THE COLLECTED WORKS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

XVII

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THE COLLECTED WORKS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

VOLUME SEVENTEEN



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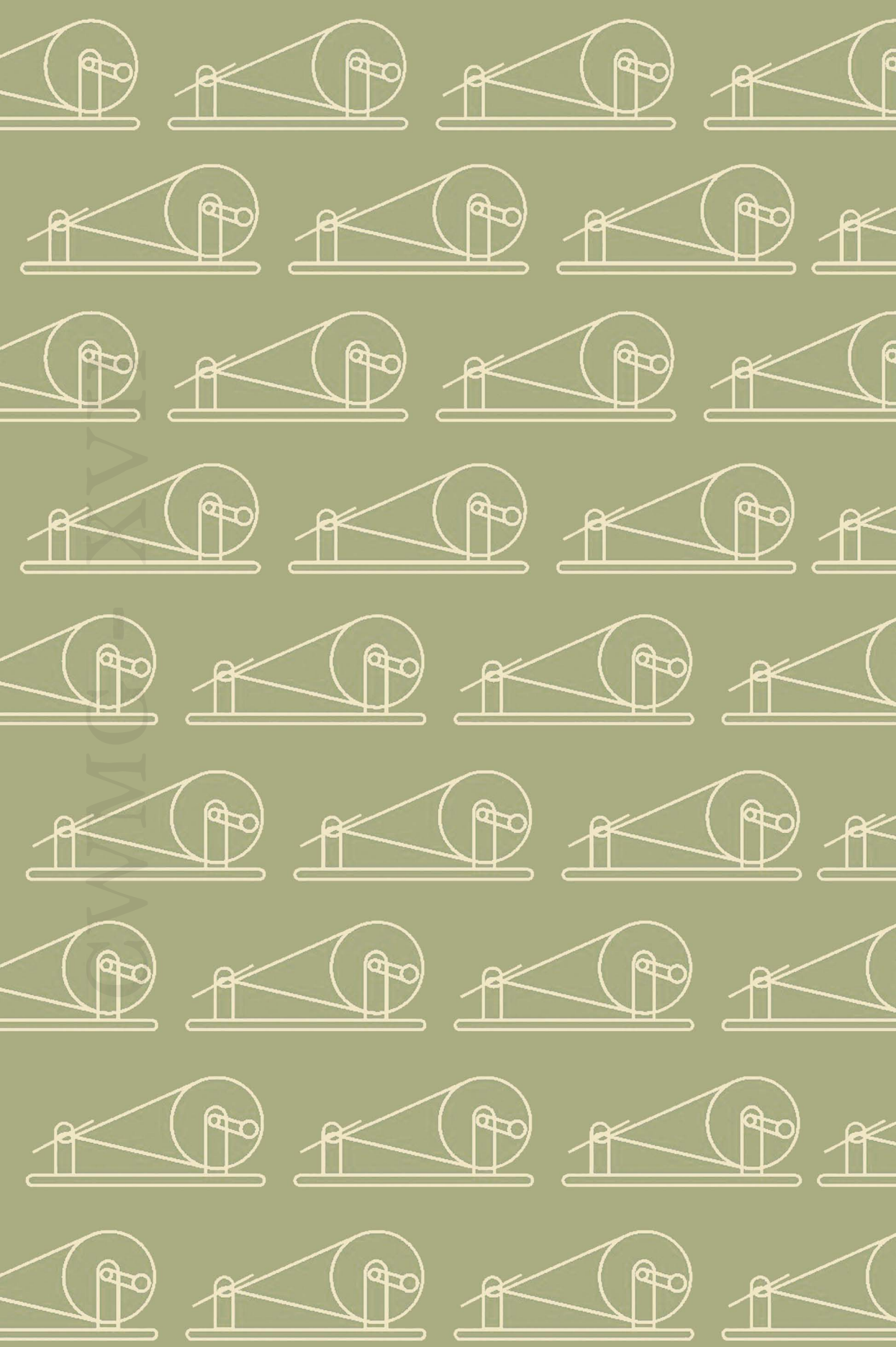
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PREFACE

The five months from February 1920 to June 1920 covered in this volume witnessed the birth of non-co-operation in India. The discontent over the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms was augmented by the failure of the Allies to take note of the concern of Indian Muslims over the Khilafat. The Hunter Committee Report, published in May 1920 along with the Government of India's despatch and the Secretary of State's endorsement of the Government's conclusions, added to the discontent which swelled into a flood. Gandhiji, who had earlier advocated the working of the Reforms in a constructive spirit, felt obliged to advise the country to withdraw co-operation from a Government which had shown no regard for justice. This was no mere change of tactics. It meant a profound change in Gandhiji's attitude towards the Empire. He had more or less accepted the British claim that their Empire rested on moral and political principles and that India had benefited greatly by membership in it. That faith was now shaken and Gandhiji wanted the country to generate sufficient moral strength to mend or end the Empire. This was to be the guiding principle of his leadership henceforth.

The idea of direct action appealed to the prevailing mood, and conditions seemed favourable for Gandhiji assuming the sole leadership of the country. The Muslim leaders who headed the Khilafat agitation welcomed Gandhiji's help and counsel, though they did not agree with him in the emphasis he laid on the ethical basis of his programme. He was associated with the Khilafat deputation which had waited upon the Viceroy in the preceding January. It was at this time that he had mooted the plan of non-co-operation. It was recommended to Muslims by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in his presidential address to the second Khilafat Conference at Calcutta, held on February 29, 1920. On March 7, Gandhiji issued a statement to the Press embodying his programme. In April and May of the year, there was talk of his leading a deputation to England and he was inclined to do so if the Muslim leaders were earnest about the proposal. Thus, during the period covered by this volume, the Khilafat agitation was Gandhiji's main concern in the political field.

His identification with the Khilafat agitation provoked many doubts and questions both as regards his motives and the wisdom

of his action. He was accused by unsympathetic critics of wanting to unite Hindus and Muslims against the British and of exploiting an unreasonable religious sentiment to embarrass the British Government. Gandhiji replied to these charges with the utmost patience and forbearance: "It is contrary to my creed", he said, "to embarrass governments or anybody else" (p. 350). "I have thrown myself heart and soul into this question because British pledges, abstract justice and religious sentiment coincide. I can conceive the possibility of a blind and fanatical religious sentiment existing in opposition to pure justice. I should then resist the former and fight for the latter" (p. 411). He was convinced that on the Khilafat issue the Muslims were in the right. The plea of self-determination for the Armenians and Arabs could be reconciled with the suzerainty of the Sultan of Turkey, as demanded by Muslim religious sentiment; British pledges, as interpreted by Gandhiji, had promised that this sentiment would be respected. In any case, the plea was insincere inasmuch as it was only meant to cloak the political designs of the Allies in the Middle East. Gandhiji felt, therefore, that, as between the British Government and the Indian Muslims, justice was on the side of the latter—both politically and morally.

To the criticism that he was misleading the country as a whole, and Hindus in particular, in supporting the Muslims on a religious issue involving the fate of another Power, his reply was that the Hindus' duty as neighbours dictated that they should sympathize with Muslims and support their demand if it was not intrinsically unjust. Writing to the Viceroy in June 1920 to explain his connection with the Khilafat issue, Gandhiji said: "I consider that as a staunch Hindu wishing to live on terms of the closest friendship with my Mussulman countrymen, I should be an unworthy son of India if I did not stand by them in their hour of trial. In my humble opinion their cause is just" (p. 503). In Gandhiji's view, thus, the Khilafat issue was linked up with the question of Hindu-Muslim unity. Writing in *Young India* in February 1920, he said: "What then does the Hindu-Mohammedan unity consist in and how can it be best promoted? The answer is simple. It consists in our having a common purpose, a common goal and common sorrows. It is best promoted by co-operating to reach the common goal, by sharing one another's sorrows and by mutual toleration" (p. 46). Strong Hindu support for the Muslim demand, though offered unconditionally, was bound to generate goodwill among Muslims and strengthen the forces of unity. As a result of his efforts it appeared in the middle

of 1920 as if the basis had been laid for enduring Hindu-Muslim unity.

The fear was expressed, by Mrs. Besant among others, that non-co-operation would lead to violence. Gandhiji did not agree. Writing in *Young India* on April 28, 1920, he said: "I however do not fear any evil consequences, for the simple reason that every responsible Mohammedan understands that non-co-operation to be successful must be totally unattended with violence" (p. 352). Again: "We certainly cannot claim that violence will never occur but, having taken all precautions against its occurrence, we must, I feel, go ahead with our programme" (p. 372). There was also a more practical reason for doing this: "I am convinced that, had there been no move for non-co-operation, violence would long since have broken out. . . .The Muslims are boiling over, but they have kept their patience in the belief that the Hindus are with them" (p. 415). In any case, the programme was to be implemented gradually and the people's response to each step watched carefully before the next was taken.

The disillusionment about the moral basis of British rule was complete with the publication of the Hunter Committee's Report in May 1920. The Congress had boycotted the proceedings of the Committee as a protest against the refusal of the Lt-Governor of the Punjab to give a fair opportunity for the presentation of the people's case before it. But Gandhiji had not lost hope that the Committee would arrive at the right conclusions on the basis of even the incomplete evidence before it. Even so, the Congress had appointed a Committee of its own, with Gandhiji as member and its report, drafted by him, was published in March 1920. Gandhiji had worked on the report day and night for a fortnight, confined all the time to the Ashram at Ahmedabad where he had returned after a strenuous tour of the Punjab. The report is no mere legal or journalistic piece of writing; it is a narrative of imaginative breadth and places the Punjab tragedy in the right perspective by presenting it as the culmination of the anti-national policy followed by the Lt-Governor, Sir Michael O'Dwyer. The conclusions which it drew, and the action which it demanded, were stated with moderation and dignity. In contrast to this, the majority report of the official Committee seemed to have treated the unhappy events merely as a law-and-order problem and did not go beyond admitting a few errors of judgment and recommending nominal punishment of the guilty officials. The members seemed to have been plainly concerned with whitewashing official misconduct. Gandhiji called this "political freemasonry"

(p. 480), and saw in it an added reason for withdrawing co-operation from the British Government.

Gandhiji never missed an opportunity of emphasizing that action in the political field was only one aspect of the total regeneration of national life to which the people should direct their efforts. In April 1920, he joined the All-India Home Rule League, yielding to the persuasion of friends, and accepted the office of President. He took the opportunity to set out the principal aims of his programme: swadeshi, Hindu-Muslim unity, the propagation of Hindustani as the national language and the use of regional languages for all public purposes in the respective regions (p. 97). Elsewhere, he emphasized the imperative need of working for the removal of untouchability.

Literature too, he argued, should reflect national aspirations and further the national effort. He told the men of letters attending the sixth Gujarati Literary Conference in Ahmedabad on April 2, 1920, that they should write for the masses, that the culture which they served should unite the saint and the peasant (pp. 301-3). With literature as an expression of imagination, pure and simple, Gandhiji had no patience and he did not mince words in making this clear to the learned audience, which included Rabindranath Tagore, an ardent champion of the autonomy of the aesthetic life. The temperamental difference between the two subsequently led to a public controversy.

Gandhiji never made a secret of the fact that the central motive of his life was the aspiration for *moksha*. In other words, he was a man of religion. And by religion he meant "not the Hindu religion, which I certainly prize above all other religions, but the religion which transcends Hinduism, which changes one's very nature, which binds one indissolubly to the truth within and which ever purifies" (p. 406). Explaining why though religiously inclined and having no interest in politics whatever, he had been busy for months with nothing but politics, he declared: "The sole reason for this is that I doubt whether I would be able to follow my dharma without thus participating in political affairs" (p. 48). It is not merely that he engaged in political and social work for the purpose of disinterested service in the spirit of *karmayoga*; his creed was that no person aspiring after perfection in his individual life could remain indifferent to his environment or could try to serve the world without seeking to transform its life ethically and spiritually. Hence his concern for "spiritualizing politics"—a phrase of Gokhale's which he often repeated. He told the members of the All-India Home Rule League: "Whilst

I would not expect the League to follow me in my civil disobedience methods, I would strain every nerve to make truth and non-violence accepted in all our national activities'' (pp. 348-9).

Gandhiji's consuming passion for perfection in himself and in others was tempered by a childlike love for others. The uncompromising standards which he laid down for his co-workers and those bound to him by personal ties set up stresses and conflicts in them which must have caused them considerable pain. Gandhiji's letters to Esther Faering and Mahadev Desai, included in this volume, reveal the magic of his healing touch.

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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 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 it was 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 of the source is that of publication. Gandhiji's writings are placed under the date of publication except where the articles carry a date line or where the date of writing has special significance and is ascertainable.

References to *An Autobiography* 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.

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1. THE KHILAFAT

The question of the Khilafat[1], that is, of the peace terms with Turkey, is so important a one that before it all others fade into insignificance, for on a satisfactory solution of this problem depends the peace of India. The Government may with its armed might succeed in maintaining an artificial peace for the time being but, should the solution of this problem prove unsatisfactory, a peace enforced by strength of arms will not be an enduring peace. There are questions which may not be satisfactorily solved, but the dissatisfaction is forgotten in the course of time. If, however, the solution of the Khilafat problem is felt to be unsatisfactory, time will be no cure for the resulting discontent; on the contrary, the effects will grow in strength from day to day and unrest will go on increasing.

Hence it is the duty of every Indian to know what the problem is and know its right solution, and to take steps to bring about a satisfactory settlement. What has hurt seven crores of Muslims ought to hurt Hindus too. We do not, therefore, hesitate to place this issue before the people again and again. The Government's duty in this matter is as important as that of the people.

The deputation which waited[2] on His Excellency the Viceroy included both Hindus and Muslims. His Excellency's reply was courteous. He showed the utmost consideration to the deputation and spared time for it from his heavy schedule of work. We should thank him for all this. But mere courtesy and good manners cannot satisfy the Muslims or the nation this time. Courtesy is essential at all times, but there are occasions when courtesy fails to meet one's object. There is a saying in English that "fine words butter no parsnips". This applies very well to the present situation.

The Viceroy pointed out that there was nothing strange in Turkey, having taken the sword against the Allies, paying the

[1] The Caliphate. The object of the Khilafat movement was to ensure that the Sultan of Turkey was restored to the status which he enjoyed before World War I.

[2] On January 19, 1920. The deputation consisted of Gandhiji, Hakim Ajmal Khan and Maulanas Abul Kalam Azad, Abdul Bari, Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali.

penalty for doing so. No Muslim would admit the justice of this. When Turkey threw in its lot with Germany, Mr. Asquith, the then Prime Minister, said that the Sultan had no hand in this step; it was the mistake of a few Turks and Turkey would not have to suffer for it. Why did he have to declare this? Surely, not for reasons of good manners or justice. He said it lest there be disaffection among Muslim troops. The result was as desired. The Muslim troops remained staunch in their loyalty. A promise of reward thus made in order to reassure people cannot be lightly set aside now. If it is, one should not be surprised that Muslims feel hurt. Thus the threat uttered by the Viceroy or the hint dropped by him as to the shape of things to come is such as can lead only to discontent, and the statement issued[1] by the deputation in reply to the Viceroy is very much to the point. Let us hope that the Government will give its best attention to it.

What is the Muslim demand? The Khilafat means the Turkish Empire. Its authority should remain substantially what it was at the commencement of the War. The Allies may demand any guarantees they choose for the protection of the interests of non-Muslim subjects of the Empire. Turkish rule, however, should be preserved. Likewise, the Khalifa's control over Arabia which is called Jazirat-ul-Arab[2] and over other holy places of Islam should remain. It has been objected against this that Arabs too are Muslims; why should they not [it is asked] have swaraj in Arabia? Our Muslim friends reply that they have no objection to a scheme of swaraj for Arabia. Their only claim is that Arabia should not be subject to any but Muslim authority. This demand of the Muslims is perfectly just. If it is rejected and unrest spreads in consequence, the responsibility will not be the Muslims' but the Government's.

It is not enough that the Government presented the Muslim claim effectively before the Peace Conference. It is in duty bound to make the Muslim cause its own. The Empire belongs as much to Muslims and Hindus as to Christians and, therefore, it cannot sacrifice Muslim interests any more than it will sacrifice Christian interests.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 1-2-1920

[1] On January 20, 1920

[2] Literally, "the island of Arabia" which, as defined by Muslim religious authorities, included Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia as well as the peninsula of Arabia

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2. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING[1]

LAHORE,
Sunday [*Morning, February 1,*][2] *1920*

MY DEAR CHILD,

You have been a bad child to keep me without a line for so many days. I do however hear about you from others. You are at a marriage party. I have felt a little disturbed. What is it all about? How could you have fared in the midst of strangers? It was wrong if you went as a matter of duty. For no duty lay on you to attend such parties. If you went for the sake of a change I don't know that you had a desirable change. Where was the party? What were the people? Did they know English? What was your food there ? Where did you have to sleep ? Who suggested your going? It seems all so strange to me. I do not want you to make experiments in the dark. It is early Sunday morning and I am filled with anxiety about you. I know it is stupid to be anxious. God is above us all to protect and guide His own. But you give me the privilege of calling you my child. 'Rock of ages, cleft for me; let me hide myself in Thee.'

With deep love,

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat of the original in N.A.I.; also *My Dear Child*, pp. 54-5

3. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING

LAHORE,
Sunday [*February 1, 1920*][3]

MY DEAR CHILD,

The enclosed[4] was written in the morning. I have just got your pencil letter. I do clearly see that you made a mistake in

[1] A Danish missionary who came to India in 1916 and later joined Sabarmati Ashram, where Gandhiji treated her as a daughter

[2] This and the following letter were written on the same day; *vide* the following item.

[3] It would appear from the contents that this letter was written immediately on receipt of Esther Faering's letter of January 30, 1920 (S.N. 7066). In 1920, the first Sunday after that date was February 1.

[4] *Vide* the preceding item.

accepting the invitation. You are young, you are inexperienced. You have a golden heart but it needs steadying. What is a big ship without a rudder? Where does it go? Does it not drift? My heart weeps for you today. You have left a surrounding[1] where you could grow after a fashion; you have come to a surrounding[2] where you can grow much more if you will assimilate the surrounding. You must not prick yourself in your waywardness. A disciplined conscience is one to obey. It is the voice of God. An undisciplined conscience leads to perdition, for the devil speaks through it. I wish I was with you. 'Not everyone that sayeth unto me Lord, Lord, shall enter the kingdom of heaven, but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven shall enter that kingdom.' I am quoting from memory but it will do.

Do put yourself under discipline. Never do anything without consulting Maganlal[3]. Let him be as elder brother to you. Come close to him. Ask for the food you need, take the rest you want and put your mind and body at rest.

Write to me daily a full letter.

I shall pray for you and love you all the more for your waywardness.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat of the original in N.A.I.; also *My Dear Child*, pp. 55-6

4. *LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI*

LAHORE,
Sunday [*February 1, 1920*][4]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

There is a letter from Esther and hence I write this second letter to you. I have written to her as well. She made a great mistake in going.[5] I can see her weakness. This is how a holy soul falls. She claims too much independence. She feels humiliated to have to ask anyone. She is like a ship without a

[1] The Danish mission to which Esther Faering had belonged

[2] The Ashram at Sabarmati

[3] Maganlal Gandhi (1883-1928); second son of Khushalchand, Gandhiji's cousin; sometime manager of the Phœnix Settlement; Manager, Satyagraha Ashram, Sabarmati, 1915-28.

[4] This letter was evidently written on the same day as the preceding item.

[5] To attend a marriage party

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rudder. She has a large heart, but does not know what to do with it.

I have advised her in my letter that she should look upon you as an elder brother and obey you, discuss matters with you. You should see her and find out her needs. If necessary, she may stay with you. It is possible that, by herself, Ba will not be able to look after her. I so much want to be in the Ashram at this time. My heart is bleeding. It does not seem that Esther has done anything sinful. But I also believe that she may do such a thing in no time. This feeling may be only an expression of my fear.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C. W. 5782. Courtesy: Radhabehn Chowdhari

5. *PUNJAB LETTER*[1]

LAHORE,
Magh Sud 13 [*February 2, 1920*]

TWO DEPUTATIONS

Deputations from Fiji and British Guiana have been in India for some time.[2] The Fiji Islands are in the vicinity of Australia. During the last 50 years, there has been extensive cultivation of sugar-cane in these islands with the help of indentured labour from India and through this means the Australian Central Sugar Company has earned to the tune of crores. Our friend Andrews[3] has graphically described to us the iniquity of the indenture system. Now, however, thanks to the firmness of the Viceroy, even the indentures whose terms had not expired have been terminated.[4]

British Guiana is a part of South America. It is situated south of the equator. Here also, sugar-cane is grown on a colossal

[1] Gandhiji toured the Punjab in November and December 1919, and again in February 1920. From there he dispatched this weekly series of newsletters for *Navajivan*, the first appearing in the issue of November 2, 1919; *vide* Vol. XVI.

[2] Both were unofficial deputations.

[3] C. F. Andrews (1871-1940); English missionary, author, educationist and a close associate of Gandhiji

[4] The Government of Fiji cancelled all indentures with effect from January 2, 1920.

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scale and sugar can be produced at the rate of three tons per acre. In India the production is one ton per acre. This question is being investigated at the moment by the Sugar Committee, which has the well-known Mr. Burjorji Padshah as one of its members. It may, therefore, be hoped that some good will result from their deliberations. According to them, at present we may even be suffering losses in sugar-cane cultivation. Imported sugar is found cheaper and no one is thrown out of work by our not producing sugar in the country. I report this information just as it has come to my ears. I cannot say, either, that these are Mr. Padshah's final conclusions, nor do I wish to discuss the matter here. I merely mention this incidentally while on the subject of British Guiana.

Be the condition of our sugar trade what it may, British Guiana and Fiji have both prospered entirely because of this trade of theirs.

Indentured labourers used to emigrate to British Guiana as well. No knowledgeable person has visited that place and we are ignorant of the local labour conditions. Emigration of indentured labour to that place has also been stopped.

Consequently, it has now become a problem of great urgency for both the countries how to maintain their prosperity. If they are unable to secure further Indian labour, it will be a serious matter for them.

They cannot get British labourers for this work. The latter cannot settle in those parts, as they cannot stand the climate. If, therefore, they fail to secure Indian labour, they will have to think of China or other sources. It is said that they do not find the honesty and submissiveness of the Indian labourer in his Chinese counterpart.

These two deputations have come here to consult with the Indian Government and public men. They have come to ascertain under what conditions independent Indian labour may emigrate to these two places, and to make the required arrangements. I have met both the deputations here. The one from British Guiana includes their Attorney General[1] and some Indians long settled there. From Fiji have come the Bishop and another Englishman. The suggestion of British Guiana is that some of our agriculturists should emigrate voluntarily and take up farming there. They need not work as labourers. In British Guiana, there is equality between Indians and whites. This is not due to the magnanimity of the white people but is the result of circumstances. The British belong

[1] Dr. Joseph Nunan

mainly to the officer class, and in any case cannot undertake agriculture. It need not be imagined that the whites in that area have cast off their prejudice against us. However, it may be admitted that in British Guiana they do not have two classes of citizens as in other countries, and if Indians settle there, they are not likely to be harassed as in East Africa.

In Fiji the conditions are different. The Fiji deputation does not ask for Indians of independent means but for Indians who will work as free labourers. The latter will go, not as indentured labourers but as independent workers, in the same way as they go to Singapore and other places.

I have been asked to give my opinion on both these matters. I have not yet done so publicly. The Attorney General of British Guiana has, however, taken my signature to certain observations I made to him.[1]

I feel that we are not yet ready to send out "colonists"[2]. Our people have not yet developed the requisite independence or self-reliance. Therefore, I think it unlikely that any independent labourers will, in fact, go. Nor do I think it possible that any agriculturists will go there as independent men and succeed in maintaining their independence.

There is not that ingenuity in us; we are not drawn to the idea of emigration, nor is there any need for us to emigrate. If an ignorant but adventurous class does emigrate, it is essential that it be followed by an educated class devoted to higher aims. If such men go to serve the people, I am sure that excellent results will follow. But there are few such men even in India. Where, then, are we to find any who might go abroad? Therefore, though I would not like peasants to be prevented by law from emigration to these parts as labourers or otherwise, I would not, directly or indirectly, encourage them to go either. All I can do at the moment is to place this humble opinion before my readers.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 8-2-1920

[1] Gandhiji met Dr. Nunan on February 1, 1920.
[2] Here the original has the English word.

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6. LETTER TO L. FRENCH[1]

LAHORE,
February 3, 1920

Inquiries are daily being made with reference to those Martial Law and other political or semi-political prisoners not yet discharged. I have not worried you with even an inquiry, as I know it takes time to prepare lists of all the possible prisoners fit for discharge.

But if you could now tell me whether the other prisoners including Bhai Parmanand[2] and those who were sentenced during the Lahore Conspiracy trials are to be discharged [*sic*].

Exception has also been taken to the undertaking taken from the recent discharges.[3] Is it possible to give a reason for making the distinction?

From a copy: S.N. 7102

7. BRITISH GUIANA AND FIJI DEPUTATIONS[4]

[Before *February 4, 1920*][5]

There are at present two deputations in India from overseas. The one headed by its Attorney General, Dr. Nunan, is from British Guiana, and the other by the Bishop of Polynesia is from Fiji. Both these deputations have arrived from their respective colonies for the purpose of obtaining Indian labour. Hitherto both have had indentured labour. In both, the existing indentures have only just been cancelled.

[1] Then Chief Secretary to the Punjab Government

[2] A revolutionary leader of the Punjab who was sentenced to life transportation but was subsequently released; later became President of All-India Hindu Mahasabha

[3] In his reply of February 6, 1920, the Chief Secretary stated that out of 734 prisoners, 638 had been released in view of His Majesty's Proclamation, that cases of those sentenced under the Lahore Conspiracy trials (including Bhai Parmanand's) were still under consideration and that undertakings had been taken from those charged with the more serious non-political offences.

[4] *Vide* also "Punjab Letter", 2-2-1920, "Letter to V. S. Srinivasa Sastri", before February 4, 1920, and "Letter to Dr. Joseph Nunan", February 5, 1920.

[5] This article was evidently written before February 4, 1920; *vide* the following item.

His Excellency the Viceroy, whose attitude on the status of British Indians living in the different colonies has been generally correct, put the popular case very clearly when His Excellency said that India could not be expected to consider the convenience of the colonies at her own expense nor could the Government of India prevent free Indian emigration if there were Indians who wanted to go to any of the colonies with a view to bettering their own position. His Excellency further added that a committee of probably non-official members would be appointed to confer with these deputations and consider the question, and that the Government would be guided by the advice of that committee.[1]

Now let us examine the position. The British Guiana deputation wants free Indian settlers of the farmer type for its plantations. The Fiji deputation wants free in the place of indentured labour. Both are tropical countries chiefly growing sugar-cane. These colonies unlike South Africa and the Uplands of East Africa cannot hold European colonists. These places are not fit for European colonization, but they are being developed by European capital assisted by Indian labour. If they cannot get Indian labour, whether as servants or master workers, they must tap some other sources, possibly China.

I had the pleasure of meeting both the deputations—the British Guiana more than once. From British Guiana there have been no complaints of ill-treatment of its indentured Indians. There is no doubt that there are no legal inequalities in British Guiana. In Fiji, too, there are probably no glaring inequalities in law. I believe, too, that the Fiji Government and the planters are now willing to treat the Indian labour better and offer better terms.[2]

The question for us, however, to consider is: do we want Indian labour to go to these colonies, and, if we do, are the terms such as would make the Indians morally and materially better?

In my opinion we want all the labour we have in India. A willing labourer has ample scope for earning a substantial living in India. Our industries require labour. India is not overpopulated. The pure agriculturist does not need to go out of India to earn a living. Emigration cannot solve the problem of Indian poverty. The causes are too deep and widespread to be solved by a scheme of emigration no matter how ambitious it may be. A

[1] In February 1920, a resolution was accepted by the Indian Legislative Council appointing this Committee.

[2] In the beginning of 1920 Indian labourers in Fiji went on a strike apparently designed to secure better pay and working conditions but which subsequently led to serious disorder which was forcibly repressed.

few thousand emigrants going out every year can produce no effect on the deep and deepening poverty of the vast masses of India. My conviction is that the returned emigrants in the majority of cases disrupt the home life without doing any counterbalancing benefit to society in general or the members of the home so disrupted in particular. Whilst, therefore, I would not interfere with any agriculturist, I would not encourage him to leave India unless there was a distinct moral advantage to be gained by emigrating.

We are not a colonizing nation in the modern sense of the term. The labourers are not followed by their better-class countrymen who whilst they would want to earn a living would make it dependent upon their service of their countrymen. The religious and the social tie is loosened. The restraints of Indian environment do not follow the emigrant. Going therefore to an environment which has become debased by servility and degraded by the inevitable immorality of the system under which his predecessors have lived, the new emigrant succumbs to that environment. It is not right to expose the would-be emigrants to such grave moral risks.

Both the deputations have urged that it is our duty to send more emigrant families in order that the deficiency in the female Indian population may be redressed. In other words we should send more women to these colonies. I totally dissent from the view. I would not be a party to sending a single woman to be exposed to a life of shame. The only remedy for the evil to which both the colonies and the Government of India have been party is for the superfluous young men, if they are so minded, to come to India, get decently married and take their wives with them. Such an uplifting movement can only come from the colonies. And I suggest to both the deputations that if they are in earnest about the moral welfare of the Indian settlers in their midst they will start societies in the colonies for the encouragement of young men temporarily returning to India for the purpose of seeking life-companions. Indeed, the mention of this great difficulty tempts me to say that if both the missions were to occupy themselves in clearing the moral atmosphere around them, one would be better able to respond to their mission.

Moreover, no scheme of free emigration can be really successful until the relations between Englishmen and ourselves have considerably improved everywhere. The Englishman in South Africa is no worse than in India or in Fiji and British Guiana. In South Africa a short-sighted conception of his interest demands

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expulsion of the Indian. And he is struggling between his conscience and his interest. In British Guiana his interest and conscience coincide. He therefore desires Indian settlement. But he no more considers the Indian to be his equal than the Englishman in South Africa. What is more, the average Indian considers that he is not the Englishman's equal. There is, therefore, mutual distrust, despise [*sic*] on the one hand and fear on the other. Until the relations become normal and natural it is not proper to encourage or countenance even free emigration to these colonies.

These deputations, I take it, propose to set up a kind of agency or bureau for the collection of the type of emigrants they require. I cannot contemplate with equanimity the idea of Indians going to Fiji as free labourers. With their present equipment, they would not know the distinction between free and indentured labour after being in Fiji. In British Guiana the agriculturist will not know what to do with himself and would drift into the plantations as a labourer. Side by side with this free agency, there must be a corresponding advisory agency on our part to enable the people to make their choice. I have suggested an experimental shipment to Dr. Nunan and the sending of Mr. C. F. Andrews or some leading Indian with a knowledge of labour conditions to British Guiana and report [*sic*]. This is about as much as is possible to be done at the present moment. And I hope that neither the proposed non-official committee nor the public will countenance anything more.

Young India, 11-2-1920

8. *LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI*

[Before *February 4, 1920*][1]

DEAR MR. SHASTRI[2],

I know the Fiji and the Br. Guiana deputations have seen you or will presently see you. I have just sent off an article[3] for

[1] The article to the publication of which Gandhiji refers in the text appeared in *Young India* of Wednesday, February 11, 1920. Both the article and this letter must therefore have been written before Wednesday, February 4, 1920.

[2] Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri (1869-1946); educationist and orator; President, Servants of India Society, 1915-27; member, Viceroy's Legislative Council and Council of State; Agent General of the Indian Government in South Africa

[3] *Vide* the preceding item.

Young India which cannot be published before Wednesday week. It will be sent to you in due course. But meanwhile I wish to say that I distrust the objects of the mission. The members are well meaning enough. But they cannot understand our difficulty. I feel that we cannot countenance any emigration at the present moment. It is like good milk added to bad milk also going bad. The environment in Fiji and British Guiana is reeking with the odour of indentured labour. Let the pestilential odour go before we can send a new supply of emigrants. True, now it is a question of free agency and free labour. But we must advise our countrymen. I have suggested to Dr. Nunan that if he would get a cultured Indian to go to British Guiana to report it would be good. I have said too that I do not mind a shipment of agriculturists going as an experiment. Can you spare Amritlal Thakkar[1] for a visit to these places, or Tiwary? Dr. Nunan has agreed to pay the expenses.

I hope you are keeping good health.

Yours sincerely,

From a copy: S. N. 7393

9. *LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING*

Wednesday [*February 4, 1920*][2]

MY DEAR CHILD,

I have your letters. It is no use crying over spilt milk. How to mend matters now is the question. You shall certainly go where you wish during Easter or any time. Your mental and spiritual happiness is the primary consideration. For the irregularity you mention there is a sovereign remedy tried by L. K. It consists in hip and friction baths and a diet without salt and other condiments. We have the book at the Ashram. Read it. S. K. and others know it. Ba also has tried them for a number of years with the best of results. Do try them whilst you are there. Please don't hesitate to get bread. It is such a simple thing to procure.

[1] Amritlal Vithaldas Thakkar (1869-1951); Gujarati engineer who, as life member of Servants of India Society, took up full-time social work and later devoted himself to the cause of Harijans and aboriginal tribes

[2] Judging from the contents, it would appear that this letter was written very soon after the letters of February 1 to the addressee, and the first Wednesday after February 1 in 1920 was February 4.

I agree with you that you should have a quiet time and spiritual communion. Why will you not go to the church in Ahmedabad? But this is not suggested in the place of the convent. God will guide you and give strength and light.

With prayers and love,

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat of the original in N.A.I.; also *My Dear Child*, pp. 52-3

10. LETTER TO BRIJSUNDER DASS

2, MOZANG ROAD,
LAHORE,
February 5, 1920

DEAR B. BRIJSUNDER DASS,

I have received your printed circular on the Oriya Movement.[1] I have not got the papers; probably they will follow. I would, however, like you to keep me informed of the progress that the Movement may make from time to time. I am giving a paragraph[2] to it in *Young India* which, I hope, you receive.

Yours sincerely,

PRESIDENT
ORIYA PEOPLE'S ASSOCIATION
CUTTACK

From a photostat: S. N. 7105

11. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING

LAHORE,
Thursday [*February 5, 1920*][3]

MY DEAR CHILD,

I see I have hurt you; forgive me. I wrote as I did because I love you so. I am afraid it is no use your coming here, because I shall be touring from the 11th.[4] So I cannot be with you even if you come. I hope to be with you on the 23rd at the

[1] & [2] *Vide* "A Cry from Utkal", 18-2-1920.

[3] The letter appears to have been written just after "Letter to Esther Faering", February 4, 1920.

[4] Gandhiji was on tour in the Punjab from February 11 to February 15.

latest.[1] And we shall have some time at least together. Meanwhile please take the hip and the sitz baths. And why will you not be examined by the doctor who is there? If I were you I should have no such compunction. But I don't wish to press you.

With prayerful love,

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat of the original in N.A.I.; also *My Dear Child,* p. 57

12. LETTER TO DR. JOSEPH NUNAN

February 5, 1920

DEAR DR. NUNAN,

I enclose herewith an extract from the *Daily Argosy* sent by Mr. Polak[2]. You will see from it that there seems to be a party in British Guiana opposed to your scheme. They evidently consider it to be not a Colonization Scheme but one intended to find labour. Will you please let me know who this party is and what exact position [it] is that you wish to reach. I have written for *Young India* an article setting forth my views; you will have a copy as soon as it is published. This extract from the *Argosy* has certainly unsettled me a bit and it makes me revise ever over what I have written for *Young India.* As soon as I get a moment's leisure I propose to put down my own thoughts of what any Colonization Scheme should be if it is to give any satisfaction at all and to receive any countenance even from those [of] you [who] believe in emigration.

Yours sincerely,

From a copy: S. N. 7393

[1] Gandhiji reached Sabarmati Ashram on February 22.

[2] H. S. L. Polak, who had been a close associate of Gandhiji in South Africa

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13. LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

2, MOZANG ROAD,
LAHORE,
February 5, 1920

DEAR MR. SHASTRI,

I have your letter which I hope to reply in a day or two; meanwhile I enclose an extract received from Mr. Polak. The extract adds to the difficulty of even considering a scheme of emigration, however nice it may appear on paper. I am trying, however, to draft some kind of a scheme which should be a minimum scheme for those who are prepared to consider a scheme of emigration.

Yours sincerely,

From a copy: S. N. 7393

14. TELEGRAM[1] TO C. R. DAS[2]

LAHORE,
[On or after *February 5, 1920*]

IMPOSSIBLE LEAVE. MUST FINISH WORK[3] BEFORE TWENTIETH.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S. N. 7104

[1] Sent in reply to a telegram, dated February 5, 1920, inviting Gandhiji to Calcutta, presumably to attend the Bengal Provincial Khilafat Conference held in the last week of February under the presidentship of Maulana Azad. Gandhiji drafted this reply on the back of the telegram from C. R. Das, evidently on or after February 5.

[2] Chitta Ranjan Das (1870-1925); eminent lawyer and Congress leader; orator and author; elected President of the Congress in 1921

[3] In regard to the Punjab Disorders Inquiry, as the meeting of the Commissioners appointed by the Congress Punjab Sub-committee was to be held at Banaras on February 20, 1920, to finalize the draft report

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15. *VALUE OF KHADI*

Mr. Vithaldas Jerajani sends news from Bombay that the demand for khadi there has gone down or altogether vanished. This was painful reading for me, but not at all surprising. It was painful because the reduced demand indicates that our enthusiasms are short-lived, that they lack the backing of a religious sentiment or ideal. The people who, in the name of religion, are prepared to drink dirty water, the Hindus who, in the name of religion, abstain from eating while travelling in a train and prefer to remain hungry for fear of pollution, the Muslims who refuse to eat meat unless it has been prepared in a specific way—if such a people were to view the use of khadi as a duty dictated by compassion, as something holy, they would not give it up.

That all khadi is not of equally good quality; that it easily crumples and coat and trousers do not remain stiff; it shrinks so much that the sleeve recedes from the wrist to the elbow; it looks like a sieve so much so that *moong*[1] grains can easily pass through it: people perhaps have had experience of one or the other of all these things but my personal experience is that the more I wear khadi shirts the softer they feel. I do not find even the dhotis heavy, so that now I find it something of a hardship to have to wear machine-made dhotis. All this may be sheer fancy; anyway, for me wearing khadi is a matter of dharma.

How is all this khadi made? The yarn is spun mostly by our poor sisters. The lives of some of them were wretched, but have now improved; again, there are those who had no occupation, but have now begun to earn an anna a day, if not more. They can use it for buying vegetables for the family or milk for their children. The anna we casually throw away in Bombay is certainly worth four annas in the villages.

Those who weave this khadi are weavers who had either left off their profession or were about to do so.

Using khadi is the foundation of swadeshi, since khadi is the only thing which can be made from thick yarn, and made easily. It has not so far had to compete with machine-made cloth. The consumption of khadi alone enables lakhs of poor people to earn an honest living, staying at home.

[1] One of the pulses

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This khadi will show, it has been showing, daily improvement. It has a variety of uses. If shirts made of it seem impossible, loose shirts and underwear are decidedly wearable. Handkerchiefs, large and small, can be made of it, also covering for pillows and bedding. It can be used for making quilts. It can thus be put to a variety of uses. I do not say, of course, that those who have no need of new clothes should throw away their money just that they might use khadi; even if that is done, the advantage to the people will not be very great. I do certainly say, however, that we should use khadi alone wherever it is possible to use it. A good use for khadi will easily be found if one is keen on it.

The effort to increase production of khadi continues; in fact production has increased. Now efforts must also be made to sell it. In this I want help from the Bombay business men. Suggestions for necessary improvements in khadi will also prove useful. Wherever swadeshi stores have been opened, they should proceed to order khadi. Besides khadi, production of other goods will also increase. It is only when people develop a liking for hand-woven, swadeshi goods that hand-spinning and hand-weaving will gather full speed.

From my experience in the Punjab I see that, if people cultivated a sincere regard for swadeshi, large numbers of Punjabi women would take up their ancient occupation of spinning. The Punjab can easily turn into a swadeshi centre. It produces cotton, almost every Punjabi woman knows spinning and there are weavers in the Punjab. It has everything necessary. But, at present, Bombay is the centre of business and hence the co-operation of its business men is also required.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 8-2-1920

16. CONDITION OF LABOUR[1]

Two paths are open before India today, either to introduce the western principle of 'might is right' or to uphold the eastern principle that truth alone triumphs, that truth knows no mishap, that the strong and the weak have alike a right to secure justice. The choice is to begin with the labouring class. Should the labourers obtain an increment in their wages by violence, even if that be possible? They cannot resort to anything like violence howsoever legitimate their claim may be. To use violence for securing rights

[1] This translation is reproduced from *Young India*, 11-2-1920.

may seem an easy path, but it proves to be thorny in the long run. Those who live by the sword also die by the sword. The swimmer often dies by drowning. Look at Europe. No one seems to be happy there; no one is contented. The labourer does not trust the capitalist and the capitalist has no faith in the labourer. Both have a sort of vigour and strength but even the bulls have it. They fight to the very bitter end. All motion is not progress. We have got no reason to believe that the people of Europe are progressing. Their possession of wealth does not argue the possession of any moral or spiritual qualities. King Duryodhana[1] was a master of untold wealth, but with all that he was a pauper in comparison to Vidura[2] and Sudama[3]. Today the world adores Vidura and Sudama, whereas Duryodhana's name is remembered only as a byword for the evil qualities one should shun.

What shall we do then ? The labourers in Bombay made a fine stand. I was not in a position to know all the facts[4]. But this much I could see that they could fight in a better way. The mill-owner may be wholly in the wrong. In the struggle between capital and labour it may be generally said that more often than not the capitalists are in the wrong. But when labour comes fully to realize its strength, I know it can become more tyrannical than capital. The mill-owners will have to work on the terms dictated by labour if the latter could command intelligence of the former. It is clear, however, that labour will never attain to that intelligence. If it does, labour will cease to be labour and become itself the master. The capitalists do not fight on the strength of money alone. They do possess intelligence and tact.

The question before us is this: when the labourers, remaining what they are, develop a certain consciousness what should be their course ? It would be suicidal if the labourers rely upon their numbers or brute force, i. e., violence. By so doing they will do harm to industries in the country. If, on the other hand, they take their stand on pure justice and suffer in their person to secure it, not only will they always succeed but they will reform their masters, develop industries and both masters and men will be as members of one and the same family. A satisfactory solution of the condition of labour must include the following :

[1] & [2] Characters in the *Mahabharata*. Duryodhana was the eldest son of King Dhritarashtra and the leader of the Kaurava princes in the battle of Mahabharata while Vidura, 'the wisest of the wise', was adviser to the Pandava and Kaurava princes.

[3] A poor Brahmin friend of Lord Krishna

[4] Regarding the strike of mill-hands in Bombay in January 1920

1. The hours of labour must leave the workmen some hours of leisure.

2. They must get facilities for their own education.

3. Provision should be made for an adequate supply of milk, clothing and necessary education for their children.

4. There should be sanitary dwellings for the workmen.

5. They should be in a position to save enough to maintain themselves during their old age.

None of these conditions is satisfied today. For this both the parties are responsible. The masters care only for the service they get. What becomes of the labourers does not concern them. All their endeavours are generally confined to obtaining maximum service with minimum payment. The labourer on the other hand, tries to hit upon all tricks whereby he can get maximum pay with minimum work. The result is that although the labourers get an increment there is no improvement in the work turned out. The relations between the two parties are not purified and the labourers do not make proper use of the increment they get.

A third party has sprung up between these two parties. It has become the labourers' friend. There is need for such a party. Only to the extent to which this party has disinterested friendship for the labourers can it befriend them.

A time has come now when attempts will be made to use labour as a pawn in more ways than one. The occasion demands consideration at the hands of those that would take part in politics. What will they choose ? Their own interest or the service of labour and the nation ? Labour stands in sore need of friends. It cannot proceed without a lead. What sort of men give this lead will decide the condition of labour.

Strikes, cessation of work and hartal are wonderful things no doubt, but it is not difficult to abuse them.[1] Workmen ought to organize themselves into strong Labour Unions, and on no account shall they strike work without the consent of these Unions. Strikes should not be risked without previous negotiations with the mill-owners. If the mill-owners resort to arbitration the principle of *panchayat*[2] should be accepted. And once the *panch* are appointed, their decision must be accepted by both the parties alike, whether they like it or not.

[1] There were 200 strikes in India during the year 1920. *India in 1920*, Ch. V.

[2] The traditional Indian practice of getting local disputes settled by the *panch*, a permanent committee of five elders chosen by members of the community

Readers, if you are interested in ameliorating the condition of labour, if you want to befriend the workman and serve him, you will see from the above that there is only one royal road before you, viz., to elevate the workmen by creating between the two parties family relationship. And to secure this end there is no path like truth. Mere increase in wages should not satisfy you; you must also watch by what means they get it and how they spend it.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 8-2-1920

17. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING

Sunday [*February 8, 1920*][1]

MY DEAR CHILD,

I have seen your pathetic letter to S. I am glad you have poured out your heart in it. I have telegraphed[2] to you today asking you not to leave[3] before I reach if you can at all stay. I want to have a few long chats with you in the early morning which I get only at the Ashram. I could urge you too to have the baths I have suggested. Ask for the water to be brought to you.

Are you an unworthy child? You have made yourself dearest to me by your wonderful love and conscientiousness. You do not for one moment think that your waywardness can make any alteration in my estimation of your worthiness. It is my privilege to point out where you need strengthening. If the body is the temple of the Holy, it requires the utmost care—certainly not pampering but equally certainly not disregard or even indifference.

With deep love always mingled with prayer,

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat of the original in N.A.I.; also *My Dear Child*, pp. 56-7

[1] From the contents it appears that this letter was written after the letters of Sunday, February 1, 1920 to the addressee and before the letter of Sunday, February 15, 1920, on which date Gandhiji left Lahore. The letter must, therefore, have been written on the Sunday in between, that is, on February 8.

[2] This telegram is not available.

[3] Sabarmati Ashram

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18. LETTER TO L. FRENCH

LAHORE,
February 9, 1920

I thank you for your prompt, full and frank reply to my letter of the 3rd instant. I am sure everybody appreciates the manner in which the Royal Proclamation[1] is being given effect to and I hope that the remaining prisoners whether convicted under Martial Law or other special laws, will be soon released.

With regard to the undertaking taken from the recent discharges, whilst I appreciate the force of your reasoning, I cannot help submitting that it would have been more gracious had the men been unconditionally released specially as the popular belief is that the majority of the convictions were unwarranted.

From a copy: S. N. 7114; also N. A. I.: Home, Political (A), March 1920, No. 327

19. STATEMENT ON SOUTH AFRICAN COMMISSION[2]

LAHORE,
February 9, 1920

I do not think that the Commission[3] is a strong Commission. Certainly it is not an impartial Commission. So far as the terms of reference are concerned, I am not disposed to quarrel with them. Indeed I would have, if it was at all possible, avoided a Commission altogether and obtained relief regarding land and trading by other means. But I am inclined to think that it is possible for Sir Benjamin Robertson to secure the rights of ownership of land and trading which are in imminent danger. The whole situation hinges round the strength that the Government of India through Sir Benjamin Robertson puts forth. It is difficult for me to go further in the absence of any cablegram from South Africa which I expect

[1] Issued on December 23, 1919, announcing Royal clemency to political prisoners

[2] Made to a representative of *The Tribune*

[3] Appointed by the South African Government to enquire into the question of Asiatics trading and holding land in South Africa. The Commission was assisted by Sir Benjamin Robertson on behalf of the Government of India and sat from March to July, 1920.

