confined to Bengal. You have had an outburst here and there, but after all Bengal is not India.

Anarchy and crime prevailed very largely in Bengal?

I would not underrate the significance of it. It was there and serious enough to warrant strong Government measures. I do not deny that at all. But at the time the Rowlatt Committee framed its report and took evidence, I venture to submit that the

CWMG - XVI

material before that Committee did not warrant the conclusions. I may be totally wrong in that, but the Rowlatt Committee's report is tainted with one very serious defect, in that it is evidence which was taken practically in secret and it was all official evidence.

Assuming for argument's sake that the facts as marshalled by the Rowlatt Committee did not warrant the report which they made, you say that the conditions in Bengal were such as made the adoption of such strong measures necessary, and you admit, independent of the report, such strong measures were necessary?

I admit that.

What measures would you suggest that Government should have adopted to meet the situation?

But the Government have actually adopted measures which I do not approve of entirely. I simply say that the Government would be entitled, and it would be its duty, to adopt strong measures to root out crime of that nature. In answer to the question what measures should be adopted by the Government, I can only say, not the Rowlatt Act—of course, it is not for me to suggest what measures Government should adopt—but if I were to point out what measures Government should adopt, then all the measures that I would be capable of suggesting would be of a reformatory character and not of a repressive character, whereas the Government measures were all of a repressive character.

You will surely agree that, in the existing state of human nature, Government who are responsible for keeping law and order are compelled, however much it may be against their wishes, to adopt repressive legislation?

Certainly. Therefore I can only say, constituted as I am, that I am prepared to examine any measures that the Government may submit and criticize. But it is not possible for me to say what measures Government should adopt because my mind would immediately work at reforming the criminal and not at punishing the criminal. If I had to frame a legislative measure, it would be of that character, but I would not deny the right of a Government to adopt repressive measures also.

When you admit the right of Government to adopt strong measures and you criticize the particular measures that Government have adopted, surely I am entitled to ask what repressive legislation in your opinion Government should have undertaken to meet the circumstances?

It is very difficult for me to answer that. I can only give a negative answer, certainly not the Rowlatt Act, and I would give my reasons for it. The Viceroy has got sufficient powers independently of the Rowlatt legislation not to warrant his disfiguring the statute-

book with an enactment of such nature. Anybody reading such a law, if he had never lived in India and had opened the statute-book and read the Rowlatt legislation, the irresistible conclusion that would be left on his mind would be that India must be a country simply infested with anarchy. I do not for one moment believe that India is a country which is infested with anarchy. Therefore, I believe that the powers the Viceroy has got are absolutely ample in order to stamp out anarchy, and if the Viceroy does not use those powers and takes other powers, I think he is wrong. He has got powers of emergency legislation, and I think that that is the proper thing to do.

By ordinances you mean ?

Yes, and I think he would be justified in doing so, and I shall give my reasons for it, because I have discussed it thoroughly and given many an anxious night to the thing as to why it was that a man with the cool head of Lord Chelmsford had run into the trap. He has got this emergency legislation power; he could use those powers and he could use those powers without the slightest hesitation and need not go to the legislature. He takes a responsible step and he should justify his step subsequently to the legislature or to the country or to the public opinion such as it is today in the country and not anticipate events and put a law on the ordinary statute-book of the country. I think that there the executive went much further than was warranted by the facts.

I have not had the benefit of reading the Rowlatt Act, but I suppose it is merely an enabling statute, i.e., by passing it the Government of India have not necessarily brought it into operation. It can only be brought into operation if the Governor-General-in-Council thinks it necessary?

Except that part of it.

The Governor-General certifies that the law has to be extended to a certain area, but don't you think that it is a sufficient safeguard?

I do not think for one moment that it is so, knowing so well as I do the manner in which these sanctions are given. The origin of the sanction makes it really a tainted sanction. The origin would be through a humble police officer, or not even an officer, but a humble policeman. He goes and tells his superior, 'Oh, such and such things are happening here.' Now the police officer may or may not go into the thing deeply and even if he goes into the thing deeply, he would examine the things through the spectacles of the policeman who gave him the information. Then after that the original taint in it travels upward till at last it goes to the Viceroy. With all this ceremonial sanctity of an in-

vestigation which is so tainted, I say it is wrong, and therefore the Viceroy should not have taken the power ordinarily to declare those things. If he wants to make himself responsible, then let him be the author of the legislation, and not the legislature.

Do I understand you correctly that in such important matters, because a thing has originated from a policeman, that will be taken up by all the officials above him right through to the Viceroy without they themselves minutely scrutinizing the thing based on the light of their own experience and knowledge whether the representation is worth giving attention to or not?

I do not say that it is not possible to manage things in any other manner. In a Government constituted as ours is, that is the only possible step to take, but knowing that, I would not arm the executive with powers so deadly in connection with a crime which is not endemic in India. If anarchy had become endemic throughout the length and breadth of India, I would not probably have said much against the Rowlatt legislation; then I would condescend to examine the details. Today I would not condescend to examine the legislation and even to talk of it because I consider that the principle itself is at bottom unsound. In ordinary affairs I can understand it, but not when it is a matter of simply dealing with a whole community because that is what the powers mean; anybody may be commanded and called upon to lodge security.

You know that during the War under the Defence of India Act there were a great many people who were interned as a necessary measure of safety and that after signing the peace, I suppose *ipso facto*, after a lapse of six months those people must come out. Then the question would certainly arise as to how the Government should deal with people of a dangerous character. Would you not approve of the Government having a certain weapon in their hands to deal with the situation that might be created any moment?

I respectfully contend that the Government have such a weapon. They have it already in the powers granted to the Viceroy to pass ordinances. The Defence of India Act cannot really be used, in my humble opinion, as a stepping-stone to legislation of the Rowlatt Act type in times of peace. It was pre-eminently a war measure, and what you would allow in war time you would certainly not allow in times of peace.

But the legislation is merely an enabling measure and it is also limited to three years?

I understand that, but I cannot contemplate with equanimity a whole people being condemned even for three years.

Now I want to know what was the object of starting the satyagraha movement? Was it started with a view to bring about a better political condition

or as a means to oppose the immoral legislation which is not approved of by the country? What was the necessity for it?

The necessity lay in the intense desire to have that legislation repealed. If you fail to get redress through the ordinary channels of petition and so on, you must examine whether there are other ways open to you extraordinary, still not unconstitutional, and I found that this was the only way to combat the mischief and the evil.

Could you not do it by constitutional means?

I fail to discover any other less[1] effective constitutional means. It has been suggested to me by a very great friend that I should have at least promoted a petition and awaited an answer to the petition to the House of Commons before embarking upon it. I beg to differ from him, and I still hold that while it was open to me to do it constitutionally, it would have been totally ineffective. I could not have secured a repeal of the Rowlatt Act by those means.

Why?

Because of my political experience. A petition after its having gone through all the stages in India, I have not known to have succeeded.

Therefore you think that the only means open to you was the satyagraha movement?

The only other honourable means open to me was that. Certainly.

If I heard you correctly you said you feared half literacy more than illiteracy. Did I hear you correctly?

That was quite right.

I would like to know the reasons for holding that view?

Because I have noticed travelling throughout India that youths with ill-digested education are far more irresponsible and thoughtless than the illiterate masses. I think that the illiterate masses are much better balanced than the half-educated youths of the country, and I believe that if the latter could be reclaimed from the error into which they have today fallen the problem before India could become infinitely simpler than it is today.

Whom would you call half-educated men?

Take a boy who has passed to the High School and has a little knowledge of English, a still less knowledge of English history. He reads newspapers which he only half understands and feeds on his own predilections instead of checking them. Such a

[1] This should perhaps be "more".

man is far more dangerous to the peace and well-being of India than the totally illiterate masses.

How would you meet the situation?

I have been trying to meet the situation, and I flatter myself with the belief that I have attained success which I had not anticipated in that direction.

In what way?

Because even such men, when you appeal to them, tax your patience more than illiterate people, but if you are patient enough with them, they are certainly amenable to reason and control also.

Do I understand you correctly to say that those people who go through High Schools are patient enough to receive further teaching but that they tax your patience when you try to put them on the right path?

I think the very foundation of the educational system today in India is so unsound that it does not tend to make a man balanced after he has even finished his education. As a matter of fact we have not so many highly educated Indians as to be able to form universal conclusions, and so I do not dread to lay down any definite conclusions about that, because I have got sufficient data, a large number of men to work with and work upon, and so I have come to the conclusion that our educational system is rotten to the core and requires overhauling.

I want to know the big defects of that educational system.

The one defect is, that there is no real moral or religious education in the schools. The second defect is that, seeing that the medium of instruction is English which places such a strain upon the intellectual resources of the youths who are receiving the education, they really do not assimilate the noblest ideas that are imparted to them through the schools. They have got nothing but parrot's training, the very best of them.

What would you substitute? In your view the medium of instruction should be the vernacular and religious teaching should be introduced?

I think these two defects must be remedied and then there is the personal element; the personal touch on the part of the teachers is also lacking. A better class of teachers with much better traditions than are in vogue today is required. These three things will certainly bring about the needful change.

Do I understand it correctly that the satyagraha movement is concerned principally or mainly with the inculcation of truth and high morality without regard to the number of people who will follow it?

Certainly, that is the idea.

CWMG-XVI

The essence of the thing is in itself, apart from the number?

It does not matter whether there are two members or one member.

Has this movement also spread to the Punjab?

I think it has spread to the Punjab as a leaven. I cannot lay my hands upon any who has signed the satyagraha pledge, but I have come to the conclusion that the Punjab is just as capable of receiving and responding to the doctrine as any other part of India, if not perhaps more so; but there I may be mistaken, but certainly the Punjab is just as receptive as any other part of India.

By Mr. Kemp, Counsel to the Government of Bombay:

I am not trying your patience, Mr. Gandhi, by asking many questions about the satyagraha movement. I do not mean by that I am convinced at all by what you have said. Now I am afraid that on the view you take of the Rowlatt Committee's recommendations, we do not see eye to eye. There are two points which I must ask you to explain. One is this: you say that the Martial Law order of the 12th was absolutely unjustifiable. With regard to that, do you know the circumstances under which it was brought about?

I was not here on the 12th, but I heard about it.

Yes, you were not here on the 12th, but you came here on the 13th. On the night of the 12th, you may take it from me, this is what happened. The person who was in charge of the military command decided, taking all things into consideration, that things could not go on very well. The mobs could not be held in hand, anywhere else riots might break out, and he and his men then available would not be able to cope with them properly. He therefore passed orders which in the result were successful. What have you to say first with regard to that?

I would not like to say anything, because as I said, when I spoke about it as an outsider it did not appeal to me, the necessity of it did not appeal to me, and certainly not the terms of the orders that were issued.

As an outsider, you mean?

As an outsider, as a non-military man; naturally I would concede a great deal to the authorities who have got to deal with the situation.

Supposing you and I were there on the spot in charge of the military, would you consider that order justifiable?

I consider it fair enough giving my opinion for what it is worth, always with the caution that I concede that the military would be the better judges of the situation, but if I may be per-

CWMG XVI

mitted to give my judgment after examining the circumstances and the facts; I say these facts do not warrant the orders that were issued.

By these facts, do you mean the facts that you have elicited from information as against the facts which were present in the military commander's mind?

I do not say that against the facts, but from what I have now heard and also from what little I have read, it leads me to the conclusion that certainly on those facts if I had any military training I would not issue those orders.

I see we do not see eye to eye there also ?

I am afraid, not there.

There is only one other point, Mr. Gandhi, with regard to the instances of indiscriminate and wanton firing on the 12th under this order.

I have not used all those adjectives, but I simply said. . .

I think what you said was that a number of innocent people were fired upon?

That I said.

You base that on what?

On the evidence of those people who came to me hot from the thing.

Who were wounded ?

I say wounded people also. I went over to the hostel, and I saw every one of the wounded people.

Just consider what impulse would there be at the back of these people's minds to make them tell you the truth as regards how their wounds were received. What was there to make these people tell you the absolute truth when you saw them wounded?

When he is speaking to me I would certainly consider that the most natural thing for him would be to tell me the unvarnished truth.

He could gain nothing by saying that he was in the right and he could gain something by saying he was not ?

I know there is that point to be considered, but I have not gone in forming my conclusion upon the testimony of those who told me. I had the testimony of those who witnessed the firing, and I think I have a hazy recollection that I brought to the notice of Mr. Pratt one instance.

Do you remember that on the 14th of April you wrote to Mr. Chatfield and said that you had heard that one or two women were killed by the mili-

CWMG - XXVI

tary and some men also? Will you please give me the pure facts, as I am myself anxious to know under what circumstances it had happened, or whether it did happen at all? Mr. Chatfield wrote back asking for any data and if possible for the people to come and tell him all about it.

Yes. I remember it.

Well now, Mr. Chatfield is still in the dark about this.

It was simply because we had not collected sufficient material to place before him and the orders were withdrawn by that time and I did not wish to prosecute it any further.

Could you have given any names of persons who were wounded?

Yes, if I had been so reminded then I could have done that.

But Mr. Chatfield asked you, did he not?

Yes, but when I saw that these orders were withdrawn I did not want to prosecute the thing any further, because I knew that, in a matter of that character there must have been a certain amount of accidents to look to and I did not want to go any further into the matter. Nor did I stay in Ahmedabad for any length of time after that.

On this point of your information, I just want to say to you that the suggestion that you made in various other evidences with regard to such organizations as there were on the 10th, was meant to correspond exactly with what you have told us. But I just like also to point out that the evidence on which you base that is rather different to the evidence on which you base these instances of being wounded without a just cause. For this reason that people who came and told you that they had organized little bits of riots would gain nothing but opprobrium from you. And people who came to you and said they had been wounded under that cause, could not run the risk of any opprobrium from you?

No.

So there is that distinction between the two classes of evidence. I think you based that statement . . .

It is not for me to value both classes of evidence differently. I mean to say a man would not come to me straight and appreciate a thing and describe the incident differently from what he had actually seen it.

I am afraid we cannot take it any further?

No, but I would really ask you and ask the Committee also not to feel the least of it that I wish to labour this point. I do not really suggest that it is there placed by way of any complaint, but as I am bound to give my view I have simply given it.

CWMG - XVI

There is this other point that you did not hear anything from the military side. If you knew the circumstances on the military side, then would you be able to find out whether they fired at anybody? A stray bullet might ricochet and go off at right angles and a man standing at right angles may be wounded. But the suggestion that that was the fault of the military is not quite fair, is it?

Not in the manner you put it.

Well, I think that is the manner it has got to be put.

The case I have brought to the notice of the Committee, and on which I have based my conclusion that these orders were obeyed, is that some of these young men actually shot into a party of men, whether 10 or 11 or even under 10, without any notice that would enable the people to understand what they were asked to do.

Well, as I say, you cannot give any instance that has really occurred?

Because I have no desire to labour that point. Otherwise I would come prepared and I have no desire to make a big thing out of a little thing in a large movement in which the Government have covered themselves with nothing but credit. I did not want to magnify that incident nor did I wish to trouble Mr. Chatfield any further about it.

TO PRESIDENT: There is only one point further with regard to this Bombay case. At present there is nobody actually appearing for this case as it was not known whether this was going to be taken and the result is that no one has been instructed to ask Mr. Gandhi questions on it.

PRESIDENT: Mr. Gandhi's evidence so far as it has been given does not amount to a great deal.

MR. KEMP: The only point he contended was that particular charge of cavalry was not justified.

PRESIDENT: I did not hear whether there were any casualties in that case?

There is no suggestion of casualties in that case. In the course of the demonstrations one or two men were trampled and that is natural if there was a charge of that character. I do not think there were any deaths and the injuries sustained even by the men who were trampled were by no means serious so far as I understood it. After the whole event had finished I went to Mr. Griffith's to protest against the cavalry being sent. And he really demurred to my using the word "cavalry", but not being a military man I did not know what it was.

By Mr. Jivanlal V. Desai, Counsel to the Gujarat Sabha, Ahmedabad:

Mahatma Gandhiji, you left Bombay on the 8th of April?

Yes, in the evening.

When was the order served on you?

In the evening at 9 between Palwal and Muttra. That was the first order.

Not to enter the province of Punjab or Delhi, I think?

I forget which it was, I think it was Delhi.

Subsequent to that a second order was served upon you at the next station?

Two more orders at the next station.

At about what time?

Probably at half-past seven or 8 or even 9. It was between that time.

Then you dictated a message?

Yes, before reaching Palwal, after the first order was served and after knowing that I was to be arrested at Palwal.

And the gentleman who took down this message is a graduate in Arts and Law?[1]

Yes.

There was no mistake in the message taken [down] by him?

No, because I had read the message.

You simply exhorted your Ashram people to hold that day as a day of rejoicing?

Not only they but everybody.

You did not want the Ashram people or passengers to observe the hartal? It seems that the words "with redoubled zeal" had been mentioned therein and had been interpreted in a different way?

There is nothing in my statement with regard to the hartal. But if you want to examine my mental condition, I did not want to say at that time that I wanted the hartal or not.

Could your message be construed in the light that people were to observe the hartal and to go about the streets creating mischief?

Most decidedly not.

Do you know that that message was never construed by the Ashram people or by the Satyagraha Sabha as such?

So I was told. Mr Vallabhbhai Patel told me emphatically that he told the people that they were not to have the hartal.

Now you were brought back to Bombay on the 11th?

Yes.

[1] The reference is to Mahadev Desai.

CWMG - XVI

The train was stopped at Marine Lines station?

It was accidentally stopped and then I suggested to Mr. Bowring that I should get down at Marine Lines station in order to avoid any demonstration at Colaba.

And nobody in Bombay knew that you were going by that train?

No.

When you reached Marine Lines station were there no people to meet you there?

Naturally none.

And casually you got into a passing victoria?

No. A friend was passing by and he saw me and gave me a lift.

And you wanted to avoid all demonstration in Bombay as far as you could?

Yes.

And when you traced the disturbances you went to pacify the people?

Certainly.

When did you hear of the incidents at Ahmedabad, on the morning of the 12th?

I think for the first time on the morning of the 12th. A friend came and said that something had happened there. No, if I now recollect, I heard something from Mr. Griffith himself because he was discussing the situation with me and he said, "Do you know what is happening in the country?" I said, "No." He said something had happened in Ahmedabad, but he could not give me the details because the wires were cut. But he did let me have an inkling that there was something amiss in Ahmedabad.

As soon as you heard that you were wanted there you came down?

Yes, by the first available train.

Were there any citizens to meet you at the station?

I do not think there were any friends. Mr. Boyd[1] was there and some other officer whose name I do not know.

Then from the station, you went to Mr. Ambalal's house?

To the Commissioner straight.

And you stopped with him for about two hours, I suppose?

Probably.

[1] R. R. Boyd, Superintendent of Police, Ahmedabad

CWMG - XVI

And from Mr. Pratt you went to Ambalal's ?

Yes, I think I went to him for a few minutes.

Were you accompanied by any military officers when you were coming back from there?

Yes, purely for my protection.

Because of the existence of Martial Law?

Because of the pickets that might challenge me.

You found everything quiet on the 13th?

Yes.

You wanted to hold a meeting on that day?

Yes.

And you had instructed Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel and others to organize a meeting if possible?

Yes.

But it could not be organized because of the existence of Martial Law?

Not purely. There were difficulties. It was suggested that there were such difficulties that we might not get a large gathering and without a large gathering I could not deliver my message.

So you directed them to arrange the meeting for the next day?

Yes.

And you did not know then that Martial Law would be withdrawn?

Certainly, I did not know.

On the 13th you gave instructions to Messrs Vallabhbhai Patel and others to show to the people a particular path of going to the Ashram to avoid the military pickets and to come by side-streets?

Yes.

At what time did you go to the Ashram on that day?

I think I must have reached there at 2 o'clock on the 13th.

Then among other non-official people, you met Messrs Vallabhbhai Patel and others?

Yes.

When you joined the meeting did any other people see you till you saw Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel?

No.

When did you deliver your speech?

Some time during the night.

Did you have many callers from the time you went to the Ashram ?

Not on the 13th.

CWMG - XVI

I think the statement that you made in your speech on the 13th is more or less an impression created upon your mind?

I think the speech puts it like that.

From the fact that certain particular wires were cut, and buildings burnt, it was the impression in your mind that there was some sort of organized attempt?

Yes.

Were there any particular statements made to you by any of the rioters?

I would not say they were made to me by any of the rioters on the 13th, but some endorsement of the view that I suggested was certainly forthcoming at that time. I said to myself, "This is what appears to have happened," and I discussed with those friends who called there and instead of disputing the proposition, they said, "Yes."

Was that an impression or was it knowledge?

I did not cross-examine them so as to know whether they were speaking out of their impression or knowledge. I would not be able to say that, but they certainly endorsed the views I expressed.

That may have been merely an impression also?

Yes.

You had a sort of conference on the morning of the 14th at the district court house with Mr. Pratt and Mr. Chatfield and the Officer Commanding. And it was resolved that what was known as Martial Law was to be withdrawn?

I was told that it would be.

And as a result of that only, the meeting in the Ashram in the afternoon was so well attended?

No, not because the orders were withdrawn.

Now you noticed that on the 6th the crowds that were going to your Ashram were very orderly?

I think absolutely orderly, and I think I saw the Rev. Mr. Gillespie there?

Yes. And your speech was read out by Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel because you were not in a fit condition of health?

My voice could not reach the audience at that time.

When did you have an interview with Mr. Chatfield? Was it before or after the meeting?

Before that on the 13th and on the 14th in the morning at about 9 o'clock.

CWMG - XVI

When did you have an interview with Mr. Guider?

He honoured me with a visit some day after the meeting.

Your conversation at that honourable interview was all *bona fide*. There was no shamming on your part.

Certainly none on my part nor any on his part.

Mr. Guider says in his report of what happened at that interview that "the impression he gave me was that though he was prepared to denounce the rioters for his own benefit, that is to say, to swell the ranks of his followers, he had no intention of denouncing them to the authorities".

Well, I can only say that Mr. Guider has done (though unintentionally perhaps) violence to me.

THE PRESIDENT: That is, to your satyagraha doctrine?

Yes.

MR. DESAI: You told him that there were certain persons in the crowd inviting them actually to take part?

Doing what?

Certain men among the leaders who were the instigators of the riots or present among them.

But I have a distinct recollection that I told Mr. Guider that the leaders were there trying to restrain the mob. That is my impression.

After this meeting of the 14th you addressed several other meetings through your *Devas* in the streets?

Yes.

And you wrote out your speeches and got them read by several of the audience in the city and that had a pacifying effect on the minds of the people?

Yes.

And that was from the 11th till again the meetings were prohibited?

Yes.

And what we might call the so-called educated people of Ahmedabad, did they take any active part in the propaganda work?

Some of them.

Now you have been for a fairly long time in Ahmedabad, for 5 years. What is your estimate about the educated people of Ahmedabad? Do they take part in such riotous movements, burning buildings and cutting wires at Ahmedabad?

I have not found them to be doing that.

CWMG - XVI

Of course, they might be intent upon menacing Government by making speeches and criticizing the Rowlatt Bill and such legislations. Apart from that you found them to be a quiet sort of people?

Yes.

Now you know there was some trouble between the mill-hands and mill-owners in 1918?

I suppose it was in 1918.

And large crowds of these mill-hands used to assemble day after day and you used to preach to them sermons, and Anasuya Bai and others did likewise.

Yes.

During all these days thousands of mill-hands met and they were very orderly even till the very last when the question of wages was a disquieting factor. They took part in large processions through the city and the crowds were always very orderly, and the mill-hands were well behaved and orderly?

Certainly. I found them so.

Now did you tell Mr. Chatfield or give him any reason to think that you told him that the Home Rule League either in Ahmedabad or up-country had made any organizations for these troubles on the 11th?

I do not think that I did say so. I should be very much surprised indeed if he did say so.

You have come into contact with the Home Rule League agitation in the provinces?

Yes.

There is also a constant agitation among the people?

Yes.

Do you know that the satyagraha movement against the Rowlatt Act had a rather pacifying effect on the people?

It is my deliberate conviction that but for satyagraha, India would have witnessed scenes perhaps more terrible than it has passed through.

Evidence before Disorders Inquiry Committee Vol. II, pp. 107-32

CWMG - XVI

241. LETTER TO THE PRESS[1]

SABARMATI,
January 10, 1920

TO
THE EDITOR
THE [BOMBAY] CHRONICLE
[BOMBAY]

SIR,

Mr. Andrews cabling from Mombasa says :

> Full draft proposed ordinance menacing Indian political freedom reads thus:
>
> "Firstly, the Bill may be cited as Removal of Undesirables Ordinance, 1919.
>
> "Secondly, any person within East African Protectorate not being a native, who from information officially received is deemed by Governor-in-Council undesirable, may be ordered by Governor to remove himself from the Protectorate before the date prescribed in such order.
>
> "Thirdly, any person contravening such order shall be liable on conviction to a fine up to Rs. 1,500 or to imprisonment of either description not exceeding six months or both together. Such conviction shall not affect Governor's power to issue further order under preceding section against same person."
>
> Legislative Council meets January 19th. This ordinance entirely lacks safeguards against political misuse. Economic Commission's volume of evidence contains no valid substantiation of Indian moral depravity. Our vindication of Indian character has carried conviction but European determination to follow South African policy still gravely serious.

Hardly any comment is necessary on this cablegram. There is a dead set against the Indian settler in East Africa. The proposed ordinance is, in my humble opinion, most mischievous in character and leaves every Indian at the mercy of an executive subservient to the interested European agitator against the Indian. The unscrupulous nature of the agitation is manifest from the utterly false charges flung about moral depravity against the Indian settler. I regard the proposed ordinance as the first definite legal step towards the reduction of the Indian to complete

[1] This was released to the Press generally and was published in *Young India*, 14-1-1920.

CWMG - XVI

servility. He has dared to claim an equal status with the recently arrived European settler. He has dared to dispute the haughty position taken up by his European rival in trade. The latter has therefore captured the executive. The East African position admits of no compromise such as was possible and perhaps necessary in South Africa where the condition was totally different from the East African condition. The Indian adds the right of priority to the ordinary natural right to live on terms of equality with every other kind of settler in East Africa. And I venture to hope that his claim will be universally supported in India for the preservation of his full political and municipal status, and that the Government of India will exercise to the full its undoubted right and perform the duty of protecting the British Indian settler in East Africa.

Yours, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

The Bombay Chronicle, 12-1-1920

242. THE CONGRESS

The last Congress having been held there, Amritsar became a place of pilgrimage. Thousands of people came to Amritsar solely because the Congress was held there, and the first thing they did on arrival was to visit Jallianwala Bagh. Hundreds of people who came to see me told me in reply to my questions: "Directly on our arrival, we visited Jallianwala Bagh." Many applied to their foreheads the dust of the place, as if it were sacred ash; many took away with them some earth made holy by the blood of innocent people. In this way everyone, from south, east and west, felt sanctified by paying homage to their dead brethren and believed that their purpose in coming to attend the Congress had been fulfilled.

In Amritsar, it usually rains in December. As the city is on a low level, the water collects on the ground when there is rain. As the rain started just with the commencement of the Congress session, there was much inconvenience.

The Congress *pandal*[1] and the tents for accommodating people were in Acheson Park, which, being on a low level, was flooded with water and it was a job putting up the visitors. The residents of Amritsar, however, treated the visitors as their own people.

[1] Temporary canopied structure

The Hindi word for this, *apanaya*[1], is a very apt one. If we render it into Gujarati, we should say *apanayya*. Those who could accommodate any of them in their homes, did so and treated them hospitably, and thus it seemed as if the delegates and the spectators had arrived on a condolence visit. This hospitality, besides, was no mere manners but was sincerely felt. There was no limit to the generosity of the residents.

This is one side of the picture, the beautiful one. Its other side was the expense of Rs. 22,000 incurred for putting up a *pandal* for the Congress and the tents. This expense was not unavoidable and I do not believe, either, that after all this expenditure, we gave anything special to the people. I think we can go on well enough without a *pandal*. If we hold the meeting in the open air instead of in a *pandal*, many more people can be accommodated and the expense will be less. The *pandal* protects us from the heat, but this in December is not severe. Moreover, one can protect oneself against the heat at less expense than required in putting up a *pandal*. I mentioned rain but that also is no excuse for it was because of the rain that the Congress session had to be postponed by a day. Erecting a roof for protection against rain would have cost still more.

And the same thing about the tents. Instead of incurring expense on them, arrangements for accommodation could have been made with the citizens from the very outset. But we cannot change the habit which we have formed from the beginning [of the Congress] and so the Congress, though it is such a big national gathering, has not yet fully entered the life of the people. The fair in Amritsar on the first day of every *Vaishakh*[2] attracts many more people than the number attending the Congress, and yet they are all accommodated; no special arrangements have to be made for them and no heavy expenditure has to be incurred in advance. Such is our age-old way. It ensures grand results with little effort. With modern ways of working, we produce a small result after a big effort.

But why complain in this way when describing a happy occasion, someone may ask. I complain simply with the idea that, in future, we may make better arrangements. These thoughts have occurred to others as well and, in consequence, the All-India Congress has even appointed a Committee for the purpose. Its tasks are as under :

[1] Accepted as one of themselves

[2] Month in Indian calendar, roughly corresponding to April-May

1. To examine the Congress constitution and consider necessary changes in it.
2. To examine and consider the financial transactions of the different departments of the Congress.
3. To make suggestions for the next year's session of the Congress.

Mr. Kelkar, Mr. Rangaswami Ayyangar, Mr. I. B. Sen, the Hon'ble Mr. Vithalbhai Patel and I have been appointed on this Committee and it has been asked to submit its report before June 30.

I have yet another complaint to make. The speeches of the chairman of the Reception Committee and the Congress President are generally so lengthy that it would be an infliction to read them out to anyone on any occasion; but it is nothing less than torture to read out long speeches to 15,000 persons. The speeches are bound to be lengthy. It is but natural that a detailed discussion of several topics should fill pages. What is the way out, then? I think both these speeches should be printed in Hindustani (in both Urdu and Devnagari scripts), in English and in the regional language of the province where the Congress is to be held and copies supplied to the delegates and the audience at the entrance gate. Later, both could read out, in half an hour, the main part of their speeches or explain their substance.

The speeches themselves were thought-provoking. That of Swami Shraddhanandji was touched with his religious zeal. How can we hate the English? They gave us Andrews, Hume, Wedderburn and others. In this way, they have shown their goodwill for us. There was bitterness in Pandit Motilal's speech. He has seen the suffering of the Punjab, and has suffered in his soul. He let this be seen in his speech. Since the Swamiji's speech was in Hindi, people followed it very attentively, though some were bored towards the end. As Motilal's speech was read out in English, people were not prepared to hear him at all. It was all noise in the beginning but, thanks to Pandit Malaviya's persuasion, quiet was restored somewhat. Much of the speech had to be omitted in the reading.

Resolutions

The Congress resolutions were of great importance. The first offered thanks to the Emperor. There was discussion enough even on that resolution, but in the end it was passed. The liberal spirit noticeable in the Emperor's Proclamation was absent in the earlier Proclamation. It is no small gain, we can see, that those who had been rotting [in jail] merely because of suspicion have been

released. There may have been injustice in throwing them into jail, but doubtless there was generosity in releasing them. It was our duty, therefore, to express our thanks for this.

The most important resolution, however, was the one in which we admitted and condemned our lapses. It was a little difficult to understand the unwillingness to pass this. That in Ahmedabad, Viramgam, Amritsar, Gujranwala and Kasur, our own people set fire to buildings, killed people, burnt down bridges, removed rail tracks and cut wires needs no proof. Maybe there is truth in what some people say, that the C.I.D. instigated the mobs, that it had a hand in it; even then, the fact remains that some of us played into their hands and did unforgivable things. We must denounce these. The individual or nation that refuses to see his or its lapses or fears to admit them can never progress. So long as we refuse to see the evil around us, we do not acquire the strength to fight it and the evil goes deep. Moreover, we have no right whatsoever either to notice or condemn other people's faults so long as we do not roundly denounce our own. We cannot be purified unless we feel sorry for having set Government buildings on fire and atone for it; until then we have no right to condemn General Dyer's terrible crime and, if we fail to admit our faults, we dare not demand the dismissal of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and the recall of Lord Chelmsford.

It is also asked whether we should not take into account the nature of the provocation to the people. The answer to this is that, even so, we are bound to denounce our misdeeds such as setting fire to buildings and killing innocent people. That man alone wins who, whatever the cause, refuses to be provoked and such a one alone may be said to be a law-abiding man. The nation which does not know how to obey laws has no right to protest against injustice. The Government arrested me and the people were enraged; well, what did they gain by burning down police stations? How did they profit by setting fire to the students' examination *pandal*? The loss is obvious enough. We had to pay the fine, many went to jail, and many suffered the agonies of suspense. Personally, I am convinced that, had we not committed the mistakes we did on April 10, we would have made great advances by now and the Rowlatt Act would have long since been repealed. The innocent persons, almost one thousand of them, who were killed at Jallianwala Bagh would not have been killed and other innocent persons would not have had to suffer in prison. Looking at the matter from any angle we choose, we can come to only one conclusion. It is that we were in duty

bound to condemn the violence and arson committed by our people. If we tolerate such misdeeds when we become fully independent, we would show ourselves to be barbarians.

The third important resolution related to the Reforms Act. The differences on this resolution were so strong that the Congress came to the point of putting it to the vote in the open session. Without going into the whole story, it will be enough to understand the differences which had remained unresolved. There were three clauses in the resolution moved by Mr. Das. One of them stated that we were fit for swaraj this very day; the second that the Reforms were inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing, and the third that the Parliament should grant full independence as early as possible. The Hon'ble Pandit Malaviya, Mr. Jinnah and I felt that the nation would not know what it was to do if we said no more than this. If in fact we want to avail ourselves of the Reforms, they could not be described as disappointing; if we want to do so, we should frankly admit it. Likewise, if we admit that Mr. Montagu worked hard for India to secure the Reforms which have been granted, we ought to thank him. I saw that everyone wanted to work the Reforms. We should, therefore, admit this fact and delete the word "disappointing", and we should also thank Mr. Montagu. Ultimately, the adjective "disappointing" was retained and the amendment suggested by me, worded suitably so as to be acceptable to both sides, was passed unanimously. But, prior to that, the preparations for the taking of votes were a great thing, a credit to the people of India. Including the spectators, there were no less than 15,000 men in the *pandal* and there was not even enough room to move about. Among all these people, there were as many who were not entitled to vote as those who were. Counting of votes, in these circumstances, would generally be considered impossible. This was the first time, therefore, in the 34 years of the life of the Congress, that excellent arrangements were made to do the counting after keeping out the spectators and the representatives of peasants. For practically five hours, speeches by people holding different opinions went on. Meanwhile, all the parties came to the conclusion that it would be better to have a compromise and dispense with the taking of votes. Consultations began. Ultimately a compromise was reached and a resolution, thanking Mr. Montagu and advising the people to work the Reforms, was passed without a vote.

The wording of the resolution which Mr. Das's party agreed upon was not quite to my liking. Retaining the word "disappoint-

ing'' was also a little hard; nevertheless, where the essence was maintained, I thought it advisable not to create divisions and Panditji, Mr. Jinnah and others agreed with me. Thus, the amendment was passed in a form acceptable to both the parties. Had the Congress not accepted this amendment, it would have been, in my humble opinion, a matter of shame for us. Indeed, a person like me would have had nothing to say if we did not want to work the Reforms or had the courage to reject them. When it was agreed, however, that they should be worked, not to say this in public and not to thank the gentlemen who had been instrumental in our getting them seemed to me dishonest, and it also seemed disgraceful not to respond to sentiments expressed in the Emperor's Proclamation. To think of withholding co-operation with the officers because of fear is a sign of weakness. It bespeaks manliness to co-operate with them and trust them on all matters which advance the country's interests. Thus, from every point of view, we can say that the amendment accepted by the Congress is a good one and I am sure that, if we use all the provisions of the Reforms wisely and secure appropriate improvements in them, we should achieve full swaraj in no more than a few years.

Apart from this, resolutions were passed about Lord Chelmsford and other officers. It seems to me that it would have been better if the resolutions on Lord Chelmsford and Sir Michael O'Dwyer had been postponed till after the Congress Sub-committee's report was published. However, we have the right, on strong grounds, to demand the removal of any officer from his post and, therefore, though I believe that these two resolutions were passed prematurely, now that they have been passed there is no need to comment on them further. However, the speeches on the resolution for the recall of Lord Chelmsford were shameful and deserve condemnation. To regard Lord Chelmsford unfit for his post is one thing; but it is quite another to insult him and to use discourteous and unmannerly language about the Emperor's representative. We shall lower ourselves in the estimation of others thereby and such language, if it became common among the people, would be a blot on the virtues of humility, courtesy and magnanimity which still remain ours. I just do not believe that the nation can gain anything through exaggeration. Exaggeration is a particularly bad species of falsehood; even if the nation can advance through untruthfulness, it would be better for us to refuse to advance in such a manner because, ultimately, such advance will bring about our fall.

Besides these, the other resolutions which were passed to give a lead to the nation should be considered excellent. The Congress welcomed the current movement for swadeshi and has given a place in its programme to hand-spinning and hand-weaving. The All-India Congress Committee was requested to investigate the conditions of the peasants and a resolution was passed to support the Muslims on the Khilafat issue: similar other useful resolutions which were passed will help us forward and, if the nation implements them, good results cannot but follow. The country must be proud that Jallianwala Bagh has passed into its possession. The price of the Bagh will come to almost five lakhs of rupees and five lakhs more will be needed to erect a memorial column which, without expressing ill will or hostility to anyone, will remind us of the sacrifices, through death, of the innocent; will be a symbol of the people's grief and promote Hindu-Muslim unity, and thus convert the heap of refuse which today goes under the name of a garden into a garden indeed.[1] It is my hope that readers of *Navajivan* will play their part in this task and contribute to making the Jallianwala Bagh a place of pilgrimage for the Hindus, Muslims and people of all other religions, fully worthy of India.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 11-1-1920

243. CHILD MORTALITY

We wish to draw the particular attention of readers to Mr. Kanchanlal Khandwala's letter about the relative figures of child mortality. In New Zealand, 51 children out of one thousand die in a year. In Bombay 320 and in the United Provinces 352. Whatever way we look at these figures, they make us shudder. There are quite strong reasons for this state of affairs but the causes are such as can be remedied and so deserve attention. Besides, the unfavourable factors continue to increase in number. Some of these factors are as follows :

(1) Climate, (2) diet, (3) child-marriage and ill-matched unions, (4) self-indulgence, (5) ignorance about sanitation and, now, (6) excessively high prices.

[1] A 45-foot high national memorial, depicting the "Flame of Liberty", now marks the site of the tragedy.

CWMG - XVI

Of all these factors, the Government can be held responsible at present for the last one only; the reason for our making this distinction is that, for our innumerable ailments and shortcomings we blame the Government. It has become a habit with us to argue that, if we get swaraj, all our maladies, even the heavy rate of child mortality, will vanish instantly. It is true in a general way that starvation, which is becoming more widespread in the country, will probably decrease after we get swaraj. Even then, many of our ailments will persist, despite swaraj, if we do not adopt remedial measures. One such ailment is our present subject.

We cannot change the climate of the country. New Zealand is among the countries with the best climate. Relatively, the climate in India is generally believed to be enervating. It is difficult to develop a good constitution in intense heat. It is the general experience that moist air is even more injurious than heat. Even so, God has given man such strength that, by and large, he succeeds in overcoming such obstacles. To a greater or less extent, all of us do. To the extent that the climate is among the unfavourable factors which militate against reduction in the rate of child mortality, we can take suitable measures to counteract the harmfulness of the climate. Our poverty is the greatest obstacle in this. Our ignorance about how children should be brought up is another obstacle of like magnitude.

The child does not always get the food it needs. The requirements of infant diet are easy to understand. The child should be brought up on mother's milk and, when it is no longer available, it should get cow's milk. Instead, the child is switched on to cooked food even before it has cut teeth. It is fed on cereals even before its stomach is ready for them. Consequently, the child is attacked by diseases, grows weak and often dies an untimely death. Our poverty and ignorance are the main reasons for the unsuitable food [of our children].

An even more important reason than the two mentioned above is child-marriage and ill-matched unions. A girl of fifteen can never be fit for delivery. A child born of such a girl is deficient in vitality. Our children are so sickly that bringing them up becomes a veritable job indeed, with the result that many children die within a year of their birth. Along with child-marriage, we should hold ill-matched unions responsible for the deaths of a great many infants. It is not at all surprising that the children of men who marry when they are no longer fit for marriage do not survive.

It is also certain that excessive indulgence increases the rate of infant mortality. People in the West limit births, not with

any religious idea, to be sure, but for reasons of health and for fear of having to bring up too many children. For us, such fear is not enough of a check on self-indulgence. However, we in India lay great claim to being more religious in our lives than people in the West, and yet we ignore the restraints imposed by religion. Hence it is that many parents, regardless of both dharma and worldly considerations, remain steeped in carnal pleasures and bring forth children regardless of circumstances. In the result, whether we want them or not, diseased children are born and die in their infancy.

The fifth reason is our colossal ignorance of the rules of health. Neither the mother nor the father knows anything about them. People who have knowledge are disinclined to profit by it or lack the means of doing so. The result is the same; infant deaths keep increasing. Often, an ignorant midwife becomes the cause of an infant's death. She has no notion of how a woman in confinement should be looked after. She does not make the mother observe even simple rules. Hence, from its very birth the infant is looked after miserably and succumbs. If it survives the first two months the mother, as ignorant as the midwife, brings it up as well as she knows how to and, though she may not kill it, harms its health all right.

The last reason is the excessively high prices, ever soaring higher. Because of the high prices, milk and ghee have become scarce. Where people need wheat in their diet, they do not get it either. Consequently, the mother's milk continues to deteriorate in quality day by day and, when it stops altogether, the baby has to go without good milk, or a sufficient quantity of it, though the mother may well be aware of its needs. During the cold days, sufficient clothing is not available. The comforts in the house are also inadequate. Thus, there are so many adverse circumstances that it is difficult to bring down the terrific rate of child mortality pointed out by Mr. Khandwala.

Even so, remedial measures must be taken. They are easy enough. If the education of the people is put on a sound footing, they will easily acquire some general knowledge about child care. Meanwhile, small booklets explaining rules of child care may be written in very simple language and circulated, and parents may be educated through lectures. Everyone can, with a little effort, save himself from moist air to some extent. The moisture within and round about the house can be removed by our own efforts. It should not be impossible to buy milk for the children, even by economizing in other matters, if need be. More

than anything else, milk is a perfect food. Every man should exercise self-control in the matter of sex and have children only when he is fit for the purpose and capable of looking after them. Knowing, at least, that to bring forth children in such difficult times is a terrible violence, one needs to control one's desire. It is not at all difficult to understand the rules of sound health. The high cost of living is an evil for which, we believe, a remedy will somehow be found. If the people's income increases, the high prices would be easy to bear. We have no doubt, then, that either the prices will come down or people's income will increase. Our duty, all the same, is to take steps to bring down the prices. This, however, is quite a separate problem and a big one. We shall consider it some other time. We hope that every reader who is a public worker will take all the steps he can to reduce the rate of mortality among infants.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 11-1-1920

244. LETTER TO JUSTICE RANKIN

[SABARMATI ASHRAM,]
January 11, 1920

DEAR JUSTICE RANKIN,

Here are the extracts[1] I promised regarding my declarations in connection with civil disobedience. I regret to say that I have not been able to trace Swami Shraddhanandji's telegrams or his letters received just after the 30th March. If you consider them to be very material evidence in connection with any point I suppose you could get copies of the telegrams through the Telegraph Department and possibly a copy of Dr. Satyapal's letter through the C.I.D. in the Punjab. The Superintendent who took me to Bombay from Sawai Madhopur told me that he had seen Dr. Satyapal's letter to me.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat of the pencilled draft in Mahadev Desai's hand: S.N. 6988

[1] These are not available.

245. LETTER TO SECRETARY, DISORDERS INQUIRY COMMITTEE

ASHRAM,
January 11, 1920

DEAR MR. WILLIAMSON,

It is my diffidence which has deterred me up to now from inviting Lord Hunter, other members of the Committee and the whole staff to visit the Ashram. Pandit Jagatnarayan and Sahebjada Sultan Ahmed Khan paid me the honour of a visit and I felt that in spite of my diffidence I should say to Lord Hunter and the other members of the Committee how pleased I would be to show them over the Ashram ground and tell them what it is. I know how hard pressed all of you are for time. Therefore I trust no one will feel bound to accept my invitation.[1] Will you please read this to Lord Hunter and the others for whom this is meant? No appointment need be made. I shall be at the Ashram up to half past two tomorrow, Monday. I have to keep an appointment at 3 o'clock in the city.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat of the pencilled draft in Mahadev Desai's hand: S.N. 6988

246. LETTER TO SECRETARY, DISORDERS INQUIRY COMMITTEE

ASHRAM,
January 11, 1920

DEAR MR. WILLIAMSON,

I must confess to you that the extract read to me by Pandit Jagatnarayan referring to myself in connection with the little occurrence in Bombay has not yet ceased to worry me.[2] I simply

[1] The Committee members visited the Ashram the next day.

[2] In the course of Gandhiji's examination by the Committee on January 9, Pandit Jagat Narayan had confronted Gandhiji with an official report of what had happened on April 11 when Gandhiji was pacifying an angry crowd in Pydhonie, a Bombay locality. The report had stated *inter alia*: "It is interesting to note that while Gandhi has regularly adopted the pose of the interesting in-

wish to say that if Lord Hunter wishes to examine me in Bombay on the events there, I would gladly run down to Bombay to give evidence.[1] I am certainly anxious to answer all allegations against me or the cause I have the honour to represent so that the latter may not suffer for want of effort on my part.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat of the pencilled draft in Mahadev Desai's hand: S.N. 6988

247. LETTER TO REGISTRAR, HIGH COURT, BOMBAY

[SABARMATI,]
January 11, 1920

DEAR SIR,

With reference to your letter of the 8th inst., in the circumstances mentioned by you, I shall endeavour to appear before the Court on the 28th February.[2] Will you kindly set the rule down for hearing on that date? I take it that the Publisher, Mr. Mahadeo Desai, will be dealt with at the same time.

Yours faithfully,

From the pencilled draft in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 7128 (d)

248. SPEECH AT ARYA SAMAJ MEETING, AHMEDABAD

[*January 12, 1920*]

I am sorry that I could not attend this function on all the days. When my old teacher insisted on my coming, I could not but yield to his pressure but I asked him, at the same time, not to detain me for more than half an hour at the meeting, as I keep busy the whole day trying to finish some work which I have taken upon myself. I have often attended functions of this Samaj and, moreover, I have recently returned from a pilgrimage to the land of the Arya Samaj. On this occasion, I should tell you

valid when addressing meetings, the officer in command of the armed police reports that he showed wonderful agility and nimbleness in escaping from his car when the cavalry were charging." Gandhiji had stated that this was untrue.

[1] The Committee did not examine Gandhiji in Bombay where it met on January 15.

[2] The case came up for hearing on March 3.

frankly the views I have formed about the Arya Samaj; then, I would have attended this meeting to some purpose.

I am not quite sure, but I think I said on the occasion of the first function of the Arya Samaj[1] that Swami Dayanand Saraswati can be placed among the most prominent teachers of all the modern religious sects in India. This has been my conviction and it has grown stronger with experience. I know that, very likely, my words will not be fully understood by those here since the Arya Samaj is not as strong elsewhere as it is in the Punjab in the north. But, what with the various writings, sermons and speeches which I had the opportunity of studying while in South Africa, I can tell you this truth from my own experience. I shall tell you what experience has led me to believe.

I have especially observed two defects in the present Arya Samaj movement. One of them is *asahishnuta*; in English it is described as intolerance. I do not go to the length of saying that this is found in the Arya Samaj alone, but certain it is that the Arya Samaj has allowed itself to be carried away by the prevailing wind.

Propagating religion in a spirit of intolerance defeats its own purpose. The religion so propagated cannot endure for long. It is for dharma to counteract any trend which may do even the smallest harm to the people. I have never seen any good coming out of intolerance. Propagation of religion in such spirit is only an imitation of missionaries and takes the same form as their activities, with the result that propagation comes to be the be-all and end-all of dharma. This idea of propagation obtains among Muslims and Christians and intolerance has entered the Arya Samaj because it has adopted the same method.

Sir Alfred Lyall writes in a book of his that real dharma spreads so silently that the people do not even know that it does. At present the Arya Samaj is just one of the many religious sects. If it is asked how religion can spread so silently, Nature gives the answer.

Look at the wonder of Nature. Think of a tree. Can you observe its growth? You find your limbs growing without your ever bothering about them. Religion spreads in just the same manner.

Real dharma has no place for intolerance. The excellences of such religion we shall not find elsewhere. No other religion has succeeded in keeping away from violence, remaining immune

[1] *Vide* Vol. XIII, pp. 186-96.

against it, as well as Hinduism has. Hatred is alien to its very spirit. Hinduism, too, has relied on the sword and has taken to fighting, but in other religions, these things have been carried to extremes.

The other defect which I observed in the Samaj is lack of restraint on the tongue. These days the tongue is in greater use than the sword and, the way it is used, the wound it inflicts is more painful than that by a sword. I have often noticed in the sermons that the Samajists exercise no control over their tongue. Let everyone realize that we can never deny the truth.

Think and reflect over the temper of the *rishis* and *munis*. You will see that they preached the truth with the utmost gentleness, without ever getting excited and with the purest feelings in their hearts. Even when, sometimes, they said unpalatable things, their words had sweetness and truth in them. The Samajists would do well to give up the method of propagation which obtains among Christians. It is not worth copying.

I have not said this by way of criticism, but in a friendly spirit. I have expressed my opinion and no more.

[From Gujarati]

Gujarati, 25-1-1920

249. LETTER TO ADA WEST

January 13, 1920

MY DEAR DEVI,

I have your letter. Each time I see your handwriting, I feel like being with you and just at the present moment, when I have a lot of children on hand, I feel your absence more keenly than ever, but I know that I cannot have you with me in my Indian work. I cannot understand your complaint about the absence of any letter from me[1]. I wrote to you the other day from Lahore. I have been sending you my letters c/o. Mr. Rustomji. Do you know that you never put down your address at the top and therefore I am at sea as to directing your letters.

I hope you will make it a point to see Mr. Andrews when he reaches Natal. He is coming to a very difficult task this time. The people of South Africa have become more selfish than they

[1] The original has 'you', evidently a slip.

were before the War. They do not want the Indians who have the least bit of their trade.

I reciprocate your sentiments that many marriages are often a failure and I can certainly speak from experience that a restrained unmarried life is infinitely superior to a married one. Marriage divides your attention as nothing else does. It is after all in the majority of cases a concession to our weakness and it was in order to find a solution for the difficulties of a married life that I have prescribe the rule in the Ashram and the rule which without prescribing I advised in Phœnix for willing people. As I write this, the striking example of Miss Hobhouse[1] occurs to me. She could never have performed the Herculean task that she did in South Africa had she been burdened with the cares of married life. I shall still hope that you will share in my conclusion by an unbroken experience extending over a period of nearly 40 years that one need not change one's faith in order to appreciate the beauties of another and that one becomes better and stronger in one's faith for appreciating beauties of another's faith. My Hinduism does not debar me from taking what is best in Christianity nor does it blind me to the imperfections in practice. You will now understand the strength of the remark that Miss F[aering] should be able to live her own Christian life without the slightest hindrance in the Ashram. I do expect you whenever you find the time to pay us another visit and I hope that Miss F[aering]'s description of the beautiful surroundings in which we are living has but whetted your desire to visit us. I shall esteem it a privilege if you will give me your own impressions of Miss F[aering] both regarding her physique and her mentality. She is such a self-denying girl that I really sometimes do not know what she does want. You will perhaps also be able to give me your confidence in this matter.

With kindest regards and best wishes for a happy new year,

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat of the handwritten copy: S.N. 7027

[1] Emily Hobhouse

CWMG - XVI

250. LETTER TO ANNE MARIE PETERSEN

January 13, 1920

DEAR MISS PETERSEN,

I was delighted to hear from you after a long absence. As soon as I heard that you wanted Miss Faering to join you during Xmas, I had no hesitation in saying that she should respond to your wish. I can thoroughly appreciate the Christian sentiment that friends and relations should gather together and have sweet communion during the Xmas season. I must confess to you that Miss Faering's presence in the Ashram is uplifting for us all. She is such a good-natured loving girl with all the loftiest aspirations that anyone can be capable of. We are all looking forward to meeting her again. I only wish that she will be able to keep her health here and become a better and a stronger Christian for her presence at the Ashram. As I have so often told her, her living at the Ashram can be justified only if she not only retains undiminished her Christianity but that, in the environment of the Ashram, it becomes purer and more ref[ined] than ever before. I consider myself a Hindu of Hindus. I believe that I have a fine perception of the truth of Hinduism and the priceless lesson I have learnt from it is that I should not wish that others may become Hindus but that they become best specimens in their own faith. I hold an unfortified day cast in your lot with me here. Let not the Indian summer frighten you. I can easily arrange for you to pass the two hottest months of the year in a cool place. There are many such in India. They are not inaccessible.

From a photostat of a handwritten copy: S.N. 7052

CWMG - XVI

251. LETTER TO SIR GEORGE BARNES

January 13, 1920

DEAR SIR GEORGE BARNES,

I enclose herewith a cablegram[1] I have received from South Africa. You will perhaps easily understand reference to the Krugersdorp Case[2]. It means that the partial protection that was attempted to be secured by the new Act has been undone by the latest judgment. The judgment is under appeal, that assuming that the appeal also is decided against us—the verdict cannot be accepted. Courts of law provide no remedy where the law itself is defective. This was forcibly illustrated when a High Court judgment[3] upset the South African practice which recognized Indians' marriages as lawful and you know that the legislation of 1914[4] remedied the mischief created by the judgment in question and I trust that you will see to it and instruct Sir Benjamin Robertson that the right of Indians to hold landed property by forming corporations otherwise is not in any way interfered with.

The second point raised in the cablegram is in connection with the Commission that is now sitting to consider the proposed extension *of the power of the Municipalities*. It does seem strange that one should ever have to dread extension of popular power, but here where the power is sought in order to crush the very life of the unrepresented people, any further extension of such power is really a crime. I hope therefore that Sir Benjamin Robertson will see that any law that may be passed to extend the existing powers of the municipalities of South Africa will duly safeguard the rights of Indians who are totally unrepresented in the municipalities of the Transvaal and the [Orange] Free State and only partially at the Cape and Natal.

The East African question is, you may have noticed, becoming more and more troublesome. I enclose herewith a letter I have addressed to the Press.[5] You may have seen it. Will you not, if it

[1] This is not available.

[2] *Krugersdorp Municipality* v. *Dadoo Ltd.*; *vide* "Letter to the Press", before 25-1-1920.

[3] The reference is to the Searle Judgment of March 14, 1913; *vide* Vol. XII, Appendix I.

[4] Indians' Relief Act, 1914; *vide* Vol. XII, Appendix XXV.

[5] *Vide* "Letter to the Press", 10-1-1920.

is at all possible, give me something for publication on it as you so kindly did regarding South Africa? I hope, you received my telegram in reply to yours. Will you kindly give my regards to Lady Barnes, Miss Barnes.

Wishing you all a happy new year,

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat of a handwritten copy: S.N. 7053

252. LETTER TO C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYER

January 13, 1920

DEAR MR. RAMASWAMI,

I thank you for your letter[1]. I entirely agree with you that the amendment[2] finally carried was not what it might have been, but is it not the essence of compromise that it satisfies neither party. It exacts a surrender of something each holds dear and yet not an integral part of any principle. My amendment[3] was certainly graceful and did fair justice to Mr. Montagu's great services. Mr. Pal's on the other hand was offensive owing to the use of the expression—using the reforms. The amendment agreed to by all struck the middle course and I felt that it was enough, and only just enough, to give a lead to the country.

I have not had the time to read your article in the *Madras Mail*.[4] I shall read it and hope to write to you in due course.

Yours sincerely,

From the handwritten draft in pencil: S.N. 7034 a

[1] This was dated January 7.

[2] The reference is to the amendment to the Reforms Resolution adopted in the annual session of the Indian National Congress. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer had observed in his letter: " . . .but for your influence, the Congress would have taken a more violent and irresponsible turn than it had actually done. But I must say that I am very grieved that you accepted an amendment which actually makes the proposition itself nugatory. Can any of us honestly say that enough had not been given for enabling us to demonstrate our capacity to govern ourselves and is it possible to say that what has been granted would have been impossible but for the pertinacious advocacy under very trying circumstances of Mr. Montagu to whom a left-handed compliment has been paid and of Lord Sinha whom it is the fashion to slight?"

[3] *Vide* "Speech on Reforms Resolution at Amritsar Congress", 1-1-1920.

[4] The reference is to the article "The Parties of the Future" which Aiyer had requested Gandhiji to glance over.

CWMG-XVI

253. LETTER TO LUCHMAYA

MAURITIUS[1]

January 13, 1920

DEAR MR. LUCHMAYA,

I have your letter. I hope to be in Bombay on the 16th. Will you be able to see me at Mr. Revashankar's bungalow? I have gone through Mr. Wilberforce's letter, but I shall learn from you the position more fully. I shall be so busy in Bombay that I would like you not to take up much time. You will pardon my saying this, but I am doing so in order that you may collect your thoughts and so arrange them that you may be able to tell me all you wish in a few minutes' time.

From a photostat of a handwritten copy: S.N. 7051

254. IS BOYCOTT SWADESHI?

Mr. Baptista[2] has addressed himself to showing that boycott is not only the same as swadeshi in effect but is superior to it. His reasons for saying so are that, whilst it fully serves the purpose of swadeshi in that it stimulates the use of home-made articles, it produces an effect upon the British merchant and manufacturer by touching his pocket. Mr. Baptista adds that my opposition to boycott being purely a spiritual conception, is not understood by the British people, whereas they have always recognized boycott as a perfectly constitutional and legitimate weapon which they understand.

To say that boycott is the same as swadeshi even in effect is not to understand either. Swadeshi is an eternal principle whose neglect has brought untold grief to mankind. It means production and distribution of articles manufactured in one's own country. In its narrow and present form it means the saving of sixty crore rupees annually through the instrumentality of the peasant

[1] This, in Gandhiji's hand, indicates the file in which the letter was to be placed.

[2] Joseph Baptista; nationalist leader who was associated with the Home Rule Movement

population. It therefore also means giving 72 p. c. of the population a much-needed supplementary industry. Swadeshi is a constructive programme. Boycott, on the other hand, is a temporary makeshift resorted to in order to compel the hands of the British people by deliberately making an attempt to inflict a monetary loss upon them. Boycott, therefore, operates as an undue influence brought in to secure one's purpose. It may indirectly result, but not unless it is persistent and prolonged, in greater manufacture at home, but it certainly means the introduction of another disturbing factor, for, boycott does not mean exclusion of all foreign goods. It means exclusion of British goods only. It, therefore, involves greater encouragement of other foreign agencies, as for instance, Japanese and American. I certainly do not contemplate with equanimity the evergrowing influence of Japan upon Indian trade and commerce. Boycott to be effective has to be fairly universal whereas the observance of swadeshi by a single person is so much to the national good. One can make boycott successful only by an appeal to angry passions. It may therefore result in unintended consequences and may even lead to a permanent estrangement between parties. Mr. Baptista, however, denies that appeal to angry passions is a necessary consequence of boycott especially if some one like me were to manage the movement. I venture to challenge the position. A man suffering from an injustice is exposed to the temptations of having his worst passions roused on the slightest pretext. By asking him to boycott British goods you inculcate the idea of punishing the wrongdoer. And punishment necessarily evokes anger.

Mr. Zahoor Ahmed who has also written to combat my position says that withdrawal of co-operation is the same in essence as boycott, only it is far less effective because it is almost impossible of execution. Now, if I am serving—co-operating with—a wrongdoer, I am participating in the wrong. Therefore withdrawal of co-operation becomes a duty when a wrong is serious. And even if one man ceases to co-operate it is effective to that extent because of the performance of his duty by even one man. But since boycott is a punishment and as no punishment can be a duty, boycott unless it produces its effect is wasted energy. And boycott by half a dozen persons is like hitting an elephant with a straw.

I admit, however, that my fundamental opposition to boycott is based on a spiritual conception. But that is to say that I am endeavouring to extend the spiritual law to the political world. I deny however that the British people will not understand it. I

had no difficulty in making the Europeans of South Africa understand and appreciate it. Nor, in order to render it effective, is it necessary to follow the spiritual conception of a spiritual act. My contention is that an act purely spiritual is the simplest to understand and the easiest to execute. Spirituality is nothing if it is not eminently practical. It is not difficult to understand that we must wash our hands when they are dirty. It is equally simple to do so, yet it is essentially a spiritual practice. *Mens sana in corpore sano* is a doctrine of the soul. And even if we accept the necessity of cleaning dirty hands without a spiritual conception of cleanliness, so may we accept the practical failure of boycott and the practical necessity under definite conditions of non-co-operation without waiting to understand their spiritual basis.

Is boycott, then, practical? Mr. Baptista has approved of boycott of the British goods. I hold that if the highest and permanent good of the country cannot be sufficient incentive to our merchants for supporting swadeshi to the exclusion of foreign goods an appeal to the merchants that, in order to bring justice from the British people, they shall temporarily stop their custom, will, I venture to submit, fall flat. Boycott after the event is of no consequence. Boycott to influence the result must be instantaneous. In my opinion we are not organized enough for instant action. The area of boycott is too large for any organization that can be brought into being at a moment's notice. And I can see no difficulty about British manufacturers introducing their wares into India through Japan or America even as Germany years ago introduced into India her goods through England.

I swear by swadeshi because it is an evolutionary process gaining strength as it goes forward. Any organization can serve it. It is independent of the justice or the injustice of the rulers or the British people. It is its own reward. "There is no waste of energy, no failure, even a little practice of this dharma saves one from a great danger." Swadeshi and boycott are, therefore, not the same but are at the opposite poles.