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hourly from our people. It is a matter of great consolation that Mr. Andrews is on the spot.[1] He knows the people and he knows the members of the present South African Ministry and other public men of South Africa.

The Tribune, 10-2-1920

20. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING

LAHORE,
Tuesday [*February 10*][2], *1920*

MY DEAR CHILD,

I have your dear telegram and two letters in one day. I had telegraphed before I received your letter about your father. I am sure that you should answer that call by going[3] as early as possible. Only I want to have many a chat with you before you go. Never mind the weakness of body today. I would like you still to consider the Ashram as your home to which you could return whenever you wished to. If you feel like going now to Madras and come back on your way to Denmark you may do so. But I prefer seeing you before you go to Madras. But pray do whatever is in your opinion best. Take warm baths and you will get rid of the rash. The hip baths must do you good.

I want Devdas[4] to go with you. I shall discuss it with him and with you when we meet. The idea of Mahadev going attracts me more.

D. has a little book given to him by a missionary. It is called *The Inner Shrine*. In a hymn I read these lines: "With happy grief and mournful joy, / My spirit now is filled", and at once I thought of you. 'Happy grief' and 'mournful joy' are wonderful expressions. But no more today.

With love and prayer,

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat of the original in N.A.I.; also *My Dear Child*, pp. 50-1

[1] C. F. Andrews was in Africa from December 1919 to March 1920.

[2] Gandhiji left Lahore on Sunday, February 15, 1920, and this letter seems to have been written shortly before his departure.

[3] To Denmark

[4] Devdas Gandhi (1900-1957); youngest son of Gandhiji; worked in Champaran villages in 1917 and went to jail during the Salt Satyagraha, 1930; managing editor *The Hindustan Times*; twice president of Indian & Eastern Newspapers Society

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21. *PUNJAB LETTER*

[Before *February 11, 1920*][1]

JALLIANWALA BAGH

The Hon'ble Pandit Malaviya had announced during the Congress session[2] that Jallianwala Bagh[3] had become the nation's property. But later, serious difficulties were encountered. There was nothing in writing and some of the joint proprietors changed their mind. They thought of presenting a small part of the Bagh to the nation and putting the rest to sale. Everything was done to explain to them that a cemetery should not be cut up, that there was not a corner of that garden which had not been stained by the blood of innocent men and it would be improper, therefore, to exploit it for financial gain. Moreover, it had been announced through a staunch worker, grown old in the service of India, that the entire Bagh had become the nation's property. In these circumstances, it was undesirable that there be any division of the plot. The owners, however, who had changed their mind remained unconvinced. Finally, Panditji and Swami Shraddhanand[4] had to go to Amritsar. A settlement has now been reached and a temporary agreement signed.

FIVE LAKHS

The land has been valued at rupees five lakhs and it has been agreed to pay the amount within three months. If payment is not made by the end of that period, there is every danger that the land will be lost to the public.

The next step, now, is to collect this amount in as short a time as possible. The best thing is that every citizen should contribute his mite to the cause; that will bring honour to the nation and raise it higher. This Bagh is a unique thing, a consecrated spot. We want that it should become a place of pilgrimage for us. During the Congress, thousands visited it. Thousands had

[1] The letter seems to have been written before Gandhiji's visit to Gujrat on this date mentioned in "Punjab Letter", 15-2-1920.

[2] Held at Amritsar in December 1919

[3] The site of the tragedy of April 13, 1919

[4] Munshiram Nanakchand (1856-1926); later known as Shraddhanand; nationalist leader of Arya Samaj who took a prominent part in public activities in Delhi and the Punjab

come only for this purpose. Hardwar is a pilgrim centre for Hindus, but the term does not include Jains, Sikhs and others who do not call themselves Hindus. For Muslims, Christians, Parsis and Jews, it is certainly not a holy place. Jallianwala Bagh, on the other hand, is a sacred spot for all who were born or who live in India. At least, we want it to be so. This idea does not have its source in hatred but is born of our love for those innocent men and women who lost their lives. In visiting the Bagh, our purpose is not to remind ourselves of General Dyer's[1] cruelty. Men have always made mistakes. We do not want to keep alive the memory of General Dyer's wrong and thereby feed our hatred. Even so, if we do not preserve the memory of the innocent, the nation would perish. The sacrifice of innocent people, killed for no crime of theirs, is a great opportunity to a nation to raise itself higher. If the people do not treasure the memory of such an event, then, as a spendthrift, careless of his wealth, becomes a pauper, so the nation also will become insolvent. If, on the contrary, it treasures this wealth, it is bound to prosper. If 500 or 1,000 innocent persons deliberately embrace death, this will have the effect of raising the country instantaneously, an effect so tremendous as to be regarded a miracle. Maybe we cannot bring about such a miraculous result from the slaughter of the innocent people in the Jallianwala Bagh; the event, however, will always be recognized as a potent influence in uniting Hindus and Muslims and in creating an awakening throughout the land. It is, therefore, our duty to see that it ever lives in our memory.

If this idea is right, then everyone, great or small, rich or poor, can join in collecting these five lakhs. If a single person donates the amount, we may, thanks to our inertia and laziness, feel relieved, but the spiritual value of the place will be reduced. If three crores and 20 lakhs of Indians contribute one pice each, five lakhs will easily be made up and all will agree that a spot purchased with the money so collected will be most sacred indeed. If, when offering the pice, the people would also meditate on the subject, its holiness would be even further enhanced.

Already the question has arisen as to how to collect this sum so that the minimum is spent in the process and the danger of misappropriation avoided. There is apprehension that dishonest

[1] Reginald Edward Harry Dyer (1864-1927); Officer Commanding, Amritsar Area, who ordered firing on a peaceful assembly of people gathered at the Jallianwala Bagh; *vide* "Congress Report on the Punjab Disorders", 25-3-1920.

people may collect money for themselves on the pretext of collecting it for the Bagh fund, and misuse it.

Practical Way out

The practical way out of this is for an honest man in every village to take it upon himself to collect the money. He should, at once, forward the amount to the main committee. Contributions should never be handed over to anyone except a person known to one. By "known" we mean a person in whom one has trust. This person should immediately present the account to the people of the village.

Mode of Collection

Those who collect contributions must not bring pressure on anyone but rely entirely on persuasion. Although it should be our aim to collect the amount pice by pice, yet it is only proper that all contribute to the best of their capacity. It has never happened in this world, and obviously it should not happen, that the rich and the poor contribute equally. It is not right to offer the minimum and no more. It is our duty to give, at any rate, in accordance with the principle: "the greater the effort, the greater the fruit." In this way the burden on others is reduced and our objective will the more quickly be achieved. To be content merely to give our share is a sign of miserliness. There is magnanimity in what is done with love. Love will not have its actions weighed in a pair of scales. Anything which does so is not love, but the spirit of business. Such an attitude is out of place here. This collection is to be raised from Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Parsis and all others. I earnestly wish that readers of *Navajivan* contribute their full share in this sacred task. They should keep in mind that six lakh have to be collected without delay.

Committee's Report

We have read in the papers that the report of the Hunter Committee[1] will be presented to the Viceroy in the first week of March. Our Committee's report[2] should be out very soon.[3] The

[1] Set up by the Government of India on October 14, 1919, to investigate the April disturbances in the provinces of Bombay, Delhi and the Punjab. The Committee presented its report to Government on March 8, and it was published on May 28, 1920.

[2] Of the Commissioners appointed by the Punjab Sub-committee of the Indian National Congress to enquire into the Punjab disorders

[3] The report was published on March 25, 1920; for the text, *vide* "Congress Report on the Punjab Disorders", 25-3-1920.

printing of the evidence is nearly over. Mr. Jayakar[1] has taken this work upon himself. The report, too, is almost drafted. Members of the Committee[2] are to meet in Kashi on the 16th to scrutinize and approve the report, and it is hoped that the latter will be approved and sent to the press by 20th February. The cost of printing the report will be quite heavy and it is likely that a copy of the report and evidence together will be priced at Rs. 8.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 15-2-1920

22. *LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING*

Thursday [*February 12*][3], *1920*

MY DEAR ESTHER,

You and Mahadev are foremost in my mind as I finished my mouth wash. I have detained you in Ahmedabad.[4] But have I done right? If your health grows worse where am I? I therefore want you to await me only if you keep at least tolerably well. Otherwise we must meet on your return from Madras. Please don't consider yourself bound to stay on because I have expressed the wish. To express purest love is like walking on the edge of a sword. 'None of self and all of Thee' is easier sung than practised. We never know when we are not selfish even when we fancy we are all love. The more I think of it, the more I feel the truth of what I have often said. Love and truth are two faces of the same coin and both most difficult to practise and the only things worth living for. A person cannot be true if he does not love all God's creatures; truth and love are therefore the complete sacrifice. I shall therefore pray that both you and I may realize this to the fullest measure.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat of the original in N.A.I.; also *My Dear Child*, pp. 53-4

[1] M. R. Jayakar (1873-1959); Bombay lawyer and Liberal leader; educationist, political negotiator and peacemaker
[2] Gandhiji, C. R. Das, Abbas S. Tayabji and M. R. Jayakar
[3] & [4] *Vide* "Letter to Esther Faering", February 10, 1920.

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23. SPEECH AT SARGODHA

February 13, 1920

Mahatmaji appeared in public at 2.30 p. m. when he delivered a short discourse to the ladies of the town in the Arya Samaj exhorting them to always keep quiet and attentive while attending a meeting and take to spinning. After that he wended his way to the Municipal Gardens. . . .

Mahatmaji spoke for a short time touching briefly on the questionable methods of recruitment resorted to by some of the officials in the ecstasy of their zeal in this district during the period of the War. He said that dining together could not constitute the chief basis of love between the different communities as was wrongly understood by some of the people. Love being the quality of heart could be fostered and developed without forsaking one's religion, by sharing the sorrows as well as joys of each other. The people should observe strict discipline while attending a meeting. Swadeshi should be encouraged in view of our country being the poorest on the surface of the earth, its average annual income being not more than Rs. 24 or 25 per head. He advocated spinning and weaving as cloth alone to the value of rupees sixty crores was imported into the country in a year.

The Tribune, 22-2-1920

24. APPEAL FOR JALLIANWALA BAGH MEMORIAL FUND

AMRITSAR,
February 14, 1920

We are glad to be able to inform the public that the Jallianwala Bagh has now been acquired for the nation in terms of the resolution that was passed by the last Congress. The undersigned were appointed as a Committee to carry out the wishes of the Congress. The purchase price has been finally fixed at Rs. 5,40,000 (five lakhs and forty thousand rupees), inclusive of costs and has to be paid to the sellers within three months from the 5th instant. Lala Dewanchand, proprietor of the firm of Messrs Radhakishen Ramkrishna of Amritsar, had been appointed treasurer and Lala Girdhari Lal[1] of Amritsar as the secretary of the

[1] Deputy Chairman, Punjab Chamber of Commerce; Managing Director, Amritsar Flour & General Mills

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Fund. The Central Bank of India, the Punjab National Bank, the Punjab and Sindh Bank and the Allahabad Bank, Amritsar, have been appointed bankers. Subscriptions should be remitted direct to one of these banks or their branches and the fact should be communicated to the treasurer or the secretary. A formal receipt signed by the treasurer and the secretary, will be sent to every donor. Relying upon the enthusiasm shown in this matter as an index of the national wish, we trust that the donors will without any personal canvassing send in their own subscriptions. Whilst the least amount necessary is six lakhs, our aim is to collect ten lakhs and not more, but even less if possible. Though we have come to no final conclusion, we propose that the Bagh should be converted into a park, whereon a simple memorial will be erected with a suitable inscription perpetuating the memory of the dead and commemorating Hindu-Muslim unity. There will not be a word on it calculated to promote or encourage bitterness or ill will against anybody. We invite suggestions as to the inscription and also tentative proposals regarding the use of the ground. We consider that it should be used as a place of national pilgrimage. We desire emphatically to repudiate the suggestion made in some quarters that the memorial is designed to perpetuate bitterness between Englishmen and ourselves. Nothing can be farther from our wish than any such idea, but we believe that it is our bounden duty in some shape or other to cherish and perpetuate the memory of the many hundreds of innocent men who were shot dead on the fateful 13th of April. It was a tragedy of national importance which cannot be allowed to be forgotten and we came to the conclusion that there was no better method of achieving the object than by acquiring the site hallowed by innocent blood and using it in some such manner as we have suggested. We trust that all, without distinction of party, not excluding Englishmen, will subscribe to the memorial and respond to the Committee's invitation for suggestions as to the inscription and the use of the Bagh.

M. K. GANDHI
MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA
MOTILAL NEHRU
SHRADDHANANDA
HARKISHEN LAL
KITCHLEW
GIRDHARI LAL

The Bombay Chronicle, 16-2-1920

25. *PUNJAB LETTER*

ON THE WAY FROM LAHORE,
Magh Vad 11 [*February 15, 1920*]

GUJRAT

Gujrat is the name of a district in the Punjab with Gujrat as the main town. The battle of Gujrat which occurred during the Sikh War in 1849 is well known. I even saw the field on which that battle was fought. I went to this district because it, too, had been under Martial Law.[1] Sarladevi Chowdhrani[2] accompanied us on this journey.

There is a small village called Jalalpur Jata near Gujrat, which also we had to visit. This village may be said to be inhabited almost entirely by weavers. The women spin and the men weave. The whole of the little lane had been decorated with hand-made cloth. The cloth was not just white khadi but khadi dyed red and embroidered with silk. Such cloth is known here as *phulkari*[3]. Beautiful designs are worked on the cloth and these make the cloth delightful to the eye. At a marriage this *phulkari* is presented to the bride and the bridegroom and in many families the garments are preserved. Many women may be observed wearing scarves of *phulkari*. Nowadays people also make curtains of it. The seats prepared for me are, I generally see, decorated with such *phulkari* and the affection which inspires this gives me great happiness.

But the sight of the bazaar filled with *phulkaris* also saddened me and my heart became heavy. The thought that this beautiful craft, which had been the chief source of India's prosperity, is about to vanish made me disconsolate. The beauty and the sanctity, the conservation of our resources which I see in this *phulkari*, I do not see in foreign saris. The prosperity of Indian homes lies in spinning. With the disappearance of this occupation, prosperity too has gone.

The Commissioner had not requested the imposition of Martial Law in this district of Gujrat and when, nevertheless, it did come

[1] From April to June, 1919

[2] Wife of Pandit Rambhuj Dutt Chowdhari and grand-niece of Rabindranath Tagore. She and her husband became followers of Gandhiji in 1919 and sent their son Dipak to be educated at Sabarmati Ashram.

[3] Literally, flower-work

he dispatched a telegram to make sure, thinking that possibly Gujarat in the Bombay Presidency was intended—so innocent was the Gujrat district in the Punjab. I have no desire to write about what happened in the district. But the matter was mentioned before the Hunter Committee and so I recall it here.

SARGODHA

After spending a night at Gujrat we went on to Sargodha. This is a newly-settled village. Several such villages have come up near the canals. This village is included in the Shahpur district. One reason for our going there was to investigate the cruelties perpetrated during the recruitment drive. We arrived at night but even at 10 it was impossible to restrain the enthusiasm of the people. Thousands had flocked from near-by villages. The bazaar was a blaze of countless lights.

I found the people of Shahpur district quite different from those of other districts. Though physically tall, they are rather dull, simple and not too bold. They are much afraid of soldiers and are quite incapable of defending themselves. The majority are Muslims but they must have been enfeebled by starvation. With the digging of canals, starvation among them has been considerably reduced, but the people have had no training in civic life and so have remained helpless.

MALAKVAL

From Sargodha we went to Malakval, which is a city in Gujrat district. Being a railway junction, it has become a well-known place. This place, too, had been under Martial Law. The people here had been so suppressed that their leaders did not have the courage to put us up. But the relations between the leaders and the public are none too good at present. Consequently, when the news of our arrival spread, the station was filled with people. Such crowds poured in from surrounding villages that quiet became impossible. The leaders, however, continued to remain aloof out of fear. We had to stay here for the night. Early next morning, men and women came from near-by villages playing on their instruments and woke us up. The crowd became so thick that there was no hope of any quiet talk or of recording statements. In the end, it was only after I had led the people to a *maidan* near by and held a meeting that I could have some peace. In all these meetings, sometimes composed of thousands, I am always both chairman and speaker or, perhaps, it would be more correct to say that there is no chairman at all. Day by day the number of women attending these meetings is

found to be increasing. We left Malakval for Lalamusa at 11 o'clock.

Scenes on the Way

This is a junction on the main line and is two and a half hours' journey from Malakval. There are four or five intermediate stations. I can scarcely describe the scenes at these stations. Although at almost every station the train stopped for only a few minutes, hundreds of people—both men and women—used to collect. There is a station on the way called Bahuddin. The village is a fairly large one. A multitude of men and women stood there as far as my eye could reach and women competed with the men in their efforts to come to me. In every place, the women made offerings to me of yarn spun with their own hands. But, at a station named Dhinga where the train stops for five to seven minutes, the scene was simply wonderful. The women stood behind the men and, from there, they threw ball after ball of hand-spun yarn and we in the train and the men who stood in between caught them as they came. I understood the feelings of these women and my heart overflowed with joy. To the question, 'Why do all these women show such love?' I found the answer in the miracle at Dhinga station. It is my deep conviction that the women of the Punjab have understood my message. They have felt that swadeshi is not merely a means of protecting India's wealth but that it makes for protection of women's honour, that it is a form of *Ishwar bhakti*[1] and that in it lies the country's best freedom. Moreover, they have been able instinctively to grasp the significance of the holy message of satyagraha and have received from it great peace of mind and a new assurance. They feel that, if my message is adopted by the country, peace will prevail in India and through India, in the whole world and the *Satyayuga*[2] will be born. They have understood that, whether all this is realized in the near future or not, it is for us to work on with faith for these two objectives and this is why they come to me in ever larger numbers, shedding their fear. I was convinced during this journey that there is no exaggeration in saying that women have understood how we can fight our opponents with love and without hate, and be a match for them, how we can fearlessly point out to the officers their errors and they will have to listen to us, and that, seeing all this, they are extremely happy.

[1] Worship of God
[2] The Age of Truth

I hope the reader will not get the impression that I am indulging in self-praise in all this. The admission of imperfection that I made before the Hunter Committee[1] was no gesture of modesty. It was literally true. I said that I could not claim to be a perfect satyagrahi. If I had been one, it would not have been necessary even to write this sentence. I would not, then, have had even the fear that I might be accused of self-praise. I have not the self-assurance to claim that I never praise myself. But in order that I might engage the genuine interest of readers in truth and swadeshi, I beg leave to state, deliberately and knowingly, that I do not believe the profound feelings of the Punjabi women to be directed towards me personally. They are taken up with admiration for me because of the truth they see in me and the simplicity of swadeshi which they have come to realize through me. The men's love is no less. But I am not sure of its purity. Some are drawn to me because I am a fighter against the Government. Some think that, though I do not speak out, in fact I harbour a good deal of hatred which, being a shrewd man, I hide from others. Some consider that I have great fighting capacity, no doubt, but that I am something of a fool for lack of intellect. They do not, therefore, think it wrong to avail themselves of my fighting capacity and to show me sufficient regard with that end in view. Others are genuine lovers of truth and swadeshi and, regarding me as more experienced in these matters than themselves, bear sincere affection for me. Thus, since I suspect that men's feelings for me are mixed, I am frequently uneasy and nervous when surrounded by men and sometimes I fear lest they and I together bring about some calamity. But with regard to women, such an idea would not occur to me even in a dream. They come to me with but one feeling in their heart and therefore their presence, even by the thousand, gives me nothing but a sense of peace. They strengthen my faith and confidence in satyagraha and swadeshi, make me ever more resolute and create a new zest in me and inspire me to greater effort. If I could inspire in men devotion as pure as I find in the women, within a year India would be raised to a height impossible to imagine. As for swaraj, it would be the easiest thing in the world.

A Muslim servant of Sarladevi said something to her and she reported it to me. I shall place it before my readers and close this letter with a request to them to ponder over it very carefully. Many men and women address Sarladevi as *Mataji* or Mother.

[1] On January 9, 1920 at Ahmedabad, in his evidence before the Committee

This servant said, " *Mataji*, if Mahatmaji keeps talking to all women about the spinning-wheel, surely it is not without reason. He is a man of God and believes that the Indian women can safeguard their dharma through it. This is why he does what he does." Sarladevi told me in some context that this servant was a good and devout man, and she passed on his ideas about swadeshi to me. She was amazed to find such wisdom in one who could be called ignorant. I was greatly pleased but by no means surprised. The wisdom I have seen and learnt from so-called illiterate people I have not learnt from others.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 22-2-1920

26. LETTER TO L. FRENCH

2, MOZANG ROAD,
LAHORE,
February 15, 1920

DEAR MR. FRENCH,

I have just returned from Sargodha where I heard from the lips of many witnesses the story of the persecution they said they underwent at the hands of the Tahsildar, Nadir Hosen Shah, who was in 1918 cruelly murdered, and other officials whilst recruiting was going on.[1] I think that hard recruiting was necessary during the late War and that some kind of moral pressure was inevitable. I think too that a certain amount of overzeal on the part of the inferior officials was to be looked for and can only now be looked [*sic*].

But the stories that I had repeated to me by several witnesses — men and women — cannot be ignored and I am sure His Honour[2] will not desire to excuse the oppression that is said to have been practised.

The statements made before me go to show that villagers were brought up on a wholesale scale and were called upon on pain of suffering inhuman tortures and indignities to send their sons as recruits if they were at all of age. It is stated that for this purpose men were made naked, they were whipped on their buttocks and were made to bend themselves on thorns whilst they were whipped. Women were made to drag men whose modesty was outraged.

[1] *Vide* "Congress Report on the Punjab Disorders", 25-3-1920.
[2] The Lt.-Governor of the Punjab

Women themselves were made naked and subjected to disgraceful treatment because their husbands and boys were hiding themselves. It has also been stated that men were falsely challaned[1] and otherwise brought under legal processes, that punitive police has been imposed on several villages in connection with the murder of the deceased Tahsildar and that members of the police levy unlawful exactions from the poor villagers.

In my humble opinion this is essentially a matter which requires a searching investigation and the officials who can be found to have persecuted villagers deprived [*sic*] of the opportunity of so doing. I venture to think that the punitive police should be removed without delay and villagers freed from daily exactions.

The statements made are so serious that I feel it my duty not to publish them without at least drawing His Honour's attention to them. I shall be pleased to submit the statements for His Honour's inspection should he desire to see them. I am also prepared to wait on His Honour in this matter and render what assistance I may be capable of rendering in order to bring the true situation to light.

I am leaving today for Benares, c/o Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, by the Calcutta Mail and shall be there up to the 20th instant; thereafter at Sabarmati, B. B. & C. I. Railway. I could wait on His Honour some time after the 6th March. Urgent business will keep me away from the Punjab at least till that date.

I shall esteem it a favour if you will please drop me a line to say what His Honour's wishes are in this important matter.

Yours sincerely,

L. FRENCH
PUNJAB GOVERNMENT CAMP

From a copy: S. N. 7125

[1] Charge-sheeted

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27. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING

ON THE TRAIN TO BENARES,
Sunday [*February 15, 1920*][1]

MY DEAR CHILD,

I am on my way to Benares[2] and we shall soon meet. How I wish you were with me serving me like Devdas. I know you would love it and so would I. No man can supply the place of father but I would like to be that to you to the extent of my ability in this land of your adoption. I feel humiliated at the thought of your having to go to Denmark to recuperate yourself. Nothing would please me better than to send you to Denmark fully restored to health and a fuller Christian and a fuller daughter. And you have all the possibilities in you of a full growth in this life. May God grant you all your dearest wishes and may He make you an instrument of great service to humanity. Your love for India can only be acceptable as an expression of your love for humanity. " None of self and all of Thee " is a big prayer, [the] biggest of its kind.

May it be true of you and me.

With all love,

Yours,
BAPU

[PS.]

You will give your whole heart to A.[3]

From a photostat of the original in N.A.I.; also *My Dear Child*, p. 58

[1] Esther Faering left India for Denmark in 1920, and in that year Gandhiji proceeded from Lahore to Banaras on February 15.

[2] For a meeting where the draft report of the Commissioners appointed by the Punjab Sub-committee of the Congress was to be finalized

[3] This sentence is not found in the photostat available at the National Archives.

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28. A CRY FROM UTKAL

Utkal[1] is a much better term than Oriya. The Hon'ble B. Brijsunderdas, ex-secretary, Utkal Union Conference and president, Utkal People's Association, Kattak[2], has circulated a printed letter in which he says :

> Oriya has been placed under four administrations, viz., Behar, Madras, Bengal and Central Provinces; they are in a minority everywhere. An autonomous growth is impossible in their case. For the last fifteen years they have been struggling for administrative union. Docile and non-agitating as they are, their repeated prayers have caught no authoritative ear. Advancement of India does not preclude a part of India. The new Indian nation cannot be built upon the ashes of an ancient race.

We need not cavil at the language used by the Hon. B. Brijsunderdas. The complaint is sound and raises the large question of redistribution on a linguistic basis. This fine race cannot possibly make the natural advance which is its due, if it is split up into four divisions for no sound reason, and we trust that the Oriya Movement will be examined by the public with sympathetic care and attention.

Young India, 18-2-1920

29. JALLIANWALA BAGH

There was an unfortunate hitch about the purchase of this Bagh for the nation.[3] Thanks to the efforts of the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Sannyasi Swami Shri Shraddhanand and the local leaders, it has now become the property of the nation subject to the full payment of the purchase price within three months from the 6th instant. The purchase price is Rs. 5,36,000. And the amount must be raised within the prescribed period.

It is, therefore, necessary to examine the propriety of making this purchase on behalf of the nation, especially as it has been questioned even in enlightened quarters. With the Cawnpore

[1] This name for Orissa was popularized by Rabindranath Tagore.
[2] Cuttack, the old capital of Orissa
[3] *Vide* "Punjab Letter", before 11-2-1919.

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Memorial[1] before us the attitude is not to be wondered at. But with all respect to objectors, I cannot help saying that if the Bagh had not been acquired, it would have been a national disgrace. Can we afford to forget those five hundred or more men who were killed although they had done nothing wrong either morally or legally? If they had died knowingly and willingly, if, realizing their innocence they had stood their ground and faced the shots from the fifty[2] rifles, they would have gone down in history as saints, heroes and patriots. But even as it was, the tragedy became one of first-class national importance. Nations are born out of travail and suffering. We should forfeit all title to be considered a nation, if we failed to treasure the memory of those who in our battle for political freedom might, innocently or for the crimes of others, lose their lives or otherwise suffer. We were unable to protect our helpless countrymen when they were ruthlessly massacred. We may decline, if we will, to avenge the wrong. The nation will not lose if we did. But shall we—can we afford to—decline to perpetuate the memory and to show to the surviving members of the families of the dead that we are sharers in their sufferings, by erecting a national tombstone and by telling the world thereby that in the death of these men each one of us had lost dear relations? If national instinct does not mean at least this much kinship, it has no meaning for me. I hold it to be our duty to tell the generations yet unborn that in our march towards true freedom we must be prepared for repetitions of the wrongs such as the Jallianwala Bagh massacre. We must provide against them; we must not seek them, but we must be ready to face them if they come again. I would not have us flinch from the battle of national life. The supreme lesson of the Amritsar Congress[3] was that the sufferings of the Punjab did not dishearten the nation but the nation treated them as a matter of course. Some of us made stupid mistakes and the innocent suffered for them. We must in future try to avoid the mistakes but in spite of our best effort, we may fail to convert everyone to sanity. We must, therefore, be ready for the repetition of the sufferings of the guiltless by telling the country now that they and theirs shall not be forgotten but that the memory of the innocent dead shall be regarded as a sacred trust and that the surviving relations shall have the right to look to the nation for maintenance in case of need. This is the primary meaning of the

[1] In connection with the Mutiny of 1857

[2] Fire was opened at Jallianwala Bagh by all the fifty soldiers led by General Dyer; *vide* "Congress Report on the Punjab Disorders", 25-3-1920.

[3] Held in December 1919

memorial. And has not the blood of the Mohammedan mixed with that of the Hindu ? Has not the blood of the Sikh mixed with that of the Sanatanist[1] and the Samajist[2]? The memorial should be a national emblem of an honest and sustained effort to achieve Hindu-Muslim unity.

But the objector's objection still remains unanswered. Will not the memorial also perpetuate bitterness and ill will ? It will depend upon the trustees. And if I know them, I know that that is not their intention at all. I know that such was not the intention of the vast assembly. I do not wish to convey that bitterness was not there. It was there—not in any way suppressed. But the idea of the memorial had nothing of bitterness in it. The people want to, they must be encouraged to, forget the doer and his madness. What General Dyer did we may all do if we had his irresponsibility and opportunity. To err is human and it must be held to be equally human to forgive if we, though being fallible, would like rather to be forgiven than punished and reminded of our misdeeds. Nor does this mean that we may not ask for General Dyer's dismissal. A lunatic cannot be kept in a position from which he can do harm to his neighbours. But just as we do not bear ill will towards a lunatic, so too may we not bear ill will even towards General Dyer. I would therefore eschew from the memorial all idea of bitterness and ill will but treat it as a sacred memory and regard the Bagh as a place of pilgrimage to be visited by all irrespective of class, creed or colour. I would invite Englishmen to appreciate our feeling in the matter, ask them by subscribing to the memorial in the spirit of the Royal Proclamation[3] to make common cause with us in our endeavour to regain consciousness, to realize the same freedom that they enjoy under the same constitution and to realize Hindu-Muslim unity without which there can be no true progress for India.

Young India, 18-2-1920

[1] Follower of orthodox Hindu religion

[2] Member of the Arya Samaj, a reformist Hindu denomination following the old Vedic religion

[3] Of December 1919

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30. LETTER TO MOTILAL NEHRU[1]

BENARES,
February 20, 1920

THE HON'BLE PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU
EX-OFFICIO PRESIDENT, SUB-COMMITTEE
ALL-INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE
LAHORE

SIR,

On the 14th November 1919, the Punjab Sub-committee of the All India Congress Committee appointed yourself, the Hon'ble Fazlul Haq[2], and Messrs C. R. Das, Abbas Tayabji[3] and M. K. Gandhi, as Commissioners, with Mr. K. Santanam as Secretary, to examine, sift, collate, and analyse the evidence already collected by and on behalf of the Sub-committee regarding the events of last April in the Punjab, and to supplement such evidence where necessary, and to present their conclusions thereon.

On being nominated President-elect of the National Congress you considered it necessary to resign your office as Commissioner. The resignation was duly accepted by the Sub-committee and as the work of taking evidence was practically concluded when you resigned, no other commissioner was appointed in your place.

The Hon'ble Fazlul Haq was called away on important business immediately after his arrival. Mr. M. R. Jayakar of the Bombay Bar was therefore appointed in his place.

We entered upon our work on the 17th November 1919.

We examined the statements of over 1,700 witnesses and we have selected for publication about 650 statements, which will be found in the accompanying volumes of our report. The statements excluded were mostly statements proving [the] same class of acts.

Every admitted statement was verified by one of us and was accepted only after we were satisfied as to the *bona fides* of the witness. This does not apply to a few statements from Manianwala and

[1] This is the covering letter accompanying the draft report of the Commissioners appointed by the Punjab Sub-committee of the Indian National Congress. The draft prepared by Gandhiji is not available. For the report, whose final manuscript for the press was prepared by Gandhiji with the assistance of M. R. Jayakar, *vide* "Congress Report on the Punjab Disorders", 25-3-1920.

[2] Nationalist Muslim leader; Chief Minister of Bengal during World War II

[3] 1853-1936; nationalist Muslim leader of Gujarat

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neighbourhood, which were mostly brought at our request by Mr. Labh Singh, M. A., Bar-at-Law. Every such statement bears his name at the foot thereof. No statement was accepted without sufficient cross-examination of the witnesses.

It will be observed that many witnesses are men of position and leaders in their own districts or villages.

It will be further observed that some of the witnesses have made very serious allegations against officials. In each and every case the witnesses were warned by us of the consequences of making those allegations and they were admitted only when the witnesses adhered to their statements, in spite of the knowledge of the risk they personally ran and the damage that may ensue to the cause by reason of exaggeration or untruth. We have moreover rejected those statements which could not be corroborated, although in some cases we were inclined to believe the witnesses. Such for instance were the statements regarding ill-treatment of women.

Needless to say that our inquiry was confined to the Martial Law area and to the districts[1] in which it was proclaimed. The principal places were personally visited by us. Thus Lahore, Amritsar, Tarn Taran, Kasur, Gujranwala, Wazirabad, Nizamabad, Akalgarh, Ramnagar, Hafizabad, Sangla Hill, Sheikhupura, Chuharkana, Lyallpur, Gujrat, Malakwal and Sargodha were visited by someone of us. In most places large public meetings were held and the public were invited to make their statements to us. The nature of the evidence already recorded was placed before the meetings and those who wished to challenge the accuracy of the statements made, were invited to send in their statements even under pledge of confidence if they so desired. No contradiction was received by us.

We have freely availed ourselves of the evidence led before the Disorders Inquiry Committee[2], in order to strengthen or correct our conclusions. It may be mentioned that the vast majority of the statements appended were received by us before Lord Hunter's Committee began its sittings.

The majority of the statements were given in the vernaculars. We have endeavoured to procure the most accurate translations, but the statements appended to our report may be treated as original, as we checked the witnesses through the translations and made corrections or amendments ourselves, wherever necessary.

We have also studied the records of the trials by Martial Law Commissioners or Summary Courts, in so far as they were available

[1] Amritsar, Lahore, Gujranwala, Gujrat and Lyallpur
[2] Lord Hunter's Committee

to us, and we have studied the judicial records of several cases that arose during the recruiting period and out of recruiting methods.

In conclusion we desire to place on record our great obligation to the leading men of every place we have visited and the many workers in Lahore and elsewhere who have rendered valuable assistance without which we could not have brought our labours to a close within the time at our disposal.

We are,
Yours faithfully,
M. K. GANDHI
C. R. DAS
ABBAS S. TAYABJI
M. R. JAYAKAR

Report of the Commissioners Appointed by the Punjab Sub-committee of the Indian National Congress

31. SPEECH AT KHILAFAT MEETING, BANARAS

February 20, 1920

A public Khilafat meeting was held at 3.30 in the afternoon in the Town Hall ground. . . . Among the distinguished visitors, besides Maulanas Shaukat Ali[1] and Abul Kalam Azad, were Mr. Gandhi, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Lala Harkishen Lal and other Punjab leaders. . . . Hakim Mohamed Husain Khan was voted to the chair. . .

Mr. Gandhi, the lover and beloved of India, rose amidst deafening cheers and dealt with the Khilafat question and Hindu-Muslim unity emphasizing that the two sister communities could have real and true oriental love for one another, while following the dictates of their respective religions. He also narrated the interview that he had with Mr. Candler[2] who had asked him if the Hindus were going to eat and drink with the Mussulmans and have intermarriages with them. Mahatmaji said that he had replied to Mr. Candler that for Hindu-Muslim unity it was not at all necessary that there should be intermarriages and one table for Hindus and Mussulmans. He said:

Why did the Germans and English who belonged to the same race and same religion and who entered into marriage bonds, fight with each other, if that was necessary for unity ?

[1] 1873-1938; Nationalist Muslim politician who along with his brother, Maulana Mohamed Ali, took a leading part in the Khilafat movement

[2] Edmund Candler; well-known English journalist, then Publicity Officer in the Punjab. He wrote some open letters to Gandhiji questioning his attitude towards the Khilafat problem.

Mr. Gandhi appealed in strong terms to the Hindus to help the Mussulmans in the cause of the Khilafat which was a righteous one.

The Bombay Chronicle, 23-2-1920

32. SPEECH AT MEETING OF STUDENTS, BANARAS

February 21, 1920

Mr. Gandhi's address to the Hindu University students under the Vice-Chancellor's presidentship this morning was full of lofty ideals and breathed a high tone of morality. The audience consisted of students and teachers of various other schools also and of ladies. He spoke in Hindi and referred to Tulsidas[1] several times. He exhorted the students to follow absolute honesty which should not be adhered to simply because of policy. He said students in the Punjab had suffered great hardships on account of Martial Law, but they could not be said to have been quite free from blame. Students should study politics but should not be active participators in it. He said they should have as their ideal *sanyam*[2] and not *swechchachara*[3], regulated life and not life prompted by self-will. He gave examples of *sanyam* from the life of Bharata[4]. The Hindu University would not justify its existence and its prompters would not feel encouraged if its students failed to live up to the ancient ideal of *sanyam*. He said he knew almost every student of the Gujarat College[5] and some of them found fault with their teachers. Mr. Gandhi acknowledged that teachers had received education in the materialistic system, but the boys should learn to revere them as teachers and not find fault with them. He eulogized the services of Pandit Malaviya to the country and said that his life was an example to teachers and boys.

The Leader, 23-2-1920

[1] A seventeenth-century Hindi poet and saint; author of *Ramacharitamanas*
[2] Self-restraint
[3] Self-indulgence
[4] Younger brother of Rama, the hero of the *Ramayana*
[5] At Ahmedabad

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33. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING

THE ASHRAM,
Sunday [*February 22, 1920*][1]

MY DEAR CHILD,

I found three love letters from you awaiting me on my return today. I was delighted to note the air of cheerfulness, quiet resignation and trust in God in your letters. The latter you always had in you. But your letters show deeper trust. May your trust go deeper and deeper still till at last you are freed from all doubt and therefore are all joy whatever happens. For as we go forward in our journey of life, we have always problems coming up for decision and they are the hardest when the voice of Satan nearly approaches the voice of God. Only fullest trust and perfect purity and extreme humility can lead us to the right choice.

I hope to be at the Ashram for at least a week and then hope to seek solitude and rest for a fortnight.

I shall certainly miss you tonight at the time of retiring.

With love,

Yours,
BAPU

[PS.]

You will be glad to learn that S.'s father has returned your watch. The value lies not in the return but in the motive behind it. You will take it when you return on your way to Denmark.

BAPU

From a photostat of the original in N.A.I.; also *My Dear Child*, p. 59

[1] It is clear from the text that this letter was written on February 22, 1920, the day Gandhiji arrived at the Ashram.

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34. LETTER TO NAOROJI KHAMBHATTA

ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Tuesday [*February 23, 1920*][1]

BHAI NAOROJI KHAMBHATTA,

I have your letter. Convey the blessings of us both to Jal at the time of his *navjot*[2].

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

SHRI BEHRAM NAOROJI KHAMBHATTA
IBRAHIM NAOROJI KHAMBHATTA
No. 8, NAPIER ROAD
CAMP, POONA

From the Gujarati original: C. W. 5800. Courtesy: Tehmina Khambhatta

35. HINDU-MOHAMMEDAN UNITY

Mr. Candler some time ago asked me in an imaginary interview whether, if I was sincere in my professions of Hindu-Mohammedan unity, I would eat and drink with a Mohammedan and give my daughter in marriage to a Mohammedan. This question has been asked again by some friends in another form. Is it necessary for Hindu-Mohammedan unity that there should be inter-dining and intermarrying? The questioners say that if the two are necessary, real unity can never take place because crores of *Sanatanis* would never reconcile themselves to inter-dining, much less to intermarriage.

I am one of those who do not consider caste to be a harmful institution. In its origin caste was a wholesome custom and promoted national well-being. In my opinion the idea that inter-dining or intermarrying is necessary for national growth is a superstition borrowed from the West. Eating is a process just as vital as the other sanitary necessities of life. And if mankind had not, much

[1] This date has been taken from the postal cancellation mark on the envelope.

[2] Investiture of a Parsi with the *kasti*, a sacred thread worn round the waist

to its harm, made of eating a fetish and indulgence, we would have performed the operation of eating in private even as one performs the other necessary functions of life in private. Indeed the highest culture in Hinduism regards eating in that light and there are thousands of Hindus still living who will not eat their food in the presence of anybody. I can recall the names of several cultured men and women who ate their food in entire privacy but who never had any ill will against anybody and who lived on the friendliest terms with all.

Intermarriage is a still more difficult question. If brothers and sisters can live on the friendliest footing without ever thinking of marrying each other, I can see no difficulty in my daughter regarding every Mohammedan as a brother and *vice versa*. I hold strong views on religion and on marriage. The greater the restraint we exercise with regard to our appetites whether about eating or marrying, the better we become from a religious standpoint. I would despair of ever cultivating amicable relations with the world if I had to recognize the right or the propriety of any young man offering his hand in marriage to my daughter or to regard it as necessary for me to dine with anybody and everybody. I claim that I am living on terms of friendliness with the whole world; I have never quarrelled with a single Mohammedan or Christian, but for years I have taken nothing but fruit in Mohammedan or Christian households. I would most certainly decline to eat cooked food from the same plate with my son or to drink water out of a cup which his lips have touched and which has not been washed. But the restraint or the exclusiveness exercised in these matters by me has never affected the closest companionship with the Mohammedan or the Christian friends or my sons.

But inter-dining and intermarriage have never been a bar to disunion, quarrels and worse. The Pandavas[1] and the Kauravas[2] flew at one another's throats without compunction although they inter-dined and intermarried [*sic*]. The bitterness between the English and the Germans has not yet died out.

The fact is that intermarriage and inter-dining are not necessary factors in friendship and unity though they are often emblems thereof. But insistence on either the one or the other can easily become and is today a bar to Hindu-Mohammedan unity. If we make ourselves believe that Hindus and Mohammedans cannot

[1] & [2] The Pandavas, sons of King Pandu, and the Kauravas, sons of King Dhritarashtra, fought against each other the epic battle described in the *Mahabharata*, although they were cousins.

be one unless they inter-dine or intermarry, we would be creating an artificial barrier between us which it might be almost impossible to remove. And it would seriously interfere with the growing unity between Hindus and Mohammedans if, for example, Mohammedan youths consider it lawful to court Hindu girls. The Hindu parents will not, even if they [merely] suspected any such thing, freely admit Mohammedans to their homes as they have begun to do now. In my opinion it is necessary for Hindu and Mohammedan young men to recognize this limitation.

I hold it to be utterly impossible for Hindus and Mohammedans to intermarry and yet retain intact each other's religion. And the true beauty of Hindu-Mohammedan unity lies in each remaining true to his own religion and yet being true to each other. For, we are thinking of Hindus and Mohammedans even of the most orthodox type being able to regard one another as natural friends instead of regarding one another as natural enemies as they have done hitherto.

What then does the Hindu-Mohammedan unity consist in and how can it be best promoted? The answer is simple. It consists in our having a common purpose, a common goal and common sorrows. It is best promoted by co-operating to reach the common goal, by sharing one another's sorrows and by mutual toleration. A common goal we have. We wish this great country of ours to be greater and self-governing. We have enough sorrows to share. And today seeing that the Mohammedans are deeply touched on the question of Khilafat and their case is just, nothing can be so powerful for winning Mohammedan friendship for the Hindu as to give his whole-hearted support to the Mohammedan claim. No amount of drinking out of the same cup or dining out of the same bowl can bind the two as this help in the Khilafat question.

And mutual toleration is a necessity for all time and for all races. We cannot live in peace if the Hindu will not tolerate the Mohammedan form of worship of God and his manners and customs or if the Mohammedans will be impatient of Hindu idolatry or cow-worship. It is not necessary for toleration that I must approve of what I tolerate. I heartily dislike drinking, meat-eating and smoking, but I tolerate all these in Hindus, Mohammedans and Christians even as I expect them to tolerate my abstinence from all these although they may dislike it. All the quarrels between the Hindus and the Mohammedans have arisen from each wanting to force the other to his view.

Young India, 25-2-1920

36. SPEECH AT MEETING OF MILL-HANDS, AHMEDABAD[1]

February 25, 1920

We have assembled here today to set up a union of workers, to approve its rules and adopt the necessary resolutions.

Before we start on this work, I must tell you that we should be perfectly clear about the aim of the organization we have undertaken to set up. About two or three years ago, revered Anasuyabehn[2] had thought of founding a union of weavers and she had even taken some steps in that direction. But my advice to her then was that it was responsible work and that, though we may have taken it up with the idea of serving the workers, if later we failed to shoulder the responsibility adequately we might, instead of serving the workers, do them much harm. I do not mean to say that I am free of that fear today, but it is becoming plain to me that, in some ways, conditions in India are changing so much that we would do well to watch these changes carefully, study them and set up some such organizations by way of protection. All I want you to understand is that, if we do not have, for running our organizations, sincere workers who know their duties well, we would be bringing down the axe on our own feet. If such workers are not available, we had better not take up the difficult business of running a union. This is exactly what I said two years ago, and I repeat it here today.

All manner of movements are going on these days among the workers of our country. In all the countries ruled by the British and the European States, there is such chaos after the War that, if the workers fail to look after and safeguard their interests, they would be crushed. Today, those people who cannot stand together as a nation and do not keep in step with other nations will find it impossible to survive. The very machinery of Government is such that anyone who refuses to play his part in it and remains ignorant of his interests is sure to be wiped out. In former times, there was no need for us to know what the king was doing, no need even to mention his name. It was enough then if one paid the revenue dues in time, gave a bold answer on occasion or bought survival for the moment with a bribe. Today one cannot get away in this way.

[1] The workers of the spinning departments of various mills had met to consider the formation of a labour union.

[2] Anasuyabehn Sarabhai, a social worker and labour leader of Ahmedabad

Whether we want it or not, we are so intimately connected with the administration that, if we do not learn to look closely into affairs and understand our interests, we are bound to be crushed. It is for this reason that I, though religiously inclined and having no interest in politics whatever, have been busy for the last several months with nothing but politics. The sole reason for this is that I doubt whether I would be able to follow my dharma without thus participating in political affairs. And this is exactly the point I wish to explain to you in simple words, namely, that the workers have no option but in some measure to interest themselves in politics.

Formerly, we knew only our fields. There were neither mills, nor mill-owners, nor laws governing them. All these things have come in now. We should therefore know what they are. There are laws of dharma and of family life. We do not, however, call them laws because they provide for no punishment or fine. Now the time has come when no single individual can do us good, nor harm us either. We shall have to manage our affairs ourselves. It may so happen, in all this, that our representatives in the Government or the legislature may cut our throats for us while professing to speak for us. For this reason, too, we shall have to understand these matters. We shall have to learn how to bring up our children, shall have to discover the reasons why the facilities for their education are poor and know why the prices of food grains rise. The mothers present here will also have to learn how to bring up their children. The time will come when it will be compulsory for us to send our children to the schools which will be opened. If we do not exert ourselves to understand how these things work, to our advantage or otherwise, if we do not learn to be independent of others, we are as good as dead. We have always had unions of *Vanias*[1] and Brahmins, even of Kshatriyas, of a slightly different kind. Now the time is ripe for unions of workers in which weavers, smiths, and spinners may come together and establish unity among their ranks, may discover what is good in themselves and what is bad and remedy the latter. I caution you once again; by all means set up organizations, establish your unions, but see that you frame your rules and select your representatives, men to whom you will entrust your interests, with a full understanding of your responsibility. You will keep a watch over them not only about the finances and the management of your affairs, but also to know what they have actually done in your name and where they

[1] Members of a mercantile community

have signed on your behalf. You will have to go into all these things.