Young India, 14-1-1920

CWMG - XVI

255. *THE REFORMS RESOLUTION IN THE CONGRESS*

The divergence of views on the Reforms Resolution, summarized in one of our notes[1], is not to be wondered at. Compromises never give complete satisfaction to all parties. In their very nature they must just fall short of that and yet be acceptable to all. In our opinion the country did get the lead through the Congress that it was possible to give it. The Congress must, if it is to serve the country, more and more tend to represent not one view but many, and that not merely in the Subjects Committee, but on the open platform. There is no denying the fact there are several parties in the country. Extremist and Moderate do not cover all parties. There are, for instance, in the Extremist camp Mr. Kasturi Ranga Iyengar's, Mr. Das', and Lokamanya Tilak's parties. No doubt they sailed under the Extremist flag. But as differences become accentuated, as they must be in course of time, each group will begin to assert itself. The Hon'ble Pandit Malaviyaji represents a body of opinion distinct from the Extremist. Similarly in the Moderate camp there are undoubtedly divisions, which as time goes on will become sharper, rather than otherwise, and with a proper constitution there is no reason why the Congress should not represent a resultant of all these different views thrashed out with calmness and becoming dignity on the Congress platform. For the first time in the history of the Congress an open and reasoned discussion took place before the delegates, on a matter of the greatest importance to the country, and for the first time were those elaborate preparations made in order to ascertain by their votes the decision of the Congress. That in itself, in our opinion, was something worth attaining. But there was more than this. No doubt it was open to either party to push the matter to a division. We cannot accept Mrs. Besant's view that L[okamanya] Tilak had told his followers to vote for Mr. Gandhi's amendment if he had held out, and even if Mrs. Besant's information is correct, it would hardly have been proper for Mr. Gandhi to have pushed the matters to such an extreme. His amendment alone brought forth Mr. Pal's. The latter was a purely tactical move. Had the audience been called upon merely to decide between the original proposition, i.e., with-

[1] These have not been reproduced here. For a detailed discussion on the subject, however, *vide* "The Congress", 11-1-1920.

out co-operation and thanks, and Mr. Gandhi's, with thanks, a division would have been a duty. But Mr. Pal's amendment came as a feeler and also was an earnest of the extremist groups to conciliate an opposing amendment, so long as they could consistently do so. Mr. Pal's amendment could not be accepted because of the offensive word 'use' in it. Naturally therefore a third amendment providing a middle course had to be framed, and comfort lies not merely in the fact of the compromise but in the fact that all were anxious to avoid an open division. Surely, for the country it means that the Congress desires to co-operate with the authorities in so far as that co-operation can hasten the advent of the responsible government, and to thank Mr. Montagu for his valuable labours on the Reforms. We would certainly have liked it better if the graceful language of the original amendment had been accepted, if thanks had been expressed in warmer terms and extended to Lord Sinha. But it would have been wrong to divide the house after the principle of co-operation and thanks were granted by the three leaders. We are unable to associate ourselves with the suggestion that L. Tilak in accepting the amendment wanted to use Messrs Malaviya and Gandhi as his tools, and if they allowed themselves to be so used, it would not be the Lokamanya who would be to blame, but Messrs Malaviya and Gandhi would be clearly held blameworthy for their simplicity. For as party formation progresses, we suppose it would be considered quite the proper thing for party leaders to use others as tools so long as there are any to be used. Care will therefore have to be taken rather to purify our politics, than, for fear of being used as tools, to hesitate to take the right course. L. Tilak represents a definite school of thought of which he makes no secret. He considers that everything is fair in politics. We have joined issue with him in that conception of political life. We consider that political life of the country will become thoroughly corrupt if we import Western tactics and methods. We believe that nothing but the strictest adherence to honesty, fairplay and charity can advance the true interests of the country. But we refuse, because of the essential difference just pointed out, to believe that, in accepting the amendment, L. Tilak was guided by any motive other than that of meeting his opponents' views so far as it was possible. On the whole, therefore, in our opinion, the analysis given by *The Times of India* is the only true analysis of the position ultimately arrived at under the compromise.

Young India, 14-1-1920

CWMG - XVI

256. LETTER TO RABINDRANATH TAGORE

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
January 14, 1920

DEAR GURUDEV,

I had no idea up to today that the Gujarat Literary Conference had not met at the time it was expected to. The chief organiser Dr. Hari Prasad, however, tells me that, as one of the reasons for your inability to attend was the shortness of notice given to you, it was decided to postpone the holding of the Conference to Easter. It could be done without violating any canon of propriety as the Conference is not an annual fixture meeting at an appointed time. I know that you would come if your health and other considerations make it possible for you to accept the invitation and I sincerely hope that the capital of Gujarat will have the honour of receiving you during Easter.[1]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the handwritten original signed by Gandhiji: G.N. 4626

257. LETTER TO SYED HUSSEN IMAM

[SABARMATI ASHRAM,
Before *January 15, 1920*][2]

DEAR SYED HUSSEN IMAM,

B. Shri Krishna Singh, a Vakil from Monghyr, and a railway employee from J. W. S.[3] of the E. I. R. have been here to see me in connection with a strike of the workmen of the locomotive department that has gone [on] now for the last 10 days. I should love to go to Monghyr and study the situation locally. But it is impossible in view of the necessity of my going to the Punjab at once

[1] Tagore addressed the Conference on April 2.

[2] The letter appears to have been written some time before Gandhiji left Ahmedabad on January 15.

[3] Jamalpur Railway Workshop

CWMG - XVI

to complete my work there. The demands of the men seem to me to be reasonable. Can you not help them? I am writing to Rajendra Babu also.

Yours sincerely,

From a handwritten draft in pencil: S.N. 7024

258. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING

DELHI,
[On or after *January 16, 1920*][1]

MY DEAR CHILD,

I was sorry to leave the Ashram as soon as you came. I wanted so to have a long chat with you and to comfort you if you were anxious about anything. I felt more sorry when Devdas told me you had not enough to cover yourself [with]. I hope you asked what you wanted or that someone anticipated your wants.

You know the changes that have been made regarding cooking. Bhuvarjee will be out of the kitchen. I would like you to help Ba in the kitchen. But you shall not do so if it costs overmuch patience. Ba has not an even temper. She is not always sweet. And she can be petty. At the present moment she is weak in body too. You will therefore have to summon to your aid all your Christian charity to be able to return largeness against pettiness. And we are truly large only when we are that joyfully. I have known friends being generous in a miserable spirit. Their generosity has become a kind of martyrdom. To rejoice in suffering, to pity the person who slights you and to love him all the more for his weakness is real charity. But we may not be able to reach that stage. Then, we should not experiment. And so, my dear Esther, if you find Mrs. Gandhi trying your nerves, you must avoid the close association I am suggesting to you.[2] On no account shall I have you to lose your inward peace and joy. I want you so to order your life that the Ashram gives you greater joy, greater happiness and finer perception of truth. I want you to be a greater Christian for being in the Ashram. You were with me the whole of yesterday and during the night. I shall pray that

[1] Gandhiji left Ahmedabad on January 15, and reached Delhi the next day. This letter appears to have been written soon after.

[2] Replying on January 20, Esther Faering wrote that it was difficult to please Ba, who would always look upon her as a stranger and that she herself found it difficult to cross the barriers that seemed to exist between them.

CWMG-XVI

you may be healthier in mind, body and spirit so as to be a better instrument of His service.

And I want you to befriend Deepak. He is another big experiment. Mahadev will tell you who he is. I have not the time for writing more.

You may share this letter with Mahadev if you wish to. This has come to me in answer to prayer. Early this morning I wanted to send you a word of cheer. I feel for poor Mahadev just the same. He has an unequal burden to carry and thank God he has a most sensitive conscience that is unforgiving towards him. But he is fretful. He has not that abundant experience of the divine in him and so he worries. Help him please and derive help from him.

Write to me of your experience of your Madras visit and tell me how you felt there.

With deep love.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat of the handwritten original in N.A.I.; also *My Dear Child*, pp. 39-40

259. THE HUNTER COMMITTEE

This Committee has completed its work in regard to Ahmedabad. The evidence placed before it goes to prove that the first mistake was made by the people and not by the Government. We should ignore the fact of Mr. Gandhi's arrest, for,—when the Government arrests a person who happens to be popular among the people—if the belief comes to prevail that on no account can the Government arrest such a person, the work of Government just cannot be carried on. True, the Government should have valid reason for arresting the person. It is also true that, before making the arrest the Government must have made adequate arrangements to preserve order. Even so, because the Government arrests a particular person, the people do not get the right to start killing and burning. Besides, the police had not done anything in Ahmedabad on April 11 which could provide the people with even the semblance of an excuse for doing what they did.

Thus, the evidence goes to prove that, in killing and setting buildings on fire, the people erred grievously and harmed Ahmedabad.

We also hear it said that the Government released Mr. Gandhi only because of the riots. A look at the dates will show that

CWMG - XVI

this is not true, since, when Mr. Gandhi was released, there had been no violence in Ahmedabad. He was released in the afternoon of April 11. The decision to set him free in Bombay was made on the evening of the 10th. Nothing had happened in Ahmedabad up to that time.

We know, however, that much harm was done because of the violence and arson. Many people have had to go to jail; a large fine has been imposed on Ahmedabad and the city has had reason to feel ashamed.

It would be somewhat brazen-faced to criticize or denounce the Government for the steps it took to quell the riots. Compared to the Punjab, the Government here has been so forbearing that it would not be right on our part to condemn its minor lapses; even so, when we are examining the question from all points of view, we are bound to point out the lapses too.

There was no need for Martial Law and for the order issued under it. It resulted in the death of innocent people. An unjust and one-sided order of fine on Nadiad and Barejadi was issued. These were evident mistakes by the Government. The Hunter Committee is to some extent the means of getting them rectified.

The discussion on satyagraha between the members of the Committee on the one hand and Mr. Gandhi on the other is noteworthy. We shall, therefore, try to reproduce it, as faithfully as possible. The discussion brings out effectively that satyagraha is a remedy for violence and a means of safeguarding the rights of the people.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 18-1-1920

CWMG - XVI

260. LETTER TO AZMATULLAH KHAN

[DELHI,
January 18, 1920][1]

DEAR CAPTAIN AZMATULLAH KHAN,

I have not forgotten the promise[2] made by me. I have gone through the papers[3], and I am ready to give my award[4]. My reading of the papers goes against you, and as I am otherwise unassisted, I would like you to say anything you wish to convince me to the contrary. And as soon as I receive your reply, I shall be prepared to deliver my award unless a reference to the other party becomes necessary by reason of anything you say. I am in Allahabad on the 20th. I leave Allahabad on the 21st. I reach Lahore on the 23rd and remain there for some time. My Allahabad address is: C/o The Honourable Pundit Motilal Nehru. My Lahore address is Mozang Road.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat of the handwritten draft: S.N. 7056

261. LETTER TO J. L. MAFFEY

DELHI,
January 18, 1920

J. L. MAFFEY, ESQ., C.I.E.
PRIVATE SECRETARY TO
HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY

I have come here in connection with the Khilafat Deputation and to form part of the deputation that is to wait on His Excellency tomorrow. I had not read the statement[5] to be sub-

[1] The date is derived from the acknowledgement by the addressee.

[2] In his letter of January 15, Azmatullah Khan had written to Gandhiji : "The time for the matter promised by you is approaching and I am sure you would have given notice to the opposite party."

[3] These concerned a dispute between Capt. Azmatullah Khan and the Patan Pinjrapole; *vide* "Letter to Motichand & Devidas, Solicitors", 26-1-1920.

[4] This was dispatched on January 26; *vide* "Letter to Azmatullah Khan". For the text of the award, *vide* "An Award", 26-1-1920.

[5] *Vide* Appendix XI.

CWMG - XVI

mitted to His Excellency before I was invited. I did not like the manner of presentation of the case. It is vague and in general terms, whereas at a critical moment like this, the statement should have been dignified, brief, precise, as unargumentative as possible, confining itself merely to bare facts and presenting the case from the highest platform and not from the platform of diplomacy. But I observe that it is now too late to redraw the whole statement and to take up any more of His Excellency's time. I therefore suggested that there should be at least an accurate statement of what is about the least that will satisfy Moslem sentiment. They have now drawn up an addendum which is incorporated in the statement. I venture to trust that His Excellency will have no objection to the addendum. I enclose herewith copy of the statement with the addition. I am sorry that it is written in a slovenly manner. I hope to send you a reprint in the course of the day but, in order to save time, I am sending you meanwhile what I have.

I hope that you are keeping well.

I was distressed to read in the papers that Lady Chelmsford was ailing in Calcutta. I trust she is completely recovered.[1]

N.A.I.: Home, Political: February 1920: No. 413-416A

262. NOTE ON TILAK'S LETTER[2]

[DELHI,
After *January 18, 1920*]

I naturally feel the greatest diffidence about joining issue with the Lokamanya in matters involving questions of interpretation of religious works. But there are things in or about which instinct transcends even interpretation. For me there is no conflict between the two texts quoted by the Lokamanya. The Buddhist text lays down an eternal principle. The text from the *Bhagavad Gita* shows to me how the principle of conquering hate

[1] To this letter Maffey replied as follows: "Your letter of 18th instant received. Things are much too far advanced for any addition to the address to be now possible. If I may say so I do not agree with your severe criticisms of the address prepared by the Khilafat Conference. It covers the ground very fully and I think they have exercised a wise discretion in excluding a presentation of claims on such an occasion."

[2] This was in reply to the following letter dated Poona, January 18, 1920, from Lokamanya Tilak: "I am sorry to see that in your article on 'Reforms Resolution' in the last issue, you have represented me as holding that I considered

by love, untruth by truth, can and must be applied. If it be true that God metes out the same measure to us that we mete out to others, it follows that if we would escape condign punishment, we may not return anger but gentleness even against anger. And this is the law not for the unworldly but essentially for the worldly. With deference to the Lokamanya, I venture to say that it betrays mental laziness to think that the world is not for sadhus. The epitome of all religions is to promote *purushartha*, and *purushartha* is nothing but a desperate attempt to become sadhu, i.e., to become a gentleman in every sense of the term.

Finally, when I wrote the sentence about 'everything being fair in politics' according to the Lokamanya's creed, I had in mind his oft-repeated quotation शठं प्रति शाठ्यम्[1].

To me it enunciates bad law. And I shall not despair of the Lokamanya with all his acumen agreeably surprising India one day with a philosophical dissertation proving the falsity of the doctrine. In any case I pit the experience of a third of a century against the doctrine underlying शठं प्रति शाठ्यम्. The true law is शठं प्रत्यपि सत्यम्[2].

M. K. GANDHI

Young India, 28-1-1920

'everything fair in politics'. I write this to you to say that my view is not correctly represented therein. Politics is a game of worldly people and not of sadhus, and instead of the maxim 'अक्कोधेन जिने क्कोधं' as preached by Buddha, I prefer to rely on the maxim of Shri Krishna 'ये यथा मां प्रपद्यंते तांस्तथैव भजाम्यहम्'. That explains the whole difference and also the meaning of my phrase 'responsive co-operation'. Both methods are equally honest and righteous but the one is more suited to this world than the other. Any further explanation about the difference will be found in my *Gita Rahasya*." For the article referred to, *vide* "The Reforms Resolution in the Congress", 14-1-1920.

[1] Wickedness unto the wicked

[2] Truth even unto the wicked

CWMG - XVI

263. AN APPEAL TO MADRAS

I use the word Madras here in its popular sense, meaning the people of the whole of the Madras Presidency, speaking all the Dravidian languages.

I observe that Mrs. Besant was disappointed that the proceedings of the Congress were conducted mainly in Hindustani, and she has therefore come to the amazing conclusion that it became a Provincial rather than a National Assembly. I entertain a very high regard for Mrs. Besant and her services to India. No one has popularised the idea of Home Rule for India with so much success as she. The best of us, much younger in age, are unable to approach her in her industry, zeal and organising ability, all devoted to the service of India. She has devoted the best part of her mature life to the service of India and she has deservedly attained to popularity in India second perhaps only to that of Lokamanya Tilak. But, for the present moment her views being unacceptable to a large body of educated Indians, she has become somewhat unpopular, and it grieves me to have to dissent publicly from her view about Hindustani making the Congress provincial. In my humble opinion it is a grave error of judgment, and duty compels me to draw attention to it. I have attended all the Congress sessions but one since 1915. I have studied them specially in order to study the utility of Hindustani compared to English for the conduct of its proceedings. I have spoken to hundreds of delegates and thousands of visitors and I have perhaps covered a larger area and seen a much larger number of people, literate and illiterate, than any public man, not excluding Mrs. Besant and Lokamanya Tilak, and I have come to the deliberate conclusion that no language except Hindustani—a resultant of Hindi and Urdu—can possibly become a national medium for exchange of ideas or for the conduct of national proceedings. It is also my deliberate opinion based upon extensive experience that the nation has very materially suffered by reason of the proceedings of the Congress having been conducted almost entirely in English except during the last two years. I further wish to state as a fact that, barring the presidency of Madras everywhere else the majority of the visitors and delegates to the National Congress have always been able to understand more Hindustani than English. The astounding result therefore has been that the Congress has been

national throughout all these long years only as a spectacle but never for its real educative value. In any other country in the world, an assembly of this character that has become progressively popular from year to year would have, during thirty-four years of life, given a political education that would have entered every home because the people would have had various questions thrashed out before them in their own language. Whatever therefore the shortcomings of the last Congress, it has certainly been more fully national than any of its predecessors, by reason of the majority of the delegates and visitors having understood the proceedings. If the audience was weary of Mrs. Besant, it was not because it was indifferent or disrespectful to her but because it could not follow her speech, interesting and able though it was. And as national consciousness develops and as the appetite for political knowledge and education grows, as it must, it will become more and more difficult, and rightly so, for a speaker, no matter how able and popular, to command the attention of a popular audience if he spoke in English. I therefore appeal to the people of Madras Presidency to recognize the national necessity for public men to learn Hindustani. Audiences outside Madras can more or less understand Hindustani without difficulty. Dayananda Saraswati enthralled audiences outside Northern India with his Hindustani eloquence and could be understood by even the common people without difficulty. That means that out of a population of three hundred and fifteen millions only over thirty-eight millions composing the Madras Presidency cannot follow a Hindustani speaker. I have deducted the Mohammedan population for it is common knowledge that the majority of the Mohammedans of Madras Presidency understand Hindustani. The question therefore is: what is the duty of the thirty-eight million inhabitants of that Presidency? Should India for their sake learn English? Or should they for the sake of two hundred seventy-seven million inhabitants of India learn Hindustani ? The late Justice Krishnaswami, with his unerring instinct, recognized Hindustani as the only possible medium of expression between the different parts of India. I am not aware that the proposition is seriously challenged by anybody at the present moment. It is not possible for thousands of people to make English their common tongue, and it would be highly undesirable even if it were possible, for the simple reason that the higher and technical knowledge being acquired through English cannot percolate to the masses, as it would if it became current among the upper classes through any of the vernaculars. It is easier, for instance, to translate the writings of Sir J. C.

Bose from Bengalee into Gujarati than it is to translate Huxley from English into Gujarati. And what does the proposition that the Madrasis should learn Hindustani for the sake of the rest of India amount to? It simply means that those public workers in Madras who want to work outside India and who want to take part in national assemblies outside the Madras Presidency should devote an hour a day for one year to learning Hindustani. Such an effort would enable several thousand Madrasis to pick up sufficient Hindustani to enable them to follow at least the drift of the Congress proceedings at the end of a year's study. They have got in several parts of the Presidency Hindi Prachar Offices where Hindustani is taught free of charge to all who wish to learn.

I appeal to Mrs. Besant, who is already devoting *New India* from time to time to the cause of Hindustani learning, to support my appeal.

Young India, 21-1-1920

264. SPEECH AT MEERUT MEETING[1]

January 22, 1920

After expressing his gratitude to the citizens of Meerut and the volunteers for the hearty reception they had accorded to him, he said that of all the problems that faced India to-day that of the Khilafat was the most important, for it was the problem of our Muslim brethren. His English and Hindu friends had been asking him why a staunch Hindu like him interested himself so keenly in the Khilafat question. His answer to them all was that he and his Hindu brothers wanted to maintain peace and love with the 7 crores of Mussalmans in India. Until the Khilafat question was settled according to Muslim ideas of justice, there could be no peace in India. The Government might succeed in suppressing discontent for a time, but men, whose feelings were seriously hurt, could not live in peace for ever.

He wanted to say to his Muslim brothers that there was no means more effective to settle the question than satyagraha. They could never settle the Khilafat question by physical force. But they could themselves see the great chances of success if they adopted satyagraha. If the men in South Africa had taken up arms to defend themselves, they could have been killed by those very arms. But they stood firmly on patience.

[1] Gandhiji was presented with addresses by the Khilafat Committee and the citizens of Meerut at a public meeting. Khan Bahadur Sheikh Wahid-uddin presided. Gandhiji spoke in Hindi.

CWMG - XVI

Apart from the problem of Khilafat, the question of India's freedom was always bound up with the adoption of swadeshi. India's slavery dated from the day she gave up use of her indigenous articles. The East India Company never aimed at conquest. Its objects were purely commercial. But they were caught in the net. They used the goods manufactured in Lancashire and Manchester. If they wanted to make India free, they could not do so by the reforms, they could not do so by taking any rules or regulations from England, but they could do so by using swadeshi goods.

As to the question of Hindu-Muslim unity, he exhorted the audience to remember that they could never achieve real unity by false pretensions and pleasant words. They could deceive men but they could not deceive God. If the Hindus cajoled the Muslims to spare the cow or the Muslims coaxed the Hindus to take up the cause of the Khilafat, they could both be disappointed. These were passing things. So far as their respective religions allowed, they ought to be ready to sacrifice their very lives for each other's sakes.

Before concluding, he again expressed his thanks to his brothers and sisters of Meerut.

The Tribune, 12-2-1920

265. INTERVIEW TO S. W. CLEMES

[MEERUT,
January 22, 1920]

Mr. Gandhi, what can nations of the West do in furthering the all-round development of the East, and particularly of India? Mr. Gandhi answered the question indirectly:

India is just now in the state of unlearning. She has learned a lot that is useless and unprofitable. From my observation of the West, and particularly of your own country, I have learned two outstanding facts: First, cleanliness; second, energy. I am fully convinced that my people cannot advance spiritually, until they clean up. Your people are wonderfully energetic. To a large extent, it has been energy after things material. If Indian people could have that same amount of energy, rightly directed, they would receive a great blessing.

Mr. Gandhi, will you kindly tell me how Christianity can best help India, in view of the spirit of nationalism that is abroad? He replied:

What we need, most of all, is *sympathy*. When I was down in Africa, I found this illustration. I had to dig some artesian wells. In order to search the pure flowing streams, I had to dig deep.

Many of the people who come out here to study my people only scratch the surface. If they would dig deep by means of sympathy, they would find a stream of life there, pure and clear.

And will you kindly tell me, Mr. Gandhi, what book or person has influenced you the most? He frankly confessed that he was not an omnivorous reader, but rather a careful selector of the very best. The order in which he spoke of the books was as follows: The Bible, Ruskin, Tolstoy. Speaking of the Bible, he said:

There have been many times when I did not know which way to turn. But I have gone to the Bible, and particularly the New Testament, and have drawn strength from its message.

I was anxious to know how our Meerut Graduates' Association, composed of the finest of the educated men in the city, could further the city's welfare. In reply to the question, he gave me this one word.

Scavenger, I employ that word in all its meaning. If the members would get out and lend a helping hand to clean up the city, literally and morally, they would be doing a great work.

Young India, 25-2-1920

266. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI[1]

LAHORE,
Tuesday [After *January 23, 1920*]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

How could I manage to write to you? All the same, I look for letters from you. Let me know how matters stand there with regard to spinning and weaving. Did you promise to send Kantilal for Sarladevi? Can he be spared? If he can be, send him to teach the boys. Ask Deepak to write to Sarladevi.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5779. Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

[1] This and the following letter seem to have been written after the Amritsar Congress. After the session, Gandhiji had returned to Ahmedabad and reached Lahore on January 23. Sarladevi Choudhrani, wife of Pandit Rambhuj Dutt Choudhry, had left her son Deepak, at the Sabarmati Ashram sometime after the Amritsar Congress.

CWMG - XVI

267. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

[LAHORE,
After *January 23, 1920*]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I always feel that you, at any rate, should not fall ill. When you do, though, I will submit to the inevitable. One may fall ill even through anxiety not to do so. When the body is debilitated beyond a certain point, it does not recover completely. I certainly wish that you could spend a few months, four to six, in a place all by yourself. I would be happy if you could force yourself to find this time. Surely, you should be able to place the Ashram on such a footing that you can spare yourself from time to time. However, treat this as the master's advice should be treated.[1] Do your own will. I want to see you healthy in body, mind and heart.

Cherish Esther and Deepak. Mahadev, of course, you must be meeting. I hope you are doing everything to keep Ba cheerful. May one write such things to an ailing man? Yes, one can, to a man like you. I imagine you to be a man who can forget his illness in his concern for others. Mathuradas and Devdas are tireless in their service. The latter has gone far ahead. Sarladevi has been showering her love on me in every possible way. Write to her when you get time—that she should not worry about Deepak.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5781. Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

[1] The Gujarati saying runs: "The master's advice as far as the gate", that is to say, one may acquiesce for the moment and then forget all about it.

268. LETTER TO NARAHARI PARIKH

LAHORE,
[After *January 23, 1920*][1]

BHAISHRI NARAHARI,

Herewith a letter for Deepak. Pass it on to him after reading it. Ask him whether he has understood it. This is only the third time Sarladevi has allowed him to leave her side. Her old mother-in-law is none too happy about it. I cannot say that Panditji[2] is happy either. But he never objects to anything Sarladevi does. He very much wants that the child should grow up there to be a man of character and learning. We may do all we can to help him to be so. Pay attention to his instruction in Sanskrit and Bengali. If Manindra takes charge of his Bengali, the boy will easily make progress in it. Wouldn't he like to write to Sarladevi in good Bengali? Or, if he prefers, he may write sometimes in Bengali and sometimes in English.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the original in Gujarati : S.N. 11885

269. LETTER TO REGISTRAR, HIGH COURT, BOMBAY

LAHORE,
January 24, 1920

SIR,

I beg to acknowledge your letter[3] of the ——— instant.

The 3rd March next will suit me for the hearing of the rule against Mr. Mahadev Desai and myself.[4]

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat of the draft in Gandhiji's hand : S.N. 7063

[1] It appears Gandhiji wrote this letter soon after his arrival in Lahore on January 23.

[2] Pandit Rambhuj Dutt Choudhri

[3] Evidently this was in reply to Gandhiji's letter of January 4.

[4] On February 27, Gandhiji wrote again to the Registrar and forwarded statements by himself and Mahadev Desai. The hearing of the rule *nisi* was

270. LETTER TO S. ALI HUSAIN

2, MOZANG ROAD,
LAHORE,
January 24, 1920

DEAR MR. HUSAIN,

I was glad to receive your letter[1]. The information I made use of in the meeting was given to me at Meerut and in the motor by the friends who brought me to Muzaffarnagar. If you dispute their version, I would like you to let me have your own.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat of the handwritten copy: S.N. 7068

271. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING

LAHORE,
January 24, 1920

MY DEAR CHILD,

I was delighted to receive your letter on my arrival in Lahore yesterday.

I am glad you have opened out your heart. It is the truest test of friendship and affection. You enable me to help you when you do open out. I had no notion that you had already observed Mrs. Gandhi's pettiness. I simply warned you, as I asked you to come in closer touch with her. As it is, my warning reached you just in time. God will give you wisdom and courage to do the right thing at the right moment. Only remember one thing, never allow your

held on March 3, when both the respondents appeared in court in person. The Judges held them guilty of contempt of court but confined themselves "to severely reprimanding the respondents and cautioning them both as to their future conduct." *vide* Vol. XVII.

[1] This was dated January 23 and read: "I am sorry to intrude upon your busy time, but as differences have arisen here regarding your last night's speech, I hope you won't mind these few minutes. We would like to know the nature of your information regarding the *Moharram* affair and who gave you that information. Was it during your short stay here or at some time previous to this? . . . " The speech referred to is the "Speech at Meerut Meeting", 22-1-1920.

spirit of sacrifice to go to the length of making you sour and disgusted with yourself or your surroundings. This is one of the sorest temptations to which workers are exposed. They go on sacrificing themselves till they become disgusted with everything and everybody for want of response. We sacrifice truly only when we expect no response. It is well worth knowing the root meaning of the word. It means, as you might know, 'to make sacred'. We make neither ourselves nor others sacred when we are irritated or angry. There is often more sacrifice—sacred making—in a divine smile than in so-called substantial sacrifice. The instances of Mary and Magdalene[1] occur to me as I write these lines. Both were good but the one who simply waited upon her Lord without making any fuss was probably more self-sacrificing than the other. And so may it be with you. Do not overtax your spirit in trying to win over Mrs. Gandhi or anybody else. Immediately you find that you cannot get on with her, you must have a separate kitchen for yourself. You could still serve her but not be so intimate with her. Nothing that you do there should tire out either your spirit or your body.

Do please ask for every convenience you may need whether for food or otherwise. Ask Maganlal or Imam Saheb or anybody who has come nearer you.

Yes, Deepak is all you describe him. I would like you gently to get him to realize his responsibility and concentrate on his studies. Supervise his letter-writing. See that he writes fully and neatly to his mother every day.

My heart is with you in your sorrow. I can understand your desire to be with your brother in Denmark.[2] But you have chosen a different path—a path that does not admit of exclusive service. May God give you strength for your task.

I agree with you about Mahadev. He is needlessly anxious about his health.[3] He is prized not for his body but for his spirit. It must be a privilege for friends to nurse him in his illness.

With love,

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat of the handwritten original in N.A.I.; also *My Dear Child*, pp. 47-9

[1] This appears to be a slip for "Martha".

[2] Esther Faering had written of her brother stricken with tuberculosis.

[3] Mahadev Desai had told Esther Faering that he felt he had "no right or claim to live in the Ashram when he so often fell ill".

272. TELEGRAM TO SHAMLAL NEHRU

[LAHORE,
January 24, 1920]

IMPOSSIBLE LEAVE PUNJAB PLEASE APOLOGISE FOR ME.[1]

GANDHI

From a photostat of the draft in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 7440

273. LETTER TO THE PRESS[2]

[Before *January 25, 1920*]

The following is the extension of a cable received by me from Mr. Aswat, Chairman of the British Indian Association, Transvaal, regarding the *Krugersdorp Municipality* v. *Dadoo, Ltd.*, referred to in the memorandum presented to the Union Premier:

> The Court has set aside the transfers. It held that the formation of Indian companies for the purpose of acquiring fixed property is illegal. It declared transfers so obtained were *fraudem legis*, saying that legislation cannot be laughed at (Section 130). The Gold Law was intended to prevent indiscriminate mingling of Coloured [persons and] Europeans. Further in the judgment in Potchefstroom, under the Local Ordinance 9, 1912, the magistrate upholds the Council's contention that the Asiatic's presence causes annoyance and detriment to European commerce and on that ground holds Indians as undesirable. Both judgments mean the ruination of the community. Appeals noted. Europeans tendering evidence before the local Government Commission are specialising on the Indian question, urging complete autonomy for municipalities. Make representations to the proper quarters immediately. The Association prays to hold meetings throughout India. New Act 37 gives no protection even to old companies and traders. The position is most precarious. Strenuous action is imperative for the sake of saving the community.

[1] This was in reply to the following telegram from Shamlal Nehru: "K. P. Singh Barrister Arrah wishes me forward following message mass meeting Arrah 25th instant request release Shahabad rioters. Your presence solicited strengthen Hindu-Muslim unity. Keen disappointment non attending."

[2] A Gujarati translation of this appeared in *Navajivan*, 25-1-1920.

This cablegram cannot fail to disconcert those who have at all studied the South African question, for, as Mr. Aswat says, it is calculated to undo even the little that the new Act was claimed to accomplish. Dadoo, Ltd., is an old-established Indian company in Krugersdorp. It holds extensive landed property in that township, and the meaning of the cablegram is that the transfers registered in the name of the company of landed properties are illegal, because, as the Court seems to have contended, the transaction was in fraud of the law and that legislation could not be laughed at. I wish to say nothing regarding the propriety of the judgment or the reasoning on which it seems to be based.

Thousands of pounds' worth of landed property is registered in the names of companies in which Indians enjoy a dominating position. If the judgment stands, everyone of these companies will become dispossessed of the land they have occupied for years, land which they have acquired openly and under legal advice and which has been registered in the Land Registry Office. With the full knowledge of all the circumstances by the registrars, and only last year, when the new disabling Act was passed by the South African Legislature, we were told that the holding of land in this manner, prior to July 31 last, would not be affected by the legislation, and in justification of the measure, we were told by all the speakers in the Union Assembly that the legislation would protect existing companies and mortgages. The judgment in question comes, therefore, as an eye-opener. I venture to submit that, even if the judgment is sound, it evidently frustrates the intention of the Legislature and deprives Indians of rights they have enjoyed without question for years past. I hold that the impending sin[1] must be averted, even if it is to be done by special legislation, as was done in 1914 in connection with the legal recognition of Indian marriages.