I want to tell you another thing. To those of you who believe that the unions we are establishing are for the purpose of fighting or coercing the mill-owners or that we shall be able to use these unions for such purposes, I would advise not to join the proposed union at all. I have never done anything in my life to coerce owners or harm their interests, and I will never allow myself to be an instrument in this. Only, if they try to suppress the workers, I will be ready to give up my life to save them. Neither the revered Anasuyabehn nor Shankarlal[1] has the slightest ill will for the mill-owners. I know well enough that they only love service of the workers. Hence it is that, whenever I get the chance, I join them in this service of theirs and I tell them over and over again on this occasion that, if they would truly serve the workers, they should have regard for the interests of both the workers and the mill-owners. The mill-owners do not need anyone's services. The workers are poor, timid and simple-minded and need others' services. By establishing unions, we do not wish to intimidate the mill-owners but to protect the workers, and we certainly have the right to do this.

If the workers find it necessary today to send their wives and children to work in factories, it is our duty to see that they do not have to. There ought to be no need for workers' children to go and work, at the cost of their education, for the sake of an extra income of three to four rupees. Work is not for children. Nor is it for women to work in factories. They have plenty of work in their own homes. They should attend to the bringing up of their children; they may give peace to the husband when he returns home tired, minister to him, soothe him if he is angry, and do any other work they can staying at home. If we want our family life to be comely and sweet, we ought to do this. It is not for women to go out and work, as men do. If we send them to the factories, who will look after our domestic and social affairs? If women go out to work, our social life will be ruined and moral standards will decline. To those who advance the example of Europe, asking how it is that thousands of women there do the work of men and that men and women work together, my reply is: 'I don't bother myself about Europe.' From what little insight into the laws of social life I have gained, I feel convinced that for men

[1] Shankarlal Banker, a political worker and labour leader of Ahmedabad. He was also associated with *Young India* and *Navajivan*, and with the Home Rule League and the Satyagraha Sabha, Bombay.

and women to go out for work together will mean the fall of both. Do not, therefore, send your women out to work; protect their honour; if you have any manliness in you, it is for you to see that no one casts an evil eye on them. Today the workers, in their helplessness, are forced to send their women and children out for work, much against their will. It is true, of course, that they should have better wages if they are not to be so obliged. All this could be easy to achieve through a union, if established.

Thus, in setting up a union of this kind, you have to apply your mind and decide about three things:

1. You should go through the laws of labour unions.
2. The mill-owners should not have undue authority over workers.
3. For joining the union, you will have to pay an entrance fee and a monthly subscription afterwards.

Moreover, if you receive more money, you will have to think what you will do with it. It would be better for me that I do not receive this money if I were to lose this extra money in a tavern, or drink tea or eat fritters with it. Personally, I would prefer to give some relief to my wife and educate her; if I had more money still, I would engage a lady-teacher for her, educate my children, get my clothes washed, change my damp and dirty house for a better one; if I do this, I would have received the extra money to good purpose. If we could do all these things through a union, it would be a good thing to establish one. But I am still doubtful, and I tell you again and again that, if we forget all this, we who wish to serve you, and you as well, will be wicked creatures in our next birth.

There was a time when all people were religiously inclined. By joining and sharing in all these activities, I have been trying if, even in this way, the religious temper may somehow be revived in the people of this country. It is my firm belief that we shall be saved in these hard times if this comes about; else we are doomed. This religious temper is not very difficult to cultivate. It is the simplest of things and can be cultivated most easily. I tell you, in a word, that he who gives a free rein to his desires is self-indulgent, and has no regard for self-control, that such a one is far removed from religion. He who wrongs none, who never robs anyone of a single farthing, he understands what dharma means. If we turn ourselves into drunkards, rogues and knaves, our living, our earning will all be in vain. If we become truthful, good, straightforward, courteous and religiously inclined,

we shall have lived indeed. Let our unions be established; they will foster understanding and unity among us. We shall be able to work systematically. I know that the mill-owners want a union to be formed. Today, each has some difficulty or other to solve, and complaints to attend to, individually. If there were a union, matters could be discussed with the office-bearers and settled in orderly fashion. Thus, a union is to the advantage of both the parties; give the fullest thought, therefore, to the matter before you proceed further.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 29-2-1920

37. *LETTER TO REGISTRAR, HIGH COURT, BOMBAY*[1]

THE SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
February 27, 1920

THE REGISTRAR
HIGH COURT
BOMBAY

DEAR SIR,

I enclose herewith the statement I wish to read or submit to the court on the 3rd proximo, the date fixed for taking the Rule *Nisi*[2] issued against me. I enclose also Mr. Mahadeo Desai's statement.

Yours [*faithful*]*ly*,

[ENCLOSURES]

[GANDHIJI'S STATEMENT]

With reference to the Rule *Nisi* issued against me I state as follows:

Before the issue of the Rule certain correspondence passed between the Registrar of this Honourable Court and myself. On the 11th December I addressed to the Registrar a letter[3]

[1] The drafts of this letter and of both the statements enclosed are in Gandhiji's hand.

[2] Issued in the proceedings for Contempt of Court against Gandhiji as editor and Mahadev Desai as publisher of *Young India*, Bombay, which, on August 6, 1919, printed with comments a letter from B. C. Kennedy, District Judge of Ahmedabad, to the Registrar, High Court, Bombay. *Vide* also "Was It Contempt of Court?", 10-3-1920.

[3] For the text of this letter, *vide* Vol. XVI, pp. 339-40.

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which sufficiently explains my conduct. I therefore attach a copy of the said letter. I regret that I have not found it possible to accept the advice[1] given by His Lordship the Chief Justice.

I am sure that this Honourable Court would not want me to tender an apology unless it be sincere and express regret for an action which I have held to be the privilege and duty of a journalist. I shall therefore cheerfully and respectfully accept the punishment that this Honourable Court may be pleased to impose upon me for the vindication of the majesty of law.

I wish to say with reference to the notice served on Mr. Mahadeo Desai, the publisher, that he published it simply upon my request and advice.[2]

[MAHADEV DESAI'S STATEMENT]

With reference to the Rule *Nisi* served upon me I beg to state that I have read the statement made by the Editor of *Young India* and associate myself with the reasoning adopted by the Editor in justification of his action. I shall therefore cheerfully and respectfully abide by an[y] penalty that the Honourable Court may be pleased to inflict on me. Moreover I have been unable to accept the advice because I do not consider that I have committed either a legal or a moral breach by publishing Mr. Kennedy's letter or by commenting upon the contents thereof.

From a copy: S. N. 7128

38. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI[3]

Phagan Sud 8 [*February 27, 1920*][4]

I got your letter yesterday. I hope to arrive there on Monday.[5] Hence I do not write myself, but just dictate a brief reply. I feel completely exhausted today and so am lying down. With some rest, however, I think I shall feel somewhat better. When you served me like a good son, how could it ever be that I felt dissatisfied? Because of you, I moved everywhere with no anxiety

[1] To apologize in the form suggested by him

[2] The statement as reproduced in *Young India*, 10-3-1920, ends here.

[3] 1894-1951; grandson of Gandhiji's step-sister; author, and follower of Gandhiji; secretary, Bombay Congress Committee, 1922-3; member, Bombay Municipal Corporation, 1923-5, and later Mayor

[4] Footnote 2 on page 54 of Mathuradas's *Atmanirikshana* indicates that the meeting which Gandhiji suggests in the letter took place on March 3, 1920.

[5] Gandhiji reached Bombay on Wednesday, March 3, 1920.

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about my correspondence.[1] Had you not been there, Devdas would have fallen ill and I also would have had to abandon so many of the things I could do. More on Monday.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuni Prasadi

39. SPEECH AT AHMEDABAD

February 27, 1920

Perhaps all of you know that for some time past I have been something of an invalid and I shall, therefore, address you sitting. I hope you will excuse me for doing so.

I find my name, too, included in the list of speakers at this meeting. I have been assigned the duty of thanking Sarladevi and the Chairman[2]. The sister who addressed you today and the Chairman are known to me very well and it gives me great pleasure, therefore, to perform this duty.

I am, personally, a beggar. In my begging, I especially seek out sisters. Men I have found everywhere. But I try especially to seek out sisters, for I know that, unless our sisters in the country give their blessings to the brothers, India's progress is impossible. In Ahmedabad, particularly, I have found such a sister. At Bombay, Madras and elsewhere, too, I have found someone or other. In the Punjab, I found Sarladevi. I first came to know her in 1910 and then I saw the husband and wife again in Hardwar. Sarladevi invited me to the Punjab. I accepted the invitation but felt nervous. At the time she extended it, she was separated from her husband. That made me wonder whether it would be proper for me to accept her hospitality. However, I look upon it as my good fortune if I can share others' suffering and so I stayed with her in the Punjab. I had from her as much service as from one's own sister and thus became her debtor.

If any sister carries my message to the country, I would bow to her in all reverence. But, at the moment, I want to tell you that she has delivered to you not my message but Pandit Rambhuj Dutt Chowdhari's. On an occasion such as this, this lady, ever doting on her husband, thought only of conveying her hus-

[1] Mathuradas worked as Gandhiji's secretary in Bombay in 1919 and accompanied him when he toured the Punjab in January and February, 1920.

[2] Sir Ramanbhai Mahipatram Nilkanth

band's message, and so put him on a pedestal. Well, Chowdhariji's message is the message of the entire Punjab. It asks you never to fear, never to accept defeat come what may, to love God and work on with patience and fortitude. We would do well to inscribe this message in our hearts.

I go after good men as I do after good women. The Chairman at today's meeting is known for his simplicity, his amiable nature and other fine qualities. He has added to the achievements of his father and earned greater fame for himself. As a reformer as also in other capacities, Shri Ramanbhai has done much. If we learn his virtues and achieve something, that will be doing a great deal.

I once again thank Sarladevi and the Chairman on behalf of you all.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 7-3-1920

40. A LETTER[1]

[After *February 27, 1920*][2]

DEAR SIR,

I enclose herewith a copy of the statements[3] sent by me to the Registrar of the High Court and which I propose to read before the Honourable Court on the 3rd proximo when the Rule *Nisi* issued against me is to be taken. I enclose, too, a copy of Mr. M. H. Desai's statement.

Yours [*faithful*]*ly*

From a copy: S. N. 7128

[1] Addressee not known

[2] Judging from the contents, this was written after "Letter to Registrar, High Court, Bombay", 27-2-1920.

[3] *Vide* enclosure to "Letter to Registrar, High Court, Bombay", 27-2-1920.

41. PUNJAB LETTER

LEFT THE PUNJAB

I am writing this letter sitting in the Ashram, after prayers. How can a letter written in the Ashram be called a Punjab Letter? I take the liberty of calling it so because my soul is still in the Punjab. I find it impossible to forget the frankness and the plain living of the Punjabis, their simplicity and magnanimity of heart, nor can I forget their sufferings. I feel that I have been purified by sharing, in however small a measure, in their tribulations. I can now better understand the greatness of the religion of compassion and love sung of by Tulsidas. If I get time, I shall take some occasion to place before readers certain concrete instances of how that dharma is being followed.

However, my heart being still in the Punjab is not sufficient justification for calling this a Punjab Letter. This letter, though written outside, will be mainly about the Punjab and for that reason can rightly be called a Punjab Letter.

PILGRIMAGE TO KASHI

Last week I described the journey to the Gujrat district of the Punjab. After this no more journeys were necessary for the purpose of the Committee's report. It was time, moreover, that the report was finalized. The question was where the Commissioners[1] should assemble to read it over. Kashi was likely to suit Pandit Motilal Nehru, Mr. C. R. Das and Pandit Malaviya. It was decided, therefore, that all should go to Kashi. Mr. Jayakar was already in Lahore. He, together with Mr. Santanam, Dr. Parasram and Lala Harkishen Lal left Lahore for Kashi on the 15th. On the way, Lala Girdhari Lal joined them at Amritsar. Dr. Jivaraj Mehta[2] also came along to look after me. We reached Kashi on the 16th. I was deeply gratified to see Pandit Malaviya and our pious and scholarly Bhai Anandshankar Dhruva[3] on the platform.

The duty of drafting the report had been laid on me and I had not been able to complete the drafting in Lahore. I had,

[1] Appointed by the Punjab Sub-committee of the Congress; *vide* "Letter to Motilal Nehru", 20-2-1920.

[2] An eminent physician who later became the first Chief Minister of Gujarat State

[3] Vice-Chancellor, Banaras Hindu University

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therefore, to spend the entire time in writing it out and the other Commissioners in reading what I had written. The Commissioners guarded me and saved me out of their great affection. This is a memory which I shall ever cherish. Malaviyaji's love is something I cannot describe. He literally stood guard and, although our relations are such that we would scarcely allow a moment to pass without talking about the virtue of service, we both controlled ourselves and refrained from conversation. I wanted very much to have a talk with Anandshankar and listen to his experiences in Kashi but had to restrain myself. It was in this sanctifying and loving atmosphere that the report was completed. We may now confidently expect that it will be published in the beginning of March.

SUNRISE

We were staying with Panditji on the banks of the Ganga. Dawn and sunrise are impressive everywhere, but from these banks the sight was simply sublime. As the clouds brightened with the light of dawn, a golden sheen would appear on the waters of the Ganga and, when the sun had come into view over the horizon, there seemed to stand in the water of the river a great pillar of gold. It was a scene on which the eyes would rest with supreme satisfaction and make the pious devotee burst forth spontaneously into the *gayatri*[1] hymn. After witnessing this magnificent sight, I felt I understood a little better the worship of the sun, the adoration of the rivers and the significance of the *gayatri* hymn.

Walking on that spot, I was filled with pride for our country and our traditions but at the same time, as I thought of the present conditions, I felt sad. I observed people defecating on the very banks of the river. We no more go out to the jungle but, instead, go to the river bank. In this holy spot, it should be possible for us to walk barefoot with our eyes closed, whereas one has to walk here with the greatest caution. One also feels disgust to sip the Ganga water at this spot. Before I had finished thinking of the filth of this spot, I was reminded of the Kashi Vishvanath temple. The narrow lane leading to the temple, the stink, the heap of rotting flowers which I had seen there, the harshness and the lack of cleanliness of the Brahmin priests—as I thought of all these, I heaved a sigh and remembered the cause of degradation of the Hindus. From this my mind turned to Panditji and his work. He will be judged in future by the success of the Kashi University.

[1] Vedic prayer to the sun-god for illumination

Will he pass the test? I remembered his piety, his sacrifices, his magnificent service to Bharatvarsha[1]. Dhruvaji[2] is his right hand. Remembering that the affairs of the university were in the hands of two such pious men, I felt reassured. I thought that, if the students of this university grew to be religious and learned men, there was room to hope for cleanliness in the temple and on the banks of the Ganga. Whether the university has this capacity or not, it is the task of every Hindu to find ways to remove the inner and outer defilement that has crept into the Hindu religion and every Hindu, even sitting in his own home, can make a start this very day. If each one was scrupulous about his own cleanliness, the Kashi Vishvanath would soon be as clean as we could wish.

Students of the University

Having been commanded by Panditji to say a few words to the students, I spoke before them at 7.30 on the morning of my departure, and gave them my ideas about student life.[3] The student's stage of life is similar to the sannyasi's and his life should, therefore, be pure and celibate. Today two cultures are competing for the students' attention—the ancient and the modern. Self-restraint was the key-note of the former. Ancient culture tells us that a man advances in the measure that he deliberately and with full knowledge reduces his wants. Modern civilization teaches us that man progresses by increasing his wants. The difference between self-restraint and self-indulgence is the difference between dharma and *adharma*[4]. The ideal of self-restraint attaches less importance to the outward life than to the inner. There is a danger that in place of the ancient culture based on self-restraint, the modern civilization of self-indulgence will be accepted. Students can play a decisive part in averting this danger. University students will be judged, not by their knowledge, but solely by their good conduct. Religious education and ethical conduct should be given the first place in this university. This requires the fullest co-operation from the students. Panditji himself is a man of piety and virtue. By bringing another man of similar qualities, viz., Anandshankar, he has provided an opportunity to the students. I should like them to make the best use of this opportunity and adorn their learning with dharma.

[1] India
[2] Anandshanker Dhruva
[3] *Vide* "Speech at Meeting of Students, Banaras", 21-2-1920.
[4] Irreligion

These were the thoughts I placed before them on that morning. I have repeatedly expressed these ideas, in one form or another, at several places, and a summary of these same ideas which I explained to the students of Kashi University on getting this happy opportunity, I now lay before readers of *Navajivan* for them to think over. I am convinced that we cannot profit from political reforms unless we also give thought to religion. Religion will not be revived through these reforms. Rather, it is religion which will supply what the reforms may lack.

Gujaratis in Kashi

I did not know till today that a large number of Gujaratis lived in Kashi. Anandshankarbhai got me an opportunity of meeting them. Panditji was also present. The Gujaratis showed their sense of propriety by using this occasion for presenting an address to him. While offering my thanks to them, I put a few suggestions before them. I advised them to send back to Gujarat those defects which were regarded as typical of Gujaratis, and bank only on their good qualities. By so doing they would bring credit both to Gujarat and to the country. In practical affairs, every man encounters numerous moral difficulties. At such times, a friend becomes a necessity. This they had in the person of Anandshankarbhai. I hoped that they would take ample advantage of his presence among them. Proceeding from Kashi to Delhi, I met the Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri and, bringing Sarladevi[1] along with me, I was back in the Ashram on the 23rd.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 29-2-1920

42. HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY

It would be no exaggeration to say that the unity which prevails today between the Hindus and the Muslims is unparalleled in the present age. We all desire that it should remain undisturbed. However, unless our desire is backed up by efforts to that end, this unity cannot be kept up, nor can it be strengthened.

There is no doubt that, if it has been brought about to serve self-interest, it will not continue once the interests have been served. We should therefore examine the reasons for this growth in unity.

[1] Sarladevi Chowdhrani

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Many of my friends question me about it. Some misunderstandings may be removed if I repeat here the answer I gave them.

Some of them feel I am not well-advised to take a leading part on the Khilafat issue. One party asserts that it is impossible to overcome the bitter hostility between the Hindus and the Muslims. I do not wish to answer this question here. I can only observe that, if we keep raising such questions it will become impossible for us to solve many of our complicated problems. It is said that human effort can achieve anything and we see that indeed it does. If so, we need not assume that the problem is incapable of solution.

Another party argues that, though the Khilafat may well be a religious issue for Muslims, they do not have justice on their side. How are we concerned with Turkey? There is no limit to the injustices perpetrated by that country. What good will it do to the world to restore its tyrannical rule? A number of similar questions are raised. I shall try to answer them all some other time, but the main points I shall examine now. I believe that, on the Khilafat issue, the Muslim stand is entirely just. If it were purely a case of religious feelings and these feelings did not appeal to our reason, I admit that we would in no wise be bound to help them in the matter. Even apart from the religious issues involved in the Khilafat, the Muslims are still on the path of justice. The Allies had accepted, and so had President Wilson, the principle that the boundaries of the different countries as they existed when the War started should remain intact, and that no country should be made to suffer by way of punishment. The Muslims want them to abide by this principle. They demand that the territories held by Turkey in August 1914 be restored to her, that Arabia and the holy places of Islam remain under the control of the Khalifa, and they say that they would not mind the Sultan being asked to furnish reasonable guarantees for the protection of his Christian and Jewish subjects, consistent with his dignity. The Arabs may remain free. I find none of these demands unreasonable. They meet the objection based on the alleged oppression by Turkey. There have been promises by British ministers[1] to this effect. If, now, the Muslims do not get what was promised, they will suffer grave injustice and their religious feelings will be hurt. Hence I feel that, if we wish to do our duty by our neighbours, it is incumbent on us to help our Muslim brethren.

[1] Asquith and Lloyd George

The orthodox Hindus, however, tell me: 'All right, we shall help them. But nowadays Hindus drink water from the same glass, sit at meals together with them and talk of Hindus and Muslims giving their sons and daughters in marriage to one another.' This is a genuine fear among the orthodox Hindus, but there is no good reason for entertaining it. In order that we may help them on the Khilafat issue, there is absolutely no need to drink water from the same glass, sit together at meals or give sons and daughters in marriage. Unity will come about only when the Hindu, while scrupulously following his own religion, regards the Muslim as his brother. I do not love my son the less though I wash clean the glass he has used, or do not allow him to drink from my glass without washing it. A brother and a sister do not marry, but where else shall we find such pure love as exists between them? Many Hindus do not marry in the same *gotra*[1] but this does not detract from their unity. Really speaking, if we consider such freedom in matters of drinking, eating and marriage essential for unity, then unity between Hindus and Muslims will never come about. Hence, whenever I hear that a Hindu and a Muslim drank from the same glass or ate from the same plate, I feel sorry because an orthodox Hindu is bound to be hurt even on hearing of these things. It would be an entirely different matter if there is some good reason why we should not mind hurting them. When, however, drinking water from the same glass implies no unity, to give prominence to the act as an expression of unity is creating an obstacle in the way of unity. I personally believe that we have given false importance to eating and thus invited disease and starvation, and made self-control difficult. The act of eating is no different from that of excretion; both are unclean and should be performed in private. Because we enjoy eating, we indulge in the pleasure openly and have abandoned shame in this matter as well. I feel that we would do well to emulate those strict Hindus who eat in private, just that they might preserve the body, taking God's name the while. Maybe I am mistaken; I only want to prove that, for promoting Hindu-Muslim unity, it is not necessary to drink and eat in company. By raising this question, we put an obstacle in the way of unity.

Let us now consider the question of marriages. Many Hindus and Muslims eat together of their own free will and Hindu society tolerates this. But nowhere do we find marriages as between Hindus and Muslims; if such a thing were to be encourag-

[1] Lineage on the male side

ed, the Hindu religion would die out. I think it impossible for a Hindu and a Muslim to marry and yet follow his or her own religion properly. Men devoid of the religious feeling live to no good purpose. If we would keep this feeling pure, there can be no question of marriages between Hindus and Muslims. If Hindus and Muslims keep up unity between themselves by being indifferent to their respective religions, such unity is not real; it is not unity as between Hindus and Muslims, and what we wish for is Hindu-Muslim unity. If we wish to achieve it and would preserve it, we should forget for ever the idea of marriages between Hindus and Muslims. I should think that the zealous Muslims feel the same way. A Muslim can never marry a Hindu who remains a Hindu. What religion will the offspring of such union follow? One spouse must accept the religion of the other or they should both live without religion, or found a new creed. In none of these lies Hindu-Muslim unity. My dream is that a *Vaishnava*[1], with a mark on his forehead and a bead necklace, or an ash-smeared Hindu with a *rudraksha*[2] necklace, ever so punctilious in his *sandhya*[3] and ablutions, and a pious Muslim saying his *namaz*[4] regularly can live as brothers. God willing, the dream will be realized.

Well may some friend, his mind clouded with doubts, remark that, if help on the Khilafat issue can promote unity, there should be a similar bond between a lawyer and client. I see two fallacies in this doubt. The clients in India are so poor in spirit that they even worship the lawyer whom they have paid. A lawyer, then, who wants no return can easily buy his client as a slave. Those who have never seen Dadabhai[5], even such Indians, suffering from leprosy, with whom Dadabhai would never sit for a meal, worship that lawyer. Gokhale's[6] gratuitous pleading has gained him immortality. If twenty-two crores of Hindus intelligently plead for the Muslims on the Khilafat issue, I believe that they would for ever win the vote of the eight crores of Muslims.

[1] Member of the *Vaishnava* sect among the Hindus; a worshipper of Vishnu

[2] Literally "Shiva's eye"; seed of a tree sacred to Lord Shiva

[3] Morning and evening prayers

[4] Prayer

[5] Dadabhai Naoroji (1825-1917); thrice elected president, Indian National Congress; first to enunciate swaraj as objective of the Congress

[6] Gopal Krishna Gokhale (1866-1915); educationist and politician; president of the Congress, 1905; founder of Servants of India Society; successfully pleaded the cause of indentured Indian labourers

I stayed at Maulana Bari[1] Saheb's with love. He sent for a Brahmin cook for me and even had my milk warmed by him. He is a non-vegetarian but he did not let me catch even a glimpse of meat in his house. Because of his observing such decorum, our friendship was strengthened, not weakened.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 29-2-1920

43. NOTES

Mrs. Besant Insulted

We find that, at the meeting held[2] in Bombay to welcome Lalaji[3], many from among the audience insulted Mrs. Besant[4]. We were deeply grieved to hear this. When we are looking forward to a new and beautiful life in India, employing the weapons of rudeness and contempt against people who hold views different from ours will obstruct our progress. In public life, courtesy, respect and toleration for opponents are indispensable. The insult to Mrs. Besant brings disgrace to us. The incomparable service which this good lady had in a few years' time rendered to India, very few Indians have done. Maybe at present her views do not appeal to us, maybe we see her errors all the time; even so, by insulting one who has rendered such magnificent service to India, —one who, in her old age, displays enthusiasm worthy of youth, still continues to contribute her share for the advancement of India—we insult ourselves. It is our duty to clear the air immediately of this noxious wind of rudeness.

Mrs. Sarladevi Chowdhrani

Sarladevi has been in Ahmedabad for some time and hence it will not be out of place to give some additional information about her to readers of *Navajivan*. In a general way, all have heard of Sarladevi, but only as an erudite lady doing public

[1] Abdul Bari (1838-1926); nationalist Muslim divine; took active part in the Khilafat movement and urged his followers to refrain from cow-slaughter

[2] On February 20, 1920

[3] Lala Lajpat Rai (1865-1928); nationalist leader of the Punjab. He arrived in Bombay on February 20, 1920, after being away from India for six years and was accorded a great welcome.

[4] Annie Besant (1847-1933); philosopher and political leader; president of Theosophical Society, 1907-33; left in 1919 the Indian Home Rule League founded by her in 1916

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service. To be more specific about her, she is a niece of Sir Rabindranath Tagore, daughter of the well-known former secretary of the Congress, Mr. Ghosal, and wife of the famous Pandit Rambhuj Dutt Chowdhari of the Punjab. She completed her B.A. at the age of 19, and from then onwards has been engaged in public service in one form or another. It was she who started the Bengali monthly, named *Bharati*, and it is said that she showed in it the great power of her pen. Her poetic power is of a high order and her sweet song "I bow to India", which was sung in Banaras, is known all over the country. Shrimati Sarladevi took a leading part in establishing committees in Bengal and, when the War broke out, and it came to telling the educated Bengalis that they should join the army and do their duty, few were as effective as this lady. We see her hand in the public movement in the Punjab too. Her musical talent perhaps exceeds her gift for poetry and she is, therefore, in demand at every Congress. Pandit Rambhuj Dutt Chowdhari himself has some poetic gift. One of his poems is very powerful and popular as well. It is in Gurumukhi[1] and is sung by thousands of men. It was sung at the Congress[2], Sarladevi having trained some boys and girls for the purpose. It can almost serve as the song of satyagrahis and we publish it, therefore, on the opening page of this issue, with the meanings of the difficult words.

Propagation of Swadeshi in Nadiad

To propagate swadeshi in Nadiad, a company named the "Swadeshi Bhandar, Limited" has been formed. It has ten shares of a lakh each and ten thousand shares of ten rupees each. This enterprise has been launched with the purpose of supplying sufficient cloth to those who have taken the vows of pure and of mixed swadeshi in Nadiad and other places and for popularizing hand-spun, hand-woven cloth. The company's profit is restricted to a maximum of six and a quarter per cent and the commission for the agents has been fixed at 25 per cent on the net profit. This venture has been started not with the object of making profit, but solely for the purpose of propagating swadeshi, and the friends who will manage it have joined it, we believe, wholly with the idea of service. We have, therefore, welcomed this enterprise. The organizers hope that, instead of a few persons buying up the shares, a large number will buy a few shares each. It is

[1] A script in use in the Punjab; here, the Punjabi language
[2] At its Amritsar session in December 1919

also their aim to permit no speculation in the name of this company and no transfer of shares purely for such purpose. The shareholders, too, it is hoped, will not subscribe with the sole object of earning heavy interest but entirely with the idea of encouraging swadeshi. A company formed with such restrictions ought to be welcomed. We, therefore, hope that people of ordinary means will buy shares in this company and encourage this enterprise, and also that the organizers, despite any difficulties they may have to face, will never give up the aims they have set before them.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 29-2-1920

44. LETTER TO L. FRENCH

[CALCUTTA,][1]
February 29, 1920

DEAR MR. FRENCH,

I beg to thank you for your letter of the 19th instant in reply to mine[2] regarding the recruiting methods in Shahpur. I feel grateful to His Honour[3] for the assurance that he will investigate the matter. I am sorry that there has been some unavoidable delay in sending the statements that were taken before me. I left them to be translated in Lahore with instructions to send them immediately after translation. I am expecting them every day and as soon as I receive them, I shall forward them for His Honour's perusal.

I may mention that the punitive police is still posted at Lak Tahsil Sargodha, at Bahk Lurkan, at Kot Inoman and at Kot Ranja in Tahsil Bhalwal. Whatever the final opinion about the statements may be, I trust that the punitive police will be withdrawn at the earliest moment.

Yours sincerely,

From a copy: S. N. 7125

[1] Although this letter is written on Gandhiji's personal letter-paper bearing his Sabarmati address, it must, in fact, have been written from Calcutta, for he was there on February 29, 1920.

[2] *Vide* "Letter to L. French", 15-2-1920.

[3] The Lt.-Governor of the Punjab

45. THE AMRITSAR APPEALS[1]

So these appeals have been dismissed in spite of the advocacy of the best counsel that was obtainable. The Privy Council has confirmed lawless procedure. I must confess that the judgment does not come upon me quite as a surprise, though the remarks of the judges, as Sir Simon was developing his argument on behalf of the appellants, led one to expect a favourable verdict. My opinion, based upon a study of political cases, is that the judgments even of the highest tribunals are not unaffected by subtle political considerations. The most elaborate precautions taken to procure a purely judicial mind must break down at critical moments. The Privy Council cannot be free from the limitations of all human institutions which are good enough only for normal conditions. The consequences of a decision favourable to the people would have exposed the Indian Government to indescribable discredit from which it would have been difficult [for it] to free itself for a generation.

Its political significance can be gauged from the fact that as soon as the news was received in Lahore all the preparations that were made to accord a fitting welcome to Lala Lajpat Rai were immediately cancelled and the capital of the Punjab was reported to be in deep mourning. Deeper discredit, therefore, now attaches to the Government by reason of the judgment, because rightly or wrongly the popular opinion will be that there is no justice under the British Constitution when large political or racial considerations are involved.

There is only one way to avoid the catastrophe. The human and especially the Indian mind quickly responds to generosity. I hope that without the necessity of an agitation or petitions the Punjab Government or the Central Government will immediately cancel the death sentences and, if at all possible, simultaneously set the appellants free.

This is required by two considerations, each equally important. The first is that of restoring public confidence which

[1] On July 24, 1919, the Privy Council had granted leave of appeal to 21 citizens of Amritsar convicted by the Court Martial at Lahore in connection with the Amritsar riots of April 1919. They appealed on the ground that the Viceroy had no power to issue the Martial Law ordinances and that the procedure followed by the Summary Courts was irregular.

I have already mentioned. The second is fulfilment of the Royal Proclamation[1] to the letter. That great political document orders the release of all the political offenders who may not by their release prove a danger to society. No one can possibly suggest that the twenty-one appellants will, if they are set free, in any shape or form constitute a danger to society. They never had committed any crimes before. Most of them were regarded as respectable and orderly citizens. They were not known to belong to any revolutionary society. If they committed any crimes at all, they were committed only under the impulse of the moment and under what to them was grave provocation. Moreover, the public believe that the majority of the convictions by the Martial Law Tribunals were unsupported by any good evidence. I, therefore, hope that the Government, which have so far been doing well in discharging political offenders even when they were caught in the act, will not hesitate to release these appellants and thus earn the goodwill of the whole of India. It is an act of generosity done in the hour of triumph which is the most effective. And in the popular opinion this dismissal of the appeal has been regarded as a triumph for the Government.

I would respectfully plead with the Punjab friends not to lose heart. We must calmly prepare ourselves for the worst. If the convictions are good, if the men convicted have been guilty of murders or incitements to murder, why should they escape punishment? If they have not committed these crimes as we believe most at least have not, why should we escape the usual fate of all who are trying to rise a step higher? Why should we fear the sacrifice if we would rise? No nations have ever risen without sacrifice and sacrifice can only be spoken of in connection with innocence and not with crime.

Young India, 3-3-1920

[1] Of December 1919

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46. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING

BOMBAY,
Wednesday [March 3][1] *1920*

MY DEAR CHILD,

The case is going on, and as I have a few minutes' interval, I want to give you a few lines.

You are constantly in my mind. Sometimes I even feel uneasy when I think of our chats and when I think that in some things I might have appeared harsh when I had wanted to be gentle. One's speech cannot be judged by one's intentions but only [by] the effect it produced on the hearer. Are you happy and joyful? How are you in body?

I would like you to return Mr. Banker's trunk. If you need another, you may take one in Madras. You will let me have your programme, of course.

The case is finished and the judgment has been reserved. I have sent you a telegram[2].

With love,

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat of the original in N.A.I.; also *My Dear Child*, pp. 66-7

47. SPEECH AT KHILAFAT MEETING, BOMBAY[3]

March 3, 1920

I am not strong enough to stand and speak. I have spoken often on this issue. It is my belief that nothing can be done to us against our will. They are bound to respect our wishes. I saw today the resolutions passed at the Khilafat Conference[4] at Calcutta and they made me happy. The Maulana Saheb[5] has,

[1] The Contempt of Court case to which the letter refers was heard at Bombay on March 3; *vide* "Was It Contempt of Court?", 10-3-1920.

[2] Not available

[3] The meeting was called by the Khilafat Committee; Mia Mahomed Haji Jan Mahomed Chhotani was in the chair.

[4] Held on February 29, 1920

[5] Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, who presided over the Conference

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at this meeting, laid down our line of work. He has declared, as with a trumpet, what he wished to say to the Emperor. How do I know that tomorrow my Hindu brethren will not find themselves in the same situation in which you are placed today? I have offered this neck of mine, in the name of Khuda, to the world and to you. What more can I give you? If this question is not settled satisfactorily and if our Muslim brethren resign from the Councils, I can tell you with confidence that my brethren, the Hindu representatives, cannot but follow their example. The Calcutta Conference has passed the resolution on boycott[1] but it does not command my sympathy at all. We should keep away from the idea of boycott. If we are prepared to lay down our lives, where is the point of boycott? This is a sacred cause. We will pay a price only for a cause which deserves it. What can the Archbishops of Canterbury and York do to make us strong? You have the fullest sympathy of the Hindus. These days I have been reading the Koran a little. That brings me nearer to you. We have no desire to subdue anyone with hate. Rather than cut off the other man's head with the sword, offer your own head. All of our representatives should be ready to declare that, if the issue is not settled justly, their help will not be available in running the government of the country.

[From Gujarati]
Gujarati, 7-3-1920

48. SPEECH AT BOMBAY[2]

March 4, 1920

Mr. Gandhi congratulated the organizers of the movement on the starting of the Sabha and hoped it would succeed in the work which it had undertaken. The objects of the Sabha appeared to be clear and straightforward, and that being the case, he had no doubt of their success provided they worked industriously to achieve their object. Truth and fearlessness were conditions essential to and sufficient for the success of an object like the one they had in view, and he was sure that if they worked in a spirit of truthfulness, fearlessness and straightforwardness, their effort would be crowned with success.

The Bombay Chronicle, 5-3-1920

[1] Of British goods

[2] At a public meeting held under the presidentship of G. K. Parekh at the Morarji Gokuldas Hall to welcome the formation of the Kathiawar Hitvardhak Sabha

49. SPEECH ON PRESS ACT, BOMBAY[1]

March 5, 1920

The fact that the man[2] who struggled more than anyone else for the repeal of this law is not present here is a shame both to the people and the Government. If the Government offered to repeal this Act, but wanted to shelve the question of Horniman's return to India,[3] I am sure the Indian people would not accept that. The question which I keep asking myself is this: 'if there were no newspapers to give expression to public opinion, how would the Government ever know it?' For want of independent newspapers, the Government has to rely upon the C.I.D[4]. The people, therefore, request the Government that, if it wanted to lighten this burden on the C.I.D., if it was anxious to see independent newspapers in India and felt the need for people's co-operation, it should not gag newspapers, which are representatives of public opinion. The Government's condition at present is like that of the meteorologist who has smashed his barometer and would yet measure the atmospheric pressure.

Not only journalists but the entire public should carry on a powerful agitation to secure repeal of this Act. Were I to describe the worries and hardships of journalists, I would fill a volume as big as the *Mahabharata*. People sometimes praise me and sometimes swear at me as well; sometimes they defend the authorities, and occasionally denounce them too. It is for journalists to separate the grain from the chaff in all this. It is the journalist's duty to throw light on every matter of public concern. However, not to admit in one's paper a single adjective which does not serve

[1] At a meeting held under the auspices of the Indian Press Association, with Sir Narayan Chandavarkar in the chair. A resolution demanding repeal of the Press Act of 1910 was proposed by Gandhiji and seconded by M. R. Jayakar. The meeting was one of the few occasions which found Nationalists, Liberals and Home Rule Leaguers on the same platform.

[2] B. G. Horniman (1873-1948); journalist and political agitator; editor of *The Bombay Chronicle*. He was deported from India in April 1919 and could return only in 1926.

[3] A resolution requesting the Government of Bombay to permit Horniman's return to India was moved by K. Natarajan at the meeting.

[4] The Criminal Investigation Department

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the people's cause is the most effective means of securing the repeal of the Press Act.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 14-3-1920

50. TELEGRAM TO SHAUKAT ALI[1]

March 6, 1920

PREPARING APPEAL REGARDING NINETEENTH[2] GIVING CONDITIONAL ADHERENCE. ADVISE YOU TEMPER FIRMNESS WITH MODERATION AND EXPRESS TRUTH IN LANGUAGE LOVE NOT HATE THEN ONLY SHALL WE WIN.

Bombay Secret Abstracts, 1920, p. 33

51. TELEGRAM TO K. SANTANAM

March 6, 1920

SEND TRANSLATION STATEMENTS[3] TAKEN BY ME IMMEDIATELY AHMEDABAD TRANSLATE REST AND SEND.

GANDHI

From a copy: S. N. 7145

52. CONDITION OF "NAVAJIVAN"

At the time the *Navajivan* was converted into a weekly and I took over its editorship,[4] I had mentally decided upon certain conditions. Some of those which the reader knows I recall here:

1. Not to accept advertisements for money in *Navajivan*.
2. Not to publish *Navajivan* at a loss.

[1] Who had gone to Calcutta in connection with the Bengal Provincial Khilafat Conference held on February 28 and 29

[2] March 19, the Khilafat Day

[3] In regard to the Punjab atrocities of 1919. Gandhiji had asked for these as he was preparing the manuscript of the Congress Report thereon for the press and also to send to Lt.-Governor of the Punjab; *Vide* "Letter to L. French", 29-2-1920.

[4] This was with effect from September 7, 1919

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These days about nine thousand copies of *Navajivan* are sold. I would not be satisfied till the number rises to twenty thousand and would not be surprised if it increased to fifty thousand. So far, however, we have not been able to provide for the printing of so many copies. We do not have such a machine, nor the required number of men. We do not have a building in which so many copies can be printed with ease; moreover, my co-workers and I are not yet able to supply articles of the quality and in quantity to tempt fifty thousand subscribers. God willing, such a time will come. I would consider the last issue to be of such a standard; previously, too, a few such issues came out. But, as an English saying has it, one swallow does not make a summer. Similarly one good issue of *Navajivan* cannot be the standard for judging all. The last issue was especially good because of Sarladevi's article, "Bandhu", appearing in it. It was written in two instalments. The first part was written several years ago when she was living in some region covered with woods, but it had remained unpublished. Recently, on my begging her, she searched it out, supplemented it and made it into the likeness of a perfect poem and then gifted it to me. The original article is in Bengali. As it was found difficult to translate, its appearance in *Navajivan* was delayed. Two or three meanings can be read in this article. But I would advise my readers to peruse it several times over and extract all the sweetness from it. They will discover that its sweetness is inexhaustible.

But I have digressed. These days *Navajivan* is sold at a loss. The cost of one copy comes to 16 pies, of which eight pies are for paper. Having started with good quality paper, we do not like to change over to inferior quality. Hence it has been decided to effect some saving by reducing the size. Instead of sixteen pages, only twelve pages are given this time, but not even four pies are saved in this way. And so it has been decided to sell single copies in Bombay and Ahmedabad at five pice instead of four. This will stop the loss. The reader will see that so long as basically *Navajivan* suffers loss, increasing its sale would mean increased loss. In its present state of loss, therefore, even increasing its sale is out of the question.

When *Navajivan* was started, eight pages were promised but, the circumstances having permitted, sixteen pages were given. Even now the reader will get more than the promised eight pages. I wish to state at the same time that no subjects will be avoided for lack of space, but more concise articles, costing greater effort, will be given and an attempt made to include as many sub-

jects as at present. Often lengthy articles are produced in order to fill up space in papers. Frequently the author writes his articles in haste and fails to arrange his ideas properly. One finds it difficult to understand them and, sometimes, a thought in itself easy to understand is expressed in such a roundabout way that it costs an effort to understand it. I hope, therefore, that contributors to *Navajivan* will write more concisely and, looking upon themselves as joint proprietors, co-operate to make it prosper. Our aim in starting *Navajivan* was not business; it was, through its means, to render what little service we could to the people and, at a time when new life was flowing into them, to guide them, to the best of our ability, along straightforward and simple paths and help them in solving complicated problems.

Contributors to *Navajivan* should, therefore, try and see that, though they write more briefly, they do not give less substance.

If the price of paper comes down, or if any losses are due to our inefficiency in the Navajivan Press or the office and if matters can be set right, we will do so and start giving sixteen pages again. If we do not want *Navajivan* to run at a loss, we do not want any profit either. Any saving, therefore, will be passed on to readers. I hope they will see this, and, looking upon *Navajivan* as their own property, co-operate in improving its condition.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 7-3-1920

53. NOTES

Sir Rabindranath Tagore's Visit

The Sahitya Parishad[1] will be held in April. News has been received that Sir Rabindranath Tagore will grace the Conference with his presence. His visit will be no ordinary event. He is not a politician, but a great poet. In India, certainly, he has no equal. Our friend Andrews is himself a poet and in his opinion Sir Rabindranath has no equal today even in Europe.

As he is a poet, so is he a philosopher and believes in God. Andrews has even called him a prophet. This great poet is a priceless gem of India. No one can deny that his poetry is full of spiritual wisdom, ethical ideals and other noble elements. His

[1] The Gujarat Literary Conference, the sixth session of which was due to be held at Ahmedabad

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Gitanjali and *Sadhana* stand in a world apart; his stories are full of childhood's joy and, equally, of thought and art.

I should like the capital city of Gujarat to accord him a befitting reception. Deafening cheers are not the right thing for him. Despite the crowd, we should avoid jostling and make way for one beloved of us. The way we decorate the roads should have nothing of the West in it but should be in the manner of the East. He is as great a connoisseur of painting and music as he is a great poet. The expression of our feelings, therefore, should be quiet, artistic and so sincere as to be free in all respects from ostentation or sentimentality. I request the organizers to apply their minds from today and think out proper arrangements so that our guest may feel no strain and Gujarat may accord, with religious fervour, a welcome worthy of itself and the poet.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 7-3-1920

54. LETTER TO THE PRESS

[*March 7, 1920*][1]

The Khilafat question has now become a question of questions. It has become an Imperial question of the first magnitude.

The great prelates of England and the Mohammedan leaders combined have brought the question to the fore. The prelates threw down the challenge. The Muslim leaders have taken it up.

I trust that the Hindus will realize that the Khilafat question overshadows the Reforms[2] and everything else.

If the Muslim claim was unjust apart from the Muslim scriptures, one might hesitate to support it merely on scriptural authority. But when a just claim is supported by scriptures, it becomes irresistible.

Briefly put, the claim is that the Turks should retain European Turkey subject to full guarantees for the protection of non-Muslim races under the Turkish Empire and that the Sultan should control the holy places of Islam and should have suzerainty over Jazirat-ul-Arab, i.e., Arabia as defined by the Muslim savants subject to self-governing rights being given to the Arabs if they

[1] This "manifesto" on the Khilafat question was released from Sabarmati Ashram, Ahmedabad, on March 7, 1920.

[2] The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms of 1919

so desire. This was what was promised[1] by Mr. Lloyd George and this was what Lord Hardinge had contemplated.[2] The Mohammedan soldiers would not have fought to deprive Turkey of her possessions. To deprive the Khalif of the suzerainty of Arabia is to reduce the Khilafat to a nullity.

To restore to Turkey, subject to necessary guarantees, what was hers before the War is a Christian solution. To wrest any of her possessions from her for the sake of punishing her is a gun-powder solution. The Allies or England in the hour of triumph must be scrupulously just. To reduce the Turks to impotence would be not only unjust. It would be a breach of solemn declarations and promises. It is to be wished that the Viceroy will take his courage in both his hands and place himself at the head of the Khilafat agitation as Lord Hardinge did at the time of the South African "passive resistance" struggle[3] and thus like his predecessor give a clear and emphatic direction to an agitation which under impulsive or faulty leadership may lead to disastrous consequences.

But the situation rests more with us Hindus and Mohammedans than with the Viceroy and still more with the Muslim leaders than with the Hindus or the Viceroy.

There are signs already of impatience on the part of Muslim friends and impatience may any day be reduced to madness and the latter must inevitably lead to violence. And I wish I could persuade everyone to see that violence is suicide.

Supposing the Muslim demands are not granted by the Allies or, say, England! I see nothing but hope in Mr. Montagu's brave defence of the Muslim position and Mr. Lloyd George's interpretation of his own declaration. True, the latter is halting but he can secure full justice under it. But we must suppose the worst and expect and strive for the best. How to strive is the question.

What we may not do is clear enough:

1. There should be no violence in thought, speech or deed.
2. Therefore there should be no boycott of British goods, by way of revenge or punishment. Boycott, in my opinion, is a

[1] In his speech of January 5, 1918, wherein he declared that the Allies were not fighting "to deprive Turkey of its capital or of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace"

[2] Evidently the reference is to the Proclamation issued by the Government of India on November 2, 1914, which declared that "no question of a religious character was involved" in the War.

[3] In 1913 and 1914

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form of violence. Moreover, even if it were desirable, it is totally impracticable.

3. There should be no rest till the minimum is achieved.

4. There should be no mixing up of other questions with the Khilafat, e.g., the Egyptian question.

Let us see what must be done:

1. The cessation of business on the 19th instant[1] and expression of the minimum demands by means of one single resolution is a necessary first step provided that the hartal is absolutely voluntary and the employees are not asked to leave their work unless they receive permission from their employers. I would strongly urge that the mill-hands should be left untouched. The further proviso is that there should be no violence accompanying the hartal. I have been often told that the C.I.D. sometimes promote violence. I do not believe in it as a general charge. But even if it be true, our discipline should make it impossible. Our success depends solely on our ability to control, guide and discipline the masses.

Now a word as to what may be done if the demands are not granted. The barbarous method is warfare, open or secret. This must be ruled out if only because it is impracticable. If I could but persuade everyone that it is always bad, we should gain all lawful ends much quicker. The power that an individual or a nation forswearing violence generates is a power that is irresistible. But my argument today against violence is based upon pure expedience, i.e., its utter futility.

Non-co-operation is therefore the only remedy left open to us. It is the cleanest remedy as it is the most effective, when it is absolutely free from all violence. It becomes a duty when co-operation means degradation or humiliation or an injury to one's cherished religious sentiment. England cannot accept a meek submission by us to an unjust usurpation of rights which to Mussulmans mean a matter of life and death. We may therefore begin at the top as also the bottom. Those who are holding offices of honour or emolument ought to give them up. Those who belong to the menial services under Government should do likewise. Non-co-operation does not apply to services under private individuals. I cannot approve of the threat of ostracism against those who do not adopt the remedy of non-co-operation.

[1] The Khilafat Day, which would be observed as a day of national mourning, betokened by fasting and hartal

It is only a voluntary withdrawal which is effective. For voluntary withdrawal alone is a test of popular feeling and dissatisfaction. Advice to the soldiers to refuse to serve is premature. It is the last not the first step. We should be entitled to take that step when the Viceroy, the Secretary of State and the Premier leave us. Moreover every step in withdrawing co-operation has to be taken with the greatest deliberation. We must proceed slowly so as to ensure retention of self-control under the fiercest heat.

Many look upon the Calcutta resolutions[1] with the deepest alarm. They scent in them a preparation for violence. I do not look upon them in that light, though I do not approve of the tone of some of them. I have already mentioned those whose subject-matter I wholly dislike.

"Can Hindus accept all the resolutions?" is the question addressed by some. I can only speak for myself. I will co-operate whole-heartedly with the Muslim friends in the prosecution of their just demands so long as they act with sufficient restraint and so long as I feel sure that they do not wish to resort to or countenance violence. I should cease to co-operate and advise every Hindu and for that matter everyone else to cease to co-operate the moment there was violence actually done, advised or countenanced. I would therefore urge upon all speakers the exercise of the greatest restraint under the gravest provocation. There is certainty of victory if firmness is combined with gentleness. The cause is doomed if anger, hatred, ill will, recklessness and finally violence are to reign supreme. I shall resist them with my life even if I should stand alone. My goal is friendship with the world and I can combine the greatest love with the greatest opposition to wrong.

Young India, 10-3-1920

[1] Of the Khilafat Conference held on February 29, 1920

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55. TELEGRAM TO BENGAL KHILAFAT COMMITTEE

[On or after *March 7, 1920*][1]

HAVE ISSUED MANIFESTO DECLARING VIEWS APPROVING NINETEENTH[2]. SHALL SUPPORT TILL DEATH IF MOVEMENT DOES NOT DRIFT INTO VIOLENCE.

The Bombay Chronicle, 11-3-1920

56. THE 6TH APRIL AND THE 13TH

It is impossible for us to forget the 6th of April[3] which vitalized the whole of India and the 13th of April[4] which by the spilling of innocent blood has made the Punjab a place of pilgrimage for the whole of India. The 6th of April saw the advent of satyagraha. One may dissent from the civil disobedience part of it but no one can dissent from the essential doctrine of truth and love or non-injury. With *satya* combined with ahimsa you can bring the world to your feet. Satyagraha in its essence is nothing but the introduction of truth and gentleness in the political, i.e., the national life. And whether one takes the satyagraha pledge or not, there can be no doubt that the spirit of satyagraha has pervaded the masses. Anyway, that is my experience of thousands of Punjabis I met throughout my tour in the Punjab.

The 6th of April again saw the inauguration of a definite plan of Hindu-Muslim unity and swadeshi.

It was the 6th of April which broke the spirit underlying the Rowlatt Act and made it a dead letter. The 13th of April saw not merely the terrific tragedy, but in that tragedy Hindu-Muslim blood flowed freely in a mingled stream and sealed the compact.

How to commemorate or celebrate these two great national events? I venture to suggest that those who will, should devote the 6th April next to fast (twenty-four hours abstention from food) and prayer and that all over India at 7 p.m., public meetings

[1] The "manifesto" mentioned in the text is the letter to the Press issued on March 7, 1920, *vide* the preceding item; this telegram must therefore have been sent on or after that date.

[2] The Khilafat Day

[3] April 6, 1919, the day of universal hartal

[4] April 13, 1919, the day of the Jallianwala Bagh massacre

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should be held praying for the repeal of the Rowlatt Act and expressing the national belief that there will be no peace in the land till that Act is repealed. That the Act is a dead letter is not enough. Either it is a disgrace or it is not. If it is, the Act must be repealed. The repeal before the reforms[1] will be a token of goodwill on the part of the Government.

The whole of the week beginning from the 6th should be devoted to some work connected with the tragedy of the 13th. I therefore venture further to suggest that the week should be devoted to the collecting of funds for the Jallianwala Bagh memorial, it being remembered that the sum to be collected is ten lakhs of rupees. Each village or town can devise its own plan of collection, guarding against misappropriation and fraud. The collection should be finished by the evening of the 12th April.

Then the 13th. That day of days should be devoted to fasting and prayer. It should be free from ill will or anger. We want to cherish the memory of the innocent dead. We do not want to remember the wickedness of the deed. The nation will rise by readiness to sacrifice, not by preparing to revenge. On that day I would also have the nation to remember the mass excesses[2] and feel penitent for them. We close the week by meetings throughout India to pass resolutions urging the Government, both Imperial and Indian, to take effective steps to render a repetition of the tragedy impossible.

I would further urge that during the week each one does his or her best in his or her own person to realize more fully than ever the principles of satyagraha, Hindu-Muslim unity and swadeshi. In order to emphasize Hindu-Muslim unity I would advise joint meetings of Hindus and Mohammedans on Friday, the 12th April, at 7 p.m., urging that the Khilafat question be decided in accordance with the just Muslim sentiments.

Thus this national week should be a week of purification, self-examination, sacrifice, exact discipline and expression of cherished national sentiments. There should be no trace of bitterness, no violence of language but absolute fearlessness and firmness.

Should there not also be hartal on the 6th and the 13th? My answer is an emphatic 'no'. The week is a Satyagraha Week for those who believe in truth and non-violence. The hartal of the 6th was a satyagraha hartal in the sense that it was a prelude to satyagraha. The hartal of the 6th April last, though it was

[1] The Montagu-Chelmsford reforms of 1919, then awaiting implementation
[2] The disorders of April 1919

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spontaneous, was not altogether free from undue pressure during the course of the day in the way of asking people not to use carriages, etc. I would therefore not advise hartal at all for this week of discipline and penance. Moreover hartal must not be made cheap. It must be only for rare occasions.

I respectfully trust that all parties and all classes will see their way to take their full share in the observances of the national week and make it an event for the true and definite progress in national awakening.

Young India, 10-3-1920

57. *WAS IT CONTEMPT OF COURT?*[1]

This rule[2] was heard by the Hon'ble Justices Marten, Hayward and Kajiji on the 3rd instant. The Editor, Mr. Gandhi and the Publisher, Mr. Desai, of *Young India* were to show cause why they should not be committed for contempt having published with comments in the issue of the 6th August, 1919 of their paper, a letter addressed by Mr. Kennedy, District Judge of Ahmedabad, to the Registrar of the High Court complaining of the conduct of certain satyagrahi lawyers of Ahmedabad.

The Hon'ble Sir Thomas Strangman, Advocate-General, with Messrs Bahadurji and Pocock appeared for the applicant. Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Desai appeared in person.

The Advocate-General, in opening the case, said that the proceedings were in contempt against Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Desai, about whose being Editor and Publisher respectively there was no dispute. It appeared that Mr. Kennedy in April last, finding that certain lawyers in Ahmedabad had signed the Satyagraha Pledge[3], asked them to explain why their sanads should not be cancelled for their having signed the pledge, and as he did not consider their explanation satisfactory he addressed a letter to the Registrar of the High Court on the 22nd April, 1919. In consequence, two

[1] This article has been attributed to Gandhiji in *The Law and the Lawyers*, a compilation edited by S. B. Kher and published by Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad.

[2] Rule *nisi* issued against Gandhiji and Mahadev Desai; *vide* "Letter to Registrar, High Court, Bombay", 27-2-1920.

[3] Drafted by Gandhiji in protest against the Rowlatt Bills and signed on February 24, 1919 by Gandhiji himself, Vallabhbhai Patel, Sarojini Naidu, Horniman and others; *vide* Vol. XV, pp.101-2.

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notices were issued by the High Court to the lawyers concerned. A copy of Mr. Kennedy's letter was given by the Registrar to Mr. Divetia, pleader for one of the lawyers, who handed the same to Mr. Kalidas J. Jhaveri, one of the satyagrahi lawyers, who in turn handed it to Mr. Gandhi. On the 6th August this letter was published in his paper under the heading "O'Dwyerism in Ahmedabad" along with an article headed "Shaking Civil Resisters"[1], commenting on the letter. (The Advocate-General at this stage read the letter and the article.) It appeared from the article, said he, that by "O'Dwyer" was meant a disturber of peace. The article said that the District Judge was prejudging the issue. His conduct was described as not only ungentlemanly, but something worse, unpardonable. He was said to be fanning the fire of Bolshevism. Those were shortly the charges made against Mr. Kennedy. Then proceedings took place in the High Court. After the proceedings the Registrar addressed a letter to Mr. Gandhi requesting him to attend the Chief Justice's Chamber to give an explanation as regards the publication of the letter. Mr. Gandhi replied by telegram[2] explaining his inability to attend on the appointed date as he was going to the Punjab, and inquiring if a written explanation would be sufficient. The Registrar replied saying that the Chief Justice did not wish to interfere with Mr. Gandhi's appointment and that a written explanation would do. On the 22nd October Mr. Gandhi sent a written explanation[3] in which he stated that the letter was received by him in the ordinary course and that he published it as he believed it was of great public importance and that he thought that he was doing a public service in commenting on it. He, therefore, claimed that in publishing and commenting on the letter, he was within the rights of a journalist. In reply to this the Registrar wrote[4] saying that the Chief Justice was not satisfied with the explanation, but that it would be considered sufficient if an apology in the following terms were published in the next issue of *Young India*.

Form of Apology

> 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

[1] *Vide* Vol. XVI, pp. 10-3.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 252, footnote 1.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 252-3.

[4] A letter dated October 31, 1919, which Gandhiji received on November 7, 1919 while at Lahore

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 apologize 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.

The Advocate-General said that he submitted with some confidence that it was an apology which the opponent should have published. A milder form of apology, he thought, it was difficult to conceive. Mr. Gandhi, however, did not publish the apology and took counsel's opinion and addressed a letter to the Registrar expressing his inability to apologize. Before the receipt of this letter a notice was ordered by the High Court on the 11th of December to be issued for contempt on which the proceedings were based. The text of Mr. Gandhi's letter dated 11th December, 1919, is as follows.[1]

A few days before the hearing of the rule Mr. Gandhi addressed a letter to the Registrar dated 27th February, with which he enclosed copies of statements which he and Mr. Desai desired to submit before the Court. The text of the two statements is given below.[2]

Continuing the Advocate-General proceeded to cite rulings to show what constitutes Contempt of Court. 2 Q.B., page 36, showed that there were two kinds of contempt: (1) any act or writing tending to scandalize the court; (2) any act or writing calculated to obstruct or interfere with the due course of justice or the lawful process of the court. The Advocate-General submitted that the publication of the letter and the comments thereon constituted contempt in two respects: (1) in the language of Lord Hardwicke it scandalized Mr. Kennedy; and (2) it was an attempt to interfere with the course of justice. He further said that the High Court could punish for contempt of an inferior court. The District Court of Ahmedabad was under the superintendence of the High Court and it had no power to commit for contempt except for what was done in the face of the Court.

Mr. Justice Marten asked if it was Contempt of Court in a civil action to publish the plaint or the written statement.

[1] Not reproduced here. For the text of the letter, *vide* Vol. XVI, pp. 339-40.

[2] For text of the letter and the statements, *vide* "Letter to Registrar, High Court, Bombay", 27-2-1920.

The Advocate-General replied it was a contempt. The pleadings did not become public documents until the case was heard. The Advocate-General also referred to (1906) 1 Kings Branch, page 132, and (1903) 2 K.B. He added that publication after trial was different from publication before it. In conclusion the Advocate-General drew the deduction that the gist of Mr. Gandhi's article was that as Mr. Kennedy was fanning the fire of Bolshevism, the High Court, if it acted on his letter, would likewise disturb the peace and fan the fire of Bolshevism.

Mr. Gandhi addressing the Court said that he did not propose to say anything beyond what he had already said in his statement. Esteemed friends had asked him to consider if he was not obstinate in not making the required apology. He had considered the matter over and over again and whatever view the Court held, he asked them to believe him that nothing was farther from his thoughts than obstinacy. He wished to pay all respect to the Honourable Court. On the other hand he did expect that the Honourable Court would not grudge his paying the same respect to his own sense of honour and to the dignity of journalism. He had heard the Advocate-General carefully to see if anything he said could convince him that he had been in the wrong. But he had remained entirely unconvinced. Had he been convinced he would readily have withdrawn his statements and tendered apology. He did not wish to say anything more.

Mr. Justice Marten said that the point of law was against Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Gandhi had said that he was entitled as a journalist to do what he had done. But the Advocate-General had cited authorities against him. Had he any authorities to support his position?

Mr. Gandhi said he differed from the Advocate-General on the point of law, but he did not rest his case, such as it was, on points of law. He did not wish to argue legal points and go beyond the limits he had set to himself. The Court had before now done justice in many undefended cases and he wished himself to be considered as undefended. He would be entirely content with their Lordships' finding on points of law.

Mr. Justice Marten reminded Mr. Gandhi that he was himself a member of the Bar and that he could argue out the case from the legal standpoint.

Mr. Gandhi said he was unprepared to do so and repeated that he would be content to take the ruling of the Court with regard to law. But since the Court had coaxed him to argue he would say that what he felt was that he had not prejudiced any party.

The Hon. the Advocate-General had said that his comments on the District Judge constituted contempt of a judge. Mr. Gandhi commented on the District Judge not as a judge but as an individual.

J. MARTEN: Take the case of a sensational murder trial. Supposing the Press commented on the events while the case was going on, what would happen?

MR. GANDHI: I would respectfully draw a distinction as a layman between the two cases. The District Judge writes this letter as a complainant and not as a Judge.

J. MARTEN: He was writing as a judge exercising jurisdiction over certain lawyers.

MR. GANDHI: I agree. But he was not sitting in court to decide an action. I feel again that I am travelling beyond the limits I set to myself. The whole law of Contempt of Court is that one ought not to do anything which might prejudice proceedings before a court. But here the Judge does something as an individual. I have not done anything to prejudice in any shape or form the judgment of the judges.

J. MARTEN: Would it not be dangerous if the Press made comments during pendency of proceedings? The court would cease to be the tribunal and the Press would be the tribunal instead.

MR. GANDHI: I would again respectfully draw a distinction. If a son wrongly brought a suit against his father then I would be justified in commenting on the son's conduct in bringing such a suit against his father, without in any way thereby prejudicing the decision of the Court. And do our courts prevent public men from inducing litigants to settle their claims outside? I submit I have committed no contempt. I have prejudiced no party and have made no comment on the action of Mr. Kennedy as a judge. I am anxious to satisfy the Court that there is not an iota of disrespect shown to the Court in commenting on Mr. Kennedy's letter. I may have erred, and in the view of the Court, erred grievously but I have not done so dishonestly or disrespectfully. I need not add that all that I have said applies to the case of Mr. Desai, the Publisher.

J. Marten then drew Mr. Gandhi's attention to a decision in England reported in a recent issue of the London *Times* whereby the editor, publisher and printer of a newspaper were fined for contempt.

MR. GANDHI: There also I submit it is possible for me to draw a distinction. While I was in England the famous Mrs. May-

brick's case was going on and the whole newspaper Press divided itself into two parties, one condemning Mrs. Maybrick and the other going for the Judge, Mr. Justice Stephen, and even suggesting that he was unfit to try the case.

J. MARTEN: But that was all after trial?

MR. GANDHI: No. It was while the case was going on. I followed the proceedings in the case from day to day throughout the many months that it was going on.

J. MARTEN: It did not go on, Mr. Gandhi, for many months. It went on for some days.

MR. GANDHI: Of course here I am speaking subject to correction, but I am quite sure that while the case was going on, the newspaper Press was so full with all sorts of innuendoes, insinuations and aspersions, that I am sure I, as a journalist, would not even at this day be able to go the length they went.

Mr. Desai stated that he entirely associated himself with the sentiment expressed by Mr. Gandhi. He was sure he was infinitely more incapable of arguing the case than Mr. Gandhi and he would not presume to do that. He was prepared to cheerfully and respectfully abide by whatever decision their Lordships were pleased to give. The judgment was reserved.[1]

Young India, 10-3-1920

58. LETTER TO M. R. JAYAKAR

SABARMATI ASHRAM,
March 10, 1920

I sent you the balance from Amritsar and the bulk[2] from Lahore. I have endeavoured to go through everything as carefully as possible. I have considered all the suggestions you made on the margin and incorporated those that I thought fit could be

[1] The judgment, delivered on March 12, was summed up by Justice Marten as follows: "The Court finds the charges proved. It severely reprimands the respondents and cautions them both as to future conduct."

[2] Of the press copy of the report on the Punjab disorders of 1919; Jayakar saw it through the press at Bombay.

so treated. Please let me know what progress is being made. Shall we be ready for the 16th of April?[1]

The Story of My Life, Vol. I, p. 332

59. LETTERS TO M. R. JAYAKAR[2]

March 11, 1920

(i)

By the courtesy of the postal authorities I am able to send you now the whole batch[3], i.e., up to 24. You will please note where I have made any addition in the second batch. I hope to send you a fairly big batch.

(ii)

I send you some more today. Enough to satisfy me. The fact is I am now played out and I find that the revision work is most taxing. I have not had rest tonight.

I am anxious to make the work as thorough as I can.

(iii)

I have carefully studied Mr. Das's[4] summary of evidence and the suggested addendum. I thought that he was going to put together the evidence of specific witnesses and enable me to study their statements. In any event, the summary before me leaves me not only unconvinced but a discussion along the lines suggested can only mar the Report which in my opinion is otherwise convincing. The points marshalled by Mr. Das appear to me like so many loose staples which will not hang together. I want them like bricks cohering and making a roadway for you to walk to your goal. Much as I would like to discuss the suggested theory as such in the Report, I cannot do it unless I have *prima facie* evidence.[5]

[1] K. Santanam, secretary to the Congress Punjab Commission of Inquiry, had announced to the Press that the Report would be published on April 16; it was, in fact, published on March 25.

[2] This item consists of three separate letters which Gandhiji wrote to Jayakar on the same day and on the same subject.

[3] Of the press copy of the report on the Punjab disorders

[4] C. R. Das, who was a member of the Commission appointed by the Punjab Sub-committee of the Indian National Congress

[5] In connection with this letter, Jayakar says: "This had a reference to the question whether there was enough evidence to support the view that Dyer had laid a trap to drive the people into the Jallianwala enclosure with

In arranging a discussion you please study the thing yourself and if you think otherwise I would have you to marshal the evidence on this point and discuss the theory. I would sign what you write provided that you go no further than Mr. Das has done. He has left it to us two. I do not want you to yield to my reasoning. What seems to me to be loose may appear coherent to you. I would gladly yield to you if you take a different view. I would conciliate Mr. Das if he can convince any one of us. If you consider the matter of sufficient importance for consultation, please come down for discussion. Will you please send this to Mr. Das with your remarks?

The Story of My Life, Vol. I, pp. 332-3

60. LETTER TO RABINDRANATH TAGORE

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 11, 1920

DEAR GURUDEO,

I have not been able before now to acknowledge your two telegrams, one addressed at Benares and redirected here and the other addressed here. We are all deeply grateful to you for your acceptance of the invitation[1]. Every effort is being made not to overload you with engagements or tamashas. Will you please let me know, if necessary by wire, how long you will be able to give to Gujarat and whether you could visit one or two important centres. The second question is regarding your residence. Will you put up at the Ashram? Nothing would delight me more than to have you at the Ashram. I am most anxious that you should, during your stay, understand what it is and what it stands for. I am anxious, too, that you should give the benefit of your presence to the many at the Ashram who claim to have been your pupils. Apart from the Gujarati boys and girls and the Sindhi lad Girdhari[2] whom you may recall, Manindra is here still and Sarladevi's

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the view of giving them condign punishment. Motilal, Das and I were of opinion that there was enough evidence to justify our mentioning the matter in our Report. Gandhi violently differed from our view." *The Story of My Life*, Vol. I, p. 332.

[1] To address the sixth session of the Gujarati Literary Conference to be held at Ahmedabad from April 2 to April 4, 1920

[2] Nephew of J. B. Kripalani

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son, Deepak, is also at the Ashram. It is situated about four miles from the centre of Ahmedabad and stands on a ridge on the bank of the Sabarmati.

You can, then, either stay at the Ashram or at a private bungalow in Ahmedabad with all the modern appointments. I need not say that your health and comfort are the primary consideration and your wishes will be faithfully carried out. Will you please also let me know any special arrangements or things you will desire?

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

[PS.]
The Parishad lasts 3 days—2nd April to 4th.

From a photostat: G. N. 4627

61. LETTERS TO M. R. JAYAKAR[1]

March 13, 1920

(i)

I have made an attempt to finish today but could not. Anyway, I hope I have not kept the compositors[2] waiting.

I see a note in the margin about Kasur but I must tone down the remarks about the crowd's behaviour. I have not been able to do so. Every word I have written is justifiable but you may wish to take the responsibility of altering where I do not see my way clear. The Kasur crowd acted most mischievously and we must make that clear admission.

(ii)

I am sending you a very poor batch today but I think I have already sent enough for the compositors to cope with. I must finish tomorrow even if I have to keep awake the whole of the night.

(iii)

Thank God! I am sending the last. Please read everything very carefully.

I am sorry to hear from Dr. Parashram that you were ailing.

The Story of My Life, Vol. I, pp. 333-4

[1] This item comprises three separate letters written on the same day, in regard to the press copy of the Congress report on the Punjab disorders.

[2] Of Karnatak Printing Press, Bombay, where the report was being printed

62. *PRESS ACT AND HORNIMAN*

The meeting[1] held in Bombay for demanding repeal of the Press Act was an important one. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar[2] was able to show that it was as much in the Government's interest as in the public's to repeal the Act. It is said of the ostrich that when it sees any danger, it buries its head in sand and imagines that there is no danger and gets caught in the end. Through the Press Act, the Government has put itself in the condition of the ostrich. If public feeling is against the Government, it can find expression only through the medium of newspapers. By suppressing the expression, one cannot change the feeling. To keep the Press Act alive is to behave like the meteorologist who, after smashing his barometer, would know the state of atmospheric pressure. By putting it on the statute-book, the Government has damaged the machine which indicates the direction and the state of the current of popular feeling, and consequently it can no longer keep itself informed about the exact state of public feeling. The only course for the Government, therefore, is to repeal the Press Act and it is the duty of the public to strive for its repeal.

Mr. Horniman, however, was a victim of the very same attitude which the Government displays in retaining the Press Act. It cannot tolerate a frank expression of public opinion and, therefore, it cannot tolerate Mr. Horniman who expressed it with such vigour. Very few men have shown Mr. Horniman's capacity for educating public opinion or inspired the people with the same spirit as he did. Even assuming that Mr. Horniman did not possess any such gift, from the point of view of simple justice also no charge has been proved against him. People ought not to tolerate it, if despite this, the Government should arbitrarily keep him out. It is not true at all that those alone who agree with Mr. Horniman's methods and ideas can work for the removal of the restrictions against him. We have plenty of grounds for differing with him. His language is sometimes harsher than it need be. Even so, we have not the slightest doubt that he should be as free as anyone else to enter India. Accordingly, we welcome

[1] On March 5, 1920

[2] Narayan Ganesh Chandavarkar (1855-1923); Liberal leader of Bombay who presided over the meeting

the resolution passed at the foregoing meeting; not only this, we even believe that people should take effective steps to keep alive the agitation for his return and force the Bombay Government to cancel the orders against him.[1] The third resolution passed at the meeting was to the effect that the securities obtained from any of the presses should be returned to them.[2] We hope the Government will pay attention to all these three points.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 14-3-1920

63. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING[3]

THE ASHRAM,
March 14, 1920

MY DEAR CHILD,

Of course I will pray and I know I can do no better. Friends can help you little during the crisis you are passing through. May God protect you.

Once to every man and nation
Comes the moment to decide,
In the strife of Truth with Falsehood,
For the good or evil side.
Some great cause, God's new Messiah,
Offering each the bloom or blight,
Parts the goats upon the left hand
And the sheep upon the right
And the choice goes by for ever,
'Twixt the darkness and that light.

[1] When moving the resolution, K. Natarajan referred to the proceedings in the House of Commons where the Secretary of State for India had stated that the return of Horniman to India was dependent entirely on the Government of Bombay.

[2] The resolution, *inter alia*, offered thanks to the Government of Bombay for cancelling the securities deposited under the Press Act by certain presses and newspapers and requested that similar action be taken in the remaining cases.

[3] This and the ten letters which followed it were written to help Esther Faering during the days when the announcement of her betrothal to Dr. E. K. Menon brought a storm of criticism, much of it harsh and ungenerous, upon her head.

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I hope to pick out something like this, if I can, every day, charged with my prayers. What I have sent you today is from Lowell.

With love,

Yours,
BAPU

[PS.]

My case[1] is decided. The court I understand has reproved us both[2] but no penalty.

BAPU

From a photostat of the original in N.A.I.; also *My Dear Child*, p. 60

64. TELEGRAM TO GIRDHARI LAL[3]

March 16, 1920

YOU SHOULD OBSERVE HARTAL[4] AND PARTICIPATE PUBLIC MEETING ACCORDANCE MY MANIFESTO[5].

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 7138

65. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING

BOMBAY,
March 16, 1920

More things are wrought by prayer
Than this world dreams of.
Wherefore let thy voice
Rise like a fountain for me night and day.
For what are men better than sheep or goats
That nourish a blind life within the brain,
If knowing God they lift not hands of prayer
Both for themselves and those who call them friend?

[1] Before the High Court, Bombay; *vide* "Was It Contempt of Court?", 10-3-1920.

[2] Gandhiji and Mahadev Desai

[3] This telegram was in reply to one from Girdhari Lal which read: "Kindly wire if Amritsar observe hartal and extent Hindus participation in resolution."

[4] On March 19, the Khilafat Day

[5] *Vide* "Letter to the Press", 7-3-1920.

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For so the whole round earth is every way
Bound by gold chains about the feet of God.

TENNYSON

MY DEAR CHILD,

The above is my share in your sorrow for today. May it lighten your burden.

With love,

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat of the original in N.A.I.; also *My Dear Child*, p. 61

66. KHILAFAT

The Leader of Allahabad and *Young India* have drifted apart. I entertain such sneaking regard for the former that I struggle hard to accept the view that may be put forth by *The Leader*. But in spite of the struggle of late I have invariably failed. The latest instance is the confusion into which *The Leader* has fallen over boycott and non-co-operation. I had thought that my meaning was clear and that there was no inconsistency. Boycott is a punishment and is conceived in a vindictive spirit. The idea of boycotting British goods is that although British goods may be better than, say, Japanese, I should not buy the former because I want to revenge myself upon the British people for a wrong done to me by British ministers, or for the utterly irresponsible and insolent language of some Englishmen regarding the Khilafat. I hold that boycott under such circumstances is a form of violence.

Non-co-operation stands on a different footing. If the Government do wrong I become a participator in its wrongdoing by co-operating with it and thus making it possible for them to do the wrong. It is my duty, not by way of punishment or by way of revenge but to the end that I may not make myself responsible for the wrongdoing, to withdraw my support off that Government. Indeed I should be justified in bringing that Government to a standstill. It is clear to me, therefore, that non-co-operation is as different from boycott as an elephant from an ass.

The Leader also sees ill logic in my disapproval of violence and approval of hartal. I see none because I feel that hartal does not necessarily lead to violence. One cannot always avoid doing the right thing because there are risks to be run. *The Leader*'s difficulty arises perhaps from the belief that strong and definite action

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is not necessary and that it is possible for the Mohammedans of India to keep their peace even after an adverse decision[1] by the Allied Powers. In my opinion the movement[2] is bound to endorse violence unless a non-violent course of action is found that would lead to a just solution of the question. All strong action may bring about violence but we may not fear to do the right lest it may be misinterpreted and lead to wrong. All that is, humanly speaking, possible is to guard against mistakes and misunderstanding and with trust in God to go forward. I know that on the Khilafat question that course and that alone can avoid violence if, short of a proper solution of the question, anything is to avoid it at all. I therefore trust that Indians of all shades of opinion will join this movement. A firm and unanimous stand on the part of the Hindus will certainly put courage and hope into Mohammedan hearts. Any lukewarmness or indifference will lead to loss of hope and desperation.

Much the same is to be said about the objection to satyagraha. I still believe that for the moment I consider that I am alone capable of offering satyagraha in its fine form. But if that belief were to deter me from making experiments, satyagraha would never make headway. But here, there is the further fallacy of the ambiguous middle. Satyagraha in the form of civil resistance has possibilities of mischief. But hartal is no new weapon and hartal may or may not be satyagraha. Nor need non-co-operation be necessarily satyagraha. When the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya resigned his membership on the Imperial Council[3] or when Sir Rabindranath Tagore asked to be relieved of his distinction[4] they did not do so as satyagrahis. Of course there is danger in widespread non-co-operation. But that is merely stating a truism. The one thing to be remembered is that for the Mohammedans the Khilafat is a question of life and death. It is essential for them to secure a proper solution. It is the sacred duty of the Hindus to give their all for the sake of their brothers so long as they work along the lines of non-violence. And I know no better way of keeping them on that path save by all Hindus, Christians, Parsees and Jews, who have made India their own, whole-heartedly supporting them and suggesting

[1] In regard to the temporal and spiritual authority of the Sultan of Turkey

[2] The Khilafat movement

[3] On April 6, 1919

[4] Knighthood, on June 1, 1919

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to them forcible methods of attaining redress without resort to violence.

Young India, 17-3-1920

67. *LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING*

BOMBAY,
March 17, 1920

Teach me, my God and King,
In all things Thee to see,
And what I do in anything,
To do it as for Thee,
All may of Thee partake,
Nothing can be so mean
Which with this tincture, 'for Thy sake',
Will not grow bright and clean.
A servant with this clause
Makes drudgery divine;
Who sweeps a room as for Thy laws
Makes that and the action fine.
This is the famous stone
That turneth all to gold;
For that which God doth touch and own
Cannot for less be told.

GEORGE HERBERT

MY DEAR CHILD,

May there be some line, some word, some thought to soften your grief.

With love,

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat of the original in N.A.I.; also *My Dear Child*, p. 62

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68. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

[*March 17, 1920*][1]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

You may extend the time limit for the spinning-wheel if you wish to,[2] but I think the reply you have given is all right. We will give the man something if his model is good. I think we are not using as much khadi in the Ashram as we should. Sarladevi also commented on this. I see no compelling reason why the women should have no garment of khadi on their bodies. Khadi may be dyed, if desired. Whether this is done or not, there seems nothing wrong in the girls wearing loose blouses made of khadi. The women, in any case, should have no objection to wearing such blouses. See if you can persuade Santok[3], Radha[4] and Rukhi.

I shall have to leave for Delhi on the 20th. I shall be in Delhi on the 22nd and leave for Bombay on the 23rd. I shall then probably go to Sinhgadh for a week. Meanwhile, collect all the post there and, if there are any important letters, you or Narahari[5] may reply. See that I get all the letters together in Bombay on the 24th. Till then, keep them safe with you so that I can revise the directions if I wish to.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C. W. 5783. Courtesy: Radhabehn Chowdhari

[1] Gandhiji was in Delhi from March 21 to March 24, and in Sinhgadh from March 26 to March 30 in the year 1920. On March 17 and March 19, he was in Bombay from where this letter was evidently written.

[2] The reference evidently is to the announcement of a prize in *Navajivan*, 5-10-1919, for an improved model of the indigenous spinning-wheel: *vide* Vol. XVI, pp. 217-8, The competition for the spinning-wheel prize was held at Ahmedabad on March 31, 1920.

[3] Wife of the addressee

[4] Daughter of the addressee

[5] Narahari Dwarkadas Parikh, a member of Gandhiji's team of constructive workers in Sabarmati Ashram since 1917

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69. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING

BOMBAY,
Thursday [*March 18, 1920*][1]

Lord, it belongs not to my care
Whether I die or live;
To love and serve Thee is my share,
And this Thy grace must give.

If life be long I will be glad
That I may long obey;
If short, yet why should I be sad
To soar to endless day?

Christ leads me through no darker rooms
Than He went through before;
He that unto God's kingdom comes
Must enter by this door.

Come, Lord, when grace hath made me meet
Thy blessed face to see;
For if Thy work on earth be sweet,
What will Thy glory be?

My knowledge of that life is small;
The eye of faith is dim;
But 'tis enough that Christ knows all,
And I shall be with Him.

RICHARD BAXTER

MY DEAR CHILD,

Another evening has come to fill me with thoughts of you. I pass them to our common Maker to make of them such use as He will for your good.

With love,

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat of the original in N.A.I.; also *My Dear Child*, p. 63

[1] Gandhiji wrote to Esther Faering on March 17, 1920 and on March 21, 1920. In between we have two undated letters. In his letter of March 21, Gandhiji says that he wrote no letter to the addressee on the previous day. These undated letters, of which this is one, must have therefore been written on March 18 and 19. The order in which they have been dated has been taken from the source.

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70. LETTER TO MANLEY

[*March 18, 1920*][1]

DEAR MR. MANLEY,

I thank you for your note. You need have no fear about Ahmedabad. Miss Ansuya Sarabhai has remained in Ahmedabad to look after the mill-hands. Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel[2] is looking after the post-office men[3]. Indeed I fear no ill from any quarter for tomorrow. Please remember me to Mrs. Manley.

From a photostat: S. N. 7141

71. LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI[4]

BOMBAY,
March 18, 1920

DEAR MR. SASTRI,

As I took an active part in the Congress affairs last year I have been asked to interest myself still more actively to the extent of joining an organization. The demand has come from those with whom I have had the privilege of working although I was not connected with their organization. They have asked me to join the All-India Home Rule League. I have told them that at my time of life and with views firmly formed on several matters I could only join an organization to affect its policy and not be affected by it. This does not mean that I would not keep or that I do not have an open mind to receive new light. I simply wish to emphasize the fact that any new light will have to be specially dazzling in order to entrance me. I placed before the friends the following points on which I hold decided views:

[1] This was in reply to a letter from Manley, Deputy Police Commissioner, C.I.D., Bombay, seeking Gandhiji's help for a correct assessment of the situation in Ahmedabad where March 19, the Khilafat Day, was to be observed, as elsewhere in India, as a day of general hartal.

[2] 1875-1950; Congress leader of Gujarat who later became the first Deputy Prime Minister of free India

[3] Who were then on strike

[4] Copies of this letter were also addressed by Gandhiji to other friends, like Natesan, for private circulation.

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1. [The] highest honesty must be introduced in the political life of the country if we are to make our mark as a nation. This presupposes at the present moment a very firm and definite acceptance of the creed of Truth at any cost.

2. Swadeshi must be our immediate goal. The future aspirants after membership of the Council[1] should be asked to pledge themselves to an out and out protection of the country's industries—specially cloth manufacture.

3. Definite acceptance of Hindustani—a resultant of Hindi and Urdu—as a national language of intercourse in the immediate future. The would-be members will be therefore pledged so to work in the Imperial Council as to introduce Hindustani and in the Local Councils the respective vernaculars, at least as an optional medium for the time being till we are able to dispense with English for the conduct of national affairs. They will also be pledged to introduce Hindustani as a compulsory second language in our schools with Devanagari or Urdu as an optional script. English will be recognized as a language of Imperial intercourse, diplomacy and international commerce.

4. Acceptance of the principle of redistribution of provinces so far as possible on a linguistic basis at the earliest opportunity.

5. Hindu-Mohammedan unity in its essence and from a political and religious standpoint as an unalterable article of faith. This contemplates mutual help, mutual toleration and recognition of the sufferings of one section to be the sufferings of all. This will exclude, from the official programme of the League, the unity propaganda by means of inter-dining and intermarriage and will include vigorous co-operation on the Khilafat question. In my discussions amongst the friends I have also told them that I will not think of asking for official recognition of my creed of civil disobedience and that I do not belong to any party and would like to make the League a non-party organization helping all honest men if they are otherwise capable of doing justice to the service they may choose irrespective of party. The League, according to my opinion, cannot become an anti-Congress organization but it should work as it is now doing to further the interests of the Congress.

[1] Gandhiji presumably has in mind the Imperial Legislative Council, Delhi.

Do you advise me, knowing me as you do with my qualifications and limitations, to join the League?[1]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Letters of V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, pp. 69-71

72. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING

BOMBAY,
Friday [*March 19, 1920*][2]

Oh I could go through all life's troubles singing,
Turning each night to day,
If self were not so fast around me, clinging
To all I do or say.
My very thoughts are selfish, always building
Mean castles in the air,
I use my love of others for a gilding
To make myself look fair.
I fancy all the world engrossed with judging
My merit or my blame,
Its warmest praise seems an ungracious grudging
Of praise which I might claim.
Alas! no speed in life can snatch us wholly
Out of self's hateful sight,
And it keeps step, whene'er we travel slowly
And sleeps with us at night.
O Lord that I could waste my life for others,
With no ends of my own,
That I could pour myself into my brothers
And live for them alone.

MY DEAR CHILD,

You have forgotten your promise. Do not keep me without anything from you for so many days. The above is my selection for the day.

With love,

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat of the original in N.A.I.; also *My Dear Child*, p. 64

[1] Gandhiji joined the League and accepted its presidentship on April 28, 1920.
[2] *Vide* footnote 1 to "Letter to Esther Faering", 18-3-1920.

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73. SPEECH ON KHILAFAT, BOMBAY[1]

March 19, 1920

It gives me the greatest pleasure to be able to move the only resolution[2] of this great conference.

I beg to congratulate the organizers and the volunteers on the splendid success of the peaceful demonstration of today. We had many warnings given to us as to the consequences that were likely to follow from suspension of business. Bombay at least has, thanks to the effort of the Khilafat Committee, behaved nobly in the matter. The hartal was spontaneous and voluntary. No pressure whatever was used. It was a matter of great satisfaction to me to note that the Committee followed the advice tendered by me that mill-hands should not be called upon to participate in the hartal.

[1] Made on the occasion of the Khilafat Day at a mass meeting consisting of about thirty thousand Muslims, Hindus and other citizens, presided over by Mia Mahomed Haji Jan Mahomed Chhotani

[2] The text of the resolution read:

This meeting of Hindus, Muslims and other citizens of Bombay hereby enters its emphatic protest against the violent and irresponsible agitation going on in the United Kingdom calculated to wound the deepest susceptibilities of the Muslims and therefore the whole of India, and trusts that not only will His Majesty's Ministers and other statesmen who desire the retention of India in the Empire as a free partner dissociate themselves from that agitation but will reassure the inhabitants of India of the fellow-feeling of the people of the United Kingdom by securing a settlement of the Khilafat question compatible with the just and religious sentiments of millions of the Muslim subjects of His Majesty.

This meeting further records its deep conviction that any other solution of the question must eventually result in complete withdrawal of co-operation from the Government and therefore appeals to all the statesmen of the Empire to prevent such a severe strain being put upon India's loyalty.

This meeting at the same time wishes to place upon record the fact that, whatever joint steps it may be necessary to take in order to give effect to the just sentiments of Indians, there shall be no resort to violence whether in speech or deed and is firmly of opinion that any violence practised in connection with the movement will seriously injure it and cause irreparable harm.

In the event of the failure of the joint movement, the Muslims reserve to themselves the right of taking such steps as the exigencies of the situation might dictate.

That the President of this meeting be authorized to send a copy of this resolution to His Excellency the Viceroy with a request to convey the same to His Majesty the King Emperor. *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 24-3-1920.

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In these days of tension between employers and employees in the various industrial concerns[1] of the country, we may not encourage labourers to absent themselves from work without the willing consent of the employers.

Our resolution divides itself into four parts. The first part consists of a protest and a prayer. It protests against violent and irresponsible agitation[2] set up in England in connection with the Khilafat question, and appeals to the Ministers and other statesmen to dissociate themselves from this agitation and reassure us of the fellow-feeling of the people of the United Kingdom by securing an honourable settlement consistent with the just religious sentiments of the Mussulmans of India. The second part warns those concerned that an adverse solution is likely to eventuate in complete withdrawal of co-operation from the Government and will put an undue strain upon Indian loyalty,[3] and if such a step unfortunately becomes a necessity there is likely to be excitement. The third part of the resolution warns the people in the most emphatic language against violence of speech or deed and gives it as the opinion of this great meeting that any exercise of violence is calculated to injure the sacred cause and to do irreparable harm. So far the resolution is a joint transaction between the Hindus, Mohammedans and others to whom this great land is their mother country or their adopted home.

And it commits the joint movement to a policy of non-violence in the course of the struggle. But Mohammedans have special Koranic obligations in which Hindus may or may not join. They, therefore, reserve to themselves the right, in the event of the failure of non-co-operation *cum* non-violence, in order to enforce justice, to resort to all such methods as may be enjoined by the Islamic scriptures. I venture heartily to associate myself with this resolution. I consider the resolution to be thoroughly respectful and moderate in tone. I see on the platform Shias and Sunnis,[4] Hindus and Parsis, all joined together in a respectful

[1] For example, the Tata Iron Works at Jamshedpur, where the strikers were fired on by the police and troops on March 15

[2] This presumably refers to the propaganda carried on in England against the Turks who were accused of crimes against humanity.

[3] Gandhiji's programme of non-co-operation was placed before the public for the first time at the Khilafat Conference held in Meerut on January 26, 1920. At the second Khilafat Conference held in Calcutta on February 29, 1920, Maulana Azad, in his presidential address, recommended this programme "for the acceptance of the Muslims".

[4] Two sects of Mohammedans

demonstration. Complete closure of the great Hindu cloth market and Hindu business houses is an eloquent testimony of Hindu agreement with the Muslim demand. The unholy agitation set up in London has evoked an outburst of feeling in India which will never die until justice is done. It is a matter of painful surprise that even Lord Curzon, with all his knowledge and experience of India, should have allied himself with the ignorant agitation.

There is, however, a silver lining to the cloud that has gathered overhead. Mr. Montagu has been our uncompromising advocate. Mr. Lloyd George has at last reaffirmed his memorable declaration[1] though in a somewhat halting form. I believe that the Government of India is pressing forward our claim with great firmness. The Anglo-Indian Press has not been hostile. *The Times of India* and the Bengal Chamber of Commerce have even warmly espoused our cause. The resolution invites all Englishmen to rally round the banner of Truth and vindicate British honour and the pledged word of the British Premier. I yield to no one in my loyalty to the British connection but I must refuse to buy that loyalty at the price of honour and at the sacrifice of the deeply-seated religious sentiments of one section of my countrymen. A loyalty that sells its soul is worth nothing, and if in spite of acknowledged services of Indian soldiers, both Hindu and Mohammedan, during the late War,[2] the promises made by British statesmen are broken, the reasons that evoke the loyalty of India will have ceased to exist. I do not lose hope, but if the hope is disappointed and the worst happens, God alone knows what will happen to this fair land of ours. We know this that there will be neither peace nor rest for the Government or the people until the wrong is righted and the feelings of eight crores of Mohammedans are respected.

I hope it is unnecessary to show why it is obligatory on Hindus to march side by side with their Mohammedan countrymen. So long as the means and the end are honourable, I can imagine no better cement for perpetually binding us both than our complete

[1] On February 26, 1920, Lloyd George declared in the House of Commons: "The pledge given in January 1918 was given after full consultation with all parties. It was specific, unqualified and deliberate . . . The effect of the statement in India was that recruiting went up appreciably from that very moment."

[2] On January 30, 1920, Queen Alexandra's tribute to the Indian Army was read by the Commander-in-Chief in the Council-chamber.

association with Mohammedans. But in a cause so sacred as this there can be, there should be, no violence either of speech or of deed. We must conquer not by hate but by love. I admit the difficulty of loving the unjust, but victory consists not in marching along a smooth surface but in conquering obstacles in a resolute and undaunted way. And in a just and sacred cause, firmness of purpose and unconquerable will are the least qualities required of us. Moreover violence can only damage this great cause. It may create a sensation but we shall never reach the goal through a series of sensations. The non-violence clause of the resolution, therefore, definitely recognizes the wisdom of self-restraint and enjoins upon all speakers to refrain from making wild or exaggerated speeches which can only lead to bloodshed, ruthless repression and humiliation of both the Government and the people. But the Mohammedans want to play a perfectly honourable game.

They wish to reserve or suppress nothing. Some of them have, therefore, insisted upon the insertion of a proviso to the resolution, meaning that if non-violence fails, they are at liberty to resort to the other methods enjoined upon them by the Koran and these are that when their religion is assailed, they should leave the country in which it is assailed or war against the assailant. And so the resolution undoubtedly foreshadows, in the most honourable and unmistakable manner, the stages through which this great movement will pass, the last stage being a bloody revolution. God forbid that this country should have to pass through such a revolution and all its horrors but the feeling on this Khilafat question runs so high and goes so deep that an unjust solution may, if peaceful means fail, land this country in a revolutionary movement the like of which we have not seen before, and if it comes responsibility will rest with Englishmen, the Hindus and the timid Mohammedans. If Englishmen will only recognize the existence of the deep feeling and the necessity of a just decision, all would be well. If the Hindus will understand the neighbourly duty and actively co-operate with the Mohammedans, they can, by united and perfectly peaceful effort, force a just solution. Timid Mohammedans by shedding their timidity at this critical moment of their history will also prevent bloodshed by letting the party of violence understand that there are no deserters of the flag of Islam. If, then, revolution is to be our lot, it will come through sheer despair staring honest, honourable, high-souled Mohammedans in the face and giving them a feeling of being neglected by Englishmen, Hindus and their co-religionists. I hope, therefore, that the whole of India will unite in a prayer to the Almighty and in a

cry of justice that shall not be denied. I venture finally to hope that the Government will not anticipate revolution by thoughtless and angry repression. They will recognize that India is no longer an infant and that Indians have the same feelings that actuate Englishmen in similar circumstances.

Young India, 24-3-1920

74. LETTER TO L. FRENCH

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 20, 1920

L. FRENCH, ESQ.
CHIEF SECRETARY TO
THE PUNJAB GOV[ERNMEN]T
LAHORE

DEAR MR. FRENCH,

I hope you will please pardon me for not sending you the Sargodha statements earlier.[1] I had not brought them with me to Ahmedabad, and more were being taken by a local worker. And then, I have been travelling. I now send you a selection out of the numerous statements I have received. I shall hope to hear from you in due course. Will you please let me know whether the punitive police has been withdrawn?

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S. N. 7126

75. LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

March 20, 1920

DEAR FRIEND,

I hope you have read my proposal[2] about the observance of what may be called the Satyagraha Week from the 6th to the 13th April. I am hoping that during the week there will be no difficulty about collecting ten lacs of rupees. If there are volunteers of known respectability and unquestionable honesty we need have

[1] *Vide* "Letter to L. French", 29-2-1920.
[2] *Vide* "The 6th April and the 13th", 10-3-1920.

no receipts but simple collection from all and sundry. Monied men and women can go out and collect in the quarters best known to them. But it is not so much the manner as the matter which I wish to emphasize. I hope that there will be no difference of opinion as to the desirability of passing the week in the manner suggested by me or of having a memorial in connection with the massacre[1] of the 13th. In presenting the case to the people I would advise that the memory of the dead and not of the atrocity be treated as the impelling motive.