The second point raised in the cablegram refers to a magisterial judgment, and it means that Indians as Indians may be declared as undesirable, not on ground of insanitation or immorality, but because they compete with the European traders to their detriment. If this doctrine were to hold good, not a single Indian can engage in any trade whatever in South Africa.[2]

[1] The original has "sum", evidently a misprint.

[2] A Gujarati version of the letter in *Navajivan*, 25-1-1920, has the following additional paragraph: "The third point raised in the cable is about the proposed increase in the powers of municipalities. Ordinarily, everyone would welcome such an increase but, looking to what has happened in the present case, in South Africa and the other Colonies, this increase will mean investing the

Sir Benjamin Robertson will presently sail for South Africa. His diplomatic talent and his trusteeship will be taxed to the utmost before he secures, not a full status for the Indians in South Africa, but even a tolerably respectable footing for them to secure, i.e., the right to trade and own landed property without restriction, save such as are common to all as well in theory as in practice. One can only hope that the Government of India will speak to the Union Government in no uncertain terms on this question, and that the public and the Press will strengthen their hands.

India, 27-2-1920

274. OFF THE RAILS

Letters, loving and not so loving, come pouring in to me; and, since I became editor, their number has increased. I cannot publish many of them; they are not worth publishing. Some, however, are such as may do good if published. I received one such recently and I give it here exactly as it is.[1]

The writer of this letter is a hard-working young man. He has patriotism, but, as one with a squint in the eye sees everything out of focus, so this friend, in the bitterness of his heart, sees everything wrong about me. Once he had nothing but love for me; however, what with his bitterness against the British and my attitude to them free from malice, even those actions of mine which he once thought good or about which he used to be neutral seem bad to him. Not only this; he has even found it possible to argue my incapacity from the very actions which I consider to be my best.

This is no exception. I had this experience in South Africa and have it here too. What is it which reduces man to such a state? The answer to this is given in the *Bhagavad Gita*, in the best possible language:

municipalities with power to persecute the dependent and disenfranchised classes. In the event, the latter will find the increased powers of municipalities not to their benefit but to their detriment. In the Transvaal and the Free State, Indians have no political or municipal franchise. They have a measure of franchise in Natal and the Cape, but not sufficient to enable them to influence the working of municipalities or to have their wishes respected."

[1] This is not reproduced here. The correspondent had argued that Gandhiji had failed miserably in every cause he had espoused in India and that he was no longer "fit to work in politics".

CWMG - XVI

> By constantly dwelling on objects, the mind develops attachment, from attachment grows desire, desire brings forth anger, anger clouds one's perception, this obscures memory, from that comes loss of reason and, reason lost, one is utterly destroyed.[1]

This is a vivid picture of the mental states as they succeed one another. All who dwell on objects of sense do not, however, ultimately end up thus, because all do not lose self-awareness completely.

With the writer of this letter, the object [on which his thought dwells] is his hatred of "bureaucracy". This has roused anger in him and, in the heat of his anger, he has lost his judgment of good and bad and even forgotten his former words.

I have published this letter to warn people so that they may, if possible, save themselves from this state of mind.

It is not necessary that we should be able to approve of all the actions of a "bureaucracy" or any other "cracy". I do not like many of its actions, but I do not hate it for that reason. In consequence, I can point out its errors with a precision which, I think, few others show. There must be very few who have fought it as doggedly as I have during these four years. But, not possessed by anger, I have not lost my judgment.

That is exactly the fault this angry friend has seen in me. Let us now examine his letter. All his accusations are half true, and I have described half-truth as falsehood multiplied one and a half times, for it confuses both. The person who states a half-truth is unaware of the incompleteness of his statement and the listener thinks that the half-truth is the whole truth and accepts it as such. It is true that only after the people of Kheda had already paid most of the revenue due from them that the payment was declared to be voluntary, but securing this was only one of the aims of the movement in Kheda. The other result, that the Government had to reverse its stand, was an important one. I think, and so do the thousands of men and women of Kheda, that the awakening among the people and the Government's admission of defeat in passing the order it did were significant results. Had the correspondent known that self-interest has no place in satyagraha, he would not have blamed me in this particular matter.

That I have started a movement against *varnashrama* is a delusion of the writer's; that untouchability is a part of *varnashrama*

[1] *Bhagavad Gita*, II, 62-63

CWMG - XVI

is a half-truth. I have declared again and again that I believe in *varnashrama*. However, I have steadfastly endeavoured to rid *varnashrama* of the taint of untouchability by pointing out that it is sin to refuse to touch *Bhangis* and others, and this is my purest service to Hinduism. That I have hurt the feelings of Hindus is also a half-truth. The attitude behind it is that the feelings of Hindus ought never to be hurt. If following truth hurts people's feelings, it is one's dharma to hurt them. How can I or anyone else escape this dharma?

It is a half-truth to say that I started recruiting work in opposition to the stand taken up by Lokamanya Tilak. He was not opposed to this activity of mine; his view was that such efforts would be more successful if equality of rights was conceded. There is, thus, much difference between the view really held by the Lokamanya and the view attributed to him by this friend. How I, a believer in non-violence, came forward to secure recruits is a question which occurred to many. I have given my reply to it. Without discussing it here, [I need only observe that] from a general point of view my action was much appreciated; to this friend, however, it seems unworthy. The half-truth about the Rowlatt Bills is evident enough. But how can I explain to an angry man that I should not be held responsible for people having been killed, for the misdeeds of those who set fire to buildings?

I do not think it right to comment on the half-truths about Reforms and related matters. I would advise those who are apt to get angry all too quickly to reflect over this letter and I wish that they save themselves from such delusions. Let the people, by all means, make their charges against me. Let it be that I have no service to my credit about Kheda district and in other matters. Opinions may differ on these points. We should not, however, be carried away by anger. We ought to see that, merely because some actions of a man have seemed bad to us, we do not set down as bad those very actions of his which we had once, on full consideration, held to be good.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 25-1-1920

275. LETTER TO THAKORE

LAHORE,
January 25, 1920

DEAR MR. THAKORE,

I cannot say anything about your work in England beyond saying that you[1] should be accurate in your information and moderate but firm in your demand; extravagance in either case weakens the cause. I am unable to send you any papers because I have nothing with me here. I take it that you will see Mr. Polak and be guided by him. I wish you all success.

Yours sincerely,

From the handwritten pencil draft: S.N. 7027(e)

276. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING

Sunday [*January 25*] *1920*[2]

MY DEAR CHILD,

Narahari tells me you are now boarding with Imam Saheb. I am glad you will certainly feel at home there more than anywhere else if only because you have someone who will talk to you constantly in English. And you can shower your discriminating love on Fatima with immediate results.

I shall feel deeply hurt if you lose your health and your peace of mind. 'Resist not evil' has a much deeper meaning than appears on the surface. The evil in Ba, for instance, must not be resisted, i.e., you or for that matter I must not fret over it or be impatient and say to ourselves, 'why will not this woman see the truth or return the love I give her'. She can no more go against her nature than a leopard can change his spots. If you or I love, we act according to our nature. If she does not respond, she acts according to hers. And if we worry, we 'resist evil'. Do you agree? I feel that that is the deeper meaning of the injunction. And so, in your dealings with everybody I want you to keep your equanimity. Secondly please do not deny yourself anything you may

[1] The original has "we".
[2] This date is given in *Mahadevbhaini Diary*, Vol. V.

CWMG - XVI

need for your bodily comfort. Ask me, if you will not ask anybody.

I want you to write to me daily whilst I feel uneasy about you.

With love and prayers,

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat of the handwritten original in N.A.I.; also, *My Dear Child*, pp. 49-50

277. LETTER TO N. D. SAVARKAR

LAHORE,
January 25, 1920

DEAR DR. SAVARKAR,

I have your letter.[1] It is difficult to advise you. I suggest, however, your framing a brief petition setting forth the facts of the case bringing out in clear relief the fact that the offence committed by your brother was purely political. I suggest this in order that it would be possible to concentrate public attention on the case. Meanwhile as I have said to you in an earlier letter[2] I am moving in the matter in my own way.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat of the handwritten draft : S.N. 7043

[1] Dr. Savarkar had written in his letter of January 18 : " . . . Yesterday I was informed by the Government of India that the Savarkar Brothers were not included in those that are to be released. The telegram runs as follows: 'Your telegram 8th inst. Savarkar Brothers have not been included in those receiving clemency under the amnesty.' It is now clear that the Indian Govt. have decided not to release them. Please let me hear from you as to how to proceed in such circumstances. They (my brothers) have already undergone a rigorous sentence for more than ten years in the Andamans and their health is utterly shattered. Their weight has come down from 118 to 95-100. Though they are given a hospital diet at present, their health does not show any sign of improvement. At least a change to some Indian jail of better climate is the most essential for them. I have received a letter from one of them very recently (a month back) in which all this is mentioned. I hope that you will let me know what you mean to do in this matter." The Savarkar Brothers had been sentenced to life. They were ultimately released in 1937.

[2] This is not available.

278. LETTER TO ASAF ALI

January 25, 1920

MY DEAR ASAF ALI,

I was sorry to hear of your illness. I hope you are now better if not quite restored.

I thank you for your frank letter.

I shall certainly take every step to see that there is no misunderstanding regarding the cow-slaughter resolution. I quite agree with you that no false hopes should be raised regarding the Mahomedan attitude on [the] point and that all propaganda on our (Hindus') part among Mahomedans should be avoided.

I am glad too that you have raised the moral issue and discussed it not on purely orthodox religious but on broad and humanitarian grounds. I would however say on the orthodox religious grounds that, when two great communities live side by side, the religious sense of the one demands a scrupulous regard for the practices of the other, so long as they are not immoral from a universal stand point. For instance I see nothing wrong in non-Muslims going to Mecca. But there is nothing immoral in your prohibiting non-Muslims from entering it. And as the sentiment of prohibition has grown during all these 1,300 years, I support it.

So may it be for the Mahomedan regarding the cow-slaughter.

Now for the broad humanitarian ground: we shall probably have to agree to differ; your view point seems to be so different from mine. I consider that God has not created lower forms of animal life for man to use them as he will. Man realises his highest station not by indulging but by abstinence. I have no right to destroy animal life if I can subsist healthily on vegetable life. I have no right to slaughter all animal life because I find it necessary to slaughter some animal life. Therefore if I can live well on goats, fish and fowl (surely enough in all conscience) it is sin for me to destroy cows for my sustenance. And it was some such argument that decided the *rishis* of old in regarding the cow as sacred, especially when they found that the cow was the greatest economic asset in national life. And I see nothing wrong, immoral or sinful in offering worship to an animal so serviceable as the cow so long as my worship does not put her on a level with her Creator. I immensely appreciate the idea (so emphasized by Islam) that

special worship must be reserved for the Creator of us all. But I must not mix up cow-worship and cow-slaughter. If you accept the proposition that man is more man as he abstains more, you will have no difficulty in allowing that cow-slaughter is indefensible on moral grounds.

I agree with you that so far as the economic ground is concerned, the slaughter for the Europeans is much the most important. In my opinion the cry against the Mahomedan slaughter on the Bakr Id is unbecoming so long as we Hindus remain dumb about the daily slaughter going on in the public abattoirs. We strain at a gnat and swallow a camel.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat of the draft in Gandhiji's hand : S.N. 7064

279. LETTER TO SOMEONE IN MADANPALLI

LAHORE,
January 25, 1920

DEAR MR. . . . . .[1]

I have drawn the distinction between passive resistance as understood and practised in the West and satyagraha before I had evolved the doctrine of the latter to its full logical and spiritual extent. I often used passive resistance and satyagraha as synonymous terms: but as the doctrine of satyagraha developed, the expression passive resistance ceases even to be synonymous, as passive resistance has admitted of violence as in the case of suffragettes and has been universally acknowledged to be a weapon of the weak. Moreover passive resistance does not necessarily involve complete adherence to truth under every circumstance. Therefore it is different from satyagraha in three essentials: Satyagraha is a weapon of the strong; it admits of no violence under any circumstance whatever; and it ever insists upon truth. I think I have now made the distinction perfectly clear.

Yours sincerely,

TO
MADANPALLI (P.O.)

From a photostat of the handwritten draft : S.N. 7071

[1] The addressee's name is illegible.

280. LETTER TO NARAHARI PARIKH

[After *January 25, 1920*][1]

BHAI NARAHARI,

I got your letter just now. I would have been pained if you had not written it. It does not matter if Miss Faering's meals have had to be arranged at Imam Saheb's. I have already written to her about Ba. The latter has obstructed many plans. Let us pray that she does not obstruct this about Miss Faering. It serves no purpose to complain about this weakness of hers. See that you look after Miss Faering as you do after Mahadev.

I have sent your letters to Chi. Maganlal. You should believe with me that I have acted wisely in doing so.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the original in Gujarati: S.N. 11883

281. LETTER TO J. B. PETIT

[LAHORE,
January 26, 1920][2]

DEAR MR. PETIT,

I had taken it for granted that you had paid Rs. 900 odd to Mrs. Kunverbai Sorabji, but a postcard just received from her shows that she has not received the money at all. Please send the amount to her as early as you can. The poor woman seems to be suffering. She is just at present with the Palonji's.[3]

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat of the draft in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 7072

[1] From the reference to Esther Faering having her meals with the Imam Saheb, it is clear that the letter was written after Gandhiji's letter of this date to her.

[2] The date is quoted in Petit's letter to Gandhiji, dated February 4, 1920.

[3] Petit wrote back to say that Rs. 925.5.0 had already been forwarded to Mrs. Sorabji Shapurji Adajania.

CWMG - XVI

282. AN AWARD

January 26, 1920

In virtue of reference made by the parties to me as sole arbitrator, I award that the defendants pay the plaintiffs Rs. 8,000/- (Eight thousand rupees) bearing simple interest at 7½ p.c. from the 17th day of June 1918. On failure to pay the said sum with interest, I further award that the property described in the mortgage deeds referred to in the plaint be sold for the recovery of the amount awarded. I further award that each party should pay his own costs to the date hereof but that the cost of collection if any should be paid by the defendants.

Given at Lahore the 26th January 1920.

From a photostat of the draft in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 7056

283. LETTER TO AZMATULLAH KHAN

[*January 26, 1920*]

DEAR CAPT. AZMATULLAH KHAN,

I enclose herewith my award[1] in your case. The duplicate I have sent to the Solicitors for the plaintiff.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat of the handwritten draft: S.N. 7056

284. LETTER TO MOTICHAND & DEVIDAS, SOLICITORS

January 26, 1920

TO
MOTICHAND & DEVIDAS
SOLICITORS
BOMBAY

GENTLEMEN,

I enclose herewith my award in connection with the matter between the Patan Pinjrapole and Capt. Azmatullah Khan and

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

CWMG-XVI

others referred to me. I have sent the duplicate copy to Capt. Azmatullah Khan. I don't know whether any stamp is required in connection with the award. You will please affix it yourself should any be necessary, and if it requires defacing by me, I shall do so on your returning the award duly stamped.

From a photostat of the handwritten draft: S.N. 7056

285. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING

LAHORE,
January 26, 1920

MY DEAR CHILD,

I have your brief note. I hope you have been receiving my letters regularly. I have hardly missed a day. I cannot send you a love-letter today as I have not many minutes for the post.

How is Deepak shaping? Please tell Deepak he has not written to Sarladevi for the last 4 days. He must be regular in writing.

Please see that he writes at least a p[ost]c[ard] every day.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat of the handwritten original in N.A.I.; also, *My Dear Child*, p. 49

286. PUNJAB LETTER

LAHORE,
Magh Sud 6 [*January 27, 1920*]

(9)

DELHI

I am back to my pilgrimage of the Punjab and have thus the opportunity of renewing my Punjab Letters for readers of *Navajivan*.

I shall first say something about my stay in Delhi and a few other places before I came back here.

I had hoped to go to Bombay and, having met friends, inspected the work of the Swadeshi Sabha and Satyagraha Sabha and met the men and women engaged in spinning, to proceed to Prayag and thence to Lahore.

But either God or the Khilafat Committee had planned otherwise. Haji-ul-Mulk Hakimji Ajmal Khan wired to me requesting

me to join the Khilafat deputation which was to wait on the Viceroy. Reports of this deputation have already appeared in the papers. I shall, therefore, write nothing about it. The inclusion of Hindus in the deputation has created an excellent impression. I could see how the Ali Brothers had been able to win the affection of their community. Their sweet speech, their constant readiness for work, their loving nature and sympathy for all, their religious zeal—who would not be charmed by such qualities! Their very presence fills our Muslim brethren with happiness. They are, as it were, the eyes of the Muslims and now, by their love, they are winning over the Hindus as well.

KANPUR

From Delhi I had in any case to go to Prayag. When I returned from there after meeting Pandit Motilal Nehru, I was pressed to go to Kanpur. The citizens of Kanpur urged me to go there for a few hours and open the Swadeshi Bhandar, saying I could leave by the next train. I could not refuse them.

Kanpur is between Prayag and Delhi and is four hours from Prayag by Mail. It is a centre of commerce and mills, like Bombay. The climate too is excellent. This was the first venture here by way of a swadeshi store, Hasrat Mohani's being the chief hand behind it. Thousands attended the opening ceremony and the people's enthusiasm was boundless.

A PAINFUL INCIDENT

The Ali Brothers had preceded me and a huge procession was organized for them. The horse drawing their carriage shied and started kicking. The crowd was thick. A young and sturdy Muslim named Abdul Hafeez was standing close by. Recently he had been devoting himself entirely to public service. He was hit in the chest and collapsed. In a second this youth, who had looked as if he could never die, passed away. The two brothers came down from the carriage on the instant, asked for a cot to be brought and laid the body on it. They both bore it on their shoulders and went with the procession for some distance. Others then took their places and they went away to their work. The procession which had started as a celebration now accompanied a bier. The day was darkened.

I arrived within about four hours of this occurrence and the news was given to me at the station. I made a request that the procession organized for me be cancelled and that I be taken direct to the Bhandar and, after the opening ceremony was gone

through, to see the body of Abdul Hafeez; the leaders agreed. Having opened the Bhandar some of us proceeded to pay our homage to the body of our brother who had passed away. The sight of the dead body of Abdul Hafeez was heart-rending. I was overwhelmed with grief as I looked upon that sturdy frame and that charming face, but I took heart from the fortitude of the Muslim brethren standing around. I observed no wailing and weeping near the body. The people were exchanging remarks, unmoved with fear, as though standing round someone in deep sleep, and described to me how he had been killed. The scene appealed to me greatly. I thought of the wailing and crying usual among the Hindus. I wished that we were delivered from that horror. I also told myself that we could do a great many things if we discarded this fear of death. I have often felt that the followers of Hinduism, who should least fear death, fear it most. The very thought of this makes me feel ashamed. We learn right from our childhood that the soul is immortal and the body transitory, and that every act will have its consequence. Why then do we fear death? The only son of Abdul Hafeez was standing by my side. He too spoke as if untouched by fear. May God give peace to the soul of Abdul Hafeez.

Visit to Meerut

I left Kanpur by the evening train and reached Meerut the following morning, i.e., on the 22nd. Meerut is on the G.I.P. line on the way to Lahore. I had promised to stop there for a few hours. The citizens had made elaborate preparations. There was almost a competition between the Hindus and the Muslims in showering affection on me. The Ali Brothers had been there only recently and had stayed in the house of a Hindu. I was to stay at the house of a well-known Muslim barrister of Meerut, Bhai Ismail Khan. Seven hundred and fifty volunteers were active in the reception, many of them being from aristocratic families. A mounted cadet corps also stood at attention. Flag-poles had been erected along a three-mile route and ropes tied connecting them. The procession moved along inside the rope-fence and the crowds stood outside. It included a band, camel-drawn carriages, men on horseback, people in fancy dress, etc. The procession, I imagine must have been a mile long. Thousands had come in from neighbouring villages. Yet the arrangements were excellent. Addresses were presented to me by the Municipality, the Khilafat Committee, the general public, Hindu and Muslim women. There was a separate meeting for women. They were overflowing with joyous

enthusiasm. About a thousand women were present. I was almost terrified. How could I support so much affection ? I offered it up then and there to Lord Krishna.

My sincere efforts in the cause of the Khilafat have commended themselves to our Muslim brethren. As long as they base their case on justice and fight non-violently, I shall be ready to lay down my life for them. If they put forward unreasonable demands, I will offer satyagraha even against them. This statement of mine has appealed to them and they have taken strength from it. All, Hindus and Muslims, have welcomed the emphasis on truth, whether they themselves abide by it or not. They are therefore showering affection on me. If the time comes for me to offer satyagraha against them, they may be angry with me, too. Those who love us have also the right to be angry with us.

MUZAFFARNAGAR

From Meerut, I was taken the same night to Muzaffarnagar. There had been some minor differences between Hindus and Muslims in this place and I had been dragged there to settle them. The car reached there at 9 p.m. The crowds were all enthusiasm. No one was in a mood to take instructions from anyone else. Men on horseback were present but there was no order as in Meerut. The people surrounded the car. I was taken through it with great difficulty and put into a carriage. I had no longer the strength to bear their joyous tumult. Literally, I had stuffed my ears with cotton wool. Somebody's foot was hurt. I was reminded of Abdul Hafeez and took the injured man into the carriage. I begged the people to move away. But who would listen and to whom ? I then brought out my usual weapon. I announced that, if the carriage started before the crowds had moved aside, I would jump out to the ground, for I could not tolerate anyone being injured. This miraculous weapon had an electric effect. The people became quiet and, a little frightened, moved away, whereupon I asked [the driver] to be quick and start the carriage. The control was with me now. All this took a lot of time. The roads were illuminated as on the festival of lights and a good deal of time was spent in passing through them. The meeting was yet to take place. The time for the departure of my train was fast approaching and it was imperative that I reach Lahore the following day. But the people had realized that they should no longer make noise nor press round me. We reached the *pandal* at 11 p.m. There, at the meeting, everything was in wonderful order, without anyone's efforts. Those present must have been 4,000 or more. My voice

was slightly hoarse but the audience maintained such silence that I could be heard even by those sitting farthest from me. I said a few words on how, if we were to work among lakhs of people, it was necessary to maintain order. I then referred to the local dispute and, having advised them to show a spirit of accommodation and resolve their differences, I took leave from them. Having thus rushed through these two towns, I reached Lahore on the morning of the 23rd.

A Miracle

Where earlier I had seen a woman, separated from her husband and living all alone, the image of a lioness, I saw today a happy couple. Pandit Rambhuj Dutt Choudhri was long since out of jail. I saw a new glow on Smt. Sarladevi's face. The face which had been lined with care was today bright with joy. Or perhaps I am doing her an injustice. Even during separation Sarladevi had not lost the light on her face. However, I could see a difference between that light and this; let us say, rather, that I imagined such a difference. It is certain that the sadness I used to feel when I stayed before at Sarladevi's house has entirely disappeared now, thanks to the return of Choudhriji.

Khilafat Discussed

Immediately on arrival I was to engage myself in consultations. It had been decided to have a meeting with the Ali Brothers and other prominent Muslim friends in Lahore on the 23rd. They had also, therefore, arrived by some other trains and the entire day was occupied in preparing a draft of their demands. Sarladevi's house has become a veritable dharmsala. This lady proffered her hospitality to these distinguished Muslim friends as if she were their sister. The day passed in preparing the draft and in accepting the hospitality. Night fell and the time came for the Ali Brothers to depart. "When you offer satyagraha, invite me to join you; at other times, I am not with you." Listening to these words and accepting this as the agreement between us, the Brothers and Hasrat Mohani Saheb made their departure. The three have but one thought day and night—how to secure justice on the Khilafat issue. The Brothers do not put unqualified faith in satyagraha. Hasrat Mohani Saheb, however, whispered to me in passing, "I cannot say whether satyagraha can always be a practicable proposition but, for this purpose and in these times, I too believe that there is no other weapon like it. I shall therefore certainly propagate it."

The Ali Brothers embraced Hasrat Mohani, introducing him as "our mad Mullah"[1]. This man does not want honour nor does he mind insults. He remains engrossed in his work, indifferent to heat and cold and making no difference between day and night. These are three jewels of the Muslim community and I feel that Hasrat Mohani is the brightest of the three. There are not many even among Hindus who could rival him in his single-minded devotion—it is doubtful if there is any. And just as they are true Muslims, they are true Indians. The fate of the Khilafat case and the future peace of India depend largely on the wisdom of these three. I can see that none of them will be afraid to follow the path they think is right.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 1-2-1920

287. THE KHILAFAT

The question of questions today is the Khilafat question, otherwise known as that of the Turkish peace terms. His Excellency the Viceroy deserves our thanks for receiving the joint deputation even at this late hour,[2] especially when he was busy preparing to receive the heads of the different provinces. His Excellency must be thanked for the unfailing courtesy with which he received the deputation and the courteous language in which his reply was couched. But mere courtesy, valuable as it is at all times, never so valuable as at this, is not enough at this critical moment. "Sweet words butter no parsnips" is a proverb more applicable today than ever before. Behind the courtesy there was the determination to punish Turkey. Punishment of Turkey is a thing which Muslim sentiment cannot tolerate for a moment. Muslim soldiers are as responsible for the result of the War as any others. It was to appease them that Mr. Asquith said, when Turkey decided to join the Central Powers, that the British Government had no designs on Turkey and that His Majesty's Government would never think of punishing the Sultan for the misdeeds of the Turkish Committee. Examined by that standard the Viceregal reply is not only disappointing but it is a fall from truth and justice.

What is this British Empire? It is as much Mohammedan and Hindu as it is Christian. Its religious neutrality is not a virtue, or if

[1] Gandhiji uses the English words.
[2] The deputation waited on the Viceroy on January 19.

CWMG - XVI

it is, it is a virtue of necessity. Such a mighty Empire could not be held together on any other terms. British ministers are therefore bound to protect Mohammedan interests as any other. Indeed, as the Muslim rejoinder says, they are bound to make the cause their own. What is the use of His Excellency having presented the Muslim claim before the Conference? If the cause is lost, the Mohammedans will be entitled to think that Britain did not do her duty by them. And the Viceregal reply confirms the view. When His Excellency says that Turkey must suffer for her having joined the Central Powers, he but expresses the opinion of the British ministers. We hope, therefore, with the framers of the Muslim rejoinder that His Majesty's ministers will mend the mistakes if any have been committed and secure a settlement that would satisfy Mohammedan sentiment.

What does the sentiment demand? The preservation of the Khilafat with such guarantees as may be necessary for the protection of the interests of the non-Muslim races living under Turkish rule and the Khalif's control over Arabia and the Holy Places with such arrangement as may be required for guaranteeing Arab self-rule, should the Arabs desire it. It is hardly possible to state the claim more fairly than has been done. It is a claim backed by justice, by the declarations of British ministers and by the unanimous Hindu and Muslim opinion. It would be midsummer madness to reject or whittle down a claim so backed.

Young India, 28-1-1920

288. LETTER TO FATIMA SULTANA[1]

[After *January 28, 1920*]

DEAR MADAM,

I have your papers forwarded to me from Ahmedabad. I have read them and I feel that I am unable to help you in the matter.

I enclose the papers herewith registered post.

Yours sincerely,

From the pencilled original in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 7077

[1] This was in reply to the addressee's letter dated January 28, 1920 in which she had requested Gandhiji to secure for her some land or a monthly subsistence from the Government with which she could pass the remaining days of her life peacefully.

CWMG - XVI

289. LETTER TO V. T. AGASHE

LAHORE,
January 29, 1920

V. T. AGASHE, ESQ.
POONA CITY

DEAR SIR,

I have gone through your memorial.

(1) Have the European pensioners been granted an increase?
(2) Have all the pensioners in the United Kingdom [been] granted an increase?
(3) Are not the pensioners here capable of and, in the majority of cases, adding to their pensions by some employment?

The case for the pensioners does not appear on sight to be one of unavoidable relief from the public purse.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat of the office copy in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 7080

290. LETTER TO SIR GEORGE BARNES

LAHORE,
January 29, 1920

DEAR SIR GEORGE BARNES,

I thank you for your letter of the 21st instant[1] regarding the situation in East Africa and for the sympathetic assurances contained therein. May I, however, draw your attention to one sentence in your letter? With reference to the proposed "Undesirables Ordinance", you say, "It is not possible to question the right of any government to remove 'undesirables' from the country over which it exercises jurisdiction." Whilst the above statement is perfect as a theoretical proposition, in the East African case, seeing that the legislation is aimed at Indians and that the term "undesirable" has an artificial meaning I venture to think that it is not only

[1] This was evidently in reply to Gandhiji's letter of January 13, 1920.

CWMG - XVII

open to the Government of India, but it is their duty to protest against the proposed measure and its use.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Young India, 4-2-1920

291. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING

January 29, 1920

MY DEAR CHILD,

I passed two days by without writing—but not without thinking or talking of you. Your health is not what it should be. You may not be able to digest *chapati*. You should then take the usual loaf. Anasuyabehn will bring it for you. Tell Imam Sahib about it. And you may take milk in the morning with some fruit and bread and *dahi*[1] in rice for breakfast, with some vegetables simply boiled. Perhaps the dal[2] may not suit you. Thus a little bread, a little rice, a little vegetable and *dahi* may be your breakfast. In the evening too it may be this. And a little fresh fruit, an orange, say, at noon; whether this is proper or something else you will finally decide. Only you must put your body right even as an artisan's first duty is to keep his tools in order. God has given us this body as a tool to be used efficiently for His service—neither for pampering nor for keeping in cotton wool but not even for abusing or spoiling it by neglect. This is a wretched sermon but much needed.

With love,

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat of the handwritten original in N.A.I.; also *My Dear Child*, pp. 51-2

[1] Curds
[2] The original has "dholl".

CWMG - XVI

292. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING

Friday [*January 30, 1920*]

MY DEAR CHILD,

No letter from you today. I am surrounded by too many people who want me, to be able to write to you a love-letter. I therefore send you my prayers and all love.

Yours,
BAPU

[PS.]

Do give me a cheering and cheerful letter if you can.

M. K. G.

From a photostat of the handwritten original in N.A.I.; also *My Dear Child*, p. 54

293. LETTER TO K. K. CHANDA

LAHORE,
January 30, 1920

DEAR MR. CHANDA,

I thank you for your letter.[1]

I have not received the text of the new resolution referred to in your letter.

Even if the Viceroy had not ruled out your O'Dwyer resolution, I would have considered it to be premature.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat of the office copy in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 7079

[1] K. K. Chanda, a member of the Imperial Legislative Council, had written on January 28 that he was forwarding a draft of the amendment he was proposing to make in his own resolution on Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Lt.-Governor of the Punjab, during the martial law regime in April 1919. Chanda had requested for Gandhiji's suggestions in regard to the draft amendment. Moderate Party members were urging its withdrawal and the Viceroy disallowed it.

CWMG - XVI

294. TELEGRAM TO SHAUKAT ALI[1]

LAHORE,
[Before *January 31, 1920*]

DEPUTATION HAS SACRED MISSION. IT HAS TO APPEAL NOT MERELY TO IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT AND BRITISH OPINION BUT HAS TO WIN WORLD OPINION. ITS STRENGTH LIES IN ITS ABILITY TO APPEAL TO REASON AND JUSTICE. IT MUST THEREFORE BE MODERATE IN PRESENTATION AND FIRM IN DEMAND. ODDS FROM A WORLDLY STAND-POINT SEEM HEAVILY AGAINST US BUT IN PROPHET'S WORDS MINORITY OF TWO WHEN IT HAS GOD ON ITS SIDE CAN FACE OVERWHELMING NUMBERS WITH CONFIDENCE AND HOPE. IN MY OPINION HINDU INDIA SOLIDLY ON YOUR SIDE FOR YOUR CAUSE IS NOT MERELY SPIRITUALLY TRUE BUT IT IS MORALLY JUST AND PRESENTLY ENGLAND WILL BE ON OUR SIDE WHEN THROUGH DEPUTATION ENGLISHMEN LEARN THAT BRITISH HONOUR IS AT STAKE IN THIS QUESTION FOR WE ARE ASKING NOTHING MORE THAN WHAT BRITISH MINISTERS HAVE PLEDGED THEMSELVES TO GIVE. MAY GOD GUIDE DEPUTATION.