I trust that those who do not approve of the method of satyagraha will not on that account refrain from participating in the collection. This should be a truly national memorial.

But there is fasting and prayer too on which I myself lay even greater stress than on the memorial; for if there is universal fasting and prayer I know that money and whatever we want will rain down from heaven without further effort. I wish to give you my experience in this direction as a specialist *par excellence*. I do not know any contemporary of mine who has reduced fasting and prayer to an exact science and who has reaped a harvest so abundant as I have. I wish that I could infect the nation with my experience and make it resort to fasting and prayer with intelligence, honesty and intensity. We would thus, incredible as it may appear, do millions of things pertaining to the nation without elaborate organization and checks upon checks, but I know that fasting and prayer, to be as effective as I have found them to be in my own experience, have to be not mechanical things but definite spiritual acts. Fasting then is crucifixion of the flesh with a corresponding freedom of the spirit and prayer is a definite conscious longing of the soul to be utterly pure—the purity thus attained being dedicated to the realization of a particular object which is in itself pure. I hope therefore that if you believe in the ancient institution of fasting and prayer you will dedicate the 6th and the 13th to the purpose and induce your neighbours to do likewise.

Then there remain the three meetings[2] which I doubt not you will organize and make them a thorough success.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Letters of V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, pp. 74-5

[1] At Jallianwala Bagh
[2] These were held on April 6, April 9 and April 13.

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76. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

Saturday, March 20, 1920

I should tell you that I slept only half an hour last night and I am sure, therefore, that you will forgive me for not writing to you. I ask your forgiveness because, though I always remember you, and wanted to write to you to share your dilemma[1], I could not do so. I shall arrive there on Tuesday morning.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuni Prasadi

77. KHILAFAT

The Khilafat issue is a splendid opportunity as much as a grave problem. It is the latter because on it hangs the future peace of eight crores of Muslims and therefore of the whole of India. It is a splendid opportunity because, if the Muslims use wisdom in solving the problem, their moral power will increase and India will come to enjoy a moral empire; Hindu-Muslim unity will increase, both Hindus and Muslims will grow stronger, their moral level will rise and the English will stop looking down upon us as an inferior race. Friendship is possible only between equals. The English do not regard us as their equals; even we consider ourselves as their inferiors. And, therefore, we, Hindus and Muslims, should solve this problem and ensure that the three become equals.

The sword makes men equal. After fighting with one another like so many bulls, till they all get exhausted, the opponents salute each other and become friends. Anyone who shows weakness will humiliate himself. The other method is, instead of using physical force against the opponent, to employ soul-force and win ascendancy over him. This ascendancy is accepted not out of fear but out of love, and so both become equals. One does not consider it humiliating to admit another's moral superiority. The other takes no pride in being morally superior. Hence both be-

[1] Regarding the choice of a permanent field for active service. In March 1920, Gandhiji entrusted to him some work in connection with the printing of Part II of the Congress report on the Punjab disorders.

have respectfully towards each other. We must give up the very thought of overcoming the English by the sword.

I do not want to argue that it would be impossible for us to employ such force; only, in order to use it we shall have to resort to hypocrisy, falsehood, treachery and so on, and even for employing these we shall have to acquire various other unprofitable abilities. We shall have to put forward all our strength against them and fight on till both of us are out of breath. They will not, naturally, let matters go so far; that is human nature. Even in ancient times the arts of fighting were guarded secrets. A proud man does not easily part with the means of gratifying his pride. Strength of arms necessarily carries pride with it. Therefore, if we wish to be the equals of our enemies through force of arms, we shall have to press on till the point of their defeat and, at the end of it all, we shall for ever remain enemies. Can the Khilafat problem be solved in this way?

Leaving aside the question whether or not it is right to fight, if we think merely of the result, we shall see that military strength will never solve the problem. The fight for the Khilafat is not solely against the English; it is a fight between Christians and Muslims.[1] The Christians are very well united and well-versed in the art of war; the Muslims are not equipped, the Muslims of India evidently are not, today at any rate, to try their strength against them; and the Hindus cannot stand shoulder to shoulder with the latter in a trial of strength. Under these circumstances, it is well-nigh impossible, from a practical point of view, for the Muslims to seek a settlement of the Khilafat issue by force.

One who tries his strength in fighting cannot say: 'God's will be done.' He alone can say this who believes in fighting with moral force, for in such a contest defeat is out of the question. He who employs pure means may put his trust in fate, but he who uses impure means has no right to do so. The man who knowingly jumps into a well, blaming God as he does so, will instantly receive his punishment; he will die an untimely death. If a man, drinking to the last drop in the bottle, prattles, 'If it be God's will that I should get drunk, be it so,' the world will laugh at him. In moral experiments, we may maintain unswerving faith in God, because we know that the outcome of such an experiment is always happy. The military man trusts to his

[1] Influential sections of English and American opinion had demanded that the Turks should be expelled from Constantinople and reduced to the status of a fourth-rate Power.

weapons as the alcoholic trusts to the property of his drink to produce intoxication and, when the weapons break, he is like wax.

If, however, Hindus and Muslims equip themselves with the divine weapon of satyagraha, victory is certain. If they both refuse to be a party to the injustice being done by the Christians, who on earth can defeat them? If Muslims refuse to be a party to any injustice perpetrated on them, it is God's promise to them that they will never be defeated; this is why I have said that it is our right and our duty to refuse to help the British in their unjust acts. It is only by discharging this duty that the Muslims can defend their religion against the present attack on it.

Let us now examine the views expressed by the British Labour Party on the Khilafat issue. We summarize them elsewhere.[1] This party declares that the Islamic Empire[2] must be split up, that the Muslims themselves demand this. How can Indian Muslims oppose it? If the Arabs do not want to remain with the Ottomans,[3] should they be kept with them by force? As a satyagrahi, I can answer this question straightaway. I do not wish do deprive the Arabs of their freedom; let them be free, but let them recognize the suzerainty of the Khalifa and let the holy places remain under the control of the Khalifa. I need not fight if this is not done, but I would not co-operate either to bring about the opposite result. This injustice cannot be perpetrated without my co-operation. If every Hindu and every Muslim resigns from the service of the Government, what will be the result? The British will either have to leave India or respect our wishes. And so in my view all that is necessary is to have patience and wait for public opinion to be educated along the right lines. Will Muslims use the present awakening to good purpose or ill? They will prove themselves their own friends or foes. May God give them wisdom and may they maintain conditions in which Hindus can go all out to help them.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 21-3-1920

[1] Not reproduced here

[2] Of the Sultan of Turkey who as Khalifa claimed supreme authority over the Islamic world

[3] Under the Ottoman Empire of Turkey

78. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING

Sunday, March 21, 1920

I say to thee, do thou repeat
To the first man thou mayest meet
In lane, highway or open street—
That he and we and all men move
Under a canopy of love,
As broad as the blue sky above;
That doubt and trouble, fear and pain,
And anguish all are shadows vain.
That death itself shall not remain,
That weary deserts we may tread,
A dreary labyrinth may thread,
Through dark ways under ground be led,
Yet, if we all one Guide obey,
The dreariest path, the darkest way
Shall issue out in heavenly day;
And we on diverse shores now cast,
Shall meet, our perilous voyage past,
All in our Father's house at last.

TRENCH

MY DEAR CHILD,

I am on the train to Delhi.[1] I could not go out for rest.[2] I sent you nothing yesterday. I could not. This may be my last for some days because I shall not know what will happen from day to day. Do let me have a line from you.

With love,

BAPU

From a photostat of the original in N.A.I.; also *My Dear Child*, p. 65

[1] On March 21 Gandhiji left Bombay for Delhi.

[2] Gandhiji needed rest as he had some trouble with one of his legs. In the last weeks of March and April he went to recuperate at Sinhgadh.

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79. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING

Monday [*March 22*] *1920*

MY DEAR CHILD,

Here is my selection for today:

He that is down needs fear no fall
He that is low, no pride,
He that is humble ever shall have
God to be his guide.
I am content with what I have
Little be it or much
And Lord! contentment, still, I crave
Because Thou savest such.
Fullness to such a burden is
That go on pilgrimage,
Here little and hereafter bliss,
Is best from age to age.

J. BUNYAN

With love,

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat of the original in N.A.I.; also *My Dear Child*, p. 66

80. REFLECTIONS ON THE SATYAGRAHA WEEK[1]

This national week will soon be upon us. We trust that it will be worthy of the occasion which it is to commemorate. The chief item of work which can be measured and which will be an acid test of our genuineness and feeling for the Punjab will be the collection of a fund[2] to pay for the memorial site for commemorating the memory of the martyrs of the 13th April last. To collect ten lacs from a population of thirty crores is not a difficult task if suitable workers can be found. If rich and well-known ladies and gentlemen could be persuaded to take up the work, it could be

[1] The Gujarati translation of this article appeared in *Navajivan*, 28-3-1920, and has been included in *Gandhijinu Navajivan*, a collection of Gandhiji's articles published in *Navajivan*.

[2] Jallianwala Bagh Memorial Fund

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finished inside the week. The proper thing no doubt will be to collect *pro rata* from every province. We hope to give such a list next week. But each province should try to collect as much more as it can, than its share. It would not matter if we succeed in collecting more. Ten lacs is not the highest sum required. It is the minimum. Everyone therefore is expected to subscribe liberally.

* * *

Then there is the fasting and prayer. This is a hoary institution. A genuine fast cleanses body, mind and soul. It crucifies the flesh and to that extent sets the soul free. A sincere prayer can work wonders. It is an intense longing of the soul for its even greater purity. Purity thus gained when it is utilized for a noble purpose becomes a prayer. The mundane use of *gayatri*, its repetition for healing the sick, illustrates the meaning we have given to prayer. When the same *gayatri jap* is performed with a humble and concentrated mind in an intelligent manner in times of national difficulties and calamities, it becomes a most potent instrument for warding off danger. There can be no greater mistake than to suppose that the recitation of the *gayatri*, the *namaz* or the Christian prayer are superstitions fit to be practised by the ignorant and the credulous. Fasting and prayer therefore are a most powerful process of purification and that which purifies necessarily enables us the better to do our duty and to attain our goal. If therefore fasting and prayer seem at times not to answer, it is not because there is nothing in them but because the right spirit is not behind them.

* * *

A man who fasts and gambles away the whole of the day as do so many on *Janmashtami* day[1], naturally not only obtains no result from the fast in the shape of greater purity but such a dissolute fast leaves him on the contrary degraded. A fast to be true must be accompanied by a readiness to receive pure thoughts and determination to resist all Satan's temptations. Similarly a prayer to be true has to be intelligible and definite. One has to identify oneself with it. Counting beads with the name of Allah on one's lips whilst the mind wanders in all directions is worse than useless. We therefore hope that the coming week of dedication to national fasting and prayer will become a universal reality and not merely a formal observation.

* * *

[1] The eighth day of the dark fortnight of the *Shravana* month, the birthday of Lord Krishna

The magnificent spectacle[1] of tens of thousands of Mohammedans going to Jumma Masjids in different parts of India and offering heart-felt prayers for the triumph of truth did more than anything else to bring a just solution within the bounds of possibility. We would have no hesitation in guaranteeing a proper solution of the Khilafat question purely on the strength of prayer. We need not be told that the argument in favour of prayer cuts both ways, as it is open as much to our enemy as to us to pray. But that would be an argument not against prayer but against allowing the result to affect our valuation of prayer. One may not make terms with God. It is enough to know that prayer has played from times immemorial a most important part in the evolution of nations as well as individuals. May the Satyagraha Week witness a revival of the institutions of fasting and prayer in all their original glory and splendour.

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81. VIOLENCE VERSUS NON-VIOLENCE

The Khilafat day has come and gone. It was a great success and a complete triumph of satyagraha, i.e., not civil disobedience but truth and non-violence. No hartal has been so voluntary as that of the 19th March in that all the canvassing that ever took place was before the 19th.[2] It was an example of wonderful self-restraint on the part of the Committee[3] not to have called out the mill-hands. The Committee deserves the highest praise for its efficient management and for the definite recognition of voluntarism. If the people continue to show the discipline and self-restraint shown on the 19th and add thereto in an equal measure the spirit of self-sacrifice, nothing can prevent the full fruition of our hopes regarding Khilafat. Nobody could have believed a year ago the possibility of peace being observed by the fanatical element among the Mohammedans on a matter of life and death to them and on a day of no business for the idlers. But there can be no idleness when there is prayer. All were enjoined not to quarrel, not to be angry but to pray for the right to be done. It is true that all did not definitely pray, but the spirit of prayer was

[1] On March 19, the Khilafat day

[2] The Hindu shopkeepers of Bombay had voluntarily observed the hartal on the Khilafat day.

[3] The Khilafat Committee, Bombay

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abroad and it dominated the people rather than the spirit of revenge, anger, excitement, and so we had the amazing spectacle of the hartal day passing off like an ordinary day when everybody expects peace to be observed. The vast meeting of Bombay attended perhaps by thirty thousand men was a sight worth seeing. There was firmness in the faces of those thousands of people who listened to the speeches, yet without applause or any other effusive demonstration. The organizers deserve the warmest praise for having introduced into our meetings the ancient peacefulness, quiet, determination and orderliness in the place of modern fluster, excitement and disorderliness. The one develops just the qualities that make for satyagraha, the other inevitably leads to violence. And the message of the great meeting and the very successful hartal is not violence but non-violence. I hope that the authorities will not misread the situation. They will not fail to understand the admirable spirit of the whole demonstration or the equally admirable spirit of the resolution—a resolution to which, in my humble opinion, it is impossible for any honest lover of this country or the Empire to take exception. I hope, too, that they will read the spirit of the movement in the manner in which it is developing. I hope that the exemplary patience, self-restraint and orderliness that are evolving in our midst will have their due weight with them and that they will inform the Imperial Government that whilst there is this admirable peace in the land there is also a grim determination behind it which will not take "no" for an answer. I hope that Government will not repeat the sin of last April and entertain any false hope of tyranny and unquenchable spirit that has come into being and that will suffer everything but humiliation, dishonour and defeat [*sic*].

It is a matter of deep regret that so respected a body as the Liberal League should have hastily and in advance condemned the hartal. Surely a people so stricken with grief and with disappointment probably staring them in the face must have an outlet for orderly manifestation. It was because not very long ago we were afraid to speak or write what we thought that our sentiments burrowed under and became foul with stench because of the absence of the fierce sun and the open air of public opinion playing upon them. Hence we had a secret revolutionary movement. Today, thank God, we seem to have outlived the evil day. We dare to think, speak and write openly, without fear, but under restraint that openness imposes upon mankind. I appeal to the members of the Liberal League and those who think with them to recognize this plain fact and to appreciate the superiority of

REPORT

OF

THE COMMISSIONERS

APPOINTED BY

THE PUNJAB SUB-COMMITTEE

OF

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

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boldness over timid caution. If they desire to harness all the innumerable forces that are coming daily into being for the uplift of the nation, if they wish to become privileged participators in the throes of the new birth, let them not ignore the signs of the time, let them not reject the advances of the younger generation, let them not chill their ardent hopes and aspirations, but let them head this growing party of young, enthusiastic, self-sacrificing daredevil men. Sympathize with them, respond to the heart's throb, regulate it, for they are amenable to reason or an appeal to their high-souledness—and you have a disciplined party, obedient to the call of the country. But if they feel neglected, if they feel that the older heads will not patiently listen to their wants, will not give them a helping hand, they may despair and despair may lead to desperation resulting in a catastrophic destruction. I can recall no time so magnificently suitable for leading India to the method of satyagraha—not necessarily civil disobedience, but truth and non-violence—in which there is no defeat and in which if there is any error it hurts but those who err.

Young India, 24-3-1920

82. CONTEMPT OF COURT

The long expected hearing of the case against the editor and the publisher of *Young India* in connection with the publication of a letter of the District Judge of Ahmedabad regarding satyagrahi lawyers and my comments thereon has been heard and judgment has been pronounced.[1] Both the editor and the publisher have been severely reprimanded. But the Court did not see its way to pass any sentence upon either of us. If I dwell upon the judgment it is only because I am anxious as a satyagrahi to draw a moral from it. I wish to assure those friends who, out of pure friendliness, advised us to tender the required apology, that I refused to accept their advice not out of obstinacy but because there was a great principle at stake. I had to conserve a journalist's independence and yet respect the law. My own reading of the law was that there was no contempt committed by me. But my defence rested more upon the fact that I could not offer an apology if I was not prepared not to repeat the offence on a similar occasion. Because I hold that an apology tendered to a Court to be true has to be as sincere as a private apology. At the same

[1] It was pronounced on March 12, 1920; for Gandhiji's account of the hearing, *vide* "Was It Contempt of Court?", 10-3-1920.

time I owed a duty to the Court. It was no light thing for me to refuse to accept the advice of the Chief Justice especially when the Chief Justice was so very considerate in the correspondence with me. I was on the horns of a dilemma. I therefore decided not to offer any defence but simply to make a statement frankly and fully defining my position, leaving it to the Court to pass any sentence it thought fit in the event of an adverse decision. In order to show that I meant no disrespect of the Court and that I did not desire to advertise the case I took extraordinary precautions to prevent publicity and I venture to think that I succeeded eminently in convincing the Court that behind my disobedience —if it was disobedience—there was no defiance but perfect resignation; there was no anger or ill will but perfect restraint and respect; that, if I did not apologize, I did not because an insincere apology would have been contrary to my conscience. I hold that it was about as perfect an instance of civil disobedience as it ever has been my privilege to offer. And I feel that the Court reciprocated in a most handsome manner and recognized the spirit of civility that lay behind my so-called disobedience. The luminous judgment of Justice Marten lays down the law, and decides against me. But I feel thankful that it does not question the propriety of my action. Justice Hayward's judgment recognizes it as an instance of passive, i.e., civil, resistance and practically makes it the reason for not awarding any sentence. Here then we have an almost complete vindication of civil disobedience. Disobedience to be civil must be sincere, respectful, restrained, never defiant, must be based upon some well-understood principle, must not be capricious and above all must have no ill will or hatred behind it. I submit that the disobedience offered by Mr. Desai and myself contained all these ingredients.

Young India, 24-3-1920

83. CONGRESS REPORT ON THE PUNJAB DISORDERS[1]

CHAPTER I

THE PUNJAB

(HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL)

Historically the Punjab may be considered the most important province of India. It was here that the Aryas of Vedic times first

[1] Authorship of this Report, the full title of which reads *Report of the Commissioners appointed by the Punjab Sub-committee of the Indian National Congress*, and

made their home. It was here that the hymns of the Rig Veda were first chanted. It was to this province, at the great University of Taxila, that seekers after knowledge flocked from various parts of the world. It was in this province that the Pandus and the Kurus, the great heroes of the *Mahabharata*, fought out their great battles.

It was here that Osiris, King of Egypt, first touched Indian soil and Semiramis, Queen of Assyria, who at the head of her vast armies tried her fortune for the dominion of India, suffered a crushing defeat. The Scythians and Tartars and Persians had to measure swords with the sons of the Punjab in their attempts to penetrate into India. It was in this province that Alexander the Great, though victorious, for the first time met a foe, under King Porus, who shattered his dream of a world-wide dominion.

The Punjab proper is the land watered by the five rivers, the Sutlej, the Beas, the Ravi, the Chenab and the Jhelum, from which it derives its name. It is situated in the north-west of India, and is bounded on the north by a portion of the Himalayas and Kashmir, on the west by the Indus, on the south by Sind and Rajputana, and on the east by the river Jamna.

The present area of the Punjab is 135,773 square miles, out of which a little less than 100,000 square miles is directly under British rule, the rest being ruled by Indian princes and chiefs. The

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which was published on March 25, 1920, has been attributed to Gandhiji on the basis of the following evidence:

(i) "The responsibility of organizing the work of the Committee devolved on me, and as the privilege of conducting the inquiry in the largest number of places fell to my lot, I got a rare opportunity. . . . The task of drafting the report of this Committee was also entrusted to me. . . . This report, prepared as it was solely with a view to bringing out the truth and nothing but the truth, will enable the reader to see. . ." *An Autobiography*, Part V, Ch. XXXV.

(ii) a. "Whole day spent in discussing Gandhi's draft Report." *The Story of My Life* by M. R. Jayakar, Vol. I, p. 322.

b. "The Report was drawn up by Gandhi, with assistance from me." *Ibid.*, p. 324.

c. "Gandhi made the first draft of the Report in a quiet little room." *Ibid.*, p. 328.

d. "By that time, Das, Motilal and Tyabji had dropped out, and Gandhi and myself worked hard on the publication of the Report." *Ibid.*, p. 329.

(iii) Letters produced in this volume which Gandhiji wrote to Jayakar during March 1920.

The Report was published in two volumes, Volume I consisting of the Report and Volume II consisting of Evidence. Here, only Volume I has been reproduced.

population in 1911 was slightly less than 20 millions. The province used to be much larger before, but in 1901 it was partitioned and a new province, now called the North-West Frontier Province, was carved out of it. Another slice was taken off in 1912, when the Capital of the British Indian Empire was shifted to Delhi, and the city of Delhi and a part of the surrounding territory were constituted into a distinct province.

The Punjab is inhabited mostly by Hindus, Mohammedans and Sikhs. The Sikhs have their home in the Punjab and number about 3½ million. The chief occupation of the people is agriculture, but other industries are making headway and a considerable number of factories worked by steam have sprung up in various towns of the Punjab.

The Punjab supplies the flower of the British Indian Army. During the late War[1] the contribution of the Punjab to the army was the largest of all the provinces of India.

Among the fighting classes the Sikhs hold the foremost place and Rajputs and Jats come next. The Rajputs and Jats of the western and southern parts are mostly Mussulmans and those of the eastern and northern parts are Hindus. The Jats of the Central Punjab are mostly Sikhs.

We give in Sir Michael O'Dwyer's[2] own words the Punjab's war contribution in men. Speaking on the 7th April last, Sir Michael O'Dwyer said:

> I have spoken so often about the War and the Punjab's share in it during the last year that I need say but little today. We started the War with 100,000 men in the Army.
>
> In 1917, I was able to tell you that in the first 2½ years of the War we had raised 124,000 combatants. In the next year we raised over 127,000 and a year ago the total was over a quarter of a million. We were then in the most critical stage of the War and in response to His Majesty's August Message and the Premier's appeal, I asked the province to raise another 200,000 men including 180,000 fighting men within a year. Many people thought that was an extravagant demand. Those people did not know the spirit of the Punjab. April and May 1918 were the harvest months and we advisedly did not push recruiting. But 21,000 men were enrolled.
>
> From June to September the recruiting campaign was carried on everywhere with great enthusiasm, and in those four months 78,000 men or over 19,500 per month joined the colours. In October, owing to

[1] World War I, 1914-18
[2] Lt.-Governor of the Punjab, 1913-19

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the influenza epidemic, the number dropped to 14,426 and in November, when we were about to make a fresh effort, our enemies collapsed and hostilities came to an end, and the number fell to 6,313, but in six months, from June to November, we had raised 99,000 men, or half of the total promised, and in the eight months, April to November, our total was 121,000 men, including 1,00,000 combatants. If the need had continued, we should have completed our quota of 200,000. As it is, we can claim to have raised about 360,000 combatants during the four years of War, or more than half the total raised in the Indian Empire, excluding, of course, the splendid contribution from our gallant neighbours and allies in Nepal.

The distribution of the 355,000 combatants by main religions and tribes is roughly as follows:

MOHAMMEDANS		**170,000**
Pathans	5,000	
Mohammedans from North & Central Punjab, commonly known as Punjabi Mohammedans	136,000	
Mohammedans from South Punjab	25,000	
Kashmiris	1,500	
Other Mohammedans	2,500	
SIKHS		**90,000**
HINDUS		**90,000**
Jats	30,000	
Dogras	24,000	
Other Rajputs	10,000	
Ahirs	10,000	
Gujars	6,000	
Gaur Brahmins	5,000	
All others	5,000	
PUNJABI CHRISTIANS		**4,000**

The Mohammedans forming 5/9th of the population, gave 48 per cent of the recruits, Hindus with 3/9th of the population, furnished $\frac{1}{4}$th, while the Sikhs, though only 1/9th of the population, also furnished $\frac{1}{4}$th.

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As I said last year the fighting men were drawn almost exclusively, and the non-combatants mainly, from the rural population, both for Army and even in the Indian Defence Force; the townsfolk made but a slight response to the call for men, though they helped generously in the War Loan. But most of the rural Hindus did splendidly in recruiting and their proportionate recruitment, though much below that of the Sikhs, is nearly equal to that of the Punjabi Mohammedans.

The administration of the Punjab is carried on by a Lieutenant-Governor, who has a Legislative Council under him—the members of which are partly elected and partly nominated.

The capital of the Punjab is and has always been at Lahore, which is a big town with a population of about 250,000, situated at a distance of about 1,200 miles from Calcutta, 300 miles from Delhi, 784 miles from Karachi, and 1,162 miles from Bombay.

The province is divided into 5 divisions under Commissioners, comprising 28 Districts under Deputy Commissioners or Collectors, viz., Ambala Division comprising the eastern part of the Punjab including Simla, the summer headquarters of the Government of India; Jullundur, including the mountainous and submountainous parts; Lahore, the central parts; Rawalpindi, the north-western; and Multan, the western part of the Punjab.

CHAPTER II

SIR MICHAEL O'DWYER'S ADMINISTRATION

Gentlemen, I have often been criticized for dwelling on the achievements of the Punjab in season and out of season. But my pride in the province is based on no narrow parochial spirit. I have spent 15 years away from it, during which I have seen many other parts of India. I might indeed say, much have I seen and known, cities, men and manners, climates, councils, governments. But nowhere did I find the same qualities as the Punjab can show, from the prince's palace down to the peasant's hut. I found I could meet the Punjabi, whatever his class or condition, as man to man without suspicion or mistrust. I found him, in the mass, loyal but not subservient, brave but not boastful, enterprising but not visionary, progressive but not pursuing false ideals, or mistaking the shadow for the substance. These are the qualities which have made the Punjab among the provinces of India 'not least but honoured of them all', and these are the qualities which, combined with the moral courage that will be so essential in the times before you, will keep the Punjab in the vanguard of progress and prosperity.

This is what Sir M. O'Dwyer said in a public speech made on the 7th April, the day after the universal hartal in India and

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three days before the firing on unarmed people at Amritsar and Lahore and the murders and arson in Amritsar.

The quotation is from the speech he delivered at his last meeting in the Council prior to his then intended departure.

But the same speech also contains the following:

> The Government of this province is and will remain determined that public order, which was maintained so successfully during the time of war, shall not be disturbed in the time of peace. Action has, therefore, already been taken under the Defence of India Act[1] against certain individuals at Lahore and Amritsar, who, whatever their motives, were openly endeavouring to rouse public feeling against the Government. The British Government, which has crushed foreign foes and quelled internal rebellion, could afford to despise these agitators, but it has a duty of protection to the young and the ignorant, whom they may incite to mischief and crime, while themselves standing aside. I, therefore, take this opportunity of warning all, who are connected with political movements in the province, that they will be held responsible for the proper conduct of meetings which they organize, for the language used at and the consequences that follow such meetings. Subject to these provisions the Government has no desire to restrict, in any way, the right of public meetings; but it is a matter of common knowledge that those who organize such meetings, even with quite legitimate objects, often lack moral courage or authority to restrain some of the more violent speakers. It is also, I fear, only too true that owing to the wild, reckless language which a handful of noisy agitators habitually indulge in, sober and reasonable men, with regard for their *izzat*[2], shrink from attending such meetings. Restraining influences are, therefore, either absent or are not exercised. Hence the necessity for my warning, which is addressed to the Press as well as to the platform. I would ask, in all seriousness, is this the calm and reasonable atmosphere which is needed to prepare the way for constitutional reforms? It certainly is not, and those who are creating that unhealthy atmosphere are the deadliest enemies of the cause of reform, which they propose to champion. Fortunately, their influence does not correspond to the noise they make. They do not speak with the voice of the Punjab.

He then expatiated on the inoffensive nature of the Rowlatt Act[3] and said about it what was not true, namely, that it conferred

[1] Passed in 1915 as an "essential war measure"

[2] Prestige, honour

[3] Passed in the third week of March 1919 as a temporary measure intended to deal with the situation arising out of the expiry of the Defence of

on the police no powers of arbitrary arrest, search or interference. Everyone who has read the Rowlatt Act knows that it does contain such powers, and that it is because it contains such powers that it was so strongly objected to by the people. Sir Michael, however, was not satisfied with his fanciful description of the Rowlatt Act. He wanted to show what he felt about the great demonstration of the 6th April, which for thousands upon thousands was of a semi-religious character because of the fast. He laughed at it in this manner:

> The recent puerile demonstrations against the Rowlatt Act in both Lahore and Amritsar would be ludicrous if they did not indicate how easily the ignorant and the credulous people, not one in a thousand of whom knows anything of the measure, can be misled. Those who want only to mislead them incur a serious responsibility. I would remind them of President Lincoln's famous saying: "You can, if you are very clever and very unscrupulous, mislead all people for some time and some people for all time, but you cannot mislead all people for all time." Those who appeal to ignorance rather than to reason have a day of reckoning in store for them.

No other Head of Government in India laughed at the people on the 7th of April. Everyone but Sir M. O'Dwyer realized more or less the meaning of the 6th of April, but Sir Michael's one desire was to provide "a day of reckoning" for those, who he thought, were appealing to passion or ignorance rather than to reason. It is not without considerable pain, that it will be our duty to show in the following pages, how it was Sir Michael who almost invariably appealed to passion and ignorance rather than to reason, and how serious a responsibility he incurred in misleading both the people and his superiors. It will be our painful duty to show also the meaning he attached to the phrase "day of reckoning". He had occasion to speak again on the 10th. He spoke in the evening after he had learnt what had happened at Amritsar and Lahore. He spoke to the representatives of the martial races of the Punjab, who had met at the Montgomery Hall to present him with an address. We give the speech in full as reported by the Associated Press:

> I am glad to think that the excitement of this evening has not prevented us from meeting here tonight. I am proud to meet, in this unique

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India Act and investing local governments with arbitrary powers to arrest and detain persons believed to be connected with certain offences threatening public safety

gathering, so many representatives of the great martial races, Mohammedan, Sikh, and Hindu of the Punjab, who, though differing in origin, religion and social customs, are united to one another and to the British Government by two bonds of steel, the bonds of loyalty and valour.

You realize the difficulties of the administration and the necessity of taking measures to prevent peaceful and orderly progress being disturbed by disorder and anarchy. You have seen within the last few weeks how a law passed to safeguard the lives and property of the people against such outbursts of anarchy and revolution—a law that is only to be brought into operation if, unfortunately, those conditions should arise—has by the persistent falsehood and misrepresentation of a small but noisy class been made to appear as a deadly weapon aimed at the people, whom it is intended to protect in situations of great emergency. Those of you who have studied that law know how baseless that agitation is. You can gather something of the motives of those behind that agitation from what took place a few days ago at Multan, when the Rowlatt Bill agitation was made a pretext for offering an insult to gallant Punjabi Mohammedans, Sikhs and Gurkhas, that had returned from the front after fighting the battles of India, and these insulters had, as we know, no martial spirit themselves and no appreciation for the valour and loyalty of those who had been safeguarding their hearths and homes. Their object is to attack Government and insult those who are true to their salt. Loyal men must and will oppose their evil designs. I would, therefore, ask you to explain the motives and policy of Government, as shown in that law, to those within your influence, and to expose the campaign of falsehood that is being carried on in certain quarters in order to mislead the ignorant and credulous masses and the scum of the bazaars of the towns and to incite them to crime and disorder.

The promoters of the agitation began by announcing a policy of so-called passive resistance. What form has that taken? You heard what happened at Multan on Saturday. At Lahore and Amritsar on Sunday coercion and intimidation were used to law-abiding citizens, and in Bombay they have begun openly to defy the law. This movement, unless promptly checked, will bring about disorder and bloodshed. It has already done so at Amritsar and Lahore and will endanger the lives and property of law-abiding citizens. Government looks to you and to all loyal citizens, whatever their political views, to join with it in openly denouncing this dangerous agitation and bringing it to a speedy close. Your co-operation with Government in this and similar matters will be as valued and as much appreciated as your memorable war services.

The situation is for the moment critical, and prompt action on your part and that of Government is required. Government will do its duty without hesitation, and will support you in doing yours. Government

will enforce the law, and if that leads to bloodshed, the responsibility is with those who make others break the laws.

This is my last word of counsel, and I know you will take prompt action on it and enable me to restore public order before I leave the province. The trouble, though serious, is not widespread and, with your help, will soon be dispelled.

It will be a proud memory to me that in time of war or of internal trouble, I never appealed to the martial races of the Punjab in vain. I am confident that by your action and that of the loyal and sturdy men you represent, you will, within the next few weeks, establish a further claim to my gratitude and to the consideration of Government.

I must now say good-bye. In leaving the province I shall carry away recollections of what you have done. I shall not forget you, nor your work, nor your interest.

We have copied this speech in full, as it shows at a glance Sir Michael O'Dwyer's mentality. It was given to the martial races of the Punjab. He has not hesitated to incite them against the people. He has distorted facts, as for instance regarding the conduct of the people of Multan against the soldiers. We have investigated the incident and we have found that no insult was offered to the soldiers who passed through Multan. He has wilfully misrepresented the scope of the Rowlatt Act to his audience and then threatened the people with punishment, practically for taking part in political agitation.

We now propose to give a brief outline of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's administration, showing how he estranged every class from him, and how he tried to reduce the influence of the educated classes over the masses.

He had considerable experience of the Punjab before he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor, to which post he was called in 1913. He signalized his rule by contemptuous references to proposals for reforms. He said in reply to an address of welcome a few weeks after his appointment:

During the short time I have held charge of this province, I have received many excellent and well-meant suggestions, as to how I should carry on the administration, what I should do to meet the aspirations of the people, to further the movement towards self-government, towards the separation of executive and judicial functions, and in regard to other matters of state policy. Abstract speculations of this nature have their interest and value, though they would gain in value, if in addition to enforcing the duties of the administration, some stress were laid on the elementary duties of the people as citizens and subjects. I should have welcomed and

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> I shall welcome any practical suggestion, as to how Government can discharge more efficiently its primary obligation to secure life and property, and how the people can be aroused to a sense of duty towards the community. All other questions of policy are, in my opinion, subsidiary to these two and should stand over till these obligations are adequately discharged.

He thus gave notice to his hearers that those reforms which they held to be vital for the progress of the country were "abstract speculations" and that he expected his hearers to help him in securing life and property and awakening a sense of duty to the community. One would have thought that life and property had become fairly secure, and that this security was claimed to be the proudest achievement of British Rule, and that the yearning for the reforms mentioned by his audience did show a sense of duty to the community. In the same speech he addressed a homily to the vernacular Press. It was followed by action under the Press Act. Security was demanded from several vernacular newspapers; the security already deposited was forfeited in some cases. A month later in his very first speech, as President of the local Legislative Council, he gave to the Press a second warning:

> If the action already taken does not have the desired effect, Government will deal with the offenders as with any other individuals that break the law by promoting disorder or disaffection, and will employ all the means the law places at its disposal, and of these the taking and forfeiture of the security are the least.

This warning was followed by a more stringent policy regarding the Press, although he himself in the same speech, referring to the peace that was prevalent in the province, said:

> The great results already achieved are due to the mutual confidence and intimate association of the administration and the people, which have always been a marked feature in this province.

He had occasion, six months later, of expressing his views regarding a proposal that an executive council be established in the province. To this very innocent proposal he thus replied on the 13th April, 1914:

> The proposal had come upon him rather as a surprise. The people of the province had from the start been habituated to regard the Lieutenant-Governor as the sole head of, and in the last degree responsible for, the administration of the province. The province had progressed and prospered under that system in a manner which can stand comparison with any other province or presidency, and that the matter could come within the range of practical politics only if it could be shown that the present administration of the province suffers from certain defects, and

that the addition of an executive council would remove those defects.

He then insulted those who had come to honour him, by quoting: 'For forms of Government let fools contend'.

Five months later the War broke out and the Punjabis had a fairly full experience of the working of the Defence of India Act, in the passing of which he had no small share. What share he had and what powers he wanted, so as to supersede the ordinary procedure and safeguards of law, may be seen from the following recommendations of his, which were subsequently adopted by the Imperial Government. We take them from the Sedition Committee's Report, page 151:

> The Lieutenant-Governor considered that "it is most undesirable at the present time to allow trials of any of these revolutionaries or other sedition mongers who have been or may be arrested in the commission of crime or while endeavouring to stir up trouble, to be protracted by the ingenuity of counsel, and drawn out to inordinate length by the committal and appeal procedure, which the Criminal Law provides." His Honour, therefore, submitted for approval a draft ordinance which provided, subject to the sanction of the local government for its application in these cases: (a) for the elimination of committal procedure in the case of offences of a political or quasi-political nature; (b) for the elimination of appeal in such cases; (c) for the taking of security from persons of the class affected by a more rapid procedure than that prescribed by the ordinary law; (d) for the prompt punishment of village officers and the fining of villagers colluding with and harbouring revolutionary criminals.

He abused the powers given to him by the Defence of India Act by prohibiting the entry into the province of Messrs Tilak and Pal[1]. He interned hundreds of local men with little or no cause. He gagged the vernacular Press, prevented the nationalist papers edited outside the Punjab from circulating in the province, as, for instance, *New India*, *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, *Independent*. He prohibited the circulation even of pre-censored vernacular papers and brought about a state of things whereby it became practically impossible for the people of the province to have a free interchange of independent views, or a free ventilation of their grievances in the public Press, and then, having prevented free speech and free writing, allowed himself to think, and gave outsiders to understand that the people of the Punjab were the happiest under his rule.

[1] Bipin Chandra Pal (1858-1932); educationist, journalist, orator and political leader of Bengal

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Not only did he abuse emergency legislation for the purpose of throttling political aspirations, but he abused his position as a ruler by summoning public men, using threats and giving them warnings. Lala Duni Chand, who has an unbroken record of public service, had personal experience of this part of Sir M. O'Dwyer's administration. This is what he says in his statement given to us by him:

> As a secretary of the Indian Association I had to call public meetings, and after the issue of the notices I was called either by the Chief Secretary to Government or the Commissioner of Lahore to see him, and they always put such obstacles in my way of holding public meetings that many persons in my place would have done anything but held public meetings in Lahore. The Chief Secretary and the Commissioner told me more than once, presumably on behalf of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, whom to invite and whom not to invite as speakers from outside the province.
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> Not only this but when some of the members of the Provincial Legislative Council attended the last Provincial Conference at Lahore, these gentlemen were called by the Chief Secretary, and were taken to task in such a way that they would not have the courage to attend other public meetings in the Bradlaugh Hall. (Statement No. 553.)[1]

In 1917, nineteen members of the Imperial Legislative Council signed their famous memorandum, setting forth their proposals for reforms.[2] A meeting was held to approve of the scheme. Four of the signatories to the notice of the meeting were Punjab men. He sent for them and administered to them a severe rebuke for having dared to think for themselves and to sign the notice. Then followed the Congress-League Scheme, and he tried his best to wean the Punjab from it, and lost no opportunity of belittling the effort to bring about a hearty union between Hindus and Mohammedans. He dared to confound the issue by comparing the Home Rule movement, led by Mrs. Besant and Mr. Tilak, whose goal was attainment of self-government within the Empire by constitutional and peaceful means, with the Ghadar[3] revolu-

[1] This statement and others cited subsequently are contained in Volume II of the Report of the Commissioners appointed by the Congress Punjab Subcommittee, which is not reproduced here; statement and page numbers and appendices, quoted in brackets in such cases, refer to that volume.

[2] The proposals were based on the idea of Dominion Self-government.

[3] The Ghadar Party, a revolutionary organization, was started in 1911 in California by Har Dayal, editor of *Ghadar*. Through his paper and party he won over many immigrants from the Punjab to his revolutionary programme. These immigrants, working through their relations, were able to spread

tionists, whose goal was frankly to sever the British connection by violent means, and with the mad people of the South-West Punjab, who desolated many a home by harbouring chimerical views of establishing an Islamic Kingdom through German aid. He put down the Ghadar movement in a merciless manner, and, we fear, not without inflicting injustice on hundreds of innocent men. He affected to consider the pillage of defenceless homes in the South-West Punjab in 1915 by treating the pillage, in the early stage, as mere grain riots, and took energetic measures only when his hands were absolutely forced and when he saw that these depredations became so serious that they might even jeopardize the work of recruiting.

On the 13th of September, 1917, a resolution was moved by the Hon'ble Mr. Muhammad Shafi[1], asking that the legislative and administrative system in the Punjab be assimilated to that of the province of Bihar and Orissa. There was no opposition to this mild resolution from any quarter. Sir M. O'Dwyer himself rose to speak in its favour, but, to the amazement of everybody, he packed into a single speech as much irrelevancy and vilification of educated classes as he possibly could, till at last the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, who could brook it no longer, interrupted his speech and called for an apology, which at the instance of the Viceroy he had to tender. His Excellency the Viceroy felt called upon to dissociate himself from Sir Michael's views. We would give a few extracts from that speech of Sir Michael's:

> Speaking of my own province, while I would welcome a speedy progress, I must say that those conditions (meaning the three conditions set forth by Mill as indispensable for self-government) are not likely to be fulfilled for many a long day.

He observed again:

> We should be glad if those who are so fond of basing political claims on the loyalty of India and the sacrifices of the Indians and the sacrifices of the Indian Army, which is mainly a Punjab army, would show their loyalty to the King Emperor and their sympathy for the province, which is bearing the burden of sacrifice, not by words, however eloquent, but in some practical form, for instance, by active help in the recruiting campaign in other provinces.

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disaffection in the Indian Army, and when forced to return to India, they carried on anti-British activities.

[1] Member, Imperial Legislative Council; became member of the Viceroy's Executive Council in 1920

The following is another passage from the same speech to show Sir Michael's utter want of appreciation of the educated classes:

> In these days when we are in danger of being deafened by political harangues and of being blinded by the shower of political manifestos, it is well occasionally to return to mother earth to clear up our minds of shams and illusions, and to ask ourselves what will all this noise and talk do for the man on the soil, the man behind the plough, the man whose life is a long-drawn question between a crop and a crop.

The implications of the speech are obvious. It was for this affront to educated classes that he was made to apologize.

The meaning of an apology in ordinary English is that when a man apologizes for his speech or action he does not repeat it. Not so Sir Michael. On October 30th the same year—nearly a month after the apology—he practically went back upon it in the following words:

> In a speech last month in the Imperial Council I described the signal services of the Punjab in this War with an emphasis, which some people considered excessive, as it involved a comparison with other provinces and their action during the War. I still adhere to my argument that the loyal services of the Punjab in providing men, money and materials for the Empire stand out pre-eminent, and establish a special claim on the consideration of the Government. I also reaffirm my contention that the services of the martial classes, on whom the burden of sacrifice has fallen, are receiving and should continue to receive prior recognition from Government, and that as the so-called political concessions will be of less benefit to them than to other classes, we have to look around for forms of recognition and reward which they regard as suitable and desirable.

In this revised version we see not only a repetition of the offence but a repetition in an aggravated form. He returns to the topic by way of complaint and gives a colouring to facts in order to prove—what nobody has denied—that the war services of the Punjab were singularly great. He isolates the martial classes from the others, insults the former by imputing to them want of political ambition, and tries to wean them from association with the others by holding out prospects of special recognition. His contempt of the educated classes and his inclination to withhold political power from them are easily traceable in the extract we have quoted.

But nothing perhaps shows more clearly his dislike of the educated classes than his memorandum on the question of constitutional reforms, published together with the Government of

India's despatch of March 5th, 1919, Describing the demands made by the educated classes for the whole of India, he says :

> If it is clear that the demands emanate not from the mass of the people, whose interests are at stake, but from a small and not quite disinterested minority, naturally enough eager for power and place, we must, if we are faithful to our trust, place the interests of the silent masses before the clamour of the politicians, however troublesome and insistent. Here I may quote Burke's warning: "Because half a dozen grasshoppers under a fern make the field ring with their importunate cries, while thousands of great cattle, who repose beneath the shadow of the British oak, chew their cud and are silent, pray do not imagine that those who make the noise are the only inhabitants of the field."

We need hardly comment upon the deadly insult implied in the quotation. He then goes on, in the same writing, in total disregard of facts, to show that the educated classes have nothing in common with the masses, and that the latter are beginning to disown the educated leaders. He belittles the efforts regarding Home Rule made by Mrs. Besant, Mr. Tilak, Mr. Jinnah, Hon'ble Pandit Malaviya and the Raja of Mahmudabad. He exaggerates out of all proportion the non-Brahmin classes' movement, reduces the All-India Muslim League to an unimportant body, deplores the awakening of the Punjab in spite of his prohibitive orders against Messrs Tilak and Pal, and then he says gratuitously that the advancement to be considered should be "not of the political classes alone but of the Indian people", and winds up this portion of his memorandum by saying :

> I have felt it necessary to emphasize this principle because I can find no adequate recognition of it in the Government of India proposals. Perhaps it is taken for granted. But an obligation so solemn should not be kept in the background; and in its absence the proposals read as if the only question to be considered is how to satisfy the aspirations of a certain proportion of the educated classes. The latter, no doubt, claim to represent the masses, but perhaps after what has come to light in the last few months, it is hardly necessary to expose the hollowness of the claim. Apply any practical test—the prevention of religious riots, the composing of sectional differences, the raising of recruits for the combatant army or the defence force—when any of these questions is to the fore, the politician usually retires into the background. His influence for good is generally nil, but he can and sometimes does add to the trouble by injudicious or malicious interference.
>
> It is often stated as an argument for self-government, that there are no religious riots in Native States. For this there are many reasons,

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> but a leading one is that the professional politician does not exist there, or, if he does, is not allowed to interfere. The one recent and serious religious disturbance that I am aware of in Native States—between Sunnis and Shias in Bhopal—was fomented largely by the interference of a Mohammedan lawyer from Bombay anxious to advertise himself. In the Punjab, though sectarian feeling often runs very high, it rarely leads to riot or bloodshed, because the local authorities know on whom to depend to compose matters. Those are not politicians but quiet men of local influence.

Here we have Sir Michael O'Dwyer seeking to prove of the whole of India that the political classes are a useless body for all practical purposes.

So much for Sir Michael and the educated classes. But though he claimed to regard the others with affection, he estranged them from him and his Government by his methods of recruitment and collection of war contributions. It is not, however, without considerable hesitation that we feel bound to deal with this matter. We realize the necessity that existed during the War for a vigorous campaign of recruiting and collection of monetary contributions. We realize, too, that if India claims, as she does, equal partnership with the other members of the Empire, she must bear her full share of the Empire's burden. We would, therefore, if we could, have avoided any reference to the methods adopted for collecting contributions in men and money. But in understanding and appreciating the sudden response of the classes and the masses to the proposal for hartal, and then, in the Punjab, the unexpected exhibition of mob fury, it is necessary to go into the causes that contributed to the remarkable demonstration and in the Punjab to the manifestation of violence. For we consider that no amount of misrepresentation about the Rowlatt Act, assuming that there was any, can possibly account for the response of the masses, and the participation of a number of people in violence. Nor can any sense of duty towards the Empire be allowed to disregard the sacredness of individual liberty or to ignore cruelty or compulsion, secretly or openly but illegally practised. The evidence that we have collected and the judicial records that we have read conclusively prove that the methods adopted for securing recruits and donations or loans travelled far beyond the line of moral or social pressure; nor were these methods unknown to Sir Michael O'Dwyer. Indeed conscription was openly talked of, suggested and advocated, and we cannot help saying that open conscription would have been infinitely better than the so-called voluntarism, which was in effect worse

than conscription, because the voluntarism pressed only the weakest and permitted the strong to go scot-free.