Young India, 11-2-1920

295. LETTER TO NARAHARI PARIKH

[On or before *January 31, 1920*][2]

BHAISHRI NARAHARI,

I have your letter. Mahadev, it seems, has had to suffer much. He deserves to reach the end of the suffering now. Often, a person improves in health after an attack of typhoid if good care is taken later. It is also true that some remain weak for ever, Sundaram, for instance. He over-indulged his palate subsequently and ruined his health. You did well in writing to me. Your resolution not to let the Ashram inmates know is also correct. We have no right to criticize anyone if we cannot tolerate criticism by the other party. Hence it should be your vow to hold

[1] This was read out at a public meeting held in Bombay on January 31, 1920.

[2] Gandhiji wrote to Anandshankar Dhruva, as he says, in this letter, on this date.

CWMG XVI

your tongue despite the charge levelled by Maganlal. It is necessary, however, to get out of this state of mind. We must draw a person's attention even to those of his weaknesses which he will not admit, unafraid that we might incur his displeasure by doing so. If we see a serpent moving up to a bed, we must wake up the sleeper though we know that he will kick at us. We do not always get an opportunity for doing this through a neutral intermediary. It is only on such seemingly trivial occasions that we can test ourselves. Till such time as you can act in this way, you may convey through me what you wish to.

I am writing to Anandshankarbhai about religious education and shall see if he agrees.

I have been a little concerned on hearing that Miss Faering has gone to Lilavatibehn's. Miss Faering is a very simple-minded girl. She puts trust in everyone all too readily. Lilavatibehn will befriend her for unworthy purposes. So let me know in more detail what happened and why she went. If anyone makes unworthy approaches to her, it would be a matter of shame for us. Do not talk about this. I have dropped a hint to Maganlal and do so to you.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11888

296. LETTER TO MRS. BROWN

LAHORE,
January 31, 1920

DEAR MRS. BROWN,

I thank you for your kind letter. I have just arrived in Lahore. I am now having the poster translated and shall make the necessary inquiry. I presume from your letter that you have acquired the site but you do not want to hurt people's feelings unnecessarily and that you want to prevent a misunderstanding and avoid if at all possible the persecution of those who are said to have distorted facts.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat of the office copy in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 7083

CWMG - XVI

297. LETTER TO ANANDSHANKAR DHRUVA

January 31, 1920

DEAR FRIEND,

Herewith a letter I have received on the subject of books for religious education. Can you do something in the matter? Do you think you can bring out a *Mahabharata* and a *Ramayana* on the model of the *Bible Story* and similar books? I will henceforth use the money only for . . . .[1] It will be possible to obtain [the amount] by begging. I shall not bother you with the problem. Do you have the time? Would you like to write anything? I don't want books written by a mere scholar. Apart from you, I can't think of anyone who combines learning with character. That is why I am seeking your help. This is not the first time that such a request has been made to me. I want something which a child may read and which may help it to understand Hinduism.

I get reports from time to time that you maintain excellent health.

I received the photograph of the English spinning-wheel. More than the photograph itself, it was the love which made you think of sending it, which made me happy.

Do send me something for *Navajivan* when you get some time. A description of Kashi? Some account of the University? Panditji[2] has again and again expressed to me his happiness at your joining there. I felt quite proud.

PROF. ANANDSHANKAR DHRUVA
KASHI

From a photostat of the Gujarati original: S.N. 7084

[1] Something is missing here in the source.
[2] Madan Mohan Malaviya

ADDENDA

1. LETTER TO SIR S. R. HIGNELL

[*August 7, 1919*][1]

DEAR MR. HIGNELL,

In continuation of my letter[2] of 27th July on the Turkish question I enclose herewith copy of an astounding article appearing in the *New Age* of 10th July from the pen of Mr. Marmaduke Pickthall. The information given in it seems to be authentic. If it is really so, it is sad. I feel that it ought not to be withheld from the public. I venture to press with all the emphasis that I can command upon the attention of H.E. the Viceroy the urgent necessity of making a soothing public declaration, if such is at all possible. In my humble opinion, the peace will be a mockery if weak nations are to be treated in the manner in which Turkey, it seems, is to be treated. But apart from the justice of the case, are the Government of India prepared to stand the sullen discontent of millions of the citizens of the Empire? I cannot believe that it is beyond H.E.'s power to secure a proper solution of the Khilafat question.

[1] This and the following letter appear to have been written on the same day.

[2] In the course of this letter, which was located too late for inclusion in Volume XV, Gandhiji had observed: " . . . Why is there this hypersensitiveness regarding news about Turkey? Why should the terms of Peace with Turkey, if they are honourable, cause the slightest excitement in India? I was further disturbed as I came upon the letter addressed to the Prime Minister by influential Mohammedans at present residing in London. Among the signatories I notice H. H. the Aga Khan, Chief of Bombay [*sic*], Ex-Justice Ameer Ali, Sir Abbas Ali Baig and others. I have no doubt H. E. has seen that very weighty communication on the subject of the threatened dismemberment of Turkey and on the grave situation of anxiety and uneasiness that this report has created among the Mohammedans, which the signatories go on to say 'will become aggravated if the design attributed to the Peace Conference is carried into effect'.

"I have said I was disturbed, because I am daily receiving communications or seeing Mohammedan friends who tell me that they are going to be sold. I have reassured them that H. E. is straining every nerve to place the correct view before His Majesty's ministers and that there is no occasion for them to distrust the latter. They have received my assurances with incredulity. I feel

I may add that I have applied to the Government of Bombay, in terms of the notice referred to in my previous communication, for permission to publish Mr. Pickthall's article.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat of a handwritten draft: S. N. 6790

2. *LETTER TO J. CRERAR*

[*August 7, 1919*][1]

DEAR MR. CRERAR,

I have just come across an astounding article in the *New Age* of 10th July from the pen of Mr. Marmaduke Pickthall. *Young India* in common with other papers has received a confidential notice No. 4515 dated 23rd July last from the Political Department, expressing the desire of the Govt. of India that the terms of Peace with Turkey or any item of news on the subject which is likely to cause excitement in India should not be published in newspapers in India without the previous approval of the Govt. of India for such publication. I have already submitted my views to H.E. the Viceroy on the question and the necessity of some satisfying public declaration in the matter. As you are aware, I am supervising in detail the policy of *Young India* and controlling everything appearing in it. It seems to me that I ought not to keep back from the public Mr. Pickthall's analysis of the question. It is hard to me to believe that the information contained in it is true. But evidently Mr. Pickthall writes with authority and his quotations are given in inverted commas. Please let me know as early as you can what the wishes of the Government are

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that I ought to place the very serious position before H.E. Is it not possible to make some definite reassuring pronouncement? If the worst fears of the Mohammedans are realised, there can only be an armed peace in India, not a real peace. I am sure that no Reforms, however generously granted, will ever reconcile the Mohammedans to any dismemberment of Turkey or an encroachment upon their holy places. I know that all these matters cannot be out of H.E.'s mind, but considering myself as I do to be a well-wisher of the Empire, I shall be failing in my duty if I did not bring to H.E.'s notice serious matters that come within my knowledge. May I hope that, if it is at all possible, a statement will be made regarding Turkish matters." (S. N. 6777)

[1] The date is derived from the addressee's acknowledgement dated September 5, 1919.

in the matter of publication. For ready reference I enclose herewith the original article.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. G.

From a photostat of a handwritten draft: S. N. 6789

3. *LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI*

Thursday [*September 11, 1919*][1]

BHAISHRI MAHADEV,

I have your letter and your comments. Your arguments about Indemnity[2] were considered and answered while we were in the train. It does not matter if the paragraph, nevertheless, has been omitted. We can write about it again if we think it necessary.

Polak's letter is ominous. If the Princes are not to be examined, what use will a Commission be? This important issue has been deliberately ignored.

I was also not happy with "gouri" after "Durga". Anyway that is what I wrote and noticed the thing only when I saw the issue. I wrote "gouri" after "Mani" but crossed it out. Durga Mahadev didn't sound well. But we cannot, I think, be concerned with how things look or sound. Some of the other mistakes to which you have drawn attention could have been avoided. I showed all of them to Indulal.

I am a little better than I was yesterday.

I hope you are all right.

I shall arrive there on Saturday.

Vandemataram from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati original: S.N. 11405

[1] The articles by Durgagouri and Mani, references to which occur in this item, were published in the first issue of *Navajivan*, 7-9-1919. The letter appears to have been written on the following Thursday, i.e., September 11.

[2] *Vide* "Viceroy's Speech", 14-9-1919 and "The Indemnity Bill", 20-9-1919.

4. *LETTER TO HIRST*

October 1919[1]

DEAR MR. HIRST,

I thank you for your letter. I quite agree with you that there should be no unrestrained or violent language at the meetings today. And you may entirely depend upon my using my best endeavour to prevent the use of such language.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat of the handwritten draft: S.N. 19828

[1] It is not clear which the meetings referred to in the letter are, the date cannot therefore be fixed.

CWMG - XVI

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

LETTER FROM G. S. ARUNDALE

2ND LINE BEACH,
MADRAS,
July 26, 1919

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

Now that you have temporarily suspended Civil Disobedience, may I venture to urge with all the earnestness at my command that you should devote some of your attention and power towards strengthening the efforts being made by so many of our most eminent leaders in London to secure for India a substantial measure of political freedom?

I am well aware of the fact that the removal of the Rowlatt Act from the Statute Book is your first duty. I entirely agree that continuous agitation against it is of vital importance. I would add that of equally vital importance is agitation against the Press Act. But now that you have for the moment given up the Civil Disobedience method of constitutional agitation, do you not think that we might all join in one great common movement having as its objective :

(1) The improvement of the Indian Reform Bill.

(2) The abolition of the Rowlatt Act and the Press Act.

(3) The insistence on the safeguarding of the rights of the Indian citizen as set forth in the Declaration of Rights originally propounded at a Madras Provincial Conference, and adopted at the Bombay Special Sessions of the Indian National Congress and of the All-India Muslim League in August-September, 1918.

I do not suggest that the order in which I have placed the various aspects of this objective need necessarily be kept; but I would most earnestly urge that unity is India's need of needs, and that we are all bound to establish and maintain that unity by every means within our power.

At present, there are two roads of service—the road of satyagrahis and the road of those who are concentrating their efforts on the Indian Reform Bill. Can we not join together for the time being, or at least for some common work?

I know well that some of your followers have no faith in any good coming out of the Indian Reform Bill. But is there not just a chance that it may be a useful stepping stone, and ought we not to support the many leaders in London who, representing India's National Assemblies and the movements, are striving hard to make the Bill worthy of the land it is intended to serve ?

I am so eager in India's service, and so passionately anxious that even the smallest chance should not be overlooked, that I do not hesitate to place these considerations before you. How glorious a testimony of India's greatness were we able to make at this critical moment a united India working hard towards a common goal? I know it could be done with your help and guidance and inspiration. In a conversation the other day with Sir Sankaran Nair he told me of those essential improvements which would make the Indian Reform Bill really worth having, and which he thought could be gained. Mrs. Besant, after a long interview with Mr. Montagu, wrote to me that the outlook was distinctly hopeful. Could we in India not give our strength in this direction also? Could we not join hands and work together? Could there not, at least for a few months, be one great movement, with yourself as one of its principal leaders?

As one of the rank and file, let me say that we look with sadness upon the fact that there is so little union among our leaders. We desire united action with all our hearts. Ought it not to be given to us for India's sake, and could it not come on the basis of a combined agitation in favour of the abolition of the two obnoxious Acts, of the modification of the Reform Bill, and of the Declaration of Rights? A noble and inspiring programme this, to which, I believe, there is not a single patriotic Indian who would not adhere. Your temporary suspension of Civil Disobedience should make it possible for us all to work together without the slightest reservation; and I beg you to consider whether we could not, at least for the time being, go forward together.

With all respect,

Your sincere admirer,
GEORGE ARUNDALE

P.S. You may, of course, make any use of this letter you think proper, giving it publicity if you desire.

Young India, 6-8-1919

APPENDIX II

LETTER FROM M. ABDUL AZIZ

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

During the last two months, several public men from different provinces of India, enjoying undoubted influence and esteem, have addressed you, both openly as well as by means of private letters, requesting you in the name of the country you love so much, and the people whom you consider to be the highest privilege of your life to serve, to abandon and finally relinquish the passive resistance idea. I had thought that these sincere and respectful protestations would weigh with you and ultimately compel you to give up once and for all the idea of

resistance to laws through personal suffering that you introduced for the first time in the political history of this country, since it came under the sway of Britain, as a weapon wherewith to combat the Rowlatt legislation. It appears, however, that though you have temporarily relinquished the passive resistance idea as a general programme, you are, yet, bent upon setting an example by practising it yourself, forgetting altogether, that example is the mightiest and greatest factor to induce a general adoption of the principle for which, you yourself admit, the people are little fit. I am afraid that the "Himalayan Miscalculation" you so frankly acknowledged is still upon you, and that its effects have not completely left you. To me it is really inexplicable that you with your shrewd and penetrating judgement should still persevere in a course which has been productive of the greatest private and public suffering within living memory in this country. You say that you don't want others to practise passive resistance, because they are not for it, but that you, as the only person fittest and best trained in the school, will practise it. What difference will this make with the man in the street? If anything, his frenzy will rise higher and the pitch of his excitement will grow stronger when he notices that his "rishi", his "guru", the object of his adoration and the centre of his affections, throws himself into the fire, while he stands out. Will he not leap into the burning "ghat", and will not the solitary fire, fed by the fuel of a frail body, blaze up in a general conflagration? I ask you, as a sincere patriot and a devoted worker to the cause of your motherland, to reflect on this, and after remembering all that has happened subsequent to the ill-fated 6th of April, to question yourself whether you will be a party again to that general upheaval, shaking society to its very foundations, which must inevitably follow the course you intend to adopt?

I will ask you also to consider another aspect of the matter. I belong to Peshawar, the capital of N.W. Frontier Province. I have seen with my own eyes the excitement that prevailed in the bazaars and by-lanes of that hitherto most peaceful and unagitating town. Would you believe me when I tell you that the people who organised this orgy of sheer lawlessness had not the remotest comprehension of the spiritual philosophy that you offer in the formula of passive resistance? Nor had they any the least idea or fear of the Rowlatt Act which was convulsing the rest of the country. My statement that the people of the Frontier Province had no idea or fear of the Rowlatt Act might cause bewildering surprise both to you and some of the readers of this letter, but I will justify my statement by a brief mention of the conditions of life prevailing in the Frontier Province. We of the Frontier are subject to the Frontier Crimes Regulations, the provisions of which are inconceivably more drastic and draconian than the provisions of the Rowlatt Act in question. Obviously people who live subject to such laws, though quite peacefully I admit, can have no unctuous fears or constitutional scruples of a grave character in respect to a legislation comparatively much milder and incapable of application to them. Why, then, should they have thrown themselves into convulsions of frenzy

over the Rowlatt legislation? To state the naked truth, there were not wanting people, selfish and extremely unpatriotic, who to work out their own ends, took advantage of the uneasiness of the times and brought about a spurious agitation to throw dust into the eyes of others at a distance, unacquainted with the subtle and subterranean forces which had rendered this agitation possible in the Frontier Province. You will be surprised to hear from me that in the Frontier Province not a single meeting was ever held before the 6th of April to agitate on political matters. In fact, when the province itself was separated from the Punjab about 20 years ago, the people did not then raise and have not since raised their little finger by way of protest, while at the same time Bengal was writhing with indignation over its dismemberment. Even in the matter of the Rowlatt legislation no protest was ever uttered before the 6th of April in this calm and peaceful province. And yet all of a sudden it seemed on the 6th of April that Peshawar was in the throes of a most violent agitation against a legislation which could not possibly touch its people. This state of lawlessness grew day by day [and] that lasted for one month without any hindrance. I will be treading on dangerous ground if I attempt to unmask the secret selfish forces that were working to this end, apparently with countenance, but I would ask you to draw a moral from this tale and recognize that passive resistance as you preach it, is incapable of being understood and appreciated by the people in any other sense than that of open unabashed violation of laws, the very laws that ensure us internal peace and safety and have rendered possible the dawn in India of that hopeful future, bright with the promise of freedom and leading to the partnership of this ancient country on terms of absolute equality with the autonomous nations that make up the Confederation of the League of Nations within the British Empire.

In conclusion I trust that you will fully ponder my respectful submission and will at an early date announce the complete and final abandonment of the passive resistance movement.

Yours truly,
M. ABDUL AZIZ
Barrister-at-Law of Peshawar

The Pioneer, 27-7-1919

CWMG XVI

APPENDIX III

LETTER FROM LALA LAJPATRAI

TELEPHONE—GREELEY 6175,
1,400 BROADWAY,
NEW YORK,
June 20, 1919

DEAR MAHATMAJI,

Circumstances beyond my control have prevented my taking part in the great movement that you are leading for the uplift of our common motherland. I am, however, desirous of conveying to you my hearty admiration for your noble stand, and my unqualified appreciation of your high-souled patriotism.

During my absence from India, I have learnt and unlearnt a great deal. This is no place to make a full confession of faith. But I want to say that, although I do not fully agree with your line of thought, I am in substantial agreement with your conclusions as to what we should do. Never before have I been more convinced of the futility of attempts to bring about a forcible revolution in India. Terrorism, too, in my judgment, is not only futile but sinful. Secret propaganda and secret societies may have some justification in the Government's desire to prohibit and penalize all kinds of open work, but in the long run this ends in the demoralization of those who take part in them. I believe that no nation deserves or will win freedom which is not prepared to suffer for it. When I say that, I mean the suffering in pursuit of freedom, and not for lack of it. In India we have plenty of the latter and not sufficient of the former. We have so far done precious little to deserve freedom and we have done still less to educate our people as to what constitutes real freedom. The sacrifices and sufferings we have so far undergone in our fight for freedom are too trivial to be crowned with success.

I am therefore in full sympathy with the general spirit of your propaganda. I may be unable to sign the full pledge of a satyagrahi but if and when I return to India I shall sign the "pure Swadeshi Vow".

You will be pleased to learn that most of the young Indians in this country have a deep sentiment of reverence for you. One of them, at one time a faithful follower of Hardayal, writes :

"What we need now are the leaders of the type of Mahatma Gandhi. We do not want armed resistance. We do not want passive resistance. What we want is something super, and that is what Mahatma is advocating. I have concluded that the methods which Hardayal advocated are not wise and sane for any part of the world. We want to get away from murder, assassination, conflagration, and terrorism. The foundation in the past was laid upon blood-

shed, and we have had enough of it, but now the foundation must be laid on justice and freedom to individuals, so that the same be palpable in the future. Hardayal has, by giving these ideas, degraded himself and I am afraid it may affect some of the young men who always followed him blindly. It is our misfortune that our leaders instead of going up are going down. The crying need of India is leaders of the type of Gandhi, staunch in their principles, which can be applied to almost every part of the world."

How I wish I had been in India to share in full the misfortunes of my countrymen. My heart bleeds for them, but more for myself in having been deprived of the opportunity to serve and suffer.

Very sincerely,

Young India, 13-8-1919

APPENDIX IV

NOTE ON THE KAIRA CASE

The Kaira agitation arose out of the land revenue demand for the year 1917-18. Prior to this the revenue condition of the district was excellent, revenue suspensions from previous years being nil in the three talukas to which the crop failure of 1917-18 was practically confined. In 1917 heavy late rains considerably damaged some of the *kharif* crops, especially, *bajri*, in parts of the district; while on the other hand, the rice and other later crops were unusually good. The Bombay rules relating to suspensions and remissions of land revenue, which were approved by the Government of India in 1907, proceed on the principles that in the case of general calamities homogeneous areas should be dealt with as a whole, inquiry into individual circumstances being avoided in the interests of expeditious disposal, that in the first instance relief should invariably be given in the form of suspension and not of remission, and that suspensions should be granted on the following scale, viz., in full if the crop is one-third of a normal[1] crop or less, to the extent of one-half the demand if the crop is more than one-third, but less than one-half of a normal crop; and not at all in other cases. In accordance with these rules the Collector (himself an Indian) after local investigation granted varying degrees of suspension in 104 villages in three talukas, the amounts suspended being about 20 per cent of their total revenue demand and 7.4 per cent of the demand for the whole district. Shortly before he passed his formal orders, a deputation headed by two Bombay lawyers waited on him on December 15, 1917, and alleging an almost entire failure of all crops, demanded immediate remission in the majority of cases, and suspension in full in others. The Collector pointed out that the former

[1] Under the system of notation followed in the Bombay Presidency a normal crop is described as "12 annas".

request was against the rules, but promised to consider the case for suspensions, as the result of which he passed the above orders. The matter was thereupon taken up by the Gujarat Sabha whose headquarters are at Ahmedabad, outside the Kaira district altogether. Its method of operations was to ignore the local officers, and to address petitions and telegrams direct to the local Government claiming an independent inquiry. About the beginning of January it issued a circular to the villagers of Kaira stating that, as no reply had been received from the Bombay Government, those whose crops had failed entirely or who had not got more than one-third of a normal crop should withhold payment of land revenue. On this the local Government issued its first Press Note of January 16, 1918, detailing the facts and warning the revenue assessees against any attempt to refuse payment in the face of formal orders to pay.

2. Mr. Gandhi began to interest himself in the matter during the month of February, after the *kharif* harvest in question had been reaped and removed from the field. He contended, however, that reliable results could be obtained by asking cultivators to say what crops they had obtained that year and what crops they expected to obtain in a normal year. He also took the view that *rabi* crops, even cotton crops, should not be taken into consideration in determining the average crop valuation of a village. These representations were personally discussed with the Commissioner and Collector, and the latter re-examined the estimates of outturn in villages in the neighbourhood of Mr. Gandhi's own inquiries. Mr. Gandhi was invited to be present at this re-examination and in one case was present. It was decided that there was no ground for modification of the orders already passed and Mr. Gandhi was so informed on March 20, 1918.

3. On the following day the Gujarat Sabha, presided over by Mr. Gandhi, passed a resolution that resort should be had to passive resistance; and Mr. Gandhi proceeded to initiate the campaign on March 22, by advising a large meeting of agriculturists of the Kaira district that, if they really and honestly believed that their crops were less than one-third of a normal crop, they should resort to passive resistance by refusing to pay the revenue and allow Government to recover it in any manner it pleased. An undertaking to this effect is said to have been signed by some 200 agriculturists—"small and big"—at the meeting. The campaign was continued in March and April, and according to Press reports had attained its maximum of 2,337 signatories by April 21.

4. Meanwhile the collection of land revenue was being effected to a large extent in the district. In a speech at Nadiad on April 12, the Commissioner announced that not less than 80 per cent, had already been paid, while the Collector reported on April 10, that some persons who had signed Mr. Gandhi's pledge were already beginning to pay up and that Mr. Gandhi appeared to be ready to make a compromise. On April 24th, the Commissioner pointed out to the Collector that the position had been "to a great extent changed within the last few days by reason of the issue of the Viceroy's order that every effort should

be made to sink domestic differences and to bring about the cessation of political propaganda at a time of national crisis" (the great German offensive was then at its height). In these circumstances he considered it the duty of Government to make any concession which does not involve a sacrifice of the essential rights of the State. The objective should be the early and complete collection of all arrears, and he directed in supersession of all previous orders that :

(1) Recovery of arrears by means of forfeiture of the land under Section 150(b) of the Bombay Land Revenue Code should be dropped.

(2) If full payment was tendered, payment of the "chothai"fine, i.e., the penalty, not exceeding one-fourth of the arrear, leviable under Section 148 of the Bombay Land Revenue Code, need not be insisted on.

(3) In all cases recovery should be effected preferably by distraint of the defaulter's movable property (Section 150 (c) of the Code).

(4) Lands already forfeited might be restored at any time during the current revenue year if the arrears were tendered.

He added that there need be no pressure on those who were really unable to pay, and that such arrears might be carried on to the next year's accounts.

5. The next day (April 25) the Bombay Government issued its second Press Note, pointing out that the bulk of the revenue had already been paid in, and that the outstandings were mainly due from those who could afford to pay, but had been induced to refuse payment, and stating that in these circumstances Government could not comply with Mr. Gandhi's request for an independent inquiry. They emphasised the fact that suspensions and remissions cannot be claimed as a matter of right, but are a measure of relief granted as matter of grace; and announced that all their estimates and calculations on which the revenue demand was based were open to inspection.

6. The Commissioner's orders were duly passed on by the Collector to the mamlatdars, but the latter appear to have had some hesitation in forbearing to put pressure on those who were really unable to pay; with the result that the Collector repeated the orders on May 22, 1918, by which time the revenue realised had risen to 93 per cent. of the total demand. This reminder had its effect, and the mamlatdar of Nadiad after an interview with Mr. Gandhi issued an order on June 3 to the village officials of Uttersanda, directing them to inform the villagers that such of them as were able to pay should do so without delay, but that "against those who are really poor, and whose poverty is proved, no coercive measures will be used and their land revenue will be suspended till the next year". The order was read out to the villagers and Mr. Gandhi then strongly urged the people to pay up. After this the agitation rapidly came to an end. There was still some correspondence between the Collector and Mr. Gandhi regarding the reformers' action in levying "Chothai" fine in the case of persons against whom forfeiture orders had already been passed; and regard-

ing the question whether the arrears of persons finally declared to be too poor to pay during the year should be classed as "suspensions" or as "unauthorised arrears". On the latter point the Collector considered that there had been a genuine misunderstanding, and on his recommendation Government reluctantly agreed to concede the point and to class the arrears as suspensions. By the end of July, collections had risen to 98.5 per cent of the total demand.

7. To appreciate the question of justification for this agitation it is necessary to bear in mind that under British rule in India the system of fixed assessments over a series of years was deliberately adopted. The principle underlying these periodical assessments is that they have "been fixed so as to allow, so far as the assessing officers could judge, for ordinary variations of season during the period of settlement, and the demand ought in theory to be paid in bad years as well as in good" (para 5 of the Government of India, Revenue and Agricultural Department Resolution of March 25, 1905). While, therefore, recognising that in practice some elasticity in collection is required, the Government of India remarked that it was no part of their intentions that the system to which they gave their adherence in this resolution should authorise anything in the shape of laxity or carelessness in the collection of the fixed demand, nor did they contemplate that the system of suspensions and remissions should form, as had been proposed, "a regular feature of the revenue administration". It was to be recognised as a measure, purely of grace and not of right, to be exercised only in exceptional cases of calamity so severe as to justify and necessitate a relaxation of the settlement contract. They added that it was "wholesome and legitimate to expect him (the cultivator) to take the bad with the good in years of ordinary fluctuation". The above principles are repeated in the preface to the Bombay Rules. Rule 1 of these rules authorises (it does not, be it noted, direct) the Collector, when he has ascertained by local inquiries that, owing to a partial or total failure or destruction of the crops throughout any tract on account of drought or any other cause, it will be necessary to suspend the collection of revenue, to grant suspensions according to the scale indicated above (para 1) to all occupants alike without inquiry into the circumstances of individuals. The use to which these scales should be put is laid down in para 10 of the Government of India's Resolution of March 25, 1905. They deprecated anything in the shape of servile adherence to formula; but were of opinion that a standard scale of relief on an arithmetical basis should be prescribed for general guidance. The agitation in Kaira ignored these principles. Mr. Gandhi, it is true, early in May admitted that "suspension is granted as a matter of grace and not as a matter of right enforceable by law"; but he shows no appreciation of the fact that this essential distinction is due, not to any arbitrary refusal on the part of Government to concede the legal right, but to the simple fact that under the present system of fixed assessments the assessee accepting the periodical settlement for a term of years undertakes to pay that assessment in bad years no less than in good. Thus he

actually states the case for the agitation as follows : "Where there are, in matters of administrative orders, sharp differences of opinion between local officials and the ryots, the points of difference are and ought to be referred to an impartial committee of inquiry." He even goes so far as to say that it was the Commissioner's duty to please the people when he saw that they differed from him regarding the extent of relief required. This seems essentially a denial of his former admission that suspensions are a matter of grace. Again Mr. Gandhi is wrong in insisting on a rigid adherence to the scale of suspensions prescribed in the rules. In his letter of March 29, 1918, he writes : "Under the Revenue rules, if the crops are under four annas (i.e., one-third of a normal crop) the cultivators are entitled to full suspensions of the revenue assessment for the year." They are not "entitled to" anything; and the scale appealed to is not an absolute formula, but a general guide to the Collector. As the Government of India said in para 9 of their Resolution of March 25, 1905, "it does not necessarily follow that the failure of more than half a crop will always justify relief, as much depends upon the nature of the harvest immediately preceding and upon the importance of the harvest in question"—another point which the agitation consistently ignored. Apart from the question whether the assessees in certain circumstances have a claim to suspension, the Government could not accept the further contention of the agitators that the assessees have a right to challenge the Collector's estimate of crop failures on which his orders for suspensions are passed, and either to have those orders modified at their dictation or to demand an independent inquiry. The responsibility for these crop estimates must rest with the Collector. As a matter of fact, there is no reason to suppose that the estimates in Kaira were, so inefficiently made as to justify organised protest, and a contrary inference may reasonably be drawn from the progress of actual collections during the revenue year and even while the passive resistance movement was at its height. The figures have been given already in paras 4 and 6 above.

8. It remains to consider how far the agitation was in fact successful. From the fact that the Gujarat Sabha found it necessary at its meeting of March 21, 1918, to repeat in the form of a resolution the advice it had already issued in circular form at the beginning of January, it may be inferred that in its earlier stages, at any rate prior to Mr. Gandhi's intervention, the agitation was not very effectual. Moreover, it was not until after his Excellency the Viceroy had issued his appeal to sink domestic differences that the local Government and its local officers relaxed in any way the firm attitude hitherto adopted by them. The extent of this relaxation is indicated in para 4 above. In the main it consisted of the substitution of the milder for the more rigorous of the recognised methods of revenue recovery and to this extent involved no surrender to Mr. Gandhi's demands. The Commissioner's direction that no pressure should be put on those who were really unable to pay, while not covered by any specific provision in the rules for suspension in times of general cala-

mity, was in accordance with the revenue practice of the presidency, and it was only the subsequent conversion of these outstanding from "unauthorised arrears" to "suspension" (*vide* para 6 above) which involved any unusual concession. This concession, however, formed only a small part of what the agitation was avowedly designed to obtain. Its main object was that either an independent inquiry into the extent of crop failure should be instituted, or Government should accept the ryots' own estimate of their crops as the basis on which suspensions should be granted. Neither of these demands was conceded. Even in the individual cases to which the above concession was extended, it was the Government officials alone who decided the question whether an assessee was or was not, too poor to pay; and Mr. Gandhi agreed to abandon the agitation and took an active part to secure payment by the recusant minority before any steps had been taken to determine who were too poor to pay. It is true that even here Mr. Gandhi appears at first to have been under a misapprehension, as in his speech at Uttersanda on June 3, which inaugurated the abandonment of the agitation, he is reported to have said to the villagers that "the Government had left it to them to decide who should not pay". But there was no authority for this statement, and the Commissioner on July 1, 1918, stated definitely that "those who will receive the concession in question are the poorest holders, and they have been selected by the Collector and his subordinate officers and not by any extraneous agency".

9. The above facts point to the conclusion that there was no valid ground for the Kaira agitation, and that it did not succeed in its object.

The Bombay Chronicle, 12-8-1919

APPENDIX V

LETTER FROM "PENNSYLVANIAN"

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

Your work in the interests of the people at large has been observed by many persons of whom you know nothing. Nevertheless, all good work is appreciated. You have chosen some very high ideals, you have made some mistakes. These stand out all the more in contrast with the very praiseworthy in your work. Excuse me, Gandhiji, if I who am a son of the Great Republic where you have never been, offer to you for your kind and careful consideration, some of the thoughts I have been a-thinking. Your recent letter renouncing civil resistance for the present was timely. It was well advised indeed, but pardon me, that letter is full of fight against the Rowlatt Bills. No matter what else [is done], the Rowlatt Bills must be withdrawn! That's the idea. Is it not?