Let us glance at the actuality. Sir Michael said at a meeting on the 4th of May, 1918, just after the Delhi programme had been settled: "200,000 men for the regular army, voluntarism if possible, conscription if necessary." Colonel Popham Young, speaking at the same meeting, said:

> When deciding how to apportion the effort it is inevitable that many must be guided, must even be compelled. We shall continue to work on the lines of voluntarism. We shall fix quotas for each district, tahsil or village with reference to the material which is available, and shall in the great majority of cases obtain the number of men we require without resort to compulsion. But in order to be fair to those who come forward at the call of duty, we must forthwith be armed with authority. We must be able to say that when there has been a failure on the part of the people to choose their champions for the areas, Government will step in and make the choice for them.

At the same meeting Sir Michael O'Dwyer himself said as follows :

> Before I leave the subject of recruitment I must say a few words about conscription. No one, of course, dreams of conscripting the whole of India's manhood for the half million combatants required; and if we can do without conscription in any form no one will be better pleased than I. But, splendid as has been the volunteer response of the Punjab hitherto, we must face the fact that the strain has been severe, that the burden has not been evenly distributed, and that the tribes and localities which have done their duty are not a little resentful against those who have not. The land-owning classes feel that they are paying the main burden of the War both in purse and in person, and that there are other classes who pay little or nothing in either form. Inequality of burdens as between classes is always a legitimate grievance. It becomes more acute as the need of men becomes more insistent and the call for men more imperative.
>
> The contingency of failure of the voluntary system in certain areas is there and it would be cowardice not to face it. We have given our pledge, and we must take measures in time to secure its fulfilment. I believe that in the Punjab at any rate there is now a strong feeling in favour of some form of conscription to raise the necessary quotas, both within the province and as between the various provinces, the taking, for instance, of one fit man in ten or fifteen or twenty by lot, with the option of some pecuniary forfeit to be paid to the State. I hope I carry a large majority of my audience with me here, and, if so, it is right that

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the province, which hitherto has borne the main burden, should state its views in no uncertain language. The decision, of course, rests in other hands. But, gentlemen, the machinery cannot be set in motion at once. The men are wanted immediately. What, therefore, appears necessary is that Government should take power to enforce the quotas allotted to provinces, and that all the necessary preparations should be made in advance on the distinct understanding that the measure will not be applied if the quotas are forthcoming on voluntary basis.

A circular was issued by the Punjab Government making suggestions for obtaining contributions which could only be given effect to by using more than normal pressure. We give below one paragraph from the circular.

I am to suggest that Deputy Commissioners might assist much in the campaign by estimating the contributions that might reasonably be expected from the various towns. In doing so they will derive much assistance from the local income-tax returns, especially where the assessments have recently been revised by the special establishment. Income-tax returns furnish, too, a fairly reliable index to the relative financial condition of individuals who are expected to help the loan and a rough standard, which it is believed is already being applied in some districts. To judge of the adequacy of their investments in it, it would not be unreasonable to expect that on an average an assessee would be in a position to invest in the War Loan from half to one-fourth of the income on which he is actually assessed. Applying this rough test or others, which may be found suitable to local conditions, Deputy Commissioners should be in a position to see whether towns and villages or individuals in their jurisdiction are doing what is expected of them.

The Deputy Commissioner should then, by special meetings, formation of local committees of *sahukars*[1] and such expedients, endeavour to obtain the estimated sum as a minimum contribution. Local committees of traders and others presided over in large towns by Judicial Officers, Extra Assistant Commissioners or Tahsildars, will probably be able to effect a satisfactory distribution of the loan demand. Rivalry between towns and communities might be promoted by periodical publication and comparison of the amounts subscribed. Help might be afforded by a promise to recognize liberal subscriptions by sanads, by the grant of Chairs, and by the gift of special certificates. On the other hand, it should be made clear to wealthy citizens that failure to do their duty in this matter will be taken into account in nominations to municipal and notified area committees, in appointments of honorary magistrates, and in any other forms of Government recognition, on the ground that

[1] Money-lenders

such honours are reserved for those who have shown in a practical form their desire to assist the administration.

Consequently subordinate officials put pressure upon the people. A letter was written to an "addressee in the Ambala district, asking him to inform the D.C. within one week through Lala Rangi Lal, Sub-Judge, what amount the addressee wants to invest in the War Loan". The meaning of this is obvious.

Judicial processes were also pressed into service. The First Class Magistrate at Chakwal discharged an accused in Criminal Case No. 82 of 1917, noting that "the accused and his brother have between them subscribed Rs.110 towards 'Our Day Fund' and according to verbal compromise made, accused is accordingly acquitted."

Mehar Singh, son of Daulat Singh, applied for remission of income-tax in Case No. 36 of 1917 in the same court. The magistrate in dismissing the application remarked among other things :

> Owing to the War, the profit of the mules is immense, but the objector has not contributed a pice to any War Fund or any War Loan. He has also a son whom he would not enlist.

There is a village called Leihia in the district of Muzaffargarh. A large crowd besieged the residence of the Naib[1] Tahsildar, assaulted the chaprasi and the rural policeman. Some people were arrested. 52 of them were tried under Section 147 of the Indian Penal Code. On appeal, the Sessions Judge acquitted some, reduced the sentences of the others. Mr. Coldstream, the Judge in question, remarked that "the people had real grievances for which they wanted to find expression". He said further:

> It is a matter of common knowledge that the efforts of the subordinate officials in Muzaffargarh to raise the War Loan and to find recruits, owing to the methods adopted by *Zaildars*[2] and *Lambardars*[3] on whom pressure was brought to help in the matter, led to severe frictions in many places. It must be admitted, too, that these methods were frequently unauthorized, objectionable, oppressive, and opposed to the intentions of the Government. In remote tracts, they were found intolerable by the people. These acts could not, of course, be proved by the prosecution and it would be absurd to expect proof of them to be adduced in defence in a case of the present kind. It is necessary in the cause of justice to make this clear, even if in doing so I have to get outside the judicial

[1] Deputy

[2] Government employees who maintain records of canal water supplied to peasants

[3] Big landlords in villages who help Government in collecting land revenue

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record. The facts I have stated are, as I have said before, matters of common knowledge.

The Judge opined that the oppressive methods were opposed to the intentions of the Government. In every place we have visited we have been informed that the officials, who have been known to the people for their oppression, have not only not been degraded or publicly reprimanded, but they have been in many cases promoted.

In the Shahpur district, a Tahsildar was unfortunately even murdered. A Special Tribunal was appointed to try the case. 46 residents were prosecuted. 4 of them were sentenced to be hanged and 12 to transportation for life. 8 were discharged and 12 finally acquitted. Sir Michael O'Dwyer's note, from which we have taken the above facts, says that vague allegations had been made of ill-treatment of the people by the late Sayed Nadir Hussain and that the Tribunal had given every latitude to the defence to prove any facts which might extenuate the crime, but that beyond the fact that his methods of recruitment amounted almost to conscription, nothing was proved against him and the Tribunal had held that his reputation was unstained by any discreditable conduct.

In our opinion, the admission that conscription was resorted to is its own condemnation. But Sir Michael O'Dwyer must have read the evidence produced at the trial. This is what Muhammad Khan, who was the reader for the deceased, deposed on behalf of the prosecution:

> The Tahsildar's method was to have a list of all men in a village prepared by the *Patwari*[1]. When he had got the list, it was the Tahsildar's practice to go into the village and hear if any objections were taken to the selection of the recruits. It was his practice to ask a family of 3 or 4 brothers to provide one or two recruits for the army. . . He also secured some deserters from the neighbourhood of Gurna, who were sent under escort to the recruiting officer. . . The Tahsildar had noted the fact of selection as recruits against many names in this list. . . The zamindars of this *ilaqa*[2] usually ran away on the approach of the Tahsildar, being not accustomed to service and being afraid to come in front of him.

The president of the Special Tribunal made the following remarks in his notes :

[1] Government employee who keeps land revenue records
[2] Sub-division

> Nadir Hussain Shah was overzealous and wanting in tact to influence a wild people unused to join the army. The people had no traditions to back them. . . On the 6th February, the *Patwari* prepared the lists of Bakh Lurhkan. Government had directed such a list of men with their relationships and ages. Hence on the 6th February the men knew that they were likely to be enlisted for the army and alarm started.

Khan Ahmad Hussain Khan, Revenue Assistant, said before the court :

> I heard a complaint that he made men to stand naked in the presence of their womenfolk. . . . I never heard of any instance of a woman being tormented with thorns, but I have heard that men were confined between thorny bushes. I only heard of these occurrences of June. I never saw it done myself. What I have stated I have heard from *Zaildars* and other zamindars. Ghulam Muhammad of Hazara Miani told me that some women had been ill-treated at Kaura Kot and also in some Pathan village, perhaps Gurna. He told me that some women had been taken to Midh Ranjha and thence to Bhulwal in order to induce their relations either to return or to enlist. I also heard that the companions of the Tahsildar had grazed the crops of the absconders and looted their houses. I have heard that Sher Ali of Bucha Kalan had 15,000 or 17,000 rupees of the Tahsildar's accumulated money. This money was reported as a result of bribery in recruiting. I have also heard that Sher Ali misappropriated this money. . . The villagers' grievance was only about recruiting. They did not want to be recruited. . . I only heard later on that two women of Ghullapur had been oppressed in the month of June. The Tahsildar himself informed me that, finding a large number of deserters belonging to Chhani Rehan, he had brought some pressure to bear upon them by grazing the crops of the villagers, with the result that the absconders returned. Before his arrival the villagers had left the village.

The Court naturally refrained from finding that ill-treatment by the deceased was proved. It said:

> The Revenue Assistant, Khan Ahmad Khan, stated all he had heard as to the behaviour of the Tahsildar at our special desire, but on the whole the evidence before us shows that beyond the facts admitted by the prosecution that recruitment amounted almost to conscription, no instances of ill-treatment by the Tahsildar have been proved.

On this the Government *communique* remarks that "he had not insulted the people or outraged their feelings". There is no positive finding by the Court to warrant any such assertion. On the contrary, if the Government had desired to find out the truth on the strength of the serious information in possession of the

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Revenue Assistant and given by him to the Court, they would have made a searching inquiry into the question of treatment apart from the murder trial.

We have collected some evidence of a direct nature, which, being of a serious character, we have refrained from publishing with our report. Mr. Gandhi, who is responsible for that collection, has placed himself in communication with the Punjab Government in the matter.

In another case in the same district a mob is said to have gathered round a village and resisted the arrest of seven men. They were fired at and several casualties had occurred. The defence version that the men resisted because they were afraid of enlistment, was rejected by the Court. But the fact of the resistance and firing tends to prove the allegation of oppressing methods.

In the Multan division the manager of an estate under the Court of Wards in the Kabir Wala tahsil went among the Khiji tribe for recruiting. A scuffle ensued resulting in casualties. The public prosecutor entered *nolle prosequi* against the manager. The question, however, remains why did the manager go among the tribesmen and why and what did they resist?

We have some answer from the recruiting returns published by Sir Michael O'Dwyer. The recruiting returns of the Multan district at the end of December 1917 stood at 759 or 1 in 586 of the male population. By the end of November 1918, the number rose to 4636 or 1 in 93. Such a phenomenal record is only possible under methods of compulsion. The Commissioner said :

> I am afraid, with a few exceptions, the leading men in the district have not done their duty. Instead of enlisting members of their own families, they tried to buy or coerce men of lower stratum; objectionable methods of coercion were resorted to by some headmen with the result that in some cases public tranquillity was disturbed. Attempts were made in numerous cases, and these were successful, to fraudulently enlist foreigners from other districts and other divisions as residents of this district though this was against the orders of the Government.

No wonder Sir Michael O'Dwyer was obliged to deplore the fact that "a large proportion of those who joined deserted from their depots or units, and very few indeed faced the enemy in the field."

The Commissioner of Ambala Division reported that "in order to make up the quota, the people resorted to the not unnatural expedient of subscribing large sums to be given to young men to enlist—500 or 1,000 rupees being the price of a recruit."

Another popular device was to compel men of supposed bad character either to enlist or furnish security under Section 109 or 110 of the Indian Penal Code to be of good behaviour. The report on the administration of Criminal Justice for 1917 says :

> District Magistrates have spent much time in recruiting work during the year. The large decrease in the number of persons called upon to give security under Section 110 of the Indian Penal Code is in a great part due to the heavy recruiting of the army.

An official went to the village Yara, district Karnal, and a number of boys were induced to offer themselves as recruits. The father of one of these entreated the Magistrate not to take from him his only son. The Magistrate would not listen and there was excitement and a scuffle. Some persons were brought up under the Defence of India Act and five were convicted. The conviction was set aside on appeal. It appears from the judgment that the lower court had acted under express orders of Mr. Hamilton, the District Magistrate. The Appellate Court says:

> The various orders passed by the District Magistrate from time to time clearly show that if these appellants had also supplied recruits from among their near relations or if they were fit for enlistment themselves, they would have been let off, provided twenty recruits were made up from the village as was originally demanded from it.

Indeed, even twenty recruits were supplied, but the District Magistrate wanted the twenty recruits from the accused themselves.

In Gujranwala, in 1917, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, not being satisfied with the recruiting results, was pleased to rebuke the people on account of their remissness. Whether by accident or design, the then Deputy Commissioner was succeeded by Col. O'Brien and the recruiting barometer went up. The result was thus summarized by Sir Michael O'Dwyer in the August of 1918 at a durbar held at Gujranwala :

> A year ago Gujranwala had 3,388 men in the Army, or only one man in every 150 of the total male population. At the end of last month, it had 11,765 men with the colours, which gives a ratio of one man in every 44 of the total male population and one in every 14 of military age. Thus within a year you have raised 8,500 men. That is a triumphant instance of successful organization, mainly due to the untiring activities of your admirable District War League under the inspiring and energetic guidance of your Deputy Commissioner, Colonel O'Brien, and his assistants, and backed up by the Divisional Recruiting Officer, Major Barnes, and his recruiting staff.

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This result was obtained by methods of which we have a graphic description from eyewitnesses at Gujranwala, Manianwala, Chuharkhana, Hafizabad and other places. From the numerous statements collected by us and printed in the appendix we cull only an extract from one typical statement. Sardar Khan, part-proprietor of Ratali in the Gujranwala district, deposed before Mr. Labh Singh, M.A., Bar-at-Law, who was specially deputed to collect evidence. He said :

> The Tahsildar came to our village in the month of *Baisakh*. At night, it was proclaimed by beat of drum that all should present themselves in the morning at the village *daira*[1]. As it was harvest time and also as the people were afraid of being forcibly taken as recruits, only a small number of people attended in the morning. The Tahsildar therefore fined some 60 or 70 persons. The total amount of fine was Rs. 1,600. The people were again ordered to present themselves at the headquarters at Gujranwala which is 18 miles off. When the people went there on the fixed date, they were made to stand in a row and 7 young men were picked out. This was done by Fateh Khan, Tahsildar. The other people were abused and beaten and told to bring more recruits. (Statement 591.)

Sardar Sant Singh, Vakil of Lyallpur, thus summarizes the recruiting and war loan methods :

> War loan was forcibly levied in this district. Title-hunters exacted war loan from the masses in order to win honour for themselves. Rs. 33 per square were forcibly levied *en masse*. No exception was made. Even an adjudged bankrupt had to pay it. The history of this levy is interesting. It was proposed that every square-holder should be made to give Rs. 33, the value of one acre of land, to the Government. No square-holder was consulted. The proposal came from the title-hunters. It was accepted by the local authorities but was modified by the local government. In place of gift, the local government took it as a loan, the interest going to the improvement of the village, and not to the individual contributors.
>
> Uttamsingh of Chak. No. 26 G.S. was prosecuted for an offence, when he was reluctant to pay it. The case was withdrawn on his making the payment.
>
> Imperial War Relief Fund : Ten rupees per square were levied. People paid it as they could not help it.
>
> *Lambardars* had to furnish recruits on the penalty of forfeiting the *Lambardari* rights. Several were actually dismissed. Thus the value of a recruit goes to Rs. 500. Police sent up people to be bound down for keeping peace. Magistrates refused bail and sent them to the lock-up,

[1] Public place for meeting

till they agreed to furnish recruits. Criminal prosecution was withdrawn on the accused agreeing to offer himself as a recruit. (Statement 516.)

Thus Sir Michael O'Dwyer galvanized the Punjab into life and made the Punjabis feel akin in a manner they had never done before. When, therefore, the month of April last was reached and he had an ocular demonstration of the oneness of the Punjab and the oneness of India, he was stupefied and delivered his splenetic speech on the 7th April, from which we have already quoted. He wanted to make and did make a supreme effort to crush the spirit that was struggling to be free from the thraldom under which he had bound it during his iron rule. He scented danger in every honest speech made by the leaders and he detected conspiracy in every combination, and thus forgetting himself issued his orders against Dr. Satyapal[1], Dr. Kitchlew[2] and Mr. Gandhi. He must have known that this could only end in exasperating a people who had already been incensed against his rule. We feel tempted to say that he invited violence from the people, so that he could crush them. The evidence in the appendix shows that he subjected the Punjabis to the gravest provocation, under which they momentarily lost self-control. They have paid dearly for it, but they have also, with amazing quickness, regained self-control and risen purified through the fire of sufferings, mostly undeserved, and earned the certificate for sanity given to them by Sir Michael O'Dwyer.

CHAPTER III

The Rowlatt Bills

The foregoing chapter makes it sufficiently clear that the people of the Punjab were subjected to a variety of pinpricks by the local administration, and that, by its studied contempt for them, it had made it well-nigh impossible for the natural leaders of the people—the educated classes—to control the populace. It was in this atmosphere that the Rowlatt Bills came upon the Punjab.

It is common ground that at the time these two Bills were published,[3] there was little or no revolutionary crime in India. Indeed, for years it had ceased to affect any part of India other than Bengal and the Punjab. In Bengal the party of violence came into being when discontent over the partition of Bengal grew to white heat. In the Punjab it was due to the various

[1] & [2] For biographical data about these leaders, *vide* Chapter V, Part I, of the Report.

[3] In February 1919

measures of the local government, which deeply dissatisfied the people, and it became serious owing to the gross ill-treatment of the proud Sikh settlers of Canada. They infected some local men, too, with their discontent, and the forcible interference with the returned immigrants, ex *Komagata Maru*[1], brought it to a head. The causes of violence in each case were well defined and, in our opinion, avoidable and remediable. Anyway, violence, both in the Punjab and in Bengal, was brought under complete check, as the Government contend, under the powers taken by them in virtue of the Defence of India Act.

This Act was passed as an emergency measure to cope with revolutionary outbreaks that were feared during the War. It is possible to understand the use of such powers when all available fighting material had been removed from India to the battlefields of France and Mesopotamia, and when India's internal peace had to depend largely upon the loyalty and the peace-loving nature of the people. Extraordinary powers taken by the Executive, like Martial Law, enable one policeman to do the work of perhaps four, but this is done at the cost of the liberty of the subject, by depriving him of all the wholesome checks which regulate police procedure. When, therefore, the hostilities ceased, the people had looked forward to the repeal of the Defence of India Act. They had done so the more because, in spite of the declarations made by the Government that the measure would be used only in case of real necessity and never for the purpose of stifling political agitation or hindering the movements of public men, it was used for the purpose of restraining political freedom. To mention no other case it was used in order to intern Mrs. Besant and her associates,[2] because they represented in its intense form the Indian Home Rule movement. In it, there never was any suspicion of violence entertained even by her worst enemies. The public had, therefore, grown thoroughly distrustful of the Government, and had hoped that in view of India's unique war record, and the declaration[3]

[1] In 1914, several hundred Punjabis sailed for Canada as emigrants. They were, however, not allowed to land by the Canadian Government. They returned by s.s. *Komagata Maru* to India where they landed as prisoners and were kept in camp at Budge Budge, near Calcutta, under armed guard pending removal to their province and internment there. Exasperated by continued ill-treatment, they broke into revolt.

[2] Annie Besant and her associates, Arundale and Wadia, were interned on June 10, 1917.

[3] Made by Montagu on August 10, 1917, shortly after assuming office as Secretary of State for India

of August 1917 foreshadowing reforms leading to responsible government, that Act would be repealed and that the people would have respite from the unwelcome attentions of the Secret Service Department.

They were therefore taken by surprise when the two Bills were sprung upon them. The Viceregal speech ushering in the Bills added to the disquiet, as it seemed to show that the Bills were designed to answer the fears of the British element in the Civil Service regarding its safety under the reforms. The Indian position was explained by Mr. Gandhi in the following letter[1] which he addressed to the Press, when he inaugurated his satyagraha movement.

We give below the text of the satyagraha pledge[2] referred to by Mr. Gandhi in the foregoing. We now propose to examine, as briefly as possible, Bill No. II, known as the Rowlatt Act. We will not discuss the Bill No. I, which evidently appears to have been dropped by the Government.

The Act takes its popular name from the President of the Sedition Committee that was appointed by the Government of India on the 10th December, 1917, with Mr. Justice Rowlatt as its President,

> (1) to investigate and report on the nature and extent of the criminal conspiracies connected with the revolutionary movement in India and (2) to examine and consider the difficulties that have arisen in dealing with conspiracies and to advise as to the legislation, if any, necessary to enable Government to deal effectively with them.

The Committee was required to sit *in camera*. It presented its report on the 15th April, 1918. With the exception of four sittings which it had at Lahore, the Committee had all its sittings in Calcutta. Mr. Justice Rowlatt in his covering letter addressed to the Government says:

> As directed by the order appointing us, we have on every occasion sat *in camera*.

The public have no knowledge up to today of the nature of the evidence given before the Committee or the names of those who gave it. Naturally, the witnesses were not cross-examined on behalf of the public, for it was totally unrepresented before the Committee.

[1] Not reproduced here. For the text of the letter, *vide* Vol. XV, pp. 120-2.
[2] Not reproduced here. For the text, *vide* Vol. XV, pp. 101-2

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The Bills were the outcome of the recommendations of this Committee. We have read the report and the recommendations. As the recommendations were intended to deal with a state of things that did not exist at the time they were made, it is not easy to understand them. We know the argument that without the Defence of India Act or its substitute, non-eruption of violence could not be guaranteed. This argument involves two assumptions—first, that repressive legislation is necessary not merely to suppress crime of a revolutionary character, but that it remains under check only during the continuance of such legislation. Second, that there were yet men at large who are or were suspected to be revolutionaries.

The first assumption betrays bankruptcy of statesmanship and a confession of failure; the second, if true, betrays hopeless inefficiency. The fact is that the demand for repressive legislation means disinclination to yield to the will of the people; in other words, government of them against their will. The point was clearly brought out by the Hon'ble Mr. Sastri in his memorable speech[1] on the introduction of the Rowlatt Bill. He said that even though political amelioration did not satisfy the confirmed anarchist, it, and not repression, was the only true way of securing peace, and proceeded to say:

> Because the anarchist is in this unfortunate condition of mental derangement, are we to say, since these people are not going to be satisfied by political concessions, we will not think of them; we will only apply the rule of law to them? That is not the way I think that sound statesmanship should go about the business. We should offer them satisfying measures of political emancipation. But after all it is not these anarchists that have to be satisfied. It is general atmosphere which feeds anarchy that we have got to cure, and when the anarchist finds that he gets no sympathy anywhere, that he cannot propagate his wicked doctrine in a soil where there is contentment and political prosperity, he will naturally die, even if the long arm of the law does not get at him.

The Hon'ble Mr. Sastri's remarks on the suggestion that the innocent need not fear the admittedly repressive character of the measure, are also worthy of note. He says:

> A bad law once passed is not always used against the bad. . . In times of panic caused, it may be, by very slight incidents, I have known governments lose their heads. I have known a reign of terror being brought about; I have known the best, the noblest Indians, the highest

[1] Before the Imperial Legislative Council on February 7, 1919

characters amongst us, brought under suspicion, standing in hourly dread of the visitations of the Criminal Investigation Department. . . When Government undertakes a repressive policy, the innocent are not safe. Men like me would not be considered innocent. The innocent then is he who forswears politics, who takes no part in the public movements of the times, who retires into his house, mumbles his prayers, pays his taxes, and salaams all the government officials all round. The man who interferes in politics, the man who goes about collecting money for any public purpose, the man who addresses a public meeting, then becomes a suspect. I am always on the borderland and I, therefore, for personal reasons, if for nothing else, undertake to say that the possession, in the hands of the Executive, of powers of this drastic nature will not hurt only the wicked. It will hurt the good as well as the bad, and there will be such a lowering of public spirit, there will be such a lowering of the political tone in the country, that all your talk of responsible government will be mere mockery. You may enlarge your Councils, you may devise wide electorates, but the men that will then fill your Councils will be toadies, timid men, and the bureaucracy, armed with these repressive powers, will reign unchecked under the outward forms of a democratic government. Well, we are all anxious to punish the wicked. None of us desire that wickedness should go unpunished, but . . . even the wicked must be punished in certain ways. When Skeffington was shot,[1] I remember the whole world was shocked . . . . Now even in war, when all humanity throbs with excitement and peril, and when nobody thinks of anything except how to conquer the enemy, even then, my Lord, there are the laws of war. You have to play the game . . . when there are criminals abroad in a country there are certain ways in which they ought to be brought to book. You ought not to lay them by the heels and punish them in ways that will shock the sense of justice; in ways that will make the innocent feel that there is no law in the land; in ways that will make honest, virtuous and public-spirited work impossible. The price even for the extinction of wickedness that is demanded then is far too high. . . Much better that a few rascals should walk abroad than that the honest man should be obliged for fear of the law of the land to remain shut up in his house, to refrain from the activities which it is in his nature to indulge in, to abstain from all political and public work merely because there is a dreadful law in the land.

Mr. Sastri did not believe in Sir William Vincent's[2] dictum that the aim of the Bill he was in charge of was not "the suppres-

[1] He was shot by the British military authorities in 1916, in connection with the Easter rising in Dublin.

[2] Member, Viceroy's Executive Council, 1917-22

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sion but the purification of politics." Mr. Sastri gave credit for good intentions, but, he exclaimed:

> Ah! if in this world good intentions always bore fruit it would be very well. . . The history of legislation, both social and political, is strewn with instances of miscarriage of excellent intentions. Laws intended to cure poverty have aggravated it . . . and I take leave to say to the Hon'ble Sir William Vincent that the laws now placed before us, which are aimed at purifying politics, may come dangerously near suppressing them. You cannot place on the statute-book such drastic legislation without putting into the hands of over-enthusiastic executive officers what I consider short cuts to administrative peace.

This repressive measure had no public support behind it, and in warning the Government against carrying the measure through in the teeth of the opposition, "unanimous and unsparing, of their Indian colleagues", he thus asked the Legislative Council:

> Whom have you behind now amongst Indians ? The tragic story of India may be summed up in these words, that you have governed all these centuries in India in isolation, without having any responsible section of public opinion behind you . . . No section of public opinion supports you. The nominated members have not given their blessing to this Bill. The zamindar members have not given their blessing. The lawyer members will have none of it. The members of commerce will have none of it. And yet the Hon'ble Sir George Lowndes[1] told us, 'We must carry this legislation through, because we are satisfied that it is very right; we should have been glad of your help, but with our sense of responsibility we must go on even without your help, however much we would have liked it.' I admire the courage of the Hon'ble the Law Member. I admire the candour with which he said, 'We have the responsibility today; you have none of the responsibility.' We realize that position. We have none, my Lord, of the responsibility for this legislation, and I therefore refuse to believe when the case is put correctly before the public opinion that they will say, as the Hon'ble Sir William Vincent seemed to think sections of the English public might, that we had responsibility and shirked it. We have none.

Mr. Sastri then closed his speech with the following solemn warning:

> Now there is only one more remark, my Lord, I must make and that in justice to the feeling in the country of which for the moment I am the spokesman. I do not think the Hon'ble the Law Member could have meant all that he said when he said that some of us were indulg-

[1] Law Member, Viceroy's Executive Council, 1915-20

ing in threats of agitation. I venture to think that no one here who has spoken against the Bill indulged in anything which might truthfully be described as a threat of agitation. None of us, certainly none of the Moderates, I take leave to say, has power to go and stir up a violent agitation in the country. It is impossible. Agitation must be there already. The heart must be throbbing, if any words that we use here can have a possible effect on the general political atmosphere. The agitation is there. I wish to assure my official colleagues that none of us has had a share yet in this business, but, if our appeals fall flat, if the Bill goes through, I do not believe there is anyone here who would be doing his duty if he did not join the agitation.

In spite, however, of the passionate protest, the motion that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee was carried, and the amendment[1], that its consideration be deferred till six months after the term of office of the Legislative Council, was defeated on the 6th of February, 1919. 22 voted for the amendment and 35 against. We give the names below of the 35 who voted against the amendment and therefore *for* the Bill, and the 22 who voted for the amendment and therefore *against* the Bill. It will be noticed that the only Indian name amongst the 35 was that of the Indian member[2] of the Viceroy's Executive Council. He could not vote otherwise without resigning.

AYES—22	NOES—35
The Hon'ble Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis	His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief
,, Babu S. N. Bannerjea	The Hon'ble Sir Claude Hill
,, Raja of Mahmudabad	,, ,, Sankaran Nair
,, Dr. T. B. Sapru	,, ,, George Lowndes
,, Pandit M. M. Malaviya	,, ,, William Vincent
,, Mr. S. Sastri	,, ,, James Meston
,, ,, B. N. Sarma	,, ,, Arthur Anderson
,, Mir Asad Ali Khan Bahadur	,, Mr. W. A. Ironside
,, Mr. V.J. Patel	,, Sir Verney Lovett
,, ,, M. A. Jinnah	,, Mr. H. F. Howard
,, Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy	,, Sir James Duboulay
	,, Mr. A. H. Ley
	,, ,, H. Sharp

[1] Moved by Vithalbhai Patel, in supporting which Jinnah forcibly denounced the sinister provisions of the Bill

[2] Sir Sankaran Nair, who, however, submitted his resignation in July 1919

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The Hon'ble	Rai Sitanath Ray Bahadur
,,	Raja Sir Rampal Singh
,,	Rai Krishna Sahay Bahadur
,,	Raja of Kanika
,,	Mr. Mazharul Haque
,,	Khan Bahadur Mian Muhammad Shafi
,,	Khan Zulfikar Ali Khan
,,	Mr. G. S. Khaparde
,,	Rai B. D. Shukul Bahadur
,,	K. K. Chanda
,,	Maung Bah Too

The Hon'ble	Mr. R. A. Mant
,,	Major-General Sir Alfred Bingley
,,	Sir Godfrey Fell
,,	Mr. F. C. Rose
,,	Mr. C. H. Kesteven
,,	,, D. de S. Bray
,,	Lieutenant-Colonel R. E. Holland
,,	Surgeon-General W. R. Edwards
,,	Mr. G. R. Clarke
,,	,, A. P. Muddiman
,,	,, C. A. Barron
,,	,, P. L. Moore
,,	,, M. N. Hogg
,,	,, T. Emerson
,,	,, E. H. C. Walsh
,,	,, C. A. Kincaid
,,	Sir John Donald
,,	Mr. P. J. Fagan
,,	,, J. T. Marten
,,	,, W. J. Reid
,,	,, W. F. Pice
,,	,, H. Moncrieff Smith

The final passage of this Bill on the 18th March,[1] with some modifications, which the member in charge of it accepted and which did not touch the scheme or the scope of it, brought about three notable resignations, i.e., from Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mr. Mazharul Haque and Mr. M. A. Jinnah.

We shall now glance at the provisions of the Rowlatt Act and see whether it justified the widespread and unexampled agitation that took place over it.

Originally, it was to be a permanent measure, but an amendment was accepted in the select committee limiting its continuance to three years from the termination of the War. We consider that this limitation does not affect the opposition to the Act on principle.

[1] During the debate on this Bill in March 1919, Gandhiji attended, for the first and last time, the proceedings of India's Central Legislature at Delhi.

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It contains 43 sections and is divided into five parts. The preamble itself is interesting and it reads:

> Whereas it is expedient to make provision that the ordinary criminal law should be supplemented and emergency powers should be exercisable by the Government for the purpose of dealing with anarchical and revolutionary movements.

It extends to the whole of British India. The first part enables the Governor-General-in-Council, if he is satisfied that in any part of British India anarchical or revolutionary movements are being promoted, and that scheduled offences in connection with such movements are prevalent to such an extent that it is expedient, in the interests of public safety, to provide for the speedy trial of such offences, to declare to that effect, and thereupon the provisions of the first part would come into force in the area specified in the notification. The defenders of the measure, whilst they admit that the powers vested in the Executive are great, contend that it does not much matter, as so high an authority as the Governor-General-in-Council has to be satisfied that anarchical or revolutionary movements are being promoted, and that scheduled offences in connection therewith are prevalent to an extent justifying the withdrawal of the ordinary safeguards against miscarriage of justice. Let us see how this high authority is generally satisfied. The initiative comes through a policeman of the lowest rank, who is often interested in exaggerating criminal movements, equally often, being hopelessly ignorant, is incapable of appreciating the facts before him, and is not unoften prone to corruption. He reports to his superior that a revolutionary movement is being promoted and that offences are being committed in connection therewith. The superior officer investigates. He is satisfied, or if not satisfied, the policeman in question submits further evidence, even though it may be concocted, and thus, the report, though it may be tainted at its origin or may be of doubtful value, travels upwards, gathering importance in its career, till at last it blossoms into a pronouncement by the Governor-General-in-Council, receiving an authority wholly undeserved. A study of the events in the Punjab will show clearly what we mean and how rumours or suspicions assumed the dimensions of concrete revolutionary movements, and how utterly innocent men can be victims, sometimes even of malicious, and almost invariably of capricious, prosecution and persecution.

Now let us see what some of the scheduled offences are. They include the highly technical offence of sedition; rioting with deadly

weapons; promoting enmity between classes; causing grievous hurt by dangerous weapons; causing hurt to extort property or to constrain to an illegal act; putting a person in fear of injury in order to commit extortion, dacoity, etc. Thus an energetic criticism of a Government measure, a religious riot, a Hindu-Mohammedan quarrel, extortion for private purposes or professional dacoity may all come to be recognized as having connection with a revolutionary movement, once a suspicion gains ground that such a movement is in existence.

What is the nature of this speedy trial? We must give it in the words of the mover of the Bill. These trials are to be conducted "expeditiously without commitment, and with no right of appeal, and may take place *in camera.*" The court may sit for the whole or any part of a trial at any place in the province as it may consider desirable, and at the instance of the Advocate-General, at some place other than the usual sitting place of the High Court.

Section 7 provides that the Criminal Procedure Code, in so far as it may be inconsistent with Part I of the Act under discussion, shall not be applicable to the trials under it. Section 8 reduces the procedure to be adopted at the trials that may involve even the death penalty to that adopted for the "trial of warrant cases by magistrates". The accused is entitled to ask for one adjournment only, at the most for fourteen days. Section 18 brushes aside two most important sections of the Evidence Act. Sections 32 and 33 of the Indian Evidence Act provide that a dead witness's statement can be accepted, *inter alia*, only if it is against his pecuniary interests and has been previously subjected to cross-examination. Both these safeguards are done away with under Section 18, if the person making the statement before a magistrate is dead or cannot be found or is incapable of giving evidence and the court is satisfied that such death, disappearance or incapacity has been caused in the interest of the accused. This is a section which is capable of bringing about a complete abortion of justice. It is a most difficult thing for a court to know when disappearance or incapacity, even death, has taken place in the interest of the accused. The life of an innocent man may, therefore, be easily in jeopardy on the strength of an interested statement of a person who has never been cross-examined.

Under Section 17, judgments pronounced at such trials are held to be final, subject neither to appeal nor to revision. It has been urged that neither the partial suspension of safeguards provided by the Criminal Procedure Code or the Evidence Act, nor

the deprivation of the right of appeal or revision need cause uneasiness, because the court shall be composed of three members, who shall have served as permanent judges of the High Court. As we shall show in the course of our examination of the events of April last, the fact of High Court Judges constituting a special bench is an illusory comfort when the High Court atmosphere is withdrawn. The highest judge is capable of making a mistake in assessing evidence, or applying the law thereto, especially when he is unaided by the controlling influence of a well thought out code of procedure or rules of evidence.

So much for Part I of the Rowlatt Act. It is punitive in character. Part II deals with preventive measures and is, therefore, as the mover[1] of the Bill practically admitted, more open to attack. Whereas Part I contemplates the actual commission of scheduled offences, Part II authorizes the Governor-General-in-Council, if he is satisfied that revolutionary movements likely to lead to the commission of scheduled offences are being extensively promoted, to notify that the provisions of Part II shall apply in the area specified. Therefore, Section 22 enables the local government, where it has reasonable grounds for believing that any person is or has been actually concerned in a revolutionary movement, to place all the materials relating to such a case before a Judicial officer who is qualified for appointment to a High Court and to take his opinion thereon. Thereafter, if the local government is satisfied that action under Part II is necessary, it may take security from such person for a period not exceeding one year, that he will not commit or attempt to commit any of the scheduled offences, that he shall not change his residence without notifying the Government, that he shall be restricted to a particular area, shall abstain from any act calculated to disturb the public peace or prejudicial to public safety and shall report himself at the nearest police station at specified periods.

Section 24 authorizes the Government to use "all means reasonably necessary to enforce compliance with its orders". Thus, upon mere suspicion, the most respectable man may find himself entirely at the mercy of the police. If this is prevention, it is worse than the disease, and a prevention itself calculated to produce the very disease sought to be prevented.

This Part II creates a special machinery intended to check the local government. It is called the investigating authority. This authority has to revise the orders of the local government

[1] Sir William Vincent

passed under Section 22, and, for that purpose, has to hold an enquiry, not at its option, but compulsorily *in camera*.

> Such authority shall in every case allow the person in question a reasonable opportunity of appearing before it at some stage of its proceedings and shall, if he so appears, explain to him the nature of the charge made against him.

The Section 26 from which we have quoted specially provides that the person so charged shall not be represented by pleader, "nor shall the local government be so entitled". It charges this authority not to "disclose to the person in question any fact the communication of which might endanger the public safety or the safety of any individual". If the "person in question"—be it noted that the ordinary phraseology adopted for describing such persons, viz., "the accused", has been omitted in this part, and yet the person in question has to go through all the disadvantages of a trial without any single one of its real safeguards—

> requests the investigating authority to secure the attendance of any person or the production of any document or thing, such authority shall, unless for reasons to be recorded in writing it thinks it unnecessary so to do, cause such person to attend, or such document or thing to be produced.

As if all this travesty of justice was not complete, Section 26 further provides that "In making the inquiry, such authority shall not be bound to observe the rules of the Law of Evidence." We make bold to say that even a mind saturated with judicial tradition cannot do even-handed justice, if it is surrounded with the licentious conditions created by the section quoted.

Section 27 regulates the disposal of the report of the investigating authority and it shows that the report has no binding effect upon the Government. The same section enables the Government to prolong the period under the original order to a further twelve months. Finally, the investigating authority is to consist of "three persons of whom two shall be persons having held judicial office not inferior to that of a District and Sessions Judge and one shall be a person not in the service of the Crown in India."

If Part II is worse than Part I, again, in the words of the mover, "Part III is more drastic." By way of solace, Sir William Vincent adds:

> It can, however, only come into operation when the Governor-General-in-Council is satisfied that scheduled offences have been or are being committed to such an extent as to endanger the public safety.

Part I applies when scheduled offences are prevalent to such an extent that it is expedient in the interests of the public safety

to provide for the speedy trial of such offences. Part III applies when such offences are so prevalent as to endanger the public safety. The line of demarcation is thus very thin, and yet Part III, Section 34, enables the local government to bring the case of a suspected person before a judicial officer and after considering that officer's opinion it may make any order authorized under Section 22 in Part II and may further direct the arrest, without warrant, of any suspected person, and his confinement under such conditions and restrictions as it may desire, provided that the confinement is not one specially set apart for convicted prisoners, and it may also direct the search of any place specified in the order. Then, when orders are passed, the course to be adopted is the same as under Part II, and thus, subject to the so-called investigation by the investigating authority, the person arrested may have to remain under confinement for two years without a proper trial. And when it is remembered that the Act has been passed not in order that a single suspected person may occasionally be placed under confinement, but that it is intentionally designed to affect large bodies of people at a time of anxiety and excitement, it is not difficult to picture to oneself a reign, not of law and order, but of organized terror and disorder, or Martial Law without the name.

Part IV applies to persons already dealt with under the Defence of India Act and whom it brings automatically under the provisions of Part II and to persons in confinement in accordance with the provisions of the Bengal State Prisoners' Regulation and brings them under Part III. It also brings under Part II persons affected by the Ingress into India Ordinance[1] upon its expiry.

Supposing that the notifications about affected area issued under Parts I, II and III are cancelled, Part V provides that, notwithstanding such cancellation, any "trial or investigation or order commenced or made under this Act, such trial, investigation or order may be continued or enforced and on the completion of any such investigation any order which might otherwise have been made, may be made, and enforced as if such notification had not been cancelled." It also authorizes the arrest of any person affected by Part III outside the area in British India in which Part III is not applicable and such person so arrested is then governed by the same procedure as in Part III, as if Part III for him was in force throughout British India.

[1] Passed in 1914, restricting the liberty of any person entering India

Section 42 provides that orders made under the Act shall not be called in question in any court and "no suit or prosecution or other legal proceeding shall lie against any person for anything which is in good faith done under this Act. The last section provides that the powers given by the Act are to be cumulative and not in derogation of any other powers conferred upon the local government.

It is this Act which raised a storm of opposition unknown before in India. It has been contended on behalf of the Government that there has been misrepresentation and exaggeration in connection with the Act. We hold that the Act hardly lends itself to popular misrepresentation. It has certainly been misrepresented on the official side. A typical exaggeration that we have seen complained of is a cryptic phrase, "*na appeal, na dalil, na vakeel*", meaning "no appeal, no argument, no pleader". In our opinion, if this is the worst description of the Act on the popular side, it far underrates its evils, rather than overstates them. In our opinion, no self-respecting person can tolerate what is an outrage upon society. The crime of the Government became complete when they persisted in it in the face of unanimous popular opposition. We would note, too, that the Viceroy has sufficient powers by means of ordinances to deal with extraordinary situations. The Government were wholly unjustified in placing on the statute-book, on the eve of liberal reforms[1], an extraordinary measure to deal with anarchy, as if anarchy had been endemic instead of being rare in India.

CHAPTER IV

SATYAGRAHA

It was in order to combat the Rowlatt Act, which had raised a storm of unprecedented opposition inside the Council Chamber from the Indian members and outside from the Indian Press, that Mr. Gandhi launched out his satyagraha movement.

People have only a hazy notion of what satyagraha is and how it is applied. We therefore give it in the words of its author, who has prepared for us a special note upon it:

> 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.

[1] The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms embodied in the Government of India Act, 1919

The term satyagraha was coined by me in South Africa[1] to express the force that the Indians there used for full eight years[2], 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.

Its root meaning is 'holding on to truth'; hence, truth-force. I have also called it love-force or soul-force. In the application 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 one's own self.

Satyagraha differs from passive resistance as the North Pole from the 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.

When Daniel disregarded the laws of the Medes and Persians which offended his conscience, and meekly suffered the punishment for his disobedience, he offered satyagraha in its purest form. Socrates would not refrain from preaching what he knew to be the truth to the Athenian youth, and bravely suffered the punishment of death. He was, in this case, a satyagrahi. Prahlad[3] disregarded the orders of his father, because he considered them to be repugnant to his conscience. He uncomplainingly and cheerfully bore the tortures to which he was subjected at the instance of his father. Mirabai[4] is said to have offended her husband by following her own conscience, was content to live in separation from him and bore with quiet dignity and resignation all the injuries that are said to have been done to her in order to bend her to her husband's will. Both Prahlad and Mirabai practised satyagraha. It must be remembered, that neither Daniel nor Socrates, neither Prahlad nor Mirabai had any

[1] *Vide* Vol. VIII, pp. 131-2.
[2] 1906 to 1914
[3] A devotee of God persecuted by his unbelieving father
[4] Medieval saint-poetess of Rajasthan, queen of Mewar

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ill will towards their persecutors. Daniel and Socrates are regarded as having been model citizens of the States to which they belonged, Prahlad a model son, Mirabai a model wife.

This doctrine of satyagraha is not new; it is merely an extension of the rule of domestic life to the political. Family disputes and differences are generally settled according to the law of love. The injured member has so much regard for the others that he suffers injury for the sake of his principles without retaliating and without being angry with those who differ from him. And as repression of anger and self-suffering are difficult processes, he does not dignify trifles into principles, but, in all non-essentials, readily agrees with the rest of the family, and thus contrives to gain the maximum of peace for himself without disturbing that of the others. Thus his action, whether he resists or resigns, is always calculated to promote the common welfare of the family. It is this law of love which, silently but surely, governs the family for the most part throughout the civilized world.

I feel that nations cannot be one in reality, nor can their activities be conducive to the common good of the whole humanity, unless there is this definite recognition and acceptance of the law of the family in national and international affairs, in other words, on the political platform. Nations can be called civilized only to the extent that they obey this law.

This law of love is nothing but a law of truth. Without truth there is no love; without truth it may be affection, as for one's country, to the injury of others; or infatuation, as of a young man for a girl; or love may be unreasoning and blind, as of ignorant parents for their children. Love transcends all animality and is never partial. Satyagraha has therefore been described as a coin, on whose face you read love and on the reverse you read truth. It is a coin current everywhere and has indefinable value.

Satyagraha is self-dependent. It does not require the assent of the opponent before it can be brought into play. Indeed, it shines out most when the opponent resists. It is therefore irresistible. A satyagrahi does not know what defeat is, for he fights for truth without being exhausted. Death in the fight is a deliverance, and prison a gateway to liberty.

It is called also soul-force, because a definite recognition of the soul within is a necessity if a satyagrahi is to believe that death does not mean cessation of the struggle

but a culmination. The body is merely a vehicle for self-expression; and he gladly gives up the body, when its existence is an obstruction in the way of the opponent seeing the truth, for which the satyagrahi stands. He gives up the body in the certain faith that if anything would change his opponent's view, a willing sacrifice of his body must do so. And with the knowledge that the soul survives the body, he is not impatient to see the triumph of truth in the present body. Indeed, victory lies in the ability to die in the attempt to make the opponent see the truth, which the satyagrahi for the time being expresses.

And as a satyagrahi never injures his opponent and always appeals, either to his reason by gentle argument, or his heart by the sacrifice of self, satyagraha is twice blessed; it blesses him who practises it, and him against whom it is practised.