Now, my dear Gandhiji, I have learned on general principles that when a man attacks a job like that in the way you are attacking it, that man defeats

his own purpose. If you were Government, and any man put it up to you that he will concede every point but one, you would ask him to concede that one. If he then would say he will not, then you would say, he will! That is the way men are made, Gandhiji, you know that. Now if I may venture a suggestion you won't like, it is that you discontinue your effort against the Rowlatt Bills. You will make more progress in the end.

Let me tell you a story common in Christian circles. In an English country chapel an organ was brought in secretly by some of the congregation. Others of the congregation felt very badly about it, —very badly indeed. There was a feeling of awakening all round,—interest in the contest over the organ. Presently, one of those who brought it in, said that he had no idea it would cause so much offence, therefore he was quite willing to have it taken out. In reply to which, the leading deacon of the opposition arose and said : "If that is the way you feel about it, I gladly withdraw my objections to having it remain."

The other day a friend asked me if the Great Republic would do so cruelly as is being done with the accused in the Punjab. I told him this : I have a friend in the States. He is a dentist by profession. He was talking too much on one occasion during the War, and was criticising Government. Well, he was called to appear before a court, when he was fined Rs. 3,000. He paid his fine, so far as I have learned, and since then has not been talking so much. And so far as I know, his friends feel that he acted wisely—latterly.

Let me suggest, Gandhiji, that civil resistance is a very good thing, a very wise thing, and that it ought to be continued by you and your friends, but first, I beg to suggest that you revise it a bit. It is too good to drop. It is too potential for good to be quietly laid aside. But I would revise it. As it is, its potentialities for evil are too many. Revise it. Cut out the evil, increase the good. How would this please you? Make too great divisions, one positive, one negative. Beginning with the negative, which is always the most dramatic you know, let us consider.

1. Evil Resistance

(1) Oppose ever telling a lie. Get good men who never tell a lie to join up with satyagraha, thus inducing others to do so, all pledging themselves never to tell a lie under any circumstances. Teach that it is better to go to jail telling the truth than to enjoy freedom with their heads full of lies.

(2) Oppose all bribing. Get satyagrahis to pledge themselves to stand against it so definitely that they will feel bound to expose every rascal who takes or gives a bribe. Teach that it is better to tell the fellow who compels a bribe before he will do his duty, even if the one who gave it, that is, who was forced to give it, has to go to jail. Those who give and those who take the bribe are alike guilty before the law. If satyagrahis by the score will report this sort of thing, there will be a moral revolution in the life-time of us all. You cannot be ignorant of the extent of this shameful evil.

(3) Oppose religious mendicantism. The idea of three millions of religious beggars eating up the food of the land, and giving nothing in return, is to me, Gandhiji, most abhorrent. You have been opposing it. Good for you. We are getting together. But they will beg as long as people give. Get satyagrahis to be liberal givers, but not to able-bodied men who refuse to do any sort of work. That will help the situation tremendously.

(4) Oppose slavery. If there is anyone in India who is now where he can shape public opinion, it is you Gandhiji. It would be a tremendously fine thing if you could lead men to feel the shame and disgrace of keeping in their employ men or women or children on such a pitiful low wage that they can never be else than in slavery to them. Have you ever heard of a young fellow borrowing fifty rupees from his employer to get married, giving a written promise on stamped paper to pay the debt by labour for which he receives his board and ten rupees per year credit on account? I have heard of many such, but not in my country. I call that slavery. No satyagrahi should be guilty of such a thing. If even the poor fellow is treated kindly, it is still a benevolent sort of slavery.

(5) Oppose the liquor traffic. This is such a nefarious business that good men can well afford to spend their time and money fighting the evil. My country has taken the lead in the fight. Gandhiji, do you know how that fight was won in America? Forty or fifty years ago, a lot of good people had determined to quit playing with the temperance question, and go to work. They held meetings, made speeches, got men and women and children to sign total abstinence pledges, got pictures of good-heart and liquor-heart into the school buildings, got lessons on temperance inserted in all the school readers, got temperance information in all the newspapers,—Gandhiji, after a while these school children became men and women. They had convictions as to the immensity of the evil. It is these men who have driven the thing from my country. These men and women have cleansed the Great Republic of the infamous liquor traffic! But before this last act they were again and again defeated. However, because he was defeated no member of Congress ever resigned his seat. Not much. He stuck to it. And got ready for another shot. The idea of resigning and pouting and running away, because one has failed to get what he wanted, does not appeal to Americans as the proper way to play the game.

Civil resistance divided into positive and negative, gives us in the first place, as I see it, evil resistance, as stated above, and

II. Civil Resistance

(1) Home industries have already been suggested by you. It would be splendid if people were to weave much of their own cloth. It would be excellent if farmers were to gin their own cotton, even as they do now thresh out their own wheat. If this kind of thing were entered into whole-heartedly, there would be no need to cry out against foreign-made goods. Eighty per

cent of the people will buy what is the cheapest. Produce it, and you have won the day. In Kaira, where you spent some time, how many villages have a carpenter in them? How many have a blacksmith[1]? How many a *shimpi*? The village consists largely of farmers and servants of farmers.

(2) Good roads are essential to the progress of any country. But here again, shall we blame Government ? I would not. Get the people to be satyagrahis, who stand for good roads and healthy villages. Get every farmer to be a satyagrahi, to carry a pick or hoe or axe with him in his cart every time he takes to the road, and to pledge himself to stop once on every trip and fix up the worst place he finds. Gentlemen in the towns I think would raise the money to buy such tools to give every farmer, who would take the pledge. Try something, Gandhiji. Just think of the country roads while it rains!

Education

(3) Go in for primary Universal Education, Gandhiji. But here it is again. People say, if Government would enact a law! Why bother Government like that? You are a man of the people, go after the people. Get students to pledge themselves that during vacation everyone will teach some ignorant soul how to read. Every student should cultivate a feeling of shame and confess a lack of interest in the general welfare of his country so long as there is in his father's house or employ, one person who cannot read! But servants who can't read, they say, are better servants? There you are, Sir. Lincoln says that a country cannot stand half slave and half free. I shout for Lincoln. I would have all free. I would have the treasures of the printed page unlocked for the meanest servant.

(4) Go in for higher education abroad. You know Japan is an ancient country. How many of her present leaders have been educated abroad? At the present time it is said there are 1,200 Japanese students in American institutions. China is an ancient country. Do you know, Gandhiji, that every year there are 50 high school Chinese graduates, the flower of that land, chosen by competitive examination, and sent (by the indemnity fund) to America for education, with the distinct understanding that they continue their studies there seven years and then return to China? The young men and women thus sent are given each one about Rs. 2,500 per year for all expenses, plus free passage both ways. It seems good to me. That means 750 Chinese students study in American institutions all the while, competing with American young men and women for first place. They are welcome. They study what they wish, and return to China with the highest ideals which America can give them. Does that sound good to you, Gandhiji ? I heard once that in the city of Surat there is a Bora fund of fifty lakhs of rupees without any special designation. There is lot of money lying thus unemployed in India. Suppose fifty lakhs at five

[1] A tailor

per cent interest were set to work educating young men and women in foreign colleges. Giving them Rs. 2,500 per annum, a hundred such could be kept searching the secrets of the Universities of the world. Does it grip you Gandhiji? It pains me when I think about it, pains me that instead of this we have nothing, absolutely nothing to show for these crores of rupees which lie idle! And meanwhile our bright young men and women are often found struggling against fate to advance a little. A few things would be essential to the success of such a proposition, that entrance be by competitive examination, that they be allowed to go where they choose and study what they like, provided they return to India.

(5) I hold my breath as I pen this paragraph, but Gandhiji, let me tell you a story of Abraham Lincoln. When he was admitted to the bar, he openly declared that he would not take a case until he had first satisfied himself that it was a true case. And Lincoln,—there is no name of mortal man whose name is sweeter today to an American than the name of Lincoln—never swerved from that original decision of his. This contains a suggestion to the Vakil-Sabha. Get them all to be satyagrahis, to feel that it is better to fight out a case honourably and lose, than to win a case in the German way. Lincoln said : "I am not bound to win, but I am bound to be true."

(6) When Booker Washington made his famous speech at Atlanta, he stood at the height of his popularity. He had a mixed audience, and both sides were doubtful as to the probable outcome. Among other things, he said : "In all things purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress," and that whole vast audience which filled the large exposition hall, aristocracy not excepted, rose to their feet and indulged in a delirium of applause. The editor of the *Atlanta Constitution* sitting by the side of the *New York World* correspondent, Mr. James Creelman, turned to him and said : "That speech is the beginning of a moral revolution." Gandhiji, there is the thing in a nutshell. If you spend your splendid energies in working for a moral revolution, you will have a chance of seeing both moral and political advances of a phenomenal nature. If you spend your strength on political revolution, you may see neither. Thus it appears to me.

(7) Include in satyagraha the idea of giving more than you take. This may be done for the love of country, or for the love of humanity, or for the love of God. For example, I considered the worthy professor in Fergusson College whose market value is Rs. 800 per month, and who takes but Rs. 150 as making long strides towards leading a moral revolution. I personally know not less than 50 such gracious souls, who are taking pay at a rate far below their market value. They are sacrificing for the general good. Herein is a suggestion for spiritual leadership. This is different from the normal, quite different from the usual, which takes all it can get, and then asks for more. India can teach the world some points on spiritual life, some points on sacrifice for the good of others, but it won't be done through any system of civil resistance; it may be done through first, Evil Resistance, and second, Civil Assistance. This

means moral revolution, which lacks the camouflage and publicity of civil resistance, but presents the greatest possible challenge to men of faith and vision. I take it, Gandhiji, you are such a man, a man of faith and vision. Therefore, have I written.

Now I guess I have said enough; so I reckon I had better stop.

Yours very truly,
PENNSYLVANIAN

The Times of India, 13-8-1919

APPENDIX VI

ROWLATT PETITION

TO
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA

THE HUMBLE MEMORIAL OF THE UNDERSIGNED INDIAN SUBJECTS OF HIS MAJESTY THE KING-EMPEROR

HUMBLY AND RESPECTFULLY SHOWETH AS FOLLOWS:

(1) Your petitioners have learnt with great concern the announcement recently made by you in answer to a question in the House of Commons that you would not advise His Majesty to signify his disallowance of the Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act being Act XI of 1919 (generally known as the Rowlatt Act).

(2) Your petitioners submit that the said Act contains provisions which are highly prejudicial to the liberties of His Majesty's Indian subjects, among others those which empower the Indian Executive to assume at its own discretion practically uncontrolled powers of depriving His Majesty's Indian subjects of their right to be tried by the Ordinary Tribunals of the land and those which deprive the offenders placed for trial under the said Act of many privileges which have been recognized by civilised jurisprudence as absolutely necessary for safeguarding their innocence.

(3) Your petitioners further submit that on account of the aforesaid and other objections to which the principle and the provisions of the said Act are open it has met with universal disapprobation and opposition in India and has given rise to an agitation the like of which in extent and intensity has never been known or heard of before in India.

(4) Your petitioners feel that constitutional reforms inaugurating responsible Government in India can have no value or meaning if the said Act is retained on the Indian Statute Book in open and deliberate defiance of public opinion in India.

(5) Your petitioners, therefore, submit that under the circumstances aforesaid, you will be pleased to reconsider your decision and advise His Majesty to signify through you his disallowance of the said Act.

(6) And for this act of kindness your petitioners as in duty bound will ever pray.

Your most obedient servants,

Serial No.	Signature	Place of Residence

Signature [of] Volunteer

Supplement to *Navajivan*, 13-11-1919

APPENDIX VII

LETTER FROM SECRETARY, HUNTER COMMITTEE, TO MALAVIYA

In his reply to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mr. Stokes writes that Lord Hunter's Committee feel that it is not within their province to review the discretion of the local Government. If in the course of their inquiry, it should appear that the evidence of any person, now in custody, is necessary to throw light on the causes of disturbances or measures taken to deal therewith, such persons will be called before the Committee and in the event, the Committee do not doubt that the Government of the Punjab will place no obstacle in the way of their appearance. The Committee observe, "Indeed, from the communication of the Private Secretary to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of which a copy is annexed to your letter, it is seen that an assurance has been conveyed to you on this point and also an undertaking that proper facilities will be allowed for consultation between persons in custody and counsel engaged in the inquiry which has been entrusted to the Committee and Lord Hunter's Committee would expect that. In this matter, Government would afford the fullest reasonable facilities. Lord Hunter has independently suggested to the Punjab Government that this should be done. Beyond this Lord Hunter's Committee feel that they cannot properly make any further suggestions. If the Congress Subcommittee still should feel unable to co-operate in the inquiry and should adhere to their decision to forgo the opportunity for full investigation which it is the desire of Lord Hunter's Committee to make, His Lordship's Committee, I am to say, can only acquiesce with regret in that decision."

The Leader, 19-11-1919

APPENDIX VIII

STATEMENT ON THE PUNJAB BY CONGRESS ENQUIRY COMMITTEE

LAHORE,
November 17, 1919

The following statement has been issued by the Punjab Inquiry Sub-committee of the All-India Congress Committee :

It is necessary that the public should have a connected narrative of events that have led to the decision of the Congress Sub-committee to withdraw its co-operation from Lord Hunter's Committee. It will be remembered that, within ten days of regrettable occurrences in the Punjab, the All-India Congress Committee met at Bombay on the 20th and 21st April and, while it deplored and condemned all acts of violence, it urged upon the Government to deal with the situation in a sympathetic and conciliatory manner, immediately reversing the policy of repression. In accordance with a resolution passed by the Congress Committee, a representation was submitted on the 28th April last to the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for India in which the Committee most earnestly urged His Majesty's Government to intervene and put an end to the methods of repression and to order the appointment of a commission of officials and non-officials to investigate the causes of discontent and allegations of excesses by authorities in repressing popular disturbances.

Mr. Montagu announced in the House of Commons in the last week of May that His Majesty's Government and the Viceroy have recognized the necessity for such inquiry as has been referred to above. Shortly after, a second meeting of the All-India Congress Committee took place at Allahabad on the 8th June last, dealing with the situation which then existed. It passed among others the following resolution : The Committee note with satisfaction that the Viceroy and Mr. Montagu have recognized the necessity of an inquiry into the causes of the unrest and into the complaints against authorities of use of excessive and unlawful force in relation to the view of the fact that the policy of the Government of India and the Government of the Punjab is inseparably connected with such unrest and complaint and must form a subject of investigation, this Committee earnestly request His Majesty's Government to constitute a Parliamentary Committee or a commission of persons wholly unconnected with the formulation, sanction or carrying out of the said policy. The Committee urge the following among other matters be included within the scope of the inquiry : (1) Policy of the Government of India and the Government of the Punjab in dealing with recent disturbances; (2) Sir Michael O'Dwyer's regime in the Punjab with special reference to methods of recruitment for the Indian Army and labour corps, raising of war loan, administration

of martial law and complaints of excessive and unlawful use of force by the authorities; (3) recent occurrences in Delhi and other places. The Committee further urge that interests of justice and good government demand that an inquiry should begin at an early date. At the same meeting the Committee appointed the Sub-committee consisting of gentlemen whose names are noted below : (a) to arrange for the conduct of an inquiry into the recent occurrences in the Punjab and other places through such agency as they may determine, (b) take such legal or other proceedings in relation thereto in India or England as may be necessary and (c) to collect funds for the purpose by public subscriptions:—Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, President ex-officio; Sir Rash Behary Ghosh, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Syed Hasan Imam, Mr. B. Chakravarty, Mr. C. R. Nath, Mr. Kasturi Ranga Aiyangar, Mr. Umar Sobani and Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra, Secretary ex-officio, with power to co-opt others as members. The Sub-committee co-opted the following members at its meetings held on the 16th October 1919 : Mr. Gandhi, Swami Shraddhanand, Mr. Purushottam Das Tandon, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, Mr. Ganpat Rai, Sheikh Umar Baksh, Bakshi Tekchand, Mr. Gokulchand Narang, Mr. Santanam, Badr-ul-Islam Ali Khan and Lala Girdhari Lal.

We the undersigned went to the Punjab shortly after withdrawal of martial law and began our investigations on the 25th June last. We need hardly say that at every step we felt the need of the assistance of the leaders of people who had occupied a prominent position in the public life of their respective towns and none of whom had taken an important part in the events which followed disturbances. We found that many people who knew what had happened would not come forward to give evidence because of fear, real or imaginary, of police. Whilst we were going on with our inquiry, the appointment of Lord Hunter's Committee was announced and we redoubled our efforts to collect evidence for the purposes of the inquiry. But, as we proceeded, we realised more than ever that the presence of principal Punjab leaders was necessary to guide and help us in collecting some of the most valuable evidence, to hearten those who were still keeping back from fear and to show to profit that Government wanted the inquiry to be carried on fairly and that they wanted the whole truth to be told to Lord Hunter's Committee.

We had also expressed the desire that the Committee should have power to revise the sentences passed by the Martial Law Commission and summary courts through whose agency, it is our firm belief, an amount of permanent and prolonged injustice has been possible. But the Government of India restricted the scope of Lord Hunter's Committee and appointed special judges for such revision. The judges appointed were both Punjab judges and rightly or wrongly (we think more rightly than wrongly), the public objected to this work being entrusted to the Punjab judges. It was therefore necessary that this tribunal should be so composed as to inspire confidence and that to that end one judge at least should be from outside the Punjab and that the tribunal should have

power to admit fresh evidence where records were found to be insufficient or material evidence was, in the first instance, shut out. We had also some apprehension that our counsel might not be allowed to appear before the Committee and that, even if they were allowed, the right of cross-examination might not be extended to them. We may mention here parenthetically that it was our desire to hasten the inquiry and to avoid bitterness that led us to waive our substantial objection that the inquiry should be made by a Royal Commission appointed independently of the Government of India.

Early in October we wrote to the Government of India informing them that our Sub-committee engaged lawyers to put the case of the people before Lord Hunter's Committee and desired to know the terms of reference of the Committee and the procedure to be adopted by them. Having been referred by the Government of India to Lord Hunter's Committee for information regarding procedure, we wrote to Lord Hunter's Committee for permission to lead evidence through our counsel and to cross-examine witnesses of the other side.

In the same letter we informed Lord Hunter's Committee that we considered it equally essential for a proper and fair investigation of recent events in the Punjab that the Punjab leaders who are undergoing imprisonment should be released on parole or bail for the period of the enquiry. We thought, however, that this was a matter on which proper authority to be approached was the Punjab Government, the Government of India and the Secretary of State. In this view, so far back as the 12th September last, at a meeting of the Indian Legislative Council, one of us had urged upon the Government of India and the Punjab Government the release of the Punjab leaders on such security, personal or pecuniary, or both, as may seem adequate to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab in order that they should be able to give evidence before the Committee and have the people's case properly put before it. A cablegram was sent to the Secretary of State on the 27th ultimo praying for the right of appearance by counsel and for the release of the Punjab leaders for purposes of inquiry when time came for leading evidence before Lord Hunter's Committee. The Punjab Government was approached regarding all three points mentioned above.

There were protracted negotiations and appearance by counsel with right of cross-examination was allowed and status of the Congress Sub-committee recognized. Mr. Justice Mullick of the Patna High Court was appointed as one of two revision judges and we have reason to believe that the judges have power to admit fresh evidence in the circumstances already referred to. But the third equally fundamental need was left unsatisfied. The Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab rejected our request for the temporary release of principal leaders under due security in the following terms : "As regards the suggestion that certain prisoners convicted in connection with disturbances should be released from jail in order to ensure satisfactory presentation of case, I am to say it will not be possible to comply with this suggestion. If, however, the

Committee desire to hear evidence of any prisoner, this will be duly arranged and if it is found necessary for counsel engaged in inquiry to visit prisoners for consultation in connection with inquiry, proper facilities for such consultation will be given." We considered the reply to be highly unsatisfactory. Lord Hunter's Committee was approached with a view to the wrong being righted. We were all to cite the precedent of the Solomon Committee of 1913 of South Africa for the suggested action of His Lordship's Committee, but our suggestion was rejected. Then followed Mr. Gandhi's interview with the Lieutenant-Governor and His Honour was prepared to allow the principal leaders to be released on parole for the day or days they had to give evidence before Lord Hunter's Committee, and His Honour was willing also that counsel should visit in jail all prisoners whose evidence was to be tendered before the Committee. But it was clear that, while the demand for the release of the leaders was being granted in principle by advance made by His Honour upon previous position, the substantial and most practical part of the request stood rejected.

By securing release of the principal leaders and their presence in Committee room, we desired to get valuable assistance from them for our counsel in examination of witnesses. Those who know anything of law will at once recognize the force of this remark—the presence of party interested, provided he is intelligent, is most helpful whilst his case is going on. No trials can take place in absence of the accused. Lord Hunter's Committee is in a way trying these leaders as conspirators in a political conspiracy to wage war against the King. They have been held by the Government to be responsible for the so-called rebellion. We hold the Committee cannot do justice to the matter before them if they do not have at least the leading prisoners before them. It may be mentioned here that we had asked Lord Hunter's Committee at Delhi to be supplied with a list of official witnesses and their printed statements to enable the Sub-committee's counsel to cross-examine witnesses punctiliously, but this request was not granted. Thus it is not possible for our counsel to take instructions from prisoners beforehand by visiting them in jail. Some of our colleagues thought, on their interpretations of Lord Hunter's letter referred to above, that those prisoners who were principally interested in events then being examined by the Committee would be permitted to appear before the Committee as prisoners under custody and that they would be able, then, to help counsel in course of examination of witnesses, but we wanted to take nothing for granted. Mr. C. F. Andrews, therefore, kindly offered to go to the Lieutenant-Governor and had the point made definitely clear. He told us on return that His Honour would not allow the prisoners to appear before the Committee except as witnesses and on the day or days that they were actually required for that purpose. There was, then, nothing left for the Congress Sub-committee to do, but to abide by its manifesto not to participate in the proceedings of Lord Hunter's Committee.

The Congress Sub-committee arrived at this decision after the greatest and most anxious consideration. It weighed every consequence, but it felt that if it was to discharge the trust laid upon it, if it was to vindicate national honour and honour of the great Punjab leaders, if it was to see truth and innocence established, it could not possibly engage in an inquiry in which the people's party was so heavily handicapped. It must be remembered that officials are as much upon their trial as leaders. But not only are Government officials free to appear before Lord Hunter's Committee but also to instruct Government counsel. In the words of the Congress Committee's letter to Lord Hunter, it cannot be expected to be party to a position under which Government officials whose acts are under review can freely appear before Committee, when people's representatives whose acts are equally under review are not allowed to appear even as prisoners under custody. It remains for us to say what constructive course we have proposed to adopt. We have to come to the conclusion that our work of collecting evidence must continue. We have already in our possession most valuable evidence. It needs to be supplemented and checked. The Congress Committee have therefore appointed Mr. Gandhi, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Mr. C. R. Das, Mr. Abbas Tyabji, Ex-judge, Baroda High Court, and Mr. Fazlul Haq as Commissioners, with Mr. Santanam, Bar-at-law, as Secretary for work, and the Committee hope before long to place before the public a full and accurate statement of events. The first undersigned begs to state in order to avoid any misunderstanding that he has purposely refrained from allowing himself to be appointed a Commissioner as, being the Chairman of Committee, he should be free to guide the work of the Committee as a whole.

MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA,
CHAIRMAN
MOTILAL NEHRU,
VICE-CHAIRMAN

The Amrita Bazar Patrika, 19-11-1919

APPENDIX IX

LETTER FROM E. CANDLER

LAHORE,
December 12, 1919

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

In a conversation with a Professor of a Lahore College yesterday, a Hindu and very old friend, I came to know that the article published in the *Haq* (29th November 1919) might, in view of Indian etiquette and tradition, appear deliberately offensive and in bad taste as regards the reference to the possible marriage of a daughter of yours to a Mussalman. I do not know if you

have any children, but I feel sure that you will accept it from me that, in any case, the point was impersonal or only personal in so far as your individual attitude was concerned. I had no idea, when I wrote the article, except in the case of an ultra conservative, that a reference to a daughter or a wife was considered indecent or offensive. If there is anything in the passage in the nature of a personal affront, I beg that you will forgive and believe me when I tell you that nothing would give me more pain than to discover that I had unwillingly offended in this way and more especially in *Haq* which I wish to keep clean from any taint of unfairness or bad taste. I need not point out that the political intention of the article was to put these questions to you squarely. Are you, with a view to embarrassing the Government, working up an anti-British campaign to modify the terms for the Turk? Are the claims of the Turks really as dear to you that you would jeopardise the peace of your own country for their sake, and this in the face of the verdict of men like Gladstone, Morley, Bryce, men, whose opinion, I am sure, you value and whose disinterestedness you cannot doubt, men who, long before this agitation, denounced the treatment of the subject races by the Turk as the gravest infringement of modern civilisation, and who devoted a large part of their lives to their efforts in redressing it? Please make use of this letter, if you wish to do so, privately or publicly, in any way you deem fit.

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
EDMUND CANDLER

New India, 18-12-1919

APPENDIX X

GENERAL SMUTS' REPLY TO DEPUTATION

The Minister in his reply said that he was out for fair play and justice for all in the Union. The Indian community ought also to realise that there was a very strong and a powerfully backed up movement afoot to curtail the progress of the Indian community. It would be inadvisable in the interest of the community to rake up all the past matters and have them included in terms of reference of the proposed Commission. It would be better if the trading matter alone is once for all gone into thoroughly. As the Indians are not anxious to acquire any fixed property, that matter should be left out. He also pointed out that Sir Benjamin Robertson is coming out to watch the interest and assist the Indian community and it would, therefore, be to the interest of the Indians themselves to render all the assistance they can both to Sir Benjamin and the Commission. He concluded by saying that he was very anxious to be on the best of terms with the Indian Government and those settled in the Union. He would endeavour under his Government to give fair play

to all. Being in a great hurry to meet another deputation, he regretted that he could not give the time he desired to the deputation, but the facts will not slip his memory. The Commission may give us a couple of years' rest until another agitation breaks out and we shall see then what could be done.

Young India, 24-12-1919

APPENDIX XI

KHILAFAT DEPUTATION'S ADDRESS TO VICEROY[1]

[DELHI,
January 19, 1920]

WITH NAME OF ALLAH THE MOST MERCIFUL AND THE MOST COMPASSIONATE

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE RT. HON. BARON CHELMSFORD, P.C., G.M.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.M.I.E., VICEROY AND GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

We the members of the Khilafat deputation, authorised in this behalf by the Khilafat Conference at the very important session recently held at Amritsar, beg to approach Your Excellency with a view to enlist the sympathy and secure the fullest assistance of Your Excellency's Government in a matter of vital importance in which we are confident neither the one nor the other will be withheld. The Khilafat Conference has more than once resolved that a deputation should proceed at an early date to England and lay before His Majesty the King-Emperor and his Ministers a full and clear statement of the obligations imposed on every Muslim by his faith and of the united wishes cherished by Indian Mussalmans regarding the Khilafat and cognate questions, such as those relating to Muslim control over every portion of the Zazirat-ul-Arab, the Khilafat's wardenship of the Holy Places, and the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. Such a desire would have been both natural and laudable at any time, but in view of the grave situation that exists to-day and is fast developing into an unmistakable menace, it has acquired an urgency and an insistence that have compelled us to give respectful expression to it, with Your Excellency's permission, through the agency of such a representative deputation as ours. After a protracted war in which almost the entire civilized world was engaged on one side or the other, in which each nation vied with its neigh-

[1] The address, which was read out by Dr. M. A. Ansari, had among its signatories : Gandhiji, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Shaukat Ali Khan, Mahomed Ali Khan, Maulana Abdul Bari, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Hasrat Mohani, Syed Zahir Ahmed, Secretary, All-India Muslim League, Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew, Pandit Rambhuj Dutt Choudhry, Swami Shraddhanand, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Syed Hassan Imam, M. A. Jinnah and Fazlul Huq.

bours in pouring out its blood and treasures on the most lavish scale in order to secure victory, and of which the ravages and horrors have been without precedent, it was natural that even those indirectly yet powerfully affected thereby should experience extreme war-weariness at its close and feel intense abhorrence of the ancient method of settling the vital affairs of mankind through the arbitrament of the sword. Nor was it less natural that the world should cry with one voice for a lasting peace to be concluded with the utmost rapidity and yet, although more than a year had elapsed since the conclusion of the armistice and more than six months have passed since the Treaty of Peace was signed by Germany, peace seems almost as far as ever from resuming its sway over mankind and our own continent of Asia is not without reason apprehensive of grave developments of which no one can pretend to foresee the final end. The world seems once more to be approaching a grave crisis and, although it is not possible to speak with any degree of certainty of the regions and the races likely to be affected by the storm that is obviously brewing, it requires no great perspicacity to foretell that, when it comes to burst, the Muslim world will not be left unaffected. We may suggest without disrespect that it is of paramount importance at such a juncture that the authorities at the centre of this composite Empire should be fully alive to all that transpires in the remotest corners of His Majesty's world-wide Dominions, and the least that we may reasonably expect from the statesmen of the Empire is that, in concluding any settlement to which they attach any degree of finality, they should take into the fullest consideration the most binding religious obligations and the most highly cherished sentiments of 70 millions of Indian Mussalmans and the no less ardent sympathies of 250 millions of their compatriots. For one reason or another, sufficiently forcible expression had not been given to these sentiments and sympathies during the War, and we regret more than we can tell that even the religious obligations to which we have referred were not set forth with that degree of clearness and emphasis that is essential for the purpose of communicating the religious doctrines of one set of people to the ruling classes of another of alien faith.

This is neither the time nor the place to enter into any lengthy discussion of the reasons that swayed the Mussalmans of India nor into any such exposition of the doctrines that they hold to be absolutely essential for their salvation. It suffices to say that, since the armistice was concluded more than a year ago, they have not spared themselves in the task of a clear exposition of these essential doctrines of their faith and they are not unmindful of the fact which is becoming clearer every day that Your Excellency's Government, various local Governments and those Englishmen who had held responsible offices in India before their retirement have gradually come to realise and appreciate in a daily increasing measure the deep concern of the Mussalmans of India and of their compatriots in the settlement to be concluded with the Ottoman Khilafat. Realizing at the same time their own responsibility for the peace and good gover-

nance of India and tranquillity on her borders, Your Excellency's Government and the Right Hon. the Secretary of State have, we may thankfully acknowledge, made representations to His Majesty's Government, but that Government is obviously so far removed from us, both in point of distance and political and religious surroundings, that neither our own voice nor the representations of this Government have apparently affected the opinion, view point, and preconceived ideas of His Majesty's ministers to an appreciable degree, and a number of ministerial utterances can be cited to prove, if proof was necessary, that they are inclined to insist on a settlement of such world-wide interest and importance as if it was solely, or at any rate mainly, the concern of the small section of His Majesty's subjects of British birth and Christian faith. From the rest they seem to expect impassive acquiescence, if not willing submission, to the dictates of their narrowly conceived and far from Imperial statesmanship. Need we say that such an estimate of the situation that a sectional and sectarian settlement will create will prove disastrously incorrect. Deeply apprehensive as we are of the calamitous consequences of such an estimate and still more deeply anxious to prevent them while we can, we have been driven to the conclusion that one final effort must be made to give timely warning to the Imperial authorities of the dangers we so clearly foresee and respectfully entreat them to avoid the evil consequence of a settlement sought to be forced on the Mussalmans of the world contrary to the clearest commandments of their creed and the united wishes of so large a portion of humanity. Recent experience as well as the inherent difficulties of discussing such grave matters over the wires at the distance of seven thousand miles of land and sea have forced us to resolve that, with Your Excellency's assistance, a deputation of ours should proceed at the earliest possible opportunity to England and place directly our humble but frank submissions before His Majesty and his ministers, and since we have been repeatedly asked to remember that, in arranging such a settlement Great Britain, whatever her position among her Allies and associates, could not leave their interests and wishes out of consideration, we trust that our deputation will be enabled to explain to the Allied and associated nations and their Governments the nature and binding force of Islamic obligations and the true character and scope of Muslim aspirations. We need not repeat here the clear conditions of future peace as set forth by the President of the United States of America on the basis of which the Khilafat concluded the armistice, not the unmistakable pledges of the British Premier regarding Constantinople, Thrace and the homelands of the Turks. We respectfully submit that no prospective territorial or political gains, whether real or only imagined, can compensate Great Britain or her Allies and associates for the loss of moral credit if their pledged word is left unredeemed, and the ingenious interpretations suggested now as an afterthought by irresponsible persons will in no way prove helpful to the responsible authorities. The shock of this blow to the moral prestige of the Empire will be felt all the more severely in consequence of the sad disillusionment with

regard to the pledge of His Majesty's Government proclaimed by Your Excellency's predecessor at the commencement of the war with Turkey.

But it is not because the Mussalmans of India take their stand on British and Allied pledges, any more than they expect that a settlement with such extended and intricate ramifications can be governed by their own interests and sentiments alone, that they are so deeply agitated to-day when they apprehend a breach of these solemn pledges and an almost complete disregard of these universally cherished sentiments. The Mussalmans of India will entirely fail in their purpose if they cannot make it clear to those who have made themselves responsible for preserving to them their religious freedom in its entirety that their deepest concern today is that settlement of the Khilafat and cognate questions is apparently being outlined by His Majesty's Government and their Allies which no Mussalman can accept or acquiesce in without jeopardising eternal salvation. This is the one governing consideration on which attention must be focussed and so intent is it that, even if the Ottoman Turks could be made to acquiesce in such a settlement, it would remain as unacceptable as ever to every believing Mussalman. The preservation of the Khilafat as a temporal no less than a spiritual institution is not so much a part of their faith as the very essence thereof and no analogies from other creeds that tolerate the lacerating and devitalizing distinction between things spiritual and things temporal, between the Church and the State, can serve any purpose save that of clouding and befogging the clearest of issues. Temporal power is of the very essence of the institution of the Khilafat, and Mussalmans can never agree to any change in its character or to the dismemberment of its Empire. The no less important question of the Zazirat-ul-Arab, over no portion of which can any kind of non-Muslim control be tolerated, is equally clearly not one of Muslim sentiment but of Islamic faith. Similarly, Islam also declares and defines the sanctity of the holy places of Islam and places this and similar matters beyond the uninformed interpretation of people of alien faiths. Mussalmans insist, and with perfect reason, that the Khalifa alone shall be the warden of the holy places. As regards the integrity of the Khalifa's dominions, we are painfully aware that some sections of the Mussalmans of Arabia have in clear defiance of the laws of Islam stood out from the solid mass of the rest of the Muslim world. But instead of this being any argument against the latter, it furnishes it with one more compelling reason for proclaiming the truth and in accordance with the divine declaration that all Mussalmans are brothers, one to another, and the divine injunction to make peace between brothers, Indian Mussalmans must seek to remove every existing misunderstanding and eliminate every cause of friction that may tend to separate Arab from Ajam, and Turk from Tajik. And it is the logical consequence of Islamic brotherhood that all Mussalmans should share the sorrows and sufferings of their brothers in every corner of the world and should see to it that principles of such universal application as that of self-determination should be applied to the Muslim no less than to the Christian and to the Asiatic no less than to the

European. It is true that a great part of Europe and Christendom charges the Ottoman Turks with religious injustice and political ineptitude, but it is permissible to argue that those who do so are neither free from old-standing prejudices nor from a bitterness of later growth, and we are confident that the verdict of history would be pronounced in due course with full regard for the difficult position in which the Ottoman Turks have stood for centuries and that it would vindicate alike the basic toleration of Islam and the essential humanity of the Turk. The loyalty of Indian Mussalmans no less than that of other communities of India to their Sovereign has been an abiding asset acknowledged as well as proclaimed throughout the history of British rule in India. It is also admitted that it depends and is mainly based on the preservation of their religious freedom in its entirety. If it has not been necessary to remind Government of this aspect of Muslim loyalty, and, in fact, of the loyalty of every Indian community, it is because we thankfully acknowledged that until lately no question had arisen in which it appeared likely to be forgotten or ignored; but now that the policy of the Allied and associated powers and the dictates of Islam seem to run counter to each other, we respectfully submit that justice and expediency alike demand that what is unalterable by human hand and has never been so altered throughout the thirteen centuries of Islam shall remain unaltered, and what is susceptible to change and is essentially changeable with every change in circumstances and surroundings should, when necessary, change. Even the most cherished Muslim sentiment may be sacrificed in subservience to Imperial demands though we humbly submit that true Imperialism should give proportionate consideration to the wishes and sentiments of every member of the Empire, but the requirements of Islamic law are so definite and of such a binding nature that they cannot be reduced by a hair's breadth to suit the desires of Allied and associated powers any more than they can be enlarged to further the mundane ambitions of Mussalmans themselves. These are the limits set by Allah and none shall transgress them, but while the Mussalmans take their stand firmly on their credal obligations, they respectfully submit that true Imperial interests point to the same path as Islamic commandments. The War may be over but peace is still distant and doubtful and we shall beseech the Imperial authorities not to underrate the worth and value of Islamic friendship and Indian loyalty. A settlement unacceptable alike to Muslim and non-Muslim Indians, now happily reunited and standing shoulder to shoulder, will bring no peace because it will bring no sense of justice and no contentment. No Mussalman who hopes and prays for salvation would henceforward know any rest and he could only aspire to salvation by following the dictates of Islam, however the consequences may be. But if on the contrary, the heart of India is won by a generous recognition of her fitness for managing her own affairs as a member of the British Commonwealth and the Muslim world is reconciled by a just appreciation of Islamic responsibilities and obligations, Muslim sentiments of half the world would be at the back of Great

Britain and no Power in the world could dare to deny to her the rights that are hers and her Empire's. The menace that now looms so large would then shrink into nothingness without a blow being struck in wrath or a drop of human blood being shed in vain warfare. The world would then be truly not only for democracy but for God and the truth, and it is in this spirit that we desire to send our mission, with Your Excellency's assistance, to great Britain and Allied and associated countries. We also feel confident that, once the success of our mission is assured, it would set itself with equal zeal to reassure the Muslim world and reconcile those who have parted, maybe in anger, maybe in sorrow, but in any case through misunderstanding of their common interests which everyone anxious to promote the peace of the world should endeavour to remove. May it be given through the grace of merciful Providence to us and to Your Excellency's Government to accomplish this humane and sacred purpose.

We beg to subscribe ourselves Your Excellency's most obedient servants.

The Amrita Bazar Patrika, 24-1-1920

CWMG - XVI

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CWMG - XVI

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The Tribune: English daily published from Lahore since 1881, shifted to Ambala in 1948.

True Education: M. K. Gandhi, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, December 1962.

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CWMG-XVI

CHRONOLOGY

(*August, 1919 to January, 1920*)

August 1 : In Kalol, Gandhiji visited handloom factory; spoke on swadeshi.

August 2 : In *Young India* supported appeal of Swami Shraddhanand for Rs. 1.5 lakhs to help victims of martial law atrocities.

August 4 : In Bombay, interviewed by a representative of *The Hindu*, announced intention to resume civil disobedience if Government failed to repeal Rowlatt Act.

August 5 : Presided over Gujaratis' meeting in Bombay in memory of Amritlal Sunderjee.

August 6 : In *Young India* described action of Ahmedabad District Judge as "impudent" in proceeding against barristers who took satyagraha pledge.

August 8 : In Poona, at Deccan Sabha meeting, spoke against anti-Indian legislation in Transvaal; spoke on swadeshi at Gujarati Bandhu Samaj.

August 14 : In Godhra, opened Swadeshi Bhandar; held conference with Collector, local leaders on question of forced labour; visited Stuart Library; spoke on swadeshi at women's meeting and at public meeting.

August 15 : At crowded public meeting, called upon Government to conduct impartial inquiry into Punjab situation, exhorted people to contribute to relief fund.

August 19 : In Bombay, announced at satyagrahis' meeting intention to start Gujarati paper on lines of *Young India* and to resume satyagraha against Rowlatt Act after petitioning Government.

August 22 : Appealed to Lord Willingdon against proposal to extern Esther Faering from India; pleaded that she might be allowed to join Sabarmati Ashram.

August 25 : Enunciated concept of swadeshi in letter to Cowie and sought Bombay Governor's approval and encouragement for the movement.

August 27 : Wrote to Maulana Abdul Bari that it was inopportune to ask for Ali brothers' release.

CWMG - XVI

August 28 : Deputation led by Surendranath Banerjea waited on Montagu to protest against Transvaal Trading Act.

August 31 : In Dohad, Gandhiji spoke on swadeshi at women's meeting; later, exhorted weavers to shed distinctions of caste, community, etc.

September 3 : Viceroy announced appointment of Commission to go into question of Punjab troubles; referred to Commissions to set right problems regarding South Africa and Fiji.

September 6 : In Bombay, Gandhiji attended meetings of Swadeshi Sabha and Satyagraha Committee.

September 7 : Opened Gujarat Swadeshi Store in Girgaum, Bombay; spoke on swadeshi; participated in Swadeshi Sabha meeting.

First issue of *Navajivan* in Gujarati was published.

September 8 : Government of India telegraphed Bombay, Madras Governments that "existing orders against Gandhiji should be relaxed and all restrictions removed when Lord Hunter arrives in India".

September 12 : Bombay Government confidentially informed Madras Government that they concur with the Central Government in relaxing restrictions imposed upon Gandhiji.

September 17 : Gandhiji left Ahmedabad for Bombay.

September 18 : In Bombay, spoke on Khilafat at public meeting. Indemnity Bill protecting Government servants introduced in Legislative Council, opposed by Malaviya.

September 21 : Gandhiji opened school for untouchables in Ahmedabad.

Public meetings held in Madras and Wardha to celebrate 51st birthday of Gandhiji. Wardha citizens presented purse to be placed at Gandhiji's disposal. Indemnity Bill was passed.

September 25 : In Rajkot, Gandhiji spoke on swadeshi at meeting in Revashanker Jagjivan's bungalow; spoke to women at Vanik Bhojan Shala in afternoon; later, spoke in Connaught Hall on social service.

September 26 : Visited schools for untouchables.

September 27 : Opened Swadeshi Bhandar in Gondal State, Saurashtra; spoke on swadeshi at meetings of men and women.

September 28 : At Moti Marad, presided over Kathiawar Patidar Conference.

Spoke on Hindu-Muslim unity at Dhoraji; addressed gathering of *Antyajas*.

CWMG - XVI

September 29 : On return to Ahmedabad, wired Bombay Government withdrawing apology given by *Navajivan* publishers for supposed breach of law regarding newspaper publication.

October 1 : In Bombay presided over public meeting at Excelsior Theatre, to celebrate 73rd birthday of Annie Besant; opened Kalbadevi Shuddha Swadeshi Bhandar.

Government of India asked Punjab, Delhi and Madras to withdraw restrictions imposed upon Gandhiji from October 15.

October 2 : Gandhiji attended reception at Vanita Vishram Hall of Bhagini Samaj and received purse containing Rs. 20,100; addressed meeting of Muslim students in evening.

October 4 : Wired Madras Governor to expedite granting permission to Miss Faering to join Sabarmati Ashram.

October 6 : Madras Governor's Private Secretary wrote to Gandhiji informing readiness to grant Esther Faering permission to join him if she would apply in usual way.

October 7 : *Young India* was reported to have been taken over to Ahmedabad.

Gandhiji received letter informing Bombay Governor's approval of swadeshi movement.

October 8 : In Baroda, spoke on physical exercise at Manikrao's gymnasium, witnessed demonstrations. First issue of *Young India* under Gandhiji's editorship appeared.

October 9 : Gandhiji spoke at Maharaja Theatre, Baroda; opened Swadeshi Bhandar and visited brush factory and school for untouchables; attended meeting of Stree Samaj in Nyaya Mandir; proceeded to Amreli.

October 10 : Opened spinning-wheel class in Amreli.

October 11 : Reached Bhavnagar at night.

October 12 : Taken in procession, was presented with address by Cloth Merchants' Association; spoke on swadeshi; visited school for untouchables; advocated spinning in spare time at women's meeting; left for Ahmedabad.

October 13 : Presided over farewell to Anandshankar Dhruva at Gujarat College; later spoke to College students at meeting presided over by Robertson, Principal.

October 15 : Restrictions imposed on April 9, 1919, prohibiting Gandhiji's entry into Punjab, were removed. Bombay High Court warned satyagrahi lawyers who took satyagraha pledge.

October 17 : Khilafat Day observed all over India.

CWMG - XVI

October 18 : Registrar, High Court, Bombay, summoned Gandhiji to attend His Lordship's Chamber on October 20 to explain action in publishing private letter of Ahmedabad District Judge.

October 20 : Gandhiji telegraphed Registrar expressing his inability to attend Court on October 20, owing to Punjab tour.

October 22 : Sent explanation to Registrar from Sabarmati Ashram regarding publication of Ahmedabad District Judge's private letter.

Informed Madras Governor of Esther Faering's arrival at Ashram.

Participated in function to felicitate Dhruva.

Left Ahmedabad for Lahore *via* Baroda.

October 24 : Lahore citizens accorded warm reception to Gandhiji at station.

Government of India, Home Department, informed Bombay Government, Judicial Department, that it had no intention to restrict Gandhiji's movements.

October 27 : Gandhiji had interview with Lt.-Governor Sir Edward Maclagan and Deputy Commissioner.

October 28 : Addressed students at Pandit Rambhuj Dutt Choudhri's house.

Left for Delhi with C. F. Andrews to attend Punjab Inquiry Committee meeting.

Government of India informed Chief Secretary, Madras State, of withdrawal of restrictions imposed upon Gandhiji with effect from October 15, 1919, and asked latter to do likewise.

October 29 : Gandhiji attended Punjab Inquiry Committee meeting; met Lord Hunter and other officials.

Addressed public meeting under Swami Shraddhanand's chairmanship.

October 31 : Wired Sabarmati Ashram not to have "peace celebrations" on December 13 and 14 if Khilafat question remained unsettled.

Bombay High Court Registrar declared Gandhiji's explanation to be unsatisfactory and demanded publication of apology.

November 1 : Gandhiji gave interview to Associated Press of India on South African Commission.

Attended public meeting of Delhi citizens at Pataudi House, but meeting abandoned due to disorder.

CWMG XVI

November 2 : Delhi martyrs meeting was resumed. Gandhiji addressed gathering.

November 3 : First open session of Punjab Inquiry Committee convened.

Gandhiji was reported taking evidence in martial law cases.

November 4 : At Amritsar Golden Temple, was presented with a turban; spoke on swadeshi at women's meeting; visited Jallianwala Bagh and Khalsa College. Left for Lahore with Andrews.

November 7 : Telegraphed Registrar, High Court, Bombay for leave till receipt of counsel's opinion.

November 11 : Held conference with Madan Mohan Malaviya, Motilal Nehru, C. R. Das and Andrews.

Malaviya was refused permission to visit Harkishen Lal in jail.

Disorders Inquiry Committee arrived at Lahore.

November 15 : Gandhiji spoke at meeting to bid farewell to Andrews who was proceeding to South Africa.

November 20 : Visited Gujranwala; addressed public meeting at Gurukul.

November 21 : Recorded statements from witnesses at Gujranwala; addressed women's meeting.

November 23 : Spoke at Khilafat Conference at Delhi, attended exclusively by Muslims.

M. A. Jinnah regretted inability to attend.

November 24 : Gandhiji presided over joint Hindu-Muslim session of Khilafat Congress; spoke in Hindi. Resolution declared Indians' unwillingness to participate in peace celebrations until Khilafat question was settled.

Advisory committee against peace celebrations formed; one pice of Gandhiji auctioned for Rs. 501.

November 26 : Gandhiji visited and spoke at Nizamabad and Kasur.

November 29 : Visited Akalgarh.

November 30 : Visited Ramnagar.

December 1 : Recorded statements at Hafizabad.

December 2 : Addressed Hafizabad students' and women's meetings.

December 3 : Reached Sangla Hill in evening, collected evidence; left for Lahore.

Indian Reforms Bill discussed in House of Commons.

CWMG - XVI

December 5 : In Sheikhupura, Gandhiji addressed meeting on Hindu-Muslim unity.
Indian Reforms Bill passed third reading in House of Commons.

December 6 : Gandhiji left Sheikhupura for Chuharkana, spoke on need for discipline when detained by crowd at railway station.

December 7 : Visited Lyallpur in evening, received statements.

December 8 : Addressed meeting of women at noon and public meeting in evening.
Indian Reforms Bill had first reading in House of Lords.

December 9 : Gandhiji arrived in Lahore.

December 11 : Spoke at celebrations of Sabha Mandal.
Wrote to Registrar, High Court, Bombay that he "could not conscientiously offer any apology".
Registrar's application *suo moto* for "a rule *nisi* calling upon Messrs Gandhi and Desai to show cause why they should not be committed or otherwise dealt with according to law for contempt of court" granted.

December 24 : Reforms Bill received Royal assent; Royal Proclamation announcing clemency to political prisoners issued.

December 28 : At Amritsar, Gandhiji dissolved All-India Humanitarian Conference on account of disorder.

December 29 : Attended Indian National Congress session; moved resolution regarding South African Indians' hardships. Attended All-India Muslim League session.

December 30 : Moved resolution at Indian National Congress session on Punjab and Gujarat disturbances.

December 31 : Attended Congress session.

1920

January 1 : At Congress session supported resolution on swaraj but urged acceptance of Reforms.

January 4 : In letter from Sabarmati to Registrar, High Court, Bombay asked postponement of date of hearing regarding contempt of Court.

January 5 : Submitted statement to Disorders Inquiry Committee and informed it of his readiness to give oral testimony.

January 9 : Appeared before Disorders Inquiry Committee at Ahmedabad.

CWMG XVI

January 11 : Invited Lord Hunter and members of Disorders Inquiry Committee to visit Sabarmati Ashram.

January 12 : Spoke at Arya Samaj; received welcome address at Jalalpur Jattan, spoke to gathering.
Proceeded to Sargodha by car.
Lord Hunter with members of Disorders Inquiry Committee visited Ashram.

January 15 : Gandhiji left Ahmedabad for Delhi in connection with Khilafat Deputation.

January 16 : Reached Delhi.

January 18 : Met Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.

January 19 : Had interview with Viceroy, as member of Khilafat Deputation.

January 20 : Met Motilal Nehru in Allahabad.

January 21 : Opened Swadeshi Bhandar at Kanpur.

January 22 : Reached Meerut in morning; spoke at public meeting after reception, procession and addresses by Municipality, Khilafat Committee and general public.
Addressed women in connection with Congress Inquiry Committee work on Punjab disorders; *en route* to Lahore, spoke at Muzaffarpur.

January 23 : Reached Lahore.

CWMG - XVI

Advertisements, **133**
Another Martial Law Case from the Punjab, **266-7**
Another Scandal, **45-8**
(An) Appeal from the Punjab, **1-3**
(An) Appeal to Madras, **492-4**
Audi Alteram Partem, **75-8**
(An) Award, **511**
Bhai Parmanand, **303-4**
Child Mortality, **468-71**
Circular Letter, **228-9**
(The) Congress, **372-6, 462-8**
(A) Dialogue, **142-4**
Disappointment, **162-4**
Durgadas Adwani, **326-8**
Evidence before Disorders Inquiry Committee, **378-460**
Fasting and Prayer, **230-1**
Father of the World [–I], **181-3,** [–II], **213-5,** [–III], **242-4,** [–IV], **271-3**
Fiji, **292**
Fine on Nadiad and Barejadi, **98-102**
Fines Imposed on Nadiad and Barejadi, **175-8**
Fining the Labourers, **204-6**
Forthcoming Session of Gujarat Political Conference, **211-3**
Fragment of Note, **354**
Gujarat's Gift, **244-6**
Gujaratimal's Case, **127-9**
How Not to Do It, **170-4**
How to Protect the Cow, **305-6**
How to Remove the Blot, **131-2**
(The) Hunter Committee, **487-8**
(The) Indemnity Bill, **153-5**
Indian Situation in East Africa, **349-50**
Indians Abroad, **350-2**
Indians in South Africa, **87-9, 106-9**
Interview to : Associated Press of India, **270-1;** Clemes, S. W., **495-6;** (a) Journalist, **3-4**
Is Boycott Swadeshi?, **480-2**
(The) Khilafat, **517-8**
Labh Singh, **147-50**
Lala Labhu Ram, **119-22**
Letter of Thanks; **174-5**
Letter to : Agashe, V. T., **519;** Aiyer, C. P. Ramaswami, **479;** Ali, Asaf, **508-9;** Andrews, C. F., **58-9;** Arundale, G. S., **5-7, 155-6;** Aziz, Abdul, **13-6;** Bari, Abdul, **229-30,** —Extract from, **70;** Barnes, Sir George, **268, 288-90, 353-4, 478-9, 519-20;** Brown, Mrs., **523;** Candler, Edmund, **343-5;** Chanda, K. K., **521;** Chatfield, G. E., **71, 191-2, 209, 302, 377;** Chhotalal Tejpal, **150;** Clayton, Mrs., **72;** Cowie, N. P., **210;** Crerar, J., **126-7, 526-7;** Dy. Registrar, High Court, Bombay, **367-8;** Desai, Mahadev, **146-7, 304, 527;** Desai, Valji Govindji, **317;** Dhruva, Anandshankar, **524;** Director of Public Instruction, Bombay, **54-5;** Faering, Easther, **59, 62-3, 253, 254, 263, 264, 268-9, 287,328, 333-4, 343, 486-7, 499-500, 506-7, 512, 520, 521;** (a) Friend, **249-50, 269;** Gandhi, Chhaganlal, **7;** Gandhi, Devdas, —Fragment of, **55-6;** Gandhi, Maganlal, **211, 254, 334-5, 337-8, 496, 497;** Hignell, Sir S.R., **525-6;** Hirst, **528;** Husain, S. Ali, **499;** Imam, Syed Hussen,

485-6; Khan, Azmatullah, **489, 511;** Khanna, Ishardas, **51-2;** Lajpat Rai, Lala, **52;** Lt.-Governor, Punjab,—Gist of, **293-4;** Luchmaya, **480;** Maffey, J.L., **489-90;** Mann, Harold, **219;** Mathuradas Trikumji, **87,**—Fragment of, **271;** Mehta, Lallubhai Samaldas, **53;** Mehta, Manubhai Nandshankar, **8-9;** Motichand & Devidas, Solicitors, **511-2;** Natesan, G.A., **24;** Pandya, Mohanal, **24-5;** Parikh, Narahari, **338-9, 498, 510, 522-3;** Petersen, Anne Marie, **477;** Petit, J. B., **510;** (The) Press, **25-7, 27, 78-9, 90-1, 227-8, 239-41, 269-70, 461-2, 501-3;** P.S. to Governor, Bombay, **44, 60-2 220,** —Madras, **251;** P. S. to Lt.-Governor, Punjab, **56, 294-5;** P.S. to Viceroy, **193,**—(Lord) Willingdon, **57-8;** Qureshi, Shuaib, **194;** Rankin, Justice, **471;** Registrar, High Court, Bombay, **252-3, 339-40, 473, 498;** Roberts, C., **39-40;** Satyapal, Dr., **72-3;** Savarkar, N. D., **507;** Secretary, Disorders Inquiry Committee, **372, 472, 472-3;** Someone in Madanpalli, **509;** Students, **362;** Sultana, Fatima, **518;** Sundaram, V. S., **38;** Tagore, Rabindranath, **241, 264-5, 485;** Tata, Lady, **54;** Thakore, **506;** (*The*) *Times of India*, **41-3, 49-51, 73-4;** Trivedi, U.K., **242;** Vidyalankar, Indra, **44;** Vijayaraghavachariar, C., **53;** Vyas, Jivanlal B., **282;** Wattal, **247-8;** West, A. H., **9-10;** West, Ada, **475-6**

Message : (on) Annie Besant's Birthday, **201-2;** (to) Christians, **280;** (to) People of Amritsar, **261**

More Punjab Tragedies, **165-6**

Native States' Subjects, **196-9**

Note : (of) Interview on South Africa, **280-1;** (on) Lala Lajpat Rai's Letter, **25;** (on) Tilak's Letter, **490-1**

Notes, **110-2, 144-5, 156-62, 183-5, 215-9, 234-6, 246-7, 257-8, 274-9, 293**

Off the Rails, **503-5**

Our Aim, **92-5**

Prayer and Fasting, **206-8**

(The) Punjab Committee, **178-9**

Punjab Letter, **261-3, 282-6, 296-302, 312-6, 318-26, 328-32, 345-9, 354-5, 512-7**

(The) Punjab Situation, **102-3**

(The) Punjab Students, **195-6**

(A) Punjab Victim, **238-9**

Reforms, **341-2**

(The) Reforms Resolution in the Congress, **483-4**

Request to Contributors, **180-1**

Resolution at Khilafat Meeting, **153**

"Ring out the Old, Ring in the New", **259-61**

(The) Rowlatt Act, **22-3**

(The) Royal Proclamation, **360-1**

(Sir) Sankaran Nair : and Champaran, **63-9,** —and Government, **31-6**

Satyagraha, **122-4**

(The) Satyagrahi Lawyers, **250-1**

(Dr.) Satyapal's Case, **85-7**

Shaking Civil Resisters, **10-3**

(A) Shameful Sin, **129-30**

Significance of Fiji Struggle, **109-10**

South Africa, **290-1**

Speech : (at) All-India Humanitarian Conference, **355-6;** (at) Amritsar Congress, **356-60;** (at) Annie Besant Felicitation Meet-

CWMG - XVI

ing, **200-1;** (at) Arya Samaj Meeting, Ahmedabad, **473-5;** (at) Baroda, **223-6;** (at) Deccan Sabha, Poona, **16-8;** (at) Delhi Meeting, **267;** (at) Farewell to Andrews, **295-6;** (at) Felicitation Meeting, Bombay, **202;** (at) Gujarat Collage, Ahmedabad, **237-8;**(at) Gujarati Bandhu Sabha, Poona, **18-22;** (at) Kasur, **317;** (at) Kathiawar Patidar Conference, **185-90, 190-1;** (on) Khilafat, Bombay, **151-2;** (at) Khilafat Conference, Delhi, **306-7, 307-12;** (to) Lahore Students, **265-6;** (at) Meerut meeting, **494-5;** (at) Meeting of *Antyajas*, Dohad, **83;** (at) Public Meeting, Godhra, **29-31, 31;** (at) Rajkot Meeting, **169-70;** (on) Reforms Resolution at Amritsar Congress, **363-7;** (at) Swadeshi Bhandar, Godhra, **28;** (on) Swadeshi, Bombay, **112-3,** —Rajkot, **167-8;** (at) Weavers' Meeting, Dohad, **81-2;** (at) Women's Meeting, Amritsar, **286-7,** —Dohad, **79-81,** —Godhra, **28-9,** —Rajkot, **168**

Statement to Disorders Inquiry Committee, **368-72**

Story of Kheda, **95-7**

Swadeshi in a Nutshell, **125-6**

Swadeshi *v.* Machinery?, **134-5**

Swaraj in Swadeshi, **335-7**

Telegram to : Ali, Sadiq, **229;** Ali, Shaukat, **522;** Andrews, C. F., **237, 302;** Barnes, Sir George, **135;** Desai, Mahadev, **145;** Faering, Esther, **208;** Habibuddin, **367;** Home Secretary, **113;** Khilafat Committee, **150;** Kisan Sabha, Khajauli, **219;** Mehta, Raojibhai, **294;** Nehru, Shamlal, **501;** P. S. to Governor, Bombay, **199-200,** —Madras, **208;** P.S. to Viceroy, **91, 203, 204, 226;** Registrar, High Court, Bombay, **288;** Sabarmati Ashram, **268;** Shraddhanand, Swami, **1, 203**

To the People of Kathiawar, **255-7**

To the Public outside Gujarat, **167**

To the Subscribers and the Readers, **221-3**

Turkey, **104-6**

Unhappy Punjab, **103-4**

Viceroy's Speech, **135-42**

(The) Viceroy's Speech : Inquiry Committee, **113-8**

Victims, Not Guilty, **84-5**

We Are Apt to Make Mistakes, **220-1**

What to Do?, **36-8**

Widows' Outpouring, **232-4**

CWMG XVI

A

ADAJANIA, Sorabji Shapurji, 147
ADVERTISEMENTS; abuse of, 133
ADWANI, Durgadas; case against, 326-8
AGASHE, V. T., 519
AHMED, Zahoor, 481
AHMEDABAD; outbreak of violence in, 389-90, —Disorders Inquiry Committee report on, 487-8, — Gandhiji explains, 390-2, and condemns, 465-6
AIYER, C. P. Ramaswami, 479
ALI BROTHERS, *see* ALI, Mahomed and ALI, Shaukat
ALI, Asaf, 308, 319, 320, 508
ALI, Mahomed, 70, 194, 226, 229, 513, 514, 516, 517
ALI, Reza, 319
ALI, Sadiq, 229
ALI, Shaukat, 71, 194, 226, 229, 513, 514, 516, 517, 522
ALL-INDIA HUMANITARIAN CONFERENCE, 355, 356
AMBALAL, Divan Bahadur, 284
AMINA, 343
AMPTHILL, Lord, 152
ANANDLAL, 334
ANDREWS, C. F., 10, 27, 58, 152, 207, 208, 230, 237, 241, 269, 283, 300 to 303, 351, 352, 357, 359, 373, 461, 464, 475; and indentured Indians in Fiji, 109-10, 292; and South Africa, 291; condemns Martial Law excesses in Punjab, 312-4; his services to India praised, 263 to 265, **295-6,** 314-5
ANSARI, Dr., 284, 319
Antyajas: asked to spin, 83; untouchability a sin against, 81-2
ARUNDALE, G. S., 5; and Punjab, 155-6
ARYA SAMAJ; its defects, 473-5
ASVAT, Ibrahim Ismail, 25 to 27, 501-2
AUSTRALIAN IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION ACT, 88
AYYANGAR, Rangaswami, *see* IYENGAR
AZIZ, Abdul, 13

B

BABOO, Govind, 54
BAGGA, Jamiat Singh; case of, 266-7
BALKRISHNA, 339
BANKER, Shankerlal Ghelabhai, 209, 211, 216, 234
BANKER, Mrs. Shankerlal, 4, 29
BANNERJEA, Surendranath, 88, 145; and South African Indian question, 106-7
BAPTISTA, Joseph, 480-2
BAREJADI; unjust fine on people of, 235-6, 371, 398-9, —condemned, 98-102, —its withdrawal urged, 75 8, 175-8
BARI, Maulana Abdul, 70, 194, 229, 305, 319, 323, 324; and Hindu-Muslim unity, 90-1
BARNES, Sir George, 17, 26, 135, 268, 288, 292, 353, 478, 519
BARNES, Lady, 479
BARNES, Miss, 479
BARRON, 284
BASHIR, Dr. Mahomed; case against, 165-6
BASHIR, Mrs. Mahomed, 165