It has however been objected that satyagraha, as we conceive it, can be practised only by a select few. My experience proves the contrary. Once its simple principles—adherence to truth and insistence upon it by self-suffering—are understood, anybody can practise it. It is as difficult or as easy to practise as any other virtue. It is as little necessary for its practice that everyone should understand the whole philosophy of it, as it is for the practice of total abstinence.

After all, no one disputes the necessity of insisting on truth as one sees it. And it is easy enough to understand that it is vulgar to attempt to compel the opponent to its acceptance by using brute force; it is discreditable to submit to error, because argument has failed to convince, and that the only true and honourable course is not to submit to it even at the cost of one's life. Then only can the world be purged of error, if it ever can be altogether. There can be no compromise with error where it hurts the vital being.

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 lawgiver by way of petitions and the like, the only remedy open to you, if you do not wish to submit to it, is to compel him to retrace his steps by suffering in your own person, i.e., 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.

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The criminal, i.e., the ordinary 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 lawgiver, 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 [is] 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 took no steps to further the idea beyond publishing the following message on the 24th March last at Madras:[1]

[1] The message was dated March 23; *vide* Vol. XV, pp. 145-6.

Satyagraha, as I have endeavoured to explain at several meetings, is essentially a religious movement. It is a process of purification and penance. It seeks to secure reforms or redress of grievances by self-suffering. I therefore venture to suggest that the second Sunday after the publication of the Viceregal assent to Bill No. 2 of 1919 (i.e., 6th April) may be observed as a day of humiliation and prayer. As there must be an effective public demonstration in keeping with the character of the observance, I beg to advise as follows:

(i) A twenty-four hours' fast, counting from the last meal on the preceding night, should be observed by all adults, unless prevented from so doing by considerations of religion or health. The fast is not to be regarded, in any shape or form, in the nature of a hunger-strike, or as designed to put any pressure upon the Government. It is to be regarded for the satyagrahis as a necessary discipline to fit them for civil disobedience, contemplated in their pledge, and for all others, as some slight token of the intensity of their wounded feelings.

(ii) All work, except such as may be necessary in the public interest, should be suspended for the day. Markets and other business places should be closed. Employees who are required to work even on Sundays, may only suspend work after obtaining previous leave.

I do not hesitate to recommend these two suggestions for adoption by public servants. For, though it is unquestionably the right thing for them not to take part in political discussion and gatherings, in my opinion they have an undoubted right to express, upon vital matters, their feelings in the very limited manner herein suggested.

(iii) Public meetings should be held on that day in all parts of India, not excluding villages, at which resolutions praying for the withdrawal of the two measures should be passed.

If my advice is deemed worthy of acceptance, the responsibility will lie, in the first instance, on the various satyagraha associations for undertaking the necessary work of organization, but all other associations will, I hope, join hands in making this demonstration a success.

The doctrine of satyagraha as explained by Mr. Gandhi seems to be clear and intelligible as a theoretical proposition. But, we think that it is not easy, as it may appear at first sight, to reduce it to practice in every walk of life. For the practice of such satyagraha a large amount of discipline in patience and self-control is necessary. And these are the qualities that are in practice found to be most lacking, when they are most needed. Satyagraha to be acceptable as a doctrine of everyday life by a large number of people must be capable of being practised by the average human being; and the average man is more prone to resort to violence

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than to sacrifice himself, when he is chafing under a sense of wrong. Mr. Gandhi's answer is that the average man does exercise such patience in the family circle, and Mr. Gandhi only asks for its extension to the political circle.

In any case, this is not the place where we need examine the feasibility of the doctrine any further than we have done. This much is clear that the preaching of an innocuous doctrine of this nature can only do good to society. And it is our firm belief, based on our examination of hundreds of men, that, had not the spirit of satyagraha permeated the people who took part in the agitation, the results would have been infinitely more disastrous than they were. The exemplary self-control exercised by the people in the other parts of India shows, not that they are vitally different in temperament from the Punjabis, but that the restraining influence of satyagraha was powerful enough to control the anger of the people against the action of the Government in forcing the Rowlatt Act upon India. If the people had been able to vent their resentment without disregarding restraint and discipline in offering disobedience to the laws of the State, it is highly likely that the Government would have long ere this yielded to the people's will.

But the restraining influence of satyagraha proved unequal to the strain put upon it by the Punjab Government. Had Sir M. O'Dwyer recognized the sobering effect of satyagraha and cooperated with the people, as did the Governments of the other provinces in a more or less perfect manner, the terrible sufferings of the Punjab would have been avoided, and the history of the past few months would have been differently written.

We admit that satyagraha, if properly practised, would render government of people by brute force an impossibility, and that, therefore, an effective enforcement of laws disliked by the people would be difficult, if not altogether impossible. But that can be no ground of complaint in a state whose constitution requires the assent of the governed to their government in a given manner.

It only remains for us to examine whether satyagraha was responsible for the murders, arson, and pillage that took place in the Punjab. The preaching of satyagraha, as we have shown, could never produce violence in any shape or form, for it is negation of violence. The preaching of the civil disobedience form of satyagraha, however, can easily lend itself to misinterpretation, and can only be cautiously undertaken. We recognize the necessity for the utmost caution in advocating civil resistance. It is easy enough to undermine respect for law, but it is not equally easy to inculcate

suffering involved in civil, i.e., non-violent disobedience of the laws of a state. Civil resistance can therefore only be preached where the ground has been previously prepared for self-suffering. We had to note that Mr. Gandhi frankly, and we think rightly, admitted his error in prematurely embarking on mass civil disobedience, and immediately suspended his movement.[1]

In the Punjab, however, the civil resistance part of satyagraha was neither appreciated nor understood, much less practised. The hartal, as such, has nothing to do with civil resistance. It may be a part of satyagraha, if it is voluntary, free from all violence and resorted to not to express ill will against, but disapprobation of the acts of a wrongdoer. Moreover, hartal is an age-old institution in India, resorted to by people under the very conditions in which it was applied in the Punjab during April. Neither satyagraha nor hartal, therefore, had anything to do with the mob excesses. What led to them will be considered in the following pages.

CHAPTER V

THE MARTIAL LAW

PART I : GENERAL

We have followed Sir Michael O'Dwyer's administration with regard to his treatment of the educated classes and his recruiting methods. We have endeavoured to show how Sir Michael O'Dwyer estranged all classes of Punjabis from him. We have also described in sufficient detail the Rowlatt Act and its consequences. We have shown, too, the nature of the agitation that took place throughout the length and breadth of India for its repeal. We have given, in the language of its author, the principles of satyagraha, and we think we have shown sufficiently clearly that the Rowlatt Act agitation, which crystallized into shape on the 6th April, produced no violence whatsoever, and that satyagraha, as conceived and applied by its author, is singularly free from violence; indeed, its propagation and acceptance can only result in greater peace and security of life and property. We have shown, too, that the Rowlatt Act agitation and satyagraha had likewise enabled the people to realize their power, and had energized them. The people in the Punjab had no love for the Government, as represented by Sir Michael O'Dwyer. They were thoroughly discontented. This discontentment became intensified by reason of

[1] In July, 1919

high prices. They had expected better times in every way after the War. On the contrary, the termination of hostilities brought into prominent relief their own precarious position. The unrest thus caused was aggravated by the Khilafat agitation, the Mohammedans, not without just cause, distrusting the intentions of the British Government.

In order properly to understand the events of April last, it is necessary to bear in mind the foregoing facts, which are scarcely capable of being disputed.

The Punjab had a complete hartal on the 6th April. It was a scene unparalleled in the Punjab, and, for that matter, in India. On that day, the leaders and the people seemed to act as one man. There was complete fraternization between Hindus and Mohammedans. Resolutions were passed all over, protesting against the Rowlatt Act and demanding its repeal. The demonstration of the 6th of April was a peaceful assertion of the people's will.

This, however, proved too much for Sir Michael O'Dwyer. He scented danger to the British Rule in both the hartal and the Hindu-Mohammedan unity. To him it was an anti-British combination that must be broken at any cost. Even the prosecution against the Lahore leaders dignified their peaceful acts by the name of "conspiracy and waging war". The *precis* of the Lahore case, prepared by the convening authority, proceeds :

> The measure commonly known as the Rowlatt Bill was passed by the Imperial Council on 18th March, 1919. Thereupon, a general conspiracy was formed by persons outside the Punjab, with whom the accused associated, to hold tumultuous meetings, and to ordain a general strike with the intention and object of inflaming popular feeling against Government, and to so overawe it as to try to induce the vetoing of the measure. Accordingly, throughout India, and in the Punjab in particular, the said conspirators, including the accused, declared a general strike, commonly known as a hartal, to take place on the 30th March, intending thereby to induce disorder, paralyse the economic life of the country, and excite disaffection and hatred towards Government.

Then follows a general statement of several meetings, called in the *precis* "riotous assembly", and this is followed by two paragraphs which we must give in the words of the Government draftsman :

> On the 9th April, in pursuance of the conspiracy to excite disaffection and feelings of enmity against Government, and on the occasion of the

> *Ramnavmi*[1] procession, the accused, Rambhuj Dutt, Gokal Chand, Dharm Das Suri and Duni Chand and others encouraged the fraternization of Hindus and Mohammedans against the Government as by law established. On the 10th April, the Government of the Punjab, with a view to maintaining peace and order, prevented the ingress of one of the conspirators, by name Gandhi, into the province, and, on the same date, ordered the deportation of two other conspirators from Amritsar, by name Kitchlew and Satyapal. These precautionary measures of Government for the preservation of peace and order were seized upon by the conspirators as a signal to wage war against the King.

We cite these paragraphs to emphasize the points made by us, viz., that the hartal, the meetings preceding and following it, and the fraternization of Hindus and Mohammedans were interpreted as a menace to the Government. Nor was this treatment of the hartal and the fraternization an afterthought. Sir Michael O'Dwyer had expressed himself in plain language on the 7th April. We have already quoted from his speech of that day. He had met the Hon'ble Raizada Bhagat Ram, a barrister of Jullundur. He expressed his strong disapproval of the hartal to him also, as will appear from the statement submitted by him. Raizada Bhagat Ram says :

> After the meeting (of the Punjab Legislative Council) I met the Lieutenant-Governor in the drawing-room. He asked me what sort of a hartal we had at Jullundur. I replied it was a complete hartal, and that there was no disturbance. Sir M. O'Dwyer asked me what I attributed it to. I answered, "To my mind it was due to the soul-force of Mr. Gandhi." On this, Sir Michael raised his fist and said, "Raizada Sahib, remember, there is another force greater than Gandhi's soul-force." (Statement 650.)

Thus Sir Michael was determined to crush all political consciousness by any means he could think of. He was prepared to goad the people to madness. How he partially succeeded we shall see presently.

The Martial Law

PART II : AMRITSAR

We shall take Amritsar first, as it was there that the goading process took place. Amritsar is second in importance to Lahore, though in many respects it is more important even than Lahore. Its population numbers 160,000. It is the city of the Golden

[1] Ninth day of the waxing moon in the month of *Chaitra*, according to *Vikrama* calendar, celebrated as the birthday of Lord Rama

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Temple, the greatest place of Sikh worship. Being the largest commercial centre in the Punjab, and having the Golden Temple, it attracts travellers and visitors from all parts of the Punjab and even from outside.

About the middle of April marks the Hindu New Year's Day, when in Amritsar there takes place also a cattle fair. The New Year's Day is called the *Baisakhi*, the occasion being both religious and commercial. Every year it draws crowds from far and near. The *Baisakhi* is preceded by the *Ramnaumi* celebration.

Amritsar observed the 6th of April in a thorough manner; the Mohammedans, the Sikhs and the other Hindus belonging to all grades observed complete hartal. It was spontaneous and voluntary. The behaviour of the crowd was unexceptionable and there were no accidents to regret or to report.

The ninth April was the *Ramnaumi* day. It is principally a Hindu religious function. But this time it was used for Hindu-Mohammedan unity. The Mohammedans took a leading part in it. Dr. Kitchlew and Dr. Satyapal were among the organizers of the fraternization. Long before this, the two leaders had risen into prominence by their public services.

Dr. Saif-ud-din Kitchlew is a Mohammedan barrister enjoying a considerable practice. He is a Doctor of Philosophy of Munster and a graduate of Cambridge. He was also a student at Aligarh. He is 35 years old, is married and has got two children. He has interested himself for several years in Hindu-Mohammedan unity.

Dr. Satyapal is a Hindu, Khatri by caste. He is a B.A.,M.B., of the Punjab University. He held the King's Commission for one year at Aden during the War as Lt., I.M.S. He was a co-worker with Dr. Kitchlew and became popular by reason of having carried on a successful agitation against the stoppage of the issue of platform tickets to Indians at the Amritsar Railway Station. Both became much more popular during the Rowlatt agitation, and both approved of satyagraha. There is no doubt that at Amritsar, as elsewhere, the Rowlatt agitation began to draw much larger audiences than before, and as the agitation gathered force, by their continuous activity they became the idols of the people.

Dr. Satyapal was prohibited on the 29th March, 1919, under orders of the Government of the Punjab from speaking in public and he was interned in Amritsar.

As has been observed in the previous chapter, hartal was observed in some parts of India on the 30th of March also. It was observed that day in Amritsar.

The meeting of the 30th March at Amritsar, according to official accounts, is said to have been attended by from 30,000 to 35,000 persons, but all accounts agree that it passed off without a single untoward incident. The speakers at the meeting emphasized the peaceful and religious character of the function. These are the closing words of Dr. Kitchlew :

> We will be ever prepared to sacrifice personal over national interests. The message of Mahatma Gandhi has been read to you. All countrymen should become prepared for resistance. This does not mean that this sacred town or country should be flooded with blood. The resistance should be a passive one. Be ready to act according to your conscience, though this may send you to jail, or bring an order of internment on you.

Again :

> Do not cause pain or distress to anyone. Go home peacefully. Take a walk in the garden. Do not use harsh words in respect of any policeman, or traitor, which might cause him pain or lead to the possibility of a breach of the peace or a riot.

But Sir Michael O'Dwyer was much ruffled by the hartal and the meeting at Amritsar. He, therefore, served on Dr. Kitchlew also the same order as on Dr. Satyapal. The order is dated the 3rd April and reads that

> he shall until further orders (a) remain and reside within the municipal limits of Amritsar City; (b) refrain from communicating, either directly or indirectly, with the Press; and (c) refrain from convening or attending or addressing in writing or otherwise any public meeting.

Pandit Kotu Mal, Pandit Dina Nath[1] and Swami Anubhavanand were also similarly restricted. These orders had undoubtedly agitated the public mind, but the people were not unnerved by them. There was, therefore, another complete hartal on the 6th April, and a meeting larger still than the one held on the 30th March. Mr. Badrul Islam Khan, a barrister of Amritsar, presided at the meeting which is said to have been attended by 50,000 people. Quoting again from the official record, the meeting passed a resolution requesting the Government that the orders against Dr. Satyapal and others might be rescinded. The burden of the speeches in connection with the orders will be found in the following sentence, which we extract from the report before us :

> The only fault found with them is, that they informed all of us of the real object of the Rowlatt Act.

[1] Editor, *Waqat*, Amritsar

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A resolution asking for the repeal of the Rowlatt Act was also passed. The president in concluding the proceedings said:

> Today's meeting has been held more successfully even than the meeting of Sunday last. Your object as to the expression of opinion has been accomplished. At this time people should not exhibit passions, but they should be patient. Mahatma Gandhi's advice is : in this struggle we will patiently bear grief and sorrow and thus save ourselves from violence and harshness. Falsehood will fail and truth shall win. If you preserve peace of mind, patience and forbearance the meeting shall have vast effect. But if there is the least disturbance, and even two men fight with each other, this will entail bad results and the meeting will have no effect. The audience is therefore requested to leave the meeting-place very calmly and not to make any sort of procession.

The report from which we have quoted the above passage and which is dated the 8th April concludes:

> The public fully complied with the directions of the president.

The 9th of April, as already stated, was the great *Ramnaumi* day. The leaders had decided that there should be complete fraternization between Hindus and Mohammedans on that occasion. The *Ramnaumi* is usually a religious function, but the Mohammedans having decided to take part in it, it undoubtedly assumed a larger significance. It was a big procession, in which a large number of Mohammedans took part. Dr. Kitchlew and Dr. Satyapal witnessed the procession from different places and received a great ovation from it as it went past them. The Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar also watched the procession, and as the various band parties passed him they struck up *God Save the King*. And again in spite of the great demonstration, there was no regrettable incident and no accident.

All this popular demonstration and unfoldment of national consciousness would have gladdened any ruler with imagination and sympathy with popular aspirations. It only enraged Sir Michael O'Dwyer. He was angry that his orders, referred to by us, instead of cowing down the people had only made them bolder and more articulate in their demands. Therefore, practically at the same time that the popular demonstration was going on in an orderly, perfectly constitutional manner, an order was being forged in the Punjab Government Secretariat, which was to destroy and disturb the people's peace; for the Lieutenant-Governor had decided to deport Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal. The orders were received at Amritsar late at night on the 9th April, and Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal were sent for on the 10th April

by the Deputy Commissioner, who served the orders on them and sent them away to an unknown destination in a motor-car. The news spread throughout Amritsar like lightning. A crowd immediately gathered together. It was a crowd of mourners—bareheaded, many unshod, and all without sticks. It was on its way to the Deputy Commissioner's bungalow to plead for the release of its loved ones. It marched through the principal streets of Amritsar, passed by the National Bank, the Town Hall and the Christian Mission Hall, the very buildings which within a short time were to be destroyed by some of them. Its progress was, however, stopped at the railway-carriage over-bridge which was guarded by a military picket. The men demanded passage and said that they wanted to go to the Deputy Commissioner's bungalow to make *faryad*—a prayer. They pushed forward, the picket fell back a little. They advanced, the military fired, killing and wounding some of them; whereon the crowd fell back. It was now no longer a peaceful crowd. It was a crowd foiled in its effort to secure the release of its leaders, and exasperated at the wounding and the killing of some of its members. These enraged men went to the railway foot-bridge and some to the Hall Bazaar, carrying the killed and the wounded. The sight of the wounded persons and dead bodies inflamed the citizens who saw them. Within a short time, a large crowd was again seen near the carriage over-bridge and the foot-bridge. This time it had armed itself with sticks and pieces of wood. Both the bridges were guarded by the military.

Meanwhile, the members of the Bar, having heard of the uproar, had offered their services to the Deputy Commissioner with a view to intervention. They were permitted to intervene. On their arrival, Mr. Plomer, the Deputy Superintendent of Police, Amritsar, told them that a big crowd had gone towards the railway yard. Some, therefore, went in that direction and some remained near the bridges. Those that went to the railway yard succeeded in clearing the crowd from it. Near the carriage over-bridge, however, the position was more difficult. Messrs Salaria and Maqbool Mahmood were trying, on the one hand, to reason with the crowd, and, on the other hand, to restrain the authorities from firing. At one time it appeared as if they would succeed, but some persons in the crowd threw stones or pieces of wood at the military, who instantly fired, killing about twenty persons and wounding many. Messrs Salaria and Maqbool Mahmood had themselves a narrow escape. The officer in charge expressed his regret for ordering the fire whilst they were in the crowd

and trying to help the authorities by persuading the crowd to disperse. Mr. Maqbool Mahmood then went to the Civil Hospital and brought Dr. Dhanpat Rai to render first aid to the wounded. The stretchers were brought from the hospital, but it is said that Mr. Plomer sent them away, saying that the people would make their own arrangements. Some of the wounded were taken to Dr. Kidar Nath's house. He was living very near to the Zenana Hospital. It is stated that Mrs. Easdon[1], on seeing the wounded, laughed and said that the Hindus and the Mohammedans had got what they deserved. Upon this, a party forced its way into the hospital and tried to find out Mrs. Easdon, but she was in the meanwhile concealed by Mrs. Benjamin and was only thus able to escape the mob. The excited mob sacked the National Bank and murdered Mr. Stewart, the manager, and Mr. Scott, the accountant. Those who had gone to the goods shed murdered Mr. Robinson, the railway guard. The mob attacked the Alliance Bank and upon Mr. Thomson, the manager, firing revolver shots, became infuriated and murdered him, threw down his body and burnt the corpse with the Bank furniture. Sergeant Rowland, the Cantonment electrician, was killed near the Rigo Bridge. The Town Hall, the Post Office and the Mission Hall were burnt, and so was a part of the Bhagtanwala Railway Station. An attack was attempted on the Chartered Bank also, but no serious damage was done to it, the Indian staff of the Bank saving the situation. Miss Sherwood[2] who was cycling was brutally attacked, but she was rescued by the father of one of her Indian pupils. The crowd, there is little doubt, contained the usual badmash (hooligan) element, which seeing the opportunity resorted to looting the National Bank godowns. We might mention here that since then some policemen had been apprehended for being in possession of property stolen from the banks. The whole of the destruction and looting was finished before 5 p.m. on the 10th April.

The provocation given by the deportation of their beloved leaders to the people of Amritsar was grave and uncalled for. This was doubled when the unarmed crowd was prevented from proceeding on its peaceful errand, and upon becoming insistent was fired on. It is necessary here to recall and emphasize the fact that up to the time of reaching the carriage over-bridge and the firing on it, the mob had committed no violence. It is difficult to say what would have happened if the mob had been allowed to pro-

[1] A lady doctor in the Municipal Zenana Hospital

[2] An Englishwoman who worked in the local Mission School

ceed to the Deputy Commissioner's bungalow and there had its prayer rejected, as it was likely to be. It would have largely depended on the way the Deputy Commissioner dealt with them. It must be granted that the crowd was in an assertive mood, and if the authorities thought that the crowd would have acted in a violent manner, we are not prepared to blame them for checking its advance. Our study of the evidence led before the Martial Law Commissions, of the official evidence led before Lord Hunter's Committee[1] and the evidence collected by us, leads to the conclusion that there was no warrant for the firing. The authorities omitted all the intermediate stages that are usually resorted to in all civilized countries. There was no parleying, no humouring, and no use of milder force. Immediately the crowd became insistent, the order to fire was given. In this country, it has become too much the custom with the executive and the military never to run any risk, or, to put it in another way, to count Indian life very cheap.

This is what Mr. Maqbool Mahmood, High Court Vakil, who together with Mr. Salaria was trying to reason with the crowd, says with reference to the second firing:

> Salaria and I shouted out to the Deputy Commissioner and the officers to get back and not to fire, as we still hoped to take the crowd back. A few of the crowd threw wood and stones at the soldiers. The soldiers at once opened a volley of fire without any warning or intimation. Bullets whistled to my right and left. The crowd dispersed, leaving 20 or 25 killed and wounded. After the firing stopped, I went up to the soldiers and enquired if they had an ambulance car, or any first-aid arrangements at hand. I wanted to run to the hospital, which was close by, for help. The soldiers would not allow me. Mr. Seymour, however, let me go. . . . The Deputy Commissioner himself was present when the fire was opened. He knew that Salaria and I were members of the Bar, and were trying to get the people back to the city. It was by mere accident that our lives were saved. I still believe, if the authorities had a little more patience, we would have succeeded in taking the crowd back. It is a matter of regret that, when the authorities decided to fire, they did not make any arrangement for an ambulance car or first aid. I believe some of the wounded might have been saved if timely medical assistance had been forthcoming. After the first few shots, the crowd rushed back, but the firing was continued even after they began running away. Many

[1] The Punjab Disorders Inquiry Committee, appointed by the Government of India in October 1919, under the chairmanship of Lord Hunter

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of them were hit on the back. Most of the wounded were hit above the belt, on the face or on the head. (Statement 5, pp. 30 & 31.)

It should be remembered that the mob had not yet indulged in excesses. There was, therefore, no occasion for impatience, indifference or callousness, which, according to this witness, was evidently the case.

Whilst, therefore, we deplore the deportation order and the firing, and consider both as unjustifiable, and the absence of any ambulance arrangement as inhuman, nothing can be held to justify the wanton destruction by the mob of the innocent lives and properties. The bank managers were deservedly popular. The others who were murdered were unknown to the crowd and totally innocent. Miss Sherwood was a devoted Christian teacher and no remarks, however objectionable, that might have been made by Mrs. Easdon, could warrant the proceedings of the mob. The destruction of the buildings was utterly mad, and we cannot help saying that all the good that had been done by the wonderful self-restraint previously exercised by the Amritsar people was undone by these wild and unworthy acts of the mob.

Could these excesses have been prevented? Could innocent lives have been saved? What were the police doing? The *Kotwali* (Police Station) is a portion of the same block as the Town Hall. There were sufficient numbers of the police force at the *Kotwali*. The crowd did not touch the *Kotwali*, whilst it burnt the adjoining Town Hall with impunity. Most of the other buildings burnt were within a stone's throw of the *Kotwali*. The police had also intimation of the fact that the banks were being set fire to. It was clearly the duty of the police to have bestirred themselves and, even at the peril of their lives, at least tried to save the Englishmen who were murdered.

This murder and incendiarism came upon the authorities with such suddenness that they were unnerved for the time being. Mr. Kitchin was sent post-haste from Lahore by the Lieutenant-Governor. He says in his evidence before the Hunter Committee that he met people on the road. He motored unmolested to Amritsar which is about 35 miles from Lahore. This was in the afternoon at about 4 p.m. on the 10th April. At night at about 11, a troop train came with troops under Major MacDonald. Mr. Kitchin told him "that the situation was beyond their control and that he should take such steps as the military situation demanded." He says further in his evidence that "he advised him to send a suitable force into the city and get information, or

bring the survivors, which was done." "Why was not a civil magistrate sent?" asked Lord Hunter. Mr. Kitchin replied:

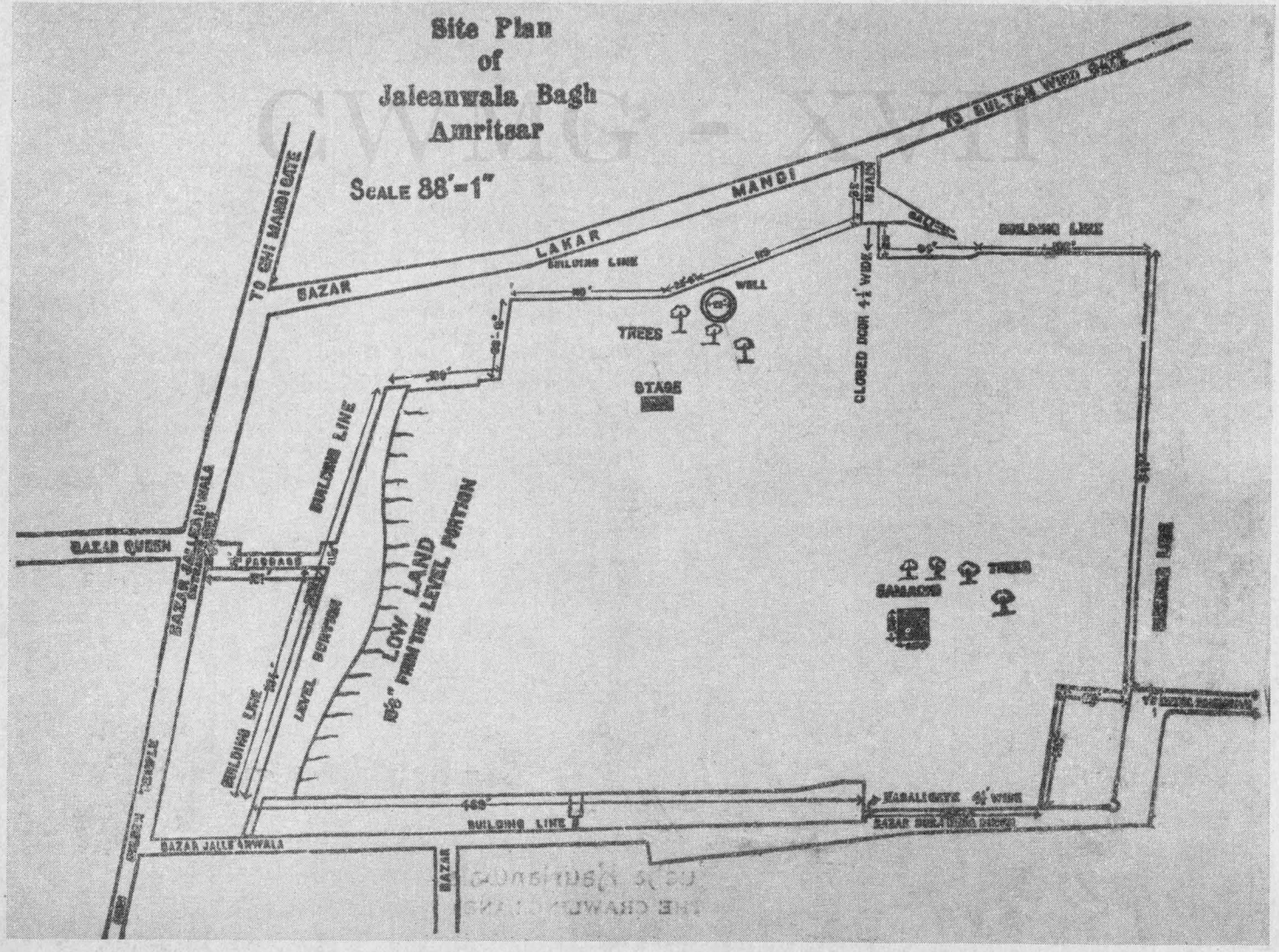
> I expected that the party would have to fight their way and the presence of a civil magistrate would naturally embarrass what was purely a military operation . . . The survivors were brought out and the *Kotwali* was reinforced without any resistance or fighting.

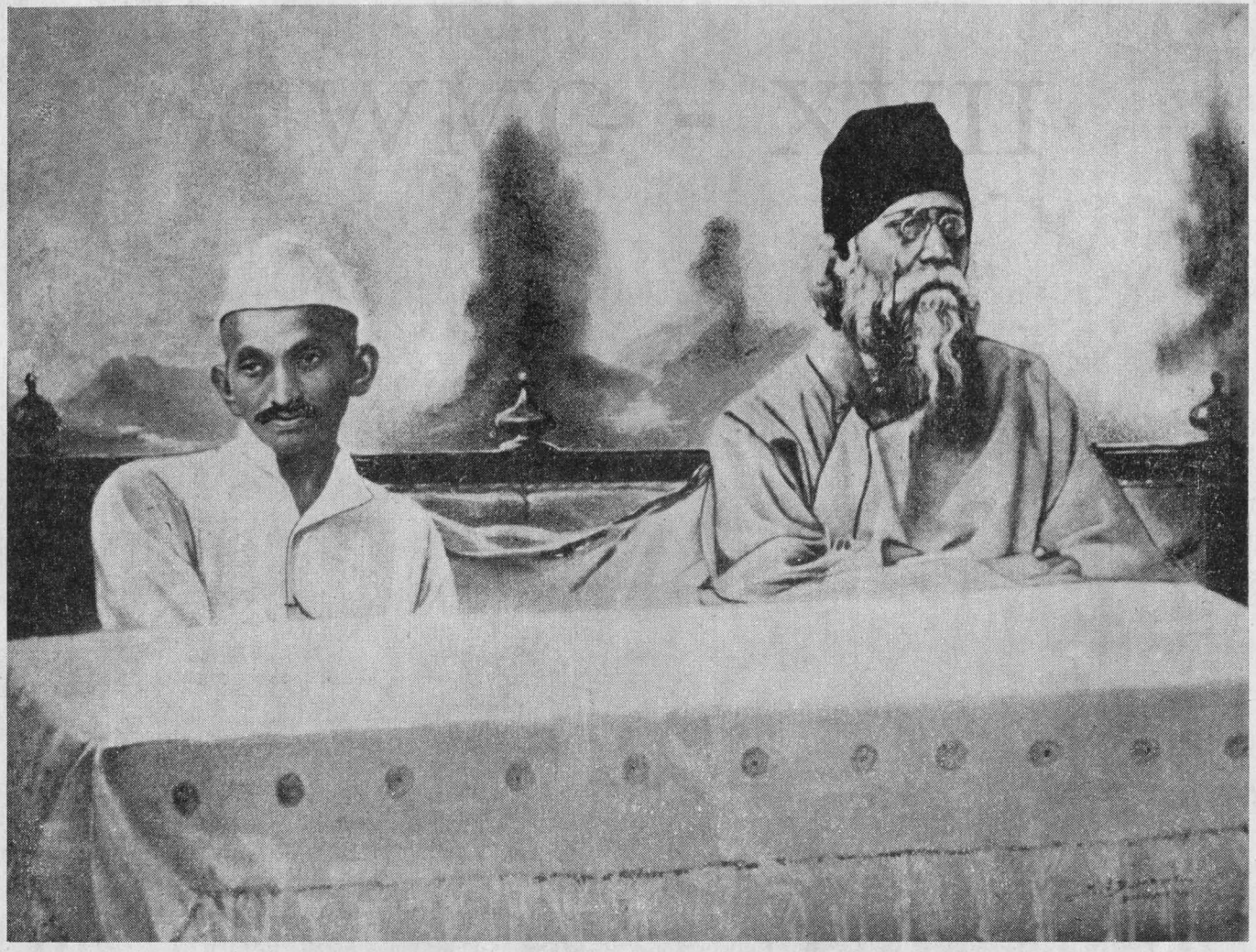
He returned to Lahore on the 11th. The charge of the city was handed over by Mr. Miles Irving to the military. On reaching Lahore, he informed the Lieutenant-Governor of this and the Lieutenant-Governor approved. Next morning, Mr. Kitchin again motored to Amritsar, but he saw no indication of any disturbances. Meanwhile General Dyer had arrived, established his headquarters at Ram Bagh and had taken over full control.

The first thing General Dyer did was to make arrests. He entered the city and made about twelve arrests without any molestation or resistance whatsoever.

We now turn to the people's doings during this time. On the night of the 10th, the city was left to itself, but there was no robbery or looting. Early in the morning of the 11th, they wanted to dispose of the dead. The military authorities would not allow, at first, more than 4 persons to accompany each bier. The people were intensely dissatisfied. They wanted a funeral procession. They sent their representatives to plead for them. At last, permission was granted after much haggling, but the procession was ordered to return before 2 p.m. The procession was very large, but the orders were strictly carried out and everything was finished before the appointed time. On the 12th April, Hans Raj, who subsequently became chief approver in the Amritsar conspiracy case, held a meeting at Dhab Khatikan, and he announced that another meeting would be held on the 13th April in the Jallianwala Bagh under the chairmanship of Lala Kanhya Lal. Lala Kanhya Lal himself denies having ever been asked or having consented to preside at any such meeting. He is a respectable pleader of long standing, 75 years old, and he is very popular. (Statement 29.) We have no doubt that his statement is correct. We believe that his name was used to draw a large crowd.

To understand the events that followed it is necessary to have a picture of Amritsar as drawn by one who belonged to it, and yet had been away just for a few days. We have such a picture given by Lala Girdhari Lal, Deputy Chairman of the Punjab Chamber of Commerce, and Managing Director of the Amritsar Flour and General Mills Company. He says:


Site Plan
of
Jaleanwala Bagh
Amritsar
SCALE 88'=1"
TO GOLDEN TEMPLE
TO GOBINDGARH
TO GUMTALA
TO SULTANWIND GATE
TO GT. MANDI GATE
GT. BAZAR
LAHAR MANDI
BUILDING LINE
WELL
TREES
STAGE
CLOSED DOOR 4½' WIDE
BUILDING LINE
BAZAR QUEEN
PASSAGE
BUILDING LINE
LOW LAND
85" FROM THE LEVEL PORTION
LEVEL PORTION
BUILDING LINE
BARRACKS
TREES
BUILDING LINE
BUILDING LINE
BAZAR JALLAWALA
BAZAR
MAIN GATE 4½' WIDE



GANDHIJI WITH TAGORE AT AHMEDABAD, IN APRIL, 1920

> I reached Amritsar by Calcutta Mail from Cawnpore on 11th April, 1919, about 11.30 a.m. . . . From and on the canal bridge near Amritsar, I saw batches of policemen guarding the railway lines. When the train steamed into the station here, the whole place looked like a regular military post, with soldiers and guns scattered all over. . . . No coolie or conveyance of any kind was to be had. Just as I came out of the platform, Sardar Bikram Singh met me and advised me either to go back where I had come from, or not to enter the city in any case. Being extremely nervous, as it appeared to me, he did not talk to me long. By the kindness of a railway servant, after waiting for 20 minutes, with great difficulty, I got a coolie to carry my luggage as far as the Golden Temple. At the foot-bridge there was a guard of some European soldiers, who would not let anyone enter the city without searching all things thoroughly. Sticks of all kinds were taken away from everyone. After a thorough overhauling of all my things I was allowed to proceed further. No one was permitted to go over the carriage-bridge. This continued for days, till the 15th April probably. At every step outside the city, one could see nothing but only military or police at short distances with rifles and bayonets. Not a single policeman was to be seen on duty anywhere within the city. . . . The first thing that struck me, immediately on entering the city, was the stoppage of water supply completely. . . . Later, in the evening, I found the electric connection all over the city proper also cut off. To the best of my memory, this inconvenience also lasted at least up to 18th or 19th April, if not later. While proceeding to the Golden Temple, I saw marks of violence. Telegraph wires were cut, some buildings were burnt. (Statement 1, pp. 1 & 2.)

According to the official testimony also, the cutting off of the water supply and electric light lasted three or four days, and it is quite evident that the cruel deprivation was intended largely to be a punishment for the whole city for the violence in which only a few could take part and which, as Lord Hunter pointed out to a witness, the peaceful citizens could not prevent.

On the 13th April, in the morning at about 9.30, General Dyer entered the city with an escort and made a proclamation. It was, according to the General's evidence before Lord Hunter's Committee, in three parts. The last part is the only part relevant to the occasion. It runs:

> No procession of any kind is permitted to parade the city or any part of the city or outside of it any time. Any such procession or gathering of 4 men will be looked upon and treated as an unlawful assembly and dispersed by force of arms, if necessary.

General Dyer was closely questioned on the significance of the

qualifications "if necessary" and on the meaning of the word "gathering" in juxtaposition to the word "procession". "If necessary" can only mean "in the event of such gathering not dispersing otherwise", and "gathering" can only mean "gathering in a public street"; otherwise any gathering of more than 4 men in private houses would become an unlawful assembly in terms of the proclamation.

This proclamation was read out by an interpreter in Punjabi and Urdu, at intervals, during General Dyer's progress through the city, which he says occupied "2 or 3 hours". The drum was beaten to gather the people. A map was handed to the General indicating the places at which the proclamation was read, and he admitted that it was not read in many parts of the city. We have examined the map of the city with the route marked. More than one half, and that the most populous part of the city, was left untouched by the General. There is abundant evidence to show that very few citizens knew anything about the proclamation. Moreover, the 13th April was, as stated before, the *Baisakhi*, the Hindu New Year's Day, and many people from surrounding villages were streaming in, who knew nothing of the proclamation. That such people did come and could not have heard the proclamation is admitted by the official witnesses.

At or about the time of this proclamation a boy was announcing in the streets of Amritsar, by beating a tin can, that a meeting would be held at 4 p.m. at Jallianwala Bagh, and that Lala Kanhya Lal would preside at that meeting. There may be a question as to the exact time of this announcement by the boy. The evidence before us, however, shows that the announcement was made some time before the proclamation by General Dyer. Lala Kanhya Lal says:

> I heard that some men (who have not been traced up to this time to my knowledge) had, on the 13th April, proclaimed that a lecture would be given in the Jallianwala Garden by me. This led or induced the public to think that I would give them some sound advice on the situation then existing. (Statement 29, p. 73.)

At about 12.45 p.m., General Dyer was informed that a big meeting was to be held at Jallianwala Bagh at 4.30 that very afternoon. General Dyer admits that he took no steps to prevent the meeting. "I want you to explain," asked Lord Hunter, "why you did not take measures to prevent the crowd from assembling at the Jallianwala Bagh?" The General answered:

> I went there as soon as I could. I had to organize my forces, to think the matter out. . . . I thought I had done enough in warning them not to meet.

Lord Hunter asked:

> Did the making of dispositions necessitate the occupation of the time between 12.40 to 4 p.m.?

General Dyer answered:

> I did not believe that they would really meet, after all that I had done in the morning. I did not think of sending off another force and warn them not to go.

He got definite information at 4 o'clock that the meeting was actually being held. Soon after, he marched off towards the city with picketing parties consisting of 25 rifles of Gurkhas and 25 Sikhs. He had also 40 more Gurkhas armed with *kukris*[1], and he took two armoured cars with him. He went at the "ordinary walking pace". To Lord Hunter's question why he did not consider there was any necessity for proceeding with any extra expedition, he said:

> No Sir, it was very hot; we went at the usual pace of marching.

He reached the Bagh about 5 or 5.15 p.m.

What is Jallianwala Bagh? The word *bagh* is a misnomer; 'Jalle' is the caste name of the original owner, 'wala' is the genitive termination; and the *bagh*, meaning a garden, is really an open piece of waste land surrounded by houses. It was, at the time, a private property owned in common by several people. As will appear from the plan attached,[2] it is an irregular quadrangle, indifferently walled; and in most cases, the back walls of the houses surrounding it enclose the quadrangle. There are three trees in the quadrangle, a dilapidated *samadhi* (tomb) with a dome, and a well. The main entrance is a narrow passage through which armoured cars happily could not pass. There were no other regular entrances, but at 4 or 5 points it was possible to get out through narrow openings. The ground at the entrance is an elevation, remarkably fit for posting soldiers and firing upon a crowd in front. When therefore, General Dyer marched into the Bagh with his 90 soldiers, the crowd had no easy exit.

According to the evidence before us, Hans Raj, prior to General Dyer's arrival, was in possession of the audience estimated at 20,000. He and a few others were standing on an

[1] Dagger-like weapons

[2] *Vide* illustration facing p. 168.

improvised platform marked on the plan. An aeroplane was hovering over the meeting before the arrival of the troops. Hans Raj asked the meeting not to be afraid. The audience included many boys and children, and some men had come with infants in their arms. The people had no lathis with them. There were some C.I.D. men also at the meeting. Two of them were seen talking to Hans Raj. General Dyer deployed 25 soldiers to the right and 25 to the left, on the high ground on the north side of the rectangular space. It is best to give what happened afterwards in his own words:

Q. When you got into the Bagh, what did you do?

A. I opened fire.

Q. At once?

A. Immediately. I had thought about the matter and don't imagine it took me more than 30 seconds to make up my mind as to what my duty was.

Q. As regards the crowd, what was it doing?

A. Well, they were holding a meeting. There was a man in the centre of the place on something raised. His arms were moving about. He was evidently addressing. He was absolutely in the centre of the square, as far as I could judge. I should say some 50 or 60 yards from where my troops were drawn up.

The General had admitted that there might have been a good many who had not heard of the proclamation. So Lord Hunter asked:

On the assumption that there was that risk of people being in the crowd who were not aware of the proclamation, did it not occur to you that it was a proper measure to ask the crowd to disperse before you took that step of actually firing?

A. No, at the time I did not. I merely felt that my orders had not been obeyed, that Martial Law was flouted, and that it was my duty to fire immediately by rifle.

Q. Before you dispersed the crowd, had the crowd taken any action at all?

A. No, Sir. They had run away, a few of them.

Q. Did they start to run away?

A. Yes. When I began to fire, the big mob in the centre began to run almost towards the right.

Q. Martial Law had not been proclaimed. Before you took that step, which was a serious step, did you not consider as to the propriety of consulting the Deputy Commissioner who was the civil authority responsible for the order of the city?

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A. There was no Deputy Commissioner to consult at the time. I did not think it wise to ask anybody further. I had to make up my mind immediately as to what my action should be. I considered it from the military point of view that I ought to fire immediately, that if I did not do so, I should fail in my duty. . . .

Q. In firing was it your object to disperse?

A. No, Sir. I was going to fire until they dispersed.

Q. Did the crowd at once start to disperse as soon as you fired?

A. Immediately.

Q. Did you continue firing?

A. Yes.

Q. After the crowd indicated that it was going to disperse, why did you not stop?

A. I thought it was my duty to go on until it dispersed. If I fired a little, I should be wrong in firing at all.

Then in reply to a variety of questions, General Dyer said he continued to fire for about 10 minutes, and that he had no "military experience to use similar methods of dispersing crowds"; "he could have dispersed them, perhaps even without firing". But he fired, because "they would all have come back and laughed at him and he would have made a fool of himself". His reasons for firing, he has given, in answer to another question, as follows:

> I thought they were trying to assault me and my force suddenly. All these pointed that this was a widespread movement which was not confined to Amritsar alone, and that the situation was a wide military situation which was not confined to Amritsar.

The General had fired 1,650 rounds of ammunition. He admitted also that if he could have taken the armoured cars into the Bagh, he would have done so and opened fire with them, that he stopped shooting when he did because the ammunition had run out, and that the crowd was very dense. He had made no provision for aiding or removing the wounded. It was not then his duty to render aid. That was a medical question. As soon as the firing ceased he retired. From time to time, he "checked his fire and directed it upon places where the crowd was thickest", and that he did, not because they were not going fast, but because he (the General) "had made up his mind to punish them for having assembled".

We must now supply further details of the scene from the mouths of eyewitnesses. We have already adverted to Lala Girdhari Lal's statement. He happened to watch the scene from a house overlooking the Bagh.

> I saw hundreds of persons killed on the spot. The worst part of the whole thing was that firing was directed towards the gates through which the people were running out. There were small outlets, 4 or 5 in all, and bullets actually rained over the people at all these gates, and . . . many got trampled under the feet of the rushing crowds and thus lost their lives. Blood was pouring in profusion. Even those who lay flat on the ground were shot. . . . No arrangements were made by the authorities to look after the dead or wounded. . . . I then gave water to the wounded and rendered such assistance as was possible. . . . I went round the whole place and saw almost every body lying there. There were heaps of them at different places. . . . The dead bodies were of grown-up people and young boys also. Some had their heads cut open, others had eyes shot, and nose, chest, arms, or legs shattered. . . . I think there must have been over 1,000 dead bodies in the garden then. . . . I saw people were hurrying up and many had to leave their dead and wounded, because they were afraid of being fired upon again after 8 p.m. (Statement 1, pp. 10 & 11.)

It may be mentioned here that the second part of the proclamation made on the 13th April by the drum beat, reads:

> No person residing in the city is permitted to leave his house after 8. Any person found in the street after 8 is liable to be shot.

The witness further states:

> Many amongst the wounded, who managed to run from the garden, succumbed to injuries on the way and lay dead in the streets. It was thus that the people of Amritsar held their *Baisakhi* fair.

In the matter of the death-roll, it is interesting to note that according to the Government's own showing, they did not commence investigating the figure before the 20th August, i.e., four months after the tragedy. Mr. Thompson then announced that not more than 290 had died. Now they have practically accepted the Sewa Samiti's[1] figures, viz., 500, which are based on actual tracing and represent the minimum. The exact figure will never be known, but, after careful investigation, we consider that Lala Girdhari Lal's computation of 1,000 is by no means an exaggerated calculation. They must have been indifferent shots if, after directing their fire in the thickest part in a concentrated area, and among 20,000 people, the soldiers were not able to kill 1,000 men. Let it further be remembered, the fire was directed even into and from the Hansli, the narrow lane to the right,

[1] Relief Association

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on the plan[1]. We observed bullet marks on a balcony opposite the lane; and evidence has been led before us to show that soldiers were posted at points outside the Bagh to guard approaches, and men were shot whilst they were effecting their escape through these approaches. There can be no doubt that General Dyer's plan was to kill the largest number, and if the number was 1,000 and not more, the fault was not his. His ammunition was exhausted, and he could not take his armoured cars through the passage, it being too narrow.