BAWAZEER, Imam Saheb, 250, 500, 510, 520
BENGAL; partition of, 22
BENTINCK, William, 437
BESANT, Annie, 483; and Home Rule, 201-2; and satyagraha against Rowlatt Bills, 417; her services commended, 215, 216, —on her birthday, 200 to 202; her support for spread of Hindustani solicited, 492-4
Bhagavad Gita, 112, 144, 231, 245, 311, 367, 490, 503
BHANDARKAR, Dr. Sir Ramkrishna Gopal, 17
BHOLARAM, Dr., 121
BHOPATKAR, L. B., 18
BHUVARJEE, 486
BIBLE, 311
Bible Story, 524
BIKANER, Maharaja of, 73, 105, 136
BITTMANN, 59, 62
BLAVATSKY, Madame, 202
BODHRAJ, Dr., 121
BOLSHEVISM; and civil resistance, 13
BOMANJI, 319, 323
(*The*) *Bombay Chronicle*, 10, 90, 221, 227, 461
BOSE, J. C., 493-4
BOTHA, General, 241; his death condoled, 79
BOWRING, 388, 456
BOYCOTT; and swadeshi, 480-2
BOYD, R. R., 456
Brahmacharya, 146, 147
BRITISH EMPIRE; and Khilafat, 517-8; and South Africa, 88
BROWN, Mrs., 523
BRYCE, 344
BUDDHA, 314
BULLER, General, 74, 247
BUNYAN, John, 51, 63
BURMA; repression in, 11
BURROW, Sir George, 102
BUTLER, 263

C

CANDLER, Edmund, 343
(*The*) *Cape Times*, 145
CHAMBERLAIN, 88
CHAMPARAN; constructive work in villages of, 242-3; Sankaran Nair's note on, defended, 31-6, **63-9**
CHANDA, K. K., 521
CHANDAVARKAR, Sir Narayan, 13, 37, 153
CHANDULAL, 181, 191
CHATFIELD, G. E., 71, 191, 209, 302, 377, 391, 393, 420, 452 to 454, 460
CHELMSFORD, Lady, 490
CHELMSFORD, Lord, 105, 207, 383, 405, 442, 465, 467; and Rowlatt Act, 23
CHETTIAR, 21
CHETTIAR, Mrs. T. A., 4, 21
CHHOTALAL TEJPAL, 62, 150, 211, 218, 337
CHHOTANI, Miya, 323
CHILD MORTALITY; causes and cure of, 468-71
CHINIS, Justice, 204
CHINTAMANI, C. Y., 10
CHOUDHRANI, Sarladevi, 253, 262, 316, 496 to 498, 512, 516
CHOUDHRI, Rambhuj Dutt, 117, 262, 265, 498, 516
CHRIST, Jesus, 280, 313, 333
CHRISTIANITY; and India, 495-6
CIVIL RESISTANCE; and Bolshevism, 13; and Islam, 14; in Champaran and Natal, 14; resumption of, 14-6, —if Punjab wrongs are not rectified and Rowlatt Act not repealed, 3, 6, 23
CIVIL RESISTERS, *see* SATYAGRAHIS

CWMG - XVI

CLAYTON, 29, 30, 72, 111
CLAYTON, Mrs., 28, 29, 72
CLEMES, S. W., 495
COBB, Powys, 359
COLLINS, 145
COVERNTON, 161
COW-PROTECTION; and Hindu-Muslim unity, 305, 308, 319-20, 323
COW-SLAUGHTER, 91; and goat sacrifice, 161; and Hindu-Muslim unity 508-9
COWIE, N. P., 44, 210, 220
CREMATION; improvement in method of, 218-9
CRERAR, James, 126, 526
CURTIS, Lionel, 213
CURZON, Lord, 248

D

DAMAYANTI, 225
DANIEL, 51, 63
DARWIN, 21
DAS, C.R., 262, 283, 285, 299, 301, 319, 349, 363, 365, 367, 376, 466, 483
DAULATRAM, Lala; case against, 84-5
DAYAL, Kishan, 172
DAYANAND, Swami, 474, 493
DEATH; none should fear, 514
DEEPAK, 487, 496 to 498, 500, 512
(*The*) *Defence and Death of Socrates*, 370
DEODHAR, G.K., 18
DESAI, Mrs., 72
DESAI, Rao Bahadur Harilal; and Government's cruelty to people of Nadiad and Barejadi, 175 to 178
DESAI, Jivanlal V., 454, 459
DESAI, K.N., 83
DESAI, Krishnalal Ambalal, 284
DESAI, Mahadev, 9, 145, 146, 209,254, 304, 328, 368, 473, 487, 497-8, 500, 510, 522, 527
DESAI, Valji Govindji, 317
DEV, Dr.; his services in Champaran, 242-3
DEVI, *see* WEST, Ada
DEVI, Ganga, 84
DEVIDAS, 84
DHARMACHAND, Lala, 1
DHRUVA, Anandshanker Bapubhai, 523, 524; felicitated, 237-8; his scholarship and services praised, 244-6
DICEY, 153
DISORDERS INQUIRY COMMITTEE; Congress Sub-committee to boycott, if political prisoners are not released, 295, 300, 317; Gandhiji's evidence before, **378-460**, —statement to, **368-372;** (its) members invited to Ashram, 472; (its) report on Ahmedabad and other places, 487-8. *See* also PUNJAB COMMITTEE.
DOSHI, T.; case against, 196 to 198
DURGA, 339, 527
DWARAKANATH, 338
DYER, General, 330, 355, 360, 361, 374, 465

E

EAST AFRICA; rights of Indians in, to be protected, **349 to 352,** 461-2; resolution at Congress session regarding, 358-60
EDUCATION, 196, 330, 331; and knowledge, 362; in India defective, 450
ENGLISH; and mother-tongue, 347; difficulties and disadvantages in using, 220-1, 235
(*The*) *Englishman*, 100
ESCOMBE, 247
EUROPEANS; spinning recommended to, 29
EWBANK, 71

F

FAERING, Esther, 38, 62, 208, 251, 253, 254, 263, 264, 268, 287, 328, 333, 343, 476, 477, 486, 497, 510, 512, 520, 521, 523; and Kasturba Gandhi, **499-500,** 506; deportation of, feared, 57 to 59
FATIMA, 343, 506
FAZALBHAI KARIMBHAI, 20
FIJI; indentured Indians in, 27, 109-10, 118, 131, 142, **292,** 350-1
FORCED LABOUR; in Panch Mahals, 110

G

GAIT, Sir Edward, 64
GALLWAY, Col., 74
GANDHI, Anandlal, 10
GANDHI, Chhaganlal, 7, 10, 269
GANDHI, Devdas, 10, 24, 38, 55, 147, 486, 497
GANDHI, Harilal, 10, 334, 337
GANDHI, Kasturba, 7, 40, 264, 334, 486, 497, 510; and Esther Faering, **499-500**, 506
GANDHI, Maganlal, 10, 211, 254, 334, 337, 377, 496, 497, 500, 510, 523
GANDHI, Manilal, 9
GANDHI, Mohandas Karamchand; agrees to assist Disorders Inquiry Committee, 203, 372, and to answer allegations against him, 472-3; and Abraham Lincoln, 49; and Annie Besant, **200 to 202**, 215, 216; and Esther Faering, 57 to 59, 208; and Hinduism, 476-7; and his Ambulance Corps during war in South Africa, 73-4, 247-8; and Khilafat deputation to Viceroy, 489-90; and Tilak, 490-1; and truth, 92-3, 175, 283; and untouchability and *varnashrama*, 504-5; arrested while proceeding to Delhi, 14, 371, 387-8, 403, and prohibited from entering Delhi and Punjab, 261, 270-1, 455-6, —requests cancellation of prohibitory order, 193, 203, which is granted, 239-40; (his) *brahmacharya* and *tapascharya*, 146-7; case against, regarding publication of Judge's letter on satyagrahi lawyers, 340, 367, 368, 473, 498; condemns hero-worship, 325, and disapproves of people worshipping him, 282; defends Sankaran Nair's note on Champaran, **63-9;** (his) evidence before Disorders Inquiry Committee 367-72, **378-460;** explains resolution on Reforms Act at Indian National Congress session, **363-7;** felicitated on his birthday, 202; (his) objection to Rowlatt Bills, 381-2, 407-8, 445 to 448; opposes boycott of British goods, 307, 310, 318-9, but regards refusal to co-operate as a right, 321-2; takes over editorship of *Navajivan*, 110
GANDHI, Santok, 184, 334
GANGA SINGH, 247
GANGABEHN, 8, 162
GEDDES, Patrick, 212
GHARDA, 367
GIDWANI, Choithram, 319
GILLESPIE, Rev., 458
GIRDHARILAL, Lala, 297
GIRJASHANKAR, 339
GLADSTONE, 344
GOKHALE, Gopal Krishna, 6, 18, 171, 181, 315
GOKULDAS, 63
GOMTI, 146
GONDAL, Rani Saheba of, 185
GOPALJI, 246

GORGES, 41-2
GOVERDHANDAS, Lala, 137, 155
GRIFFITH, 403, 454, 456
GUIDER, J.A., 391, 392, 394, 459
GUJARAT LITERARY CONFERENCE; Rabindranath Tagore invited to address, 485
GUJARAT POLITICAL CONFERENCE; preparations for, 211-3
Gujarati, 55
GUJARATI BANDHU SABHA, 18
GUJARATIMAL; case against, **127-9**

H

HABIBUDDIN, 367
HAFEEZ, Abdul; tragic death of, 513-5
HAFIZABAD CASE, *see* KARAMCHAND
HAIYAT, Bashir, 172
HAND-WRITING; must be legible, 180
HANSRAJ, Lala, 303, 443
HANUMANTRAO, 7
HAQ, Fazal, 318
HAQ, Fazlul, 349
HARDAYAL, 55
HARDINGE, Lord, 285, 373
HARIPRASAD, Dr., 242
HARKISHANLAL, Lala, 117, 154, 155, 163, 179
HAROON, Abdulla, 319
HAVELI RAM, 172
HIGNELL, S.R., 193, 525
HINDI; necessity to spread, 373-4, —in Madras, 492-4; use of, 220-1, 235
(*The*) *Hindu*, 6, 38
HINDU TEMPLES; cleanliness in, 275-6
HINDUISM, 476, 477; and problem of widows, 232-4
HINDUS; goat-sacrifice as ritual among, condemned, 161; unity between, and Muslims, 82, 104, 207, 260, 308, 495, —Abdul Bari on, 90-1, 305, 323, —cow-slaughter and, 508-9, —Khilafat and, 227 to 231, 306-12, 320-4
HIRST, 528
HOBHOUSE, Emily, 476
HOME RULE LEAGUE; and Annie Besant, 201-2, 215-6; and Rowlatt Act, 236
HORNIMAN, B.G., 37, 100, 221, 438
HUDSON, General, 266
HUDSON, Sir Havelock, 173-4
HUME, 373, 464
HUNTER, Lord, 102, 103, 113, 114, 139, 154, 156, 283, 295, 300, 409, 472, 473
HUNTER, Sir William Wilson, 19, 89, 109, 169, 356
HUNTER COMMITTEE, *see* DISORDERS INQUIRY COMMITTEE
HUSAIN, S. Ali, 499
HUSSAIN, Fazl, 301
HUSSAIN, Syed, 319, 485
HUXLEY, 494

I

IMPERIAL CITIZENSHIP ASSOCIATION, 106
—GOVERNMENT; and Indians in South Africa, 16, 108
INDEMNITY BILL, 115, 140, 141, 153-5
INDENTURED INDIANS; in Fiji, 27, 109-10, 118, 131, 142, 292, 350-1
INDIA; and Christianity, 495-6; and civil resistance 23; and Khilafat, **151-2,** 293; and Turkey, 136; education in, defective, 450; its temples, 188; its peasantry, 181-3; poverty and misery in, **19**, 30, 143, people exhorted to work and improve its condition, 223-6; reconstruction of its villages, 168-9, **213-5, 243-4, 271-3;** should be friendly towards British Empire, 315

India, 10
INDIAN DEPUTATION; to help Indians in South Africa, 144-5
— GOVERNMENT; and Indians in South Africa, 16-7
— NATIONAL Congress; and Khilafat, 468; its resolution demanding protection of Indians' rights in East and South Africa, **356-60,** —on Reforms, 466-7, 483-4; (its) session at Amritsar, 462-8
Indian Opinion, 9, 92
(*The*) *Indian Social Reformer*, 146
INDIAN TRADERS; their hardships in South Africa, 41-3
INDIANS; (their) fight to protect their rights in East Africa, 349 to 352, 461-2, —in Fiji, 118, 140-2, 350-1, —in South Africa, 16-8, 25-7, 118, 140-2, **350-2**
IYENGAR, Kasturiranga, 483
IYENGAR, A. Rangaswami, 374, 464

J

JAGANNATH, 119, 149
JAGATNARAYAN, 300, 434, 472
JALLIANWALA BAGH, 372; Congress delegates pay homage to martyrs at, 462; Gandhiji at, 354-5; memorial column to be erected at, 468
JAYAKAR, Mukund R., 349, 355
JEHANGIR, Emperor, 345
JINNAH, M.A., 376, 466, 467
JIVRAJ, Dr., 145

K

KAIRA; Sankaran Nair's note on, defended, 31-6; G.K. Parekh's rejoinder to Bombay Government on, 95-7
KALE, V.G., 18
KAMAT, 32
KANTAWALA, Biharilal, 276, 277
KANTILAL, 496
KARAMCHAND, Lala, 119, 127, 154; case against, 51, 56, 84-5, 103, —defended, 45-8
KELKAR, 374, 464
KEMP, 451, 454
KENNEDY, 252, 340
KER, 77, 98, 100, 399, 440
KESAR MAL; case against, 170-2
KHADI; for temple idols, 188
KHAN, Ajmal, 284 to 286, 307, 319, 323, 512
KHAN, Azmatullah, 489, 511, 512
KHAN, Bhai Ismail, 514
KHAN, Sahibzada Aftab Ahmed, 102, 139
KHAN, Sahibzada Sultan Ahmed, 102, 114, 139, 301, 445, 472
KHANDWALA, Kanchanlal, 133, 468, 470
KHANNA, Ishardas, 51
KHEDA, *see* KAIRA
KHILAFAT; and British Empire, 517-8; and Congress 468; and Gandhiji, 344-5; and Government of India, 525, 526; common cause for Hindus and Muslims, **151-2,** 227 to 229, 230-1, **307-12, 320-4,** 494; Day to be observed, 207; India not to take part in Peace celebrations unless, issue is settled, 268 to 270, 293, 306-7, 309-10, 320 to 323; resolution on, 153; satyagraha regarding, 156
— DEPUTATION; Gandhiji's criticism of, 489-90; inclusion of Hindus in, 513; Viceroy receives, 517; to England, 522
KISHAN, Jiwan, 128
KISHORELAL, 339
KITCHLEW, Dr. Saifuddin, 103, 117,

CWMG XVII

155, 163, 261, 295, 316; case against, 85-7
KORAN, 105, 311
KOTHAWALA, Khan Saheb, 28
KOTHAWALA, Mrs. Jerbanu Merwanji, 28
KRISHNA, Lord, 226, 268, 333, 515
KRISHNAMMA, 338
KRISHNASAMY, Dr., 24
KRISHNASWAMI, Justice, 493
KRISHNAVARMA, Shyamji, 303

L

LABHU RAM, Lala; case against, 119-22
LABHU RAM, Mrs., 119 to 121
LAJPAT RAI, Lala, 25, 52, 55, 304
LAKSHMI PRASAD, Dr., 275-6
LATHAM, Miss, 61
LAW 3 of 1885, 42, 270, 281
(*The*) *Leader*, 195, 197
LILAVATIBEHN, 523
LINCOLN, Abraham; and Gandhiji, 49
LLOYD, Lady George, 61
LLOYD GEORGE, 104, 105, 153, 308, 309, 311
LOUNDES, George, 220, 235
LUCHMAYA, 480
LYALL, Sir Alfred, 474
LYALL, Sir Charles, 348

M

MACCULLUM, Sir Henry, 248
MACHINERY; and Swadeshi, 134-5
MACLAGAN, Sir Edward, 148, 149, 162, 164
MACONOCHIE, Mr., 96
(*The*) *Madras Mail*, 479
MAFFEY, J.L., 489
MAGDALENE, 500
Mahabharata, 524
MAHOMED, Dawood; his services in South Africa commended and death condoled, **78-9**, 111-2
(*The*) *Mahratta*, 55
MALANDEVI, *see* LABHURAM, Mrs.
MALAVIYA, Krishnakant, 319, 323
MALAVIYA, Madan Mohan, 1, 115, 140, 148, 155, 162, 238, 245, 261, 263, 275, 283, 295, 299 to 301, 310, 349, 354, 376, 464, 466,467, 483, 484, 524
MANGALSEN, Divan, 316
MANI, 527
MANIDATTA, 268
MANINDRA, 338, 498
MANN, Harold, 219
Manusmriti, 245
MARSDEN, 324
MARY, 500
MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI, 87, 271, 497
MAYADEVI, 170
MEHTA, Lallubhai Samaldas, 53, 199
MEHTA, Manubhai Nandshankar, 8
MEHTA, Narasinh, 275, 330
MEHTA, Sir Pherozeshah, 102, 114, 139
MEHTA, Ravjibhai, 294
MEHTA, Rewashankar Jagjivan, 217, 218, 277
MEYER, Sir William, 88; and South African Indian question, 107-8
MILL-WORKERS; levy imposed on Ahmedabad, 371, 398, 432-3, —should be reduced, 210, —and its recovery should be postponed, 191-2, **199-200**, **204-6**
MIRABAI, 275
MOHANI, Hasrat, 307,311,513,516,517
Moksha; and Truth, 147
MONTAGU, 53, 105, 114, 118, 135, 142, 145, 151, 199, 207, 230, 268, 270, 290, 291, 342, 361, 364 to 366, 376, 466, 479, 484; and Rowlatt Act, **22-3, 39-40,** 240-1; and South African Indian problem, 87-9,

106 to 108
MORAL FORCE; and physical force, 23
MORALITY; and law, 110
MORLEY, 22, 114, 344
Moss, Major, 169
MOTICHAND & DEVIDAS, 511
MUKADAM, Wamanrao, 213
MULCHAND, 128
MULLIK, Justice, 300
MULRAJ, 328
MUNNIK, 145
MUSLIMS; and the Turkish question, 104-6; unity between Hindus and, 82, 104, 207, 260, 308, 495, —Abdul Bari on, 90-1, 305, 323, —cow-slaughter and, 508-9, —Khilafat and, 227 to 231, 306-12, 320-4. *See* also KHILAFAT

N

NADIAD; imposition of fine on people of, 371, 398-9, —condemned, 98-102, —(its) withdrawal urged, 75-8, **175-8**
NAIR, Sir Sankaran; his note on Champaran and Kaira, **31-6**, 63; Bihar Government's reply to, 64; Bombay Government's reply to, 95, —criticised, 64-9; G. K. Parekh defends, 95-7
NALA, 225
NANALAL, 146, 147, 158, 169
NANJI, Popatlal, 257
NAOROJI, Dadabhai, 20, 171
NATARAJAN, 146
NATESAN, G.A., 24
NATIONAL EDUCATION, 156-7
NATIVE STATES; status of subjects in, 196 to 199
Navajivan, 132, 146, 150, 159, 161, 183, 184, 211, 215, 219, 230, 232, 234, 276, 301, 304, 468, 512, 524; and advertisements, 133; and Rowlatt petition, 274; Gandhiji assumes editorship of, 110; harassed by Government, 216-7; how it serves, 93-5; its policy, etc., 221-3, 234; scheme to publish, in other languages, 167; security demanded from, 110, but imposition of security would affect Government's prestige, 209; suggestions to its contributors, 180-1
Navajivan CLUB, 159, 160
— PRESS, 10
NEHRU, Jawaharlal, 266-7
NEHRU, Motilal, 115, 140, 262, 263, 275, 283, 299, 301, 319, 332, 349, 355, 373, 374, 464, 489, 513
NEHRU, Shamlal, 501
NEVILLE, 262, 332, 354
New Age, 525, 526
New India, 201, 417, 494
NIVEDITA, Sister, 242
NIZAMI, Khwaja Sahib Hasan, 323

O

O'BRIEN, Lt.-Col., 171
O'DWYER, Sir Michael, 10, 138, 154, 155, 162, 163, 374, 465, 467

P

PAL, Bipin Chandra, 375, 479, 483, 484
PALONJI, 510
PALONJI, Mrs., 510
PANDYA, Mohanlal, 24
PARANJPYE, R.P., 21
PARASARAM, Dr., 361, 324
PAREKH, Gokuldas Kahandas, 211; his rejoinder to Bombay Government's reply to Sankaran Nair's note of dissent on Kheda and

CWMG - XVI

Champaran defended, 95-7
PARIKH, Narahari, 254, 304, 338, 498, 506, 510, 522
PARKES, Sir Henry, 88
PARMANAND, Bhai; his release demanded, 303-4
PATEL, Vallabhbhai, 441, 455, 457, 458
PATEL, Vithalbhai, 97, 374, 464
PATTANI, Sir Prabhashankar, 199
PEARSON, 27, 351
PEASANTS; in India, 181-3
PETERSEN, Anne Marie, 333, 477
PETIT, Lady Dinshaw, 29, 72, 126, 161
PETIT, Mrs. Jayji, 29, 126, 161
PETIT, J.B., 510
PETIT, Mrs. J.B., 4, 302
PHYSICAL FORCE; and moral force, 23
PICKTHALL, Marmaduke, 127, 525, 526
Pinjrapole, Patan, 511
POLAK, H.S.L., 506, 527
POPATLAL, 211
POSTAL CLERKS; relief for, demanded, 353-4
PRABHUDAS, 339
PRAHLAD, 276, 296, 314
PRASAD, Brijkishore, 66, 67, 219
PRASAD, Dr. Hari, 484
PRASAD, Dr. Rajendra, 486
PRATT, 89, 390, 395, 396, 403, 452, 457, 458
PRAYER AND FASTING; meaning and value of, 207, 230
PROPHET, 522
PUJARA, Popatlal Damodar, 184
PUNJAB; atrocities in, during Martial Law, 137-8, 165-6, 170-4, 197, 238-9, 329-30, 348, Commission appointed to investigate **103-4,** 113-5 135, 139-40, 163-4; Congress Subcommittee to report on, 349,—relief to victims of, **1-3**, 31, 104, **155-6**, 274-5; Gandhiji permitted to enter, 239-40; student unrest in, 195-6
— COMMITTEE; appointment of judges on, 204; expansion of, a cause for anxiety, 178-9; Gandhiji to assist inquiry conducted by, 203, 262-3; holds open session at Delhi, 284. *See* also DISORDERS INQUIRY COMMITTEE

Q

QURESHI, Shuaib, 194

R

RADHAKISHAN, Lala, 137
RAMA, 137, 188, 226, 333
Ramayan, 524
RANADE, Justice, 37, 235
RANADE, Mrs. Ramabai, 29
RANKIN, Justice, 102, 399, 425, 471
RAUF, Justice, 204
REFORMS BILL, 335, 341, 342, 375,376; and Royal Proclamation, 360-1; Congress resolution on, 466-7, **483-4,** —Gandhiji and, 363-7
REHMAN, Dr. Abdur, 284
REVASHANKAR, 480
RICE, 102
ROBERTS, Charles, 39
ROBERTS, Lady Cecilia, 40
ROBERTS, Lieut., 74
ROBERTSON, Sir Benjamin, 42, 98, 118, 135, 141, 268, 270, 290, 291, 390, 478, 503
ROBINSON, Sir John, 247
ROGERS, P. G., 353
ROWLATT, Justice, 445
ROWLATT ACT; abolition of, demanded by Home Rule League, 236; and Annie Besant, 417; and Chelmsford, 23; and Defence of India Act, 382; and Montagu, 22-3, 39-40, 240-1; Gandhiji's

objection to, 381-2, 407-8, 434, 445 to 448; petition regarding, 274; repeal of, demanded, 22-3, **36-8, 39-40,** 51, 137, —to be secured through civil disobedience, 3-6, 16, 23, 53, 240-1, 342, 383 to 386, 415-6, 428, 449; Viceroy's remarks on public reaction to, criticized, 116-7
ROY, Kalinath, 137, 163
ROYAL COMMISSION; to deal with hardships of Indians in South Africa, 106-9
— PROCLAMATION; and Reforms Act, 360-1
RUSKIN, 135
RUSTOMJI, Parsi, 9, 78, 147, 475

S

SACHDEVA, Beharilal; case against, 238, 239
SADHUS; and spinning, 144
Sanj Vartman, 125, 161
SANTANAM, 301
SARABHAI, Ambalal, 398, 456, 457
SARABHAI, Anasuyabehn, 4, 71, 191, 371, 392, 426, 437, 440, 443, 460, 520
SARKAR, Jadunath, 220, 235
SASTRI, V. S. Srinivasa, 242, 268, 270, 281, 291, 354
SATYAGRAHA, 50, 51, 70, 152, 260, 378 to 381, 407, 413, 414; against Rowlatt Bills, 240-1, 381, 428, 449; and civil disobedience, 427; and Government, 393-4; and hartal, 386-7; and lawlessness, 405-6; and Truth, 407 to 410; defined, 509; explained, 123-4, 368-9; in South Africa, 122, 411-2, 415, 438; its influence in India, 460
— SABHA, 12
SATYAGRAHI LAWYERS; case against, 250-1
SATYAGRAHIS, 49, 50; life of, in prison, 327; suppression of, 11, 12
SATYAPAL, Dr., 72, 117, 155, 163, 261, 295, 316, 370, 400, 401, 471; case against, **85-7,** 103-4
SAVARKAR, N. D., 507
SEN, I. B., 374, 464
SEN, Keshub Chunder, 437
SETALVAD, Chimanlal H., 102, 114, 139, 301, 391, 407, 411, 437, 439
SHAH, 77
SHAH, Fulchand, 99, 100
SHAMALDAS, 338
SHANKARACHARYA, 187
SHANKARLAL, 24
SHEPPARD, 319
SHERWOOD, Miss, 173, 313
SHRADDHANAND, Swami, 115, 140, 178, 261, 263, 275, 284, 319, 323, 355, 370, 373, 385, 401, 402, 464, 471; and relief to Punjab victims, **1-3,** 103-4; asked to give evidence before Disorders Inquiry Committee, 203
SHRI RAM, 337
SINGH, Gian, 128
SINGH, Gurdial; case against, **165-6**
SINGH, Karam, 128
SINGH, Krishna, 485
SINGH, Labh; case against, **147-50**
SINGH, Parshotam, 266
SINGH, Ranjit, 316, 328
SINHA, Sachchidananda, 235
SINHA, Satyendra Prasanno, 73, 105, 220, 361, 481
SITA, 137
SMUTS, General, 22, 41, 118, 241, 248, 281, 289, 290, 352, 380, 415, 427; Gandhi's agreement with, 41; India and, 17
SOCIAL SERVICE, 169-70

SOMAN; his services in Champaran, 242-3
SORABJI, Mrs. Kunverbai, 510
SOUTH AFRICA; and British Empire, 88; Gandhiji and his Ambulance Corps during war in, 73-4, **247-8;** hardships of Indians in, **16-8, 25-7, 41-3,** 88-9, 118; rights of Indians to trade and own land in, 242, **350-2,** 356-8, **478-9,** 501-3; Royal Commission to investigate grievances of Indians in, **106-9;** 270-1, **280-1,** —should not be empowered to restrict their trade and property rights, 288-9, 291, which are guaranteed by Immigration Act, 290, —Indian representatives on Commission, 87-8, 141-2, 144-5, 290-1; satyagraha in, 411-2, 415, 426-7, 438
SPINNING, 4, 8, 21, 22, 144, 225, 226, 343; can remove poverty from India, 30; recommended to Europeans, 29, —to sadhus, 144, —to women, **79-81,** 129 to 132, 161-2, **168,** 190, 284-5, 331
— WHEEL; improving its model, 217-8, 276-8, 348
SULEMAN, Maulana, 305
SULTAN OF TURKEY, 105
SUNDARAM, 7, 58, 59, 268, 522
SUNDARAM, V. S., 38
Swadesha Mitran, 6, 38
SWADESHI, 60, 61, 125, 167, 168; and boycott, 480-2; and machinery, 134-5; and swaraj, 18, **335-7,** 495; for Kathiawar and other Indian States, 255-7; has enduring value, 159; how to promote, 125-6; its economic and religious aspects, 30-1; its merits, 112-3; to remove India's poverty, **18-22,** 28-9
SWARAJ; and swadeshi, 18, **335-7;** and village uplift, 326
SYDENHAM, Lord, 365

T

TAGORE, Rabindranath, 241, 264, 285; invited to address Gujarat Literary Conference, 485
TALATI, Gokuldas, 77, 98 to 100
TANDON, Purushottamdas, 316
TANNERIES, 278, 279
Tapascharya, 146, 147
TATA, Lady Dorab, 29, 54, 126, 161
TATAM, Lieut., 46, 128; and Kesar Mal case, 171-2
TEMPLES; in India, 188
THAKORE, 506
THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY, 201
THOREAU, Henry, 50, 51, 406
TILAK, Bal Gangadhar, 363, 365 to 367, 376, 483, 484, 492, 505; and Gandhiji, 490-1
(*The*) *Times of India*, 49, 73, 89, 107, 204, 270, 289, 319, 484; Gandhiji's letter to, on plight of South African Indian traders, **41-3**
TOLSTOY, 123
TRANSVAAL ASIATIC REGISTRATION ACT, 22, 241
— GOLD LAW, 25, 42, 43, 289
— IMMIGRATION LAW, 241
— TOWNSHIPS ACT, 25, 42, 289
(*The*) *Tribune*, 303
TRIVEDI, Uttamlal K., 242, 332
TRUTH, 92, 93, 267; and freedom, 299; and *Moksha*, 147; and satyagraha, 407 to 410; Gandhiji's search for, 175
TULSIDAS, 188
TURKEY; problem of, 70, 135-6; status of, **104-6.** *See* also KHILAFAT
TYABJI, Abbas, 301, 349

CWMG - XVI

U

Unto This Last, 370
UNTOUCHABILITY, *see* ANTYAJAS

V

VALLABH, 232
Varnashrama; and untouchability, 504-5
VIDYAGOURI NILKANTH, Mrs., 257
VIDYALANKAR, Indra, 44
VIJAYARAGHAVACHARIAR, C., 53
VINCENT, Sir William, 172, 178, 179
VYAS, Jivanlal B., 282
VYAS, Manilal Jadavji, 53, 198

W

WACHA, Sir Dinshaw, 19
WADHWA MAL, 172
WATHEN, 354
WATTAL, 247
WEDDERBURN, 373, 464
WEST, A. H., 9
WEST, Ada, 9, 475
WHITE, Sir George, 73
WIDOWS; Hindu Society and problem of, 232-4
WILLIAMSON, 472
WILLINGDON, Lord, 6, 7, 57, 58, 64
WILSON, President, 104, 105
WOMEN; asked to spin, **79-81,** 129 to 132, 161-2, **168,** 190, 331, —and to take to swadeshi, 286-7
WOODGATE, Gen., 74

Y

YADAWAS, 189
YAGNIK, Indulal, 216, 302, 527
YAGNIK, Mulshanker Mavji, 183
YOGI, 20
Young India, 5, 52, 53, 56, 92, 100, 103, 127, 146, 149, 165, 194, 195, 211, 228, 234, 250, 252, 264, 343, 526; its policy, etc., 221-3, 234; prohibitory order against, and other journals, 54-5, —withdrawn, 160; security demanded from, 209

Z

ZEND, 311

CWMG - XVI

ERRATA

PAGE	FOR	READ
44, item 27 date line	*Shravan Sud 6* [*August 18, 1919*]	Shravan Vad 6, [August 17, 1919] The item should be read after item 25.
49, *footnote 3	1919	*1917*
55, item 37 date line	[*August 21, 1919*]	[August 20, 1919] The item should be read after item 32.
87, *item 57	*Bhadarva Vad 9*	Bhadarva Sud 9

* Due correction made.

CWMG - XVI

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Vol. XVI	References to CWMG Volume - **III**	
	Edition - 1960	Edition - 1979
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* 74	137-41, 146-7	163-9, 174-6
* 247	168	202

* Due correction made

Vol. XVI	References to CWMG Volume - **II**	
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559	349	341

CWMG - XVI