It is not possible to describe, in all the hideous detail, the events of the 13th, and, to use Justice Rankin's expression, its "frightfulness". In order to appreciate it fully, one must read the whole of the official evidence and the evidence published by us. After the violence of the 10th April, the English officials had become angry, and perhaps rightly so. The very men towards whom they were in the habit of showing courtesy now repelled them. Lala Dholan Das, a reputed resident of Amritsar, was one such man, but when he went at the request of the authorities to see them, he found them in an angry mood.

> All were in excited temper; so much so that Mr. Seymour is reported to have said that for every one European life one thousand Indians would be sacrificed. Someone suggested bombarding of the town, and Lala Dholan Das informed the officers that if, in any way, any part of the Golden Temple was touched or damaged, there would be no end of trouble, as this temple was held sacred all over the Punjab. (Statement 1, p. 7.)

Mr. Muhammad Sadiq, Barrister, went with others to see the authorities regarding the disposal of the dead on the 11th April. He says:

> The impression I got from the talk I had with them was that, as Europeans had been murdered, their blood could not remain unavenged, and if there be the least resistance or disobedience or any breach of the peace, sufficient amount of force would be used and, if necessary, the city would be bombarded. (Statement 19.)

Dr. Balmokand, Sub Assistant Surgeon, says that on the 11th April, Col. Smith, the Civil Surgeon, remarked

> that General Dyer was coming and he would bombard the city. He drew diagrams and showed us how the city would be shelled and how it would be razed to the ground in half an hour. I said that I lived in the city, and what was to become of me if there was bombardment. He

[1] *Vide* illustration facing p. 168.

> replied that I had better leave the city and live in the hospital if I wanted to save myself. (Statement 20, p. 56.)

Thus we know why and how the "frightfulness" of the 13th April came about. A staggering blow had to be delivered. The idea of bombardment was evidently given up. The meeting of the 13th furnished a ready chance and General Dyer seized it. Mr. C. F. Andrews has called it a massacre, even like the Glencoe Massacre[1]. If there can be degrees in assessing values of inhumanities, we consider that the massacre of Glencoe was infinitely worse than the massacre of Jallianwala Bagh, but the standard of correctness exacted today was not the standard set in the military manuals of the days of the Glencoe Massacre. In our opinion even the people who heard the proclamation had not understood the significance or the meaning of the prohibitory part of it. Not a single man went to that meeting in open defiance of the proclamation. No provocation whatever was given to the military authorities and nothing, either in Amritsar or outside it, justified the massacre. It was a calculated act of inhumanity, and if the British Rule in India is to be purged of this inexcusable wrong, General Dyer must be immediately relieved of his command and brought to justice.

He has stated to Lord Hunter's Committee that Sir Michael O'Dwyer approved of his action. It is unthinkable to us that one, who was a trustee for the inhabitants of the Punjab, should have endorsed a crime against humanity. Even under Martial Law, *de facto* or *de jure*, certain canons of decency are obligatory on commanding officers. We venture to submit that General Dyer totally disregarded them. We regret that we do not, in any shape or form, desire to defend or minimize either the murders of Englishmen or incendiarism. We believe that they are indefensible, but no deeds, however dastardly, of an enraged mob can warrant a slaughter of innocent people such as General Dyer was guilty of.

The fourteenth of April was devoted by the people to clearing the dead or wounded, and burning or burying the dead. Permission had to be obtained for the purpose, and this was the laconic proclamation issued:

> The inhabitants may burn or bury their dead as soon as they please. There must be no demonstration of any kind.

In reply to Lord Hunter's questions as to the state of the city on the 14th, General Dyer said:

[1] In Scotland, in 1692 during the reign of William and Mary

I went through the city to see if my orders had been carried out or not. I visited the pickets. All was quiet.

At about 2 p.m., a meeting of the local residents, municipal commissioners, magistrates and merchants was called at the *Kotwali*, whereat the Commissioner made the following speech:

Do you people want peace or war? We are prepared in every way. The Government is all-powerful. *Sarkar* has conquered Germany and is capable of doing everything. The General will give orders today. The city is in his possession. I can do nothing. You will have to obey orders. (Statement 1, p. 11.)

Mr. Kitchin, the Commissioner, then went away. General Dyer with Messrs Miles Irving, Rehill, Plomer and military guard, came about 5 p.m. He rushed into the room, followed by others, all exceedingly angry, and made a speech in Urdu. The following is the translation:

You people know well that I am a sepoy and soldier. Do you want war or peace? If you wish for war the Government is prepared for it, and if you want peace, then obey my orders and open all your shops; else, I will shoot. For me the battle-field of France or Amritsar is the same. I am a military man and I will go straight. Neither shall I move to the right, nor to the left. Speak up if you want war. In case there is to be peace, my order is to open all shops at once. You people talk against the Government, and persons educated in Germany and Bengal talk sedition. I shall report all these. Obey orders, I do not wish to have anything else. I have served in the Military for over 30 years. I understand the Indian sepoy and the Sikh people very well. You will have to observe peace; otherwise, the shops will be opened by force and by rifles. You must inform me of the badmashes. I will shoot them. Obey my orders and open shops. Speak up if you want war.

The General was followed by Mr. Miles Irving, the Deputy Commissioner. We cull two sentences from his speech :

You have committed a bad act in killing the English. The revenge will be taken upon you and your children.

On the 15th, all the shops were opened. One would have thought that, with the retribution of the 13th, the speeches of the 14th and the opening of the shops, the ordinary civil rule would be resumed, but it was not to be. The revenge had not yet been fully taken. Martial Law was, therefore, proclaimed[1] and what was true in fact became a fact in law. It remained in force up to

[1] On April 15

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the 9th June and the life of the people in Amritsar was made intolerable in a variety of ways :

1. The street in which Miss Sherwood was assaulted was set apart for flogging people and for making those who passed through it crawl on their bellies.

2. All were made to salaam, in theory English officers only, but in practice every Englishman, on pain of being arrested and suffering indignities.

3. Flogging was administered publicly and otherwise, even for trivialities.

4. All the lawyers of the town were made special constables without cause, and made to work like ordinary coolies.

5. Indiscriminate arrests were effected of persons, irrespective of status, and during detention, they were subjected to humiliations, discomforts and indescribable tortures for the purpose of extorting confession or evidence, or for the purpose of merely humiliating them.

6. Special Tribunals were formed for trying offences, which resulted in gross injustice in the name of law, leaving the aggrieved parties without a right of appeal.

We shall now deal with what is called the crawling order. The lane in which the crawling took place is a narrow and thickly populated place, with double-storey buildings on either side of it, and with numerous blind alleys shooting out of the lane and containing several houses. For the inhabitants of the lane, if they wanted to make any purchases or to go to the city, there was no option but to pass through some part of it, and therefore to crawl in and out. Sanitary or medical service could only be rendered on condition of crawling. The full length of the lane in which the order was enforced is about 150 yards. In the middle of it will be seen, on the plan hereto attached,[1] an oblong marked "tiktiki", which was the specially erected flogging-booth. The order remained in force for 8 days. Although General Dyer has called it "going on all fours", and it has been called "hand-and-knee order" by the Press, the process consisted in the persons lying flat on their bellies and crawling exactly like reptiles. Any lifting of the knees or bending thereof brought the rifle-butts on the backs of the persons who were made to crawl. The whole motion had therefore to be performed by movement of the belly and the arms. The lane, like most Indian lanes, is dirty and full of the usual rubbish, not excluding grit. It is worthy of note that the order

[1] Not reproduced here

was only given verbally and was withdrawn after orders from superior authorities. This is General Dyer's reason for the order:

> I felt women have been beaten. We look upon women as sacred. I searched in my brain for a suitable punishment for these awful cases. I did not know how to meet it. There was a little bit of accident in that. Now, when I visited the pickets, I went down and ordered a triangle to be erected. I felt the street ought to be looked upon as sacred; therefore, I posted pickets at both ends, and told them: "No Indians are to be allowed to pass along here." I then also said, "If they have to pass they must go on all fours." It never entered my brain that any sensible man, any sane man, would under the circumstances voluntarily go through that street.

The deliberateness or the depravity of the punishment cannot well be surpassed. Miss Sherwood was assaulted on the 10th and the order was promulgated on the 19th. It had to be obeyed by those who might never have seen Miss Sherwood. They might have, as the vast majority of the residents of Amritsar must have, deplored the cowardly assault on her. It was such men who had to undergo the punishment. It is difficult to characterize a mind that invents and takes pleasure in inflicting a punishment whose object is merely to degrade man's state. The pickets were posted from 6 a.m. to 8 p.m., so when Lord Hunter asked him what justification there was in passing an order which necessitated the inhabitants, lawfully residing, to crawl on all fours when they had to leave their houses, General Dyer replied : "They could leave at all other times," i.e., between the hours after 10 p.m. and before 6 a.m. (the hour 8 p.m. was changed to 10 p.m. on the 15th). The General forgot that another order operated against it, because nobody could be out after 10 p.m., and if he did, he was liable to be shot. Yet he was able to add in the same answer:

> I do not think it caused very great inconvenience. If they had suffered a little, it would be no harm under Martial Law. They could get necessaries of life by other means. It could not be helped if they had to suffer a slight amount of inconvenience.

Lord Hunter said:

> You will admit, during the period of turmoil, it is a difficult thing for peaceful citizens to give assistance in quelling the disturbances. Is it not just on that account that extreme remedy be confined to the mob, as distinguished from the law-abiding citizens?

General Dyer answered:

Yes, they were abstract law-abiding citizens, but I think on that occasion I only thought of punishing the wicked.

Q. But this street was not the street which was frequented by those who had beaten Miss Sherwood?

A. No, but I had erected a platform there in the middle of the street and thought, when I got these men who had beaten her, I would lash them down. I meant to lash them.

For a moment let us see what was actually done. Lala Ishwar Das is an assistant in a big firm in Amritsar. He had gone to Lala Labh Chand's house, marked on the plan, on the 18th April. Suddenly Mr. Plomer came with the military into the street. L. Ishwar Das and his friends were looking from a window. Mr. Plomer struck his hunting crop at them and asked them all to stand up and salaam. Mr. Labh Chand was asked to vacate a portion of his house for the accommodation of the military. This witness says:

At about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, Ishwar Das, Panna Lal, Mela Ram and I wanted to go home, but were refused permission by the police. We asked permission again, but it was given on condition that we would pass the street by crawling. So all of us had to pass out the street by crawling on our bellies. We could not go to our houses by any other road. (Statement 104, p. 163.)

It is to be observed that this was the first day of the order which had not been promulgated, whether by word of mouth or in writing. It became known only as it was being enforced.

Another witness, Lala Megha Mal, is a cloth merchant, who says :

My house is in Kutcha Kurichan (an alley from the crawling lane) and my shop is in Guru Bazaar. On the very first day soldiers were posted in Kutcha Kurichan; I was stopped by the soldiers when I was returning home at about 5 p.m., and I was ordered to creep on my belly. I however ran away, and kept away till after the soldiers had left. That day I came home at 9 p.m. and found my wife laid up with fever. There was no water in the house to be given to her, and no doctor and no medicine. I had to fetch water myself late in the night. For the seven days following, my wife had to be without any treatment, as no doctor would like to creep on his belly. (Statement 114.)

In this lane is a Jain Sabha Mandir where some sadhus live. Lala Rallya Ram, opium contractor, has a house near the Mandir. As he was going to his shop, he was compelled to crawl. He says:

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> While I was crawling, they kicked me with their boots and also gave me blows with the butt-ends of their rifles. That day I did not go back home to take my food. . . . For full 8 days, not a single sweeper appeared; so the refuse of the houses was never removed, nor were the latrines cleaned. The water-carrier, too, was throughout absent. . . . we could neither get vegetables nor other eatables. (Statement 102.)

Lala Ganpat Rai of the Jain Mandir, living in the lane, says :

> Even those who had to attend the temple in the street for the purpose of worship, were made to crawl in the same way. (Statement 122.)

Lala Devi Das, Banker, was ordered to crawl on his belly. He offered to go back to his house, but he was forced to crawl. He says :

> I tried to go on my hands and knees at first, but I was threatened with a bayonet, and had to creep on my belly. (Statement 99.)

Kahan Chand has been blind for the last 20 years. He was made to crawl and was kicked. (Statement 105.)

Abdulla, teacher by profession, had to crawl and whilst he was taking rest in the way, he was kicked and struck with the butt-end of a rifle. His body was scratched all over on account of his being a stout man. (Statement 106.)

Whilst the crawling was being enforced, sacred pigeons and other birds were shot. The *Pinjarapole*, a sacred house for the care of animals, which was just at one end of the lane, was defiled. The wells in the lanes were polluted by the soldiers easing themselves near them. (Statement 121.)

The official testimony is that 50 persons were subjected to the barbarous and inhuman process of crawling.

Those who have not undergone the degradation of compulsory salaaming, can hardly realize the intensity of pain and humiliation caused to one who has actually undergone it. We, who have heard the description given to us by those who were made to salaam, are able only somewhat to realize what it must have meant to them. The salaaming order, made applicable to the city containing a population of 160,000 souls, was not a small thing and it meant standing and performing fixed movements with the right arm. No wonder there are witnesses who state that they were arrested for not salaaming in the proper manner. Nor did the effect of the order end with exacting the particular manner of salaam. The defaulters had to undergo punishment in a variety of ways.

Lala Har Gopal Khanna, B.A., was, on the 18th of April, passing through a street with some friends. He saw some policemen on horseback followed by General Dyer, who beckoned to him. On reaching there, Lala Har Gopal saluted in the military fashion, whereupon he was told that he did not know how to salaam and was told to present himself, the next day, in the Ram Bagh garden. He took leave of the General with a salute and asked Mr. Plomer, City Superintendent of Police, where he had to present himself in the Ram Bagh. Mr. Plomer immediately ordered a constable to take him to the Kotwal Sahib. On being taken there, he was made to squat, along with 2 or 3 other men, on the damp floor. By 7 p.m., more men joined them. Then they were marched in pairs to the *Kotwali*. At the *Kotwali*, they had to pass the night sitting or lying in the open. A Gurkha guard was placed upon them. At 8.30, next morning, they were taken to the Ram Bagh, where they were all kept standing in the sun, until a military havildar (sergeant) taught them how to salaam. They were then let off. (Statement 95 and Statement 96.) Mian Firoz Din, an Hony. Magistrate, says :

> People used to be whipped for not standing up whilst salaaming the General and Mr. Plomer. Those, who did not salaam were at times arrested. I saw a few cases of such whipping and of such arrests myself. The people were so terrified that many had to keep standing practically the whole day to prevent any mistake on their part and to avoid any such punishment. I say "practically" because they had to stand up every time they heard the sound of a motor-car. I myself did so. (Statement 2.)

Flogging, in so far as it was in public, was not only humiliating but it was torturing, and, save for the official evidence given, it is difficult to know why flogging was administered at all. Official evidence shows that flogging was administered for the so-called breach of fort discipline, and, as to those who were suspected of assaulting Miss Sherwood, General Dyer had admitted that he wanted to lash them in the crawling lane. Thus six boys were flogged on the booth, marked in the plan. Each of them was fastened to the *tiktiki* (triangle) and given 30 stripes. One of them, Sundar Singh,

> became senseless, after the 4th stripe, but, after some water was poured into his mouth by a soldier, he regained consciousness. Flogging was then resumed. He lost his consciousness for the second time, but the flogging never ceased till he was given 30 stripes. He was taken off the flogging-post bleeding and quite unconscious.

The other boys were similarly treated, and the majority of them became unconscious while they were being flogged.

> They were all handcuffed and as they could not walk even a few paces, they were dragged by the police. They were then taken to the fort. (Statement 115, Statement 117 and Statement 118.)

General Dyer in his evidence has said that the lawyer constables did useful service and Mr. Kitchin has said that they rather liked it. Let us see what the lawyers themselves have to say about their appointment and the nature of the services they had to render. We have already referred to Lala Kanhya Lal. He is the oldest lawyer of Amritsar. Even he did not escape the distinction. He says :

> I have to add that, along with all the members of the local Bar, I was compelled to act as a special constable. This appointment was made on the 22nd of April, when there was absolutely no necessity for such appointment for the maintenance of peace and order in the city. The police force was quite sufficient for the purpose and, as a matter of fact, the city was quiet on those days. In my old age, I was made to work like a coolie, carrying tables and chairs from one place to another, and to patrol the city in the hot sun. The abuse which was showered upon us, and the indignities to which we were put, added a great deal to our sufferings. I cannot believe that our appointment was necessary for the maintenance of peace and order. The order was meant to punish us. The local Bar takes part in public affairs and took a prominent part in the Rowlatt Act agitation; that is why the whole Bar was punished in this way. (Statement 29.)

Lala Balmokand Bhatia, High Court Vakil, Municipal Commissioner, describing the ceremony of appointing special constables, says, that they were made to sit on the ground, and

> it was then that we were called upon to witness 2 citizens being flogged after being tied to the post. We were specially ordered to see this scene. In the evening, all the members of the Bar were made to stand in a line.

Lieut. Newman was placed in charge. He threatened one of them with kicking. They were to report themselves thrice a day and patrol the city for the rest of the day. Mr. Bhatia says:

> In other words, we had to keep ourselves in attendance the whole day, either in the garden or in the city. We were constantly reminded that we were mere constables and the punishment for any neglect was not only flogging or imprisonment, but also death. We were made to do the work of coolies, by being ordered to take tables and chairs in the presence of many people, who held us in respect, although there were orderlies and other servants enough for such work.

They were particularly taught how to salaam. They were discharged on the 12th May. He too agrees with Lala Kanhya Lal that the idea was to punish the members of the Bar. (Statement 91.)

Pandit Rajendra Misra and other lawyers support the foregoing allegations and say that they were thus insulted and ill-treated, although they had helped the authorities. (Statement 94.)

Altogether, ninety-three lawyers were humiliated in this manner, not to mention the pecuniary loss they had unnecessarily to sustain by reason of being deprived of their ordinary vocation.

Perhaps, the wholesale arrests that took place during the Martial Law period, and the treatment meted out during the confinement, was the most harassing form of punishment from which, at the time the arrests were going on, no citizen considered himself to be safe.

Lala Girdhari Lal says:

> The police began to arrest people from 12th April, as far as I remember. There was no break after that, and people in every sphere of life were arrested from day to day, while employed peacefully in their occupations. No charge was stated.

They were then handcuffed at once and put into the lock-up, for days and months, without being informed what they were accused of, and no opportunity was ever allowed them to see or consult friends or relations. When Mr. Badrul Islam Ali Khan was arrested, the impression created in the public mind was that all connected with the Congress movement in the city would suffer likewise. Lala Girdhari Lal had left Amritsar on the 7th of April and returned on the 11th, leaving a relation very ill at Cawnpore. He wanted therefore to go back to Cawnpore. After much difficulty, he was able to procure a pass, permitting him to leave Amritsar. He left on the 21st April by the Calcutta Mail. On the Beas River Bridge, the train was stopped and all the Indian passengers' luggage was minutely searched. He heard after some time that he was wanted by the authorities at Amritsar. He presented himself to the Superintendent of Police at Cawnpore, who treated him courteously and sent him under escort to Amritsar. He had a newspaper in his hand, as permission had been given to him by the Sub-Inspector who was in charge. This was too much for the Amritsar Superintendent; but the Sub-Inspector quietly told him that he had allowed Lala Girdhari Lal to buy the newspaper, as there was no instruction from his chief to restrict the liberty of his charge in such a

manner. Lala Girdhari Lal was at once handcuffed, and, upon his enquiring why he was arrested, no reply was returned. He had nothing to eat since 11 o'clock on 22-4-'19 till the next day at 8 a.m. He was locked up in a small room with 10 or 11 persons in it. In a corner of the room was an evil-smelling chamber-pot. The next morning they were allowed out for a few minutes for the necessary purposes of life and were shut up again. They were allowed neither to bathe nor to change clothes, and it was with difficulty that they were able to obtain water, when there was a charitably disposed constable near by. The month of May is about the hottest month of the year and the discomfort of being in a stuffy and crowded little room can be easily imagined. He was taken before some officials in due course. One of them made insulting and offensive remarks about him. On the 24th May, he was removed from the lock-up to the Subsidiary Jail. The food given was "unfit for human consumption". On the 27th May, he and his companions were taken to Lahore, handcuffed in pairs. No one was allowed to come near them. Those who dared to talk to them were straightway arrested. They had to walk from the Lahore Railway Station to the court—a distance of about 2 miles. The Inspector of police prevented them from having water to drink on the way. On reaching the court they had to wait outside the court all day long. They were then taken to the Central Jail, where each one was locked up in an iron cage, about 7 by 2, and 4 feet high. The bathing arrangement was most filthy. A small drain, used for all sorts of purposes, was pointed out for the purpose. On the 27th, only a few, whose relatives had paid for them, were removed to slightly better rooms and could get somewhat better food, and it was only here that permission was granted to change clothes. On the 28th May, they were transferred to the Borstal Jail. On the 3rd June, some of the Amritsar prisoners were sent up for trial. Some others were asked, without knowing the nature of charges against them, to cite their witnesses. Lala Girdhari Lal was released, on the 6th June, without any trial and without ever knowing why he had been arrested at all. Thus one of the leaders of Amritsar, not unknown to the authorities, was arrested and detained for over a fortnight and treated worse even than a common felon, for every prisoner under trial is entitled to see his relations, certainly his legal advisers, and receive what food he likes. Mian Firoz Din, an Hony. Magistrate of 21 years' standing and a *rais*[1] of Amritsar, says

[1] Man of property

that, whilst the most respectable men of Amritsar were being harassed and molested, the well-known badmashes were left practically untouched. (Statement 2.)

Mr. Maqbool Mahmood, High Court Vakil, who, at the risk of his life, it will be remembered, tried, on the 10th April, to turn away the crowd near the bridge, was later on arrested by a Sub-Inspector, was taken to the police station and was prompted [*sic*] to say: "I could and would identify the murderers of Robinson and Rowland." [He says:]

> I informed the police that I had already sent a written statement to them and that I had stated that I could not recognize anybody. This statement was then brought to me and I was then asked to tear it off with my own hands and to submit a fresh statement giving the names of those whom they had found out as culprits. I refused to comply with the demand and some threats were flung at me. However, I was subsequently allowed to leave.

He was then cited as a defence witness. Sardar Sukha Singh told him that many people had refused to give evidence for the defence and that he should do likewise. He said he had his own conscience, to which Sardar Sukha Singh replied that in those days "nobody had a conscience and those that had, suffered." He added that he would see that his pleader's licence was cancelled and further that he got into trouble. (Statement 5.)

On the 20th April, Dr. Kidar Nath Bhandari, Senior Assistant Surgeon, age 62, was asked by Sardar Sukha Singh to name anyone of the mob that had gone to attack Mrs. Easdon on the 10th April. Dr. Kidar Nath told him that he could not do so. Upon this, Sardar Sukha Singh, Mr. Plomer and Mr. Marshall shouted out, "Oh! you don't help the Government; you will also be arrested!" To this the Doctor replied, "I cannot name anybody whom I had not seen and you can do what you like." Thereupon, Sardar Sukha Singh told the Doctor that he had orders to arrest him and that he should consider himself under arrest. He was not shown the orders, but was sent to the lock-up, together with his assistant. Both of them were kept in the lock-up till the 27th April, on which date they were removed to the Subsidiary Jail. It meant a walk of about a mile and as he had heart trouble he asked for a conveyance. He added also that his being paraded and handcuffed with others through the bazaar would shock him. He was nevertheless made to walk to the jail, together with 62 other prisoners. He says:

> As it was very hot, I fainted when I reached the jail, but recovered soon,

owing to the kindness of a policeman, who kindly gave me a little water to drink.

He was locked up in a cell and given bread which he could not eat. The request of a friend to supply him with food from outside was refused; and so was also the request to change his clothes, "which were stinking and full of lice". On the 2nd May, the Deputy Commissioner went to the jail and the Doctor asked him why he was being detained. The answer was there was nothing against him except that he had not tried to save the life of Mrs. Easdon, when she was attacked by the mob. The Doctor tried to reason that it was not possible for him to do so, because he did not know when the mob went to her, but it was of no avail. He and his assistant were, however, released on the 12th May, without knowing any definite charges against them. Whilst he was at the *Kotwali* lock-up, between 20th and 27th April, someone went to him twice and said:

You are suffering for nothing. If you mention a few names who were in the mob, you will be released at once. (Statement 13.)

Mr. Mohammad Amin, a pleader, is the father of Mohammad Akram, who was sentenced to death—a sentence which was subsequently commuted to 5 years' rigorous imprisonment, in connection with the attempt to assault Mrs. Easdon. He claims personal friendship with Mrs. Easdon, and in his statement attached hereto, he contends that his son, who looked up to Mrs. Easdon as his mother, was totally innocent. On the 20th April, he, with his son and brother, was arrested and taken to the *Kotwali*. He says :

I was taken by a constable to the door of the *havalat*[1]. A small room as it was, it contained not less than 30 unfortunate men. It was a horrible sight to see them stretching their arms out of the iron bars and praying for a drink of water. I was going to faint at the sight. I said to a policeman, "I have no objection to going in, but I must tell you that I shall not be able to live there for a quarter of an hour." He went to the Inspector and shortly after came back and took me to another room, where I found Dr. Bashir and Mr. Badrul Islam Ali Khan, Barrister-at-Law. From this room they took out some persons and put us, 6 newcomers, in their place. Never in my life have I ever seen a dirty place like this. Most of us kept sitting all through the night. We prayed that we might be allowed food from our houses for that one evening only, but it was

[1] Lock-up

> refused. We asked for coverings, but they too were denied to us. After a short time, a policeman came to Gama and in our presence said, "Why do you put your life in danger? Name 4 or 5 men with whom you have some enmity, we shall make you a witness." Gama said, "I have no enemy to name." The policeman went away, but after a few minutes he reappeared and said to him, "Look here, name Qayam, and as to others say what you please." We got extremely frightened at the way the police were fabricating false evidence, and thought that we were not safe.

The witness describes the condition in the jail. They were kept handcuffed in their cells in pairs and thus led even to the latrines. They begged for the removal of the handcuffs whilst they were actually in the latrines but it was no use. They were compelled to walk round and round in the hot sun—we imagine for exercise? They were given no food for 36 hours and they were made to sleep on the bare floor. The handcuffs were at a later stage removed.

> The food which we were expected to take was a little heap of gram in one corner and a bucket of drinking water in the other, while near by was a tinpot for passing water. We could not take that food and kept hungry for another day.

The things improved the next day. They were allowed to have their own food and a change of clothes. Thus they remained at the fort for 22 days. On the 12th of May, they were taken to Lahore to stand their trial. They were 52 men chained together. In Lahore, they were made to sit out the whole day without drink or food. They had to walk from the Lahore station to the court and from the court to the Central Jail in the burning sun. He and his brother were discharged on the 27th of May. (Statement 14.)

Mrs. Nelly Benjamin, Sub-Assistant Surgeon, is a friend of Mrs. Easdon. She was the one who screened her from assault. She says :

> When the enquiry was going on, I was taken to the *Kotwali* on two occasions; I was asked to say that I had seen Mohammad Amin in the crowd. As I said that was not the truth, Mr. Plomer threatened to send me to jail. I told them whatever I knew but I refused to give false evidence. They also tempted me with a reward from the Government, if I supported the story of Mrs. Easdon regarding the presence of Mohammad Amin. I refused again. (Statement 16.)

Seth Gul Mohammad, a glassware merchant, was arrested on the 20th April whilst he was offering prayer, and taken to the

Kotwali. He was asked to give false evidence. Inspector Jawaharlal caught hold of his beard and slapped him so hard that it made him reel for a while. He then asked him to state, "Doctors Satyapal and Kitchlew had instigated me to bring about the hartal on the 6th and that they had encouraged me by saying that they would use bombs to drive out the English from the country." The witness refused. The officer then asked his underlings to take him aside and make him "all right". He was then taken away a few paces from the officers' table and asked by a number of constables to please Jawaharlal by doing what he wanted. He still refused. So they caught hold of his hand and placed it under the leg of a cot, over which eight constables sat. "When the pain became unbearable," the witness proceeds, "I cried out, 'leave my hand, I will do whatever you ask me to do.'" He was then taken to Jawaharlal again. But he again refused to implicate the Doctors. He was therefore kept confined in a room that day. During the following days he was beaten, slapped and caned. He was told that he would be made an accused and hanged. This beating went on for eight days. On the eighth day he again agreed to make the desired statement. He was then taken to Aga Ibrahim, the Magistrate, before whom he repeated the same "untrue statement", that was required of him. Hans Raj, the approver, who was in the *Kotwali*, advised him to do as the police asked. After ten days' detention he was let off, on the condition that he appeared at the *Kotwali* from day to day, which he did up to the 9th of June, when he was taken to Lahore. On the 16th of June, he was produced before the Martial Law Tribunal, where he made a clean breast of the whole thing and told the Judges that he was tortured. (Statement 21.)

Brijlal, a boy 14 years old, was kept under custody for 9 days. After two days he was made over to Hans Raj and was induced to make a false statement before the Martial Law Tribunal, which he retracts in the evidence before us. (Statement 22.)

Sardar Atma Singh, wine merchant, was arrested in front of General Dyer on the 13th April. He was made to walk with the procession and, he adds, "They tied a cloth round one of my arms and dragged me along with them through several streets of the city." He was prevented by a British soldier from getting some water to drink. Some others were arrested also during the day, and nine of them were handcuffed and confined in a cell without food. On the 15th, they were taken before the General and were all tied to a tree, "constantly abused and laughed at". After the General had finished his lunch, they were produced before him. Then

Sardar Atma Singh was sentenced to 8 days' quarter-guard. He was never told what the charge against him was. During his incarceration, he was relieved by a sergeant of his gold ring and a West End hunting watch bearing his name. (Statement 30.)

Muhammad Ismail, butcher, was arrested about the 18th April. His father was also arrested and both were beaten and were released only after his brother Dina was produced. Dina himself was detained for 3 days, and is said to have been mercilessly beaten. (Statement 46.)

Abdul Aziz, vegetable seller, was arrested for having sworn at a *khansama*[1], which he denied. He was taken before the General, was kept in the lock-up for two days, was given ten stripes and was ordered to close his shop for 14 days. (Statement 123.)

Lala Raliaram, pensioner, 58 years old, was asked by a Sub-Inspector to give the names of those who had beaten Miss Sherwood. He replied that he knew nothing, as he was not present. Whereupon, he was beaten with a cane, his beard was pulled and he was made to walk up and down the lane and set free in the evening. (Statement 107.)

Lala Dadu Mal was beaten and made to crawl. He and his son were arrested, and he was discharged and rearrested and at last let off, after he had paid one hundred rupees to the headman of the bazaar for the police. He was rearrested and was compelled to pay fifty rupees more and purchase his release. The police used to go to his shop and forcibly take away cream, etc., for their use. His son was detained for 8 days and was then given 30 stripes, although, during the process, he became unconscious. He witnessed others also being flogged. He says, "These men shrieked with pain and were all bleeding." (Statement 116.)

Lala Rakharam saw Dhaniram who was made to sit down and catch hold of his ears after passing his hands under his legs. (Statement 108.)

Gholam Qadir Toopgar was arrested during the third week of April by Sub-Inspector Amir Khan. He was asked to point out the looted property, and he was beaten severely when he pleaded ignorance. He was asked to give the names of certain persons as members of the mob that had burnt and looted the Bhagtanwala Railway Station. His turban was taken off, his hands were tied with it and he was suspended from a tree for about 10 minutes. He saw 8 or 9 men, besides himself, being subjected to torture.

[1] Cook-bearer, usually employed by Europeans in India

He says:

> I saw Peera Gujar lying flat on the ground and a havildar, whom I know by face, pushed a stick into his anus in the presence of Sub-Inspector Amir Khan. He cried piteously all the time, but the police showed no mercy. For full 3 days and nights we were not allowed any food, during which period we were subjected to police torture. I was released after 5 days. (Statement 141.)

Miraj Din, barber, generally supports the above statement, he himself sharing the same fate as Gholam Qadir. (Statement 142.)

Gholam Jilani, an Imam (leader at prayer) of a masjid and deed-writer, is perhaps the worst case of torture we have come across. He took a prominent part in organizing the *Ramnaumi* festival. He was arrested on the 16th April. The statement contains such a wealth of detail that it must be read *in toto* in order to appreciate the measure of torture that the Imam had to undergo. (Statement 134.) Mian Firoz Din, Hony. Magistrate (Statement 2) and Mr. Gholam Yaseen, Barrister (Statement 6) support what is stated about his treatment by the witness. Mohammad Shafi (Statement 139) saw some of the tortures that Gholam Jilani was subjected to and heard his piteous cries. He says that, on the same day, one Khair Din was similarly treated, his condition became so bad that he never recovered from the injuries he had received. (Statement 139.) Mian Quamar Uddin Khan, landlord and proprietor, says Maulvi Gholam Jilani met him immediately after his release. He saw the injuries which were received by him and that the story that he related to him then is the same as he has given before us. (Statement 140.) Gholam Mohammad witnessed the torture on him and on Khair Din, who, he says, died a few days ago of the injuries. (Statement 138.) Haji Shamsuddin, landlord and zemindar, also witnessed the tortures administered to Maulvi Gholam Jilani and late Khair Din. The Haji was called by the police. He says,

> They drove a stick into his anus. Also, he was in a most pitiable condition. I saw his urine and excreta coming out. All of us, who were outside, were told by the police that those who did not give evidence would be treated like that. (Statement 135.)

Witnesses 136-137 also corroborate the statement about the torture to which both Jilani and Khair Din were subjected. Malik Abdul Hai, merchant of pashmina, on receipt of a telegram from the Superintendent of Police, went from Lahore to Amritsar about the 15th of May and, there, he was given over to Inspector Jawaharlal, who tempted him with reward by increment in his pay

if he would give false evidence against Dr. Kitchlew. When he refused, he was threatened that he would be included amongst the accused. When all the threats and persuasions failed, he was taken to a room and thrashed "mercilessly". Being frightened, he eventually yielded. His statement was taken down and he was summoned before the Martial Law Court. He proceeds:

> I made up my mind to tell the truth. . . I submitted before the judges how I had been harassed by the police to give false evidence. When I had finished my deposition I came out. The Naib Court arrested me and was about to lead me to the police room when I screamed out. There upon, a few barristers who were then present in the Court in connection with the case, among whom were Mukand Lal Puri and Mr. Hasan and others, came on the scene . . . Having freed myself from the grip of the Naib Court I immediately told the judges the whole story. The presiding judge ordered me to proceed home by another route. (Statement 148.)

Mr. Badrul Islam Ali Khan, Barrister-at-Law, was arrested on the 19th April. The police walked into his wife's bedroom and when she asked them to go outside they refused to do so. He was taken to the *Kotwali*, where Mr. Plomer said in a loud voice, "This is the man who wants to be the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab." He recites how he was pressed to give evidence. He describes the condition of the cell in which he and the fellow prisoners were locked up, how they were subjected to humiliation, and discusses the charges that were brought against him, before he was finally discharged. He concludes:

> There was an attempt made by the police to manufacture evidence against me by torturing a man named Gholam Jilani, who admitted the fact in his evidence before the Martial Law Commission, in the course of my trial. Thus it was that I was arrested and kept in custody for a period of two months and a half and tried for my life. (Statement 88.)

Mr. Gurdial Singh Salaria, Bar-at-Law, was also arrested. He was one of those who, in common with others, at the peril of his life, tried to go, on the 10th April, to push the crowd back from the bridge. He describes also the indignities he had to suffer. He remained in custody from the 23rd of May to the 5th of July. (Statement 87.)

The paragraphs we have devoted to indiscriminate arrests and tortures for the purpose of extorting evidence, furnish perhaps the blackest chapter in the whole of the story of the cruelties perpetrated in the name of Martial Law. The tragedy of Jallianwala Bagh was staggering for its dramatic effect. But the slow

torture of the arrests was felt not only by those who suffered but by those also who were always in fear of being arrested, for, from the evidence collected by us it is clear that there was no method about these arrests. All classes and conditions of people came in for this treatment. Nobody had a feeling of safety. We wish, too, to add that we have been most careful in the collection of the evidence on this head. We were incredulous when we entered upon the inquiry, but as statement after statement came under our notice, we were driven to accept the general charge. The most damaging statements are so fully supported that, in our opinion, they will stand the test of investigation in any court of law.

We would here add that we had copious evidence about bribes having been freely taken by the police. But we have refrained from taking evidence on this point from Amritsar, because the witnesses, whilst they gave us their confidence, were unwilling to disclose their names. If the Government wish to know the truth about this class of corruption, we suggest the holding of an inquiry, with a promise of protection to those who would come forward to give their evidence. We are sure that the Government have no desire to screen offenders of this class and we feel equally sure that, by adopting the course suggested by us, they will clean the police department of its worst features. The evidence of torture, too, challenges inquiry. It is there before the Government. They cannot ignore evidence given with the detail that characterizes it.

Not much need now be said to show that where there was an organized attempt made to procure false evidence, there must have been serious and extensive abortion of justice during the trials that took place, whether before the Martial Law Commissions, the Summary Courts, or Area Officers. It may not be amiss to describe the constitution of these courts. The Martial Law Commissions were composed of 3 members, clothed with summary jurisdiction and possessing the power to inflict death sentences. They were not bound to record any evidence, and their judgments were unappealable. The Summary Courts, on the other hand, contained only one member, usually a Magistrate, and they became the courts of inferior jurisdiction, having power to award imprisonment up to two years and to impose fines up to Rs. 1,000. Their judgments also were final and unappealable to any superior court. We have examined the published records of the trials before these courts and the statistics published by the Government, and we have come to the conclusion that the majority of the convictions are wholly bad. In the Amritsar district, according to the statistical abstract, 188 were tried before the Martial Law Commis-

sions, of whom 3 were acquitted. Before the Summary Courts and Area Officers, 173 were tried, and 32 acquitted, discharged or released.

In view of the Royal Proclamation[1] and the release of the majority of the prisoners convicted[2] by the tribunals mentioned by us, it is unnecessary to go into the details of these trials. But it may be mentioned that cases involving transportation for life with forfeiture of property as the minimum penalty were based on such charges as organizing the hartal or making speeches on the Rowlatt Act. Leading men were charged with serious offences on no better evidence than that of an approver. We hope, however, to discuss the Martial Law Commission trials a little more fully in our discussion of the Lahore events. We shall close our examination of the Amritsar events with the remark that the authorities committed a criminal blunder in secretly deporting Doctors Kitchlew and Satyapal; that there was at least undue haste in firing; that, had they acted with tact and consideration, then, in spite of the deportation, the mob excesses would have been prevented; that the excesses were, in any event, deplorable and deserving of condemnation; that the massacre in the Jallianwala Bagh was an act of inhumanity and vengeance, unwarranted by anything that then existed or has since transpired; that, on General Dyer's own showing, the introduction of Martial Law in Amritsar was not justified by any local causes and that its prolongation was a wanton abuse of authority, and its administration unworthy of a civilized government.

TARN TARAN

Tarn Taran is a part of the Amritsar District and a railway station. It is 16 miles from Amritsar and a Sikh centre, next only to Amritsar in importance. It was alleged by the Police Sub-Inspector that there was an attempt to loot the treasury. The evidence in our possession shows that the charge was a pure fabrication; yet a large number of persons was convicted of that charge by a Summary Court.

LAHORE CITY

In point of political importance, Lahore is the first city in the Punjab, being its capital and the seat of the Government. We have, however, treated Amritsar first, as, apart from its great

[1] Issued on December 23, 1919

[2] Nearly 1,800 persons were convicted during the Punjab disturbances.

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importance as the Sikh stronghold, it was there that the disorder arose, and it was there that the policy of the Government was determined. Lahore is a big railway junction for Peshawar, Calcutta, Karachi and Bombay. The distance between Lahore and Delhi is 298 miles. The population of Lahore, excluding that of the Cantonment, is about 250,000 of which the Mohammedan element is preponderant, Hindus being nearly a third of the Mohammedans.

Lahore has ten colleges for boys and two for girls, and numerous high schools for boys and girls. It is also the seat of the Punjab University. It has two English dailies; one conducted in the interests generally of the bureaucracy and European commerce; the other devoted to Indian national interests. It has several dailies and weeklies in the vernaculars. Lahore, therefore, of all the places in the Punjab, possesses the largest number of the literate classes and is the best supplied in the Punjab with news from day to day. The Punjab has been noted and even congratulated by Sir Michael O'Dwyer on its comparative indifference to Indian politics, but, of late, it had begun to organize political life, and Lahore was leading the way. This awakening was strengthened by Sir Michael O'Dwyer's speech in the Council at the threshold of his career, already referred to. Moreover, the Punjab shared in common with the rest of India the increase in political activity consequent upon the introduction of the Rowlatt legislation and Lahore led the way in the Punjab. When Mr. Gandhi announced his satyagraha declaration, the leaders in the Punjab were and remained, up to the last moment, undecided as to its acceptance, and no one seemed actually to have taken the Satyagraha Pledge, certainly none in Lahore. But fasting and hartal stood on a different footing. Their observance required no pledge and no continuity of action. But, even on this point, the leaders do not appear to have been sure of their ground, nor did they know what response the populace would make to Mr. Gandhi's call. They decided to publish and distribute his letter with reference to it. As soon as the Government came to know that there was to be hartal, they became panicky. On the 4th of April, a police notice was issued in Lahore, prohibiting processions and meetings without previous permission. On the 5th, the leaders were invited by the Deputy Commissioner to meet him. Pandit Rambhuj Dutt Chowdhari and other leaders have described in their statements the whole of that interview and the subsequent events. At that meeting, the leaders went so far as to say that if the Government did not want them to hold the meeting contemplated by

them, they would abandon it, but the Deputy Commissioner was satisfied with the following terms, namely:

(a) All may endeavour, up to the evening of the 5th, to convince the citizens either for or against the hartal.

(b) On the 6th, there should be no canvassing one way or the other.

(c) The meeting may take place, but there should be no inflammatory speech-making.

The 6th broke upon Lahore with an absolutely complete hartal such as had never been seen before. Thousands, including women and children, observed the hartal, and people went to the river to bathe and on their return they formed themselves into a procession. Strictly speaking, this was in breach of the police notice we have referred to. The procession, however, was perfectly orderly. The police wisely refrained from any interference, but when the procession went towards the Mall, they would not allow it to proceed any further than the Post Office. They obtained the services of the leaders for turning the processionists back. Lala Duni Chand[1] and Dr. Gokal Chand Narang[2] came to their assistance and succeeded in preventing the processionists from going up the Mall.

There is, however, a slight indication of what was troubling Sir Michael O'Dwyer. It is said that he had been saying in the course of conversations that there would be no hartal in the Punjab, but he was painfully surprised to see a complete hartal even in the capital city, and he is further reported to have remarked that he would make the leaders pay for the crime of having brought about such a complete hartal.

In the afternoon, there was a meeting at the Bradlaugh Hall. It was attended by thousands of people. Such a meeting Lahore had never seen before. Sir M. O'Dwyer had specially deputed the Superintendent of the Criminal Investigation Department to attend this meeting. The speeches made at the meeting were fully reported; we have seen them. While they were assertive in tone and insistent on the people's right to have the Rowlatt legislation repealed, there was nothing seditious in them, and certainly nothing that could in any shape or form be interpreted to mean an incitement to violence. Nothing happened on the 7th and 8th.

[1] A popular Municipal Commissioner of Lahore

[2] A prominent barrister and leader of Lahore; on this occasion he mounted a horse and led the procession back to the city.

The 9th of April, the *Ramnaumi* day, was observed as in Amritsar. The people gave themselves up to rejoicings and utilized the day for Hindus and Mohammedans to fraternize with each other. What was therefore a purely religious function has been happily, of late years, turned into also a national celebration. There were officials with the procession. They were cheered wherever their presence was noticed.

Thus, everything was quiet up to the 10th. Not so, however, Sir Michael O'Dwyer. He knew that Mr. Gandhi was invited by Dr. Satyapal to visit Amritsar and to explain his doctrine of satyagraha. He knew, too, that, in response to that invitation and that of Sannyasi Swami Shraddhanand, Mr. Gandhi was to visit Delhi and had left Bombay for Delhi on the 8th April. He could not brook it, and after receiving permission from the Viceroy, he stopped Mr. Gandhi's entry into the Punjab, and had him arrested at the first station[1] inside the Punjab border and sent him back to the Bombay Presidency wherein he was interned. The news of Mr. Gandhi's arrest and internment was received in Lahore on the 10th, through its publication in *The Civil and Military Gazette*, and, without any organization or effort, there was an immediate closing of shops. By 4 o'clock, all business was suspended. Some of the citizens formed a procession and began marching towards the Mall. By the time they reached Anarkali, it had become a big procession, but as the police had prevented the procession of the 6th April from going up the Mall, the majority stopped near the Forman Christian College, but about 3 to 4 hundred persons, including students, decided to march up the Mall with the intention of proceeding to the Government House, to ask for Mr. Gandhi's release. As soon as this was known, a party of police came out, passed by the crowd from behind, wheeled round and, facing it, stopped its march near the O'Dwyer Soldiers' Club. The crowd, however, would not listen to the police. Order to fire was given; 2 to 3 lives were lost, more were wounded. The crowd retired back. The dead and the wounded were taken away by the police. Assistance of doctors who were passing by was refused. The crowd, thus broken up, was pushed back slowly by the police all the way through the Anarkali till very near the Lohari gate. The police wanted to disperse the crowd at this point also. They parleyed for over half an hour, as stated by Mr. Broadway, the Superintendent of Police, before the Hunter Committee. Meanwhile, Pandit Rambhuj Dutt Chowdhari, who

[1] Palwal, between Mathura and Delhi

was informed at his house, which is situated outside the city, of what had happened, hastened to the spot and offered his services. He was asked to turn the crowd back and to disperse it. The Pandit tried, but his voice could not reach except to those who were immediately near. He therefore spoke from a raised seat. Meanwhile, the Superintendent of Police was becoming impatient. The Deputy Commissioner, who was sent for, also arrived. Pandit Rambhuj Dutt Chowdhari went over to the Deputy Commissioner and asked for some time, so that he could reason with the crowd and induce it to disperse. But Mr. Fyson gave him only two minutes and told him that if the people did not disperse within that time, he would immediately order firing. The Pandit protested that he could hardly make any impression on the crowd within two minutes, but Mr. Fyson was unbending. The Pandit, however, tried and he partially succeeded in making some of the crowd turn back, but Mr. Fyson proved as good as his word, and on the expiry of the time limit gave the order to fire, inflicting about the same [number of] casualties as near the O'Dwyer Soldiers' Club. The firing dispersed the crowd, but it left the people sore at heart.

We are of opinion that both the firings could have been avoided. The crowd was unarmed; it had passed several public buildings including, besides the Christian College, the Y.M.C.A., the Alliance Bank of Simla, the Bank of Bengal, the Post Office, the Telegraph Office, the High Court and the Cathedral. As at Amritsar, the authorities omitted to take the usual intermediate stages, and they erred in not giving sufficient time to Pandit Rambhuj Dutt Chowdhari, who had been admittedly making an earnest effort to disperse the crowd. No resistance was offered by the crowd. We presume that other crowds in India are of about the same temper under given circumstances and of the same determination or rather weakness as the Punjabi crowd. We say this because we have heard it suggested that a Punjab crowd is different from and more defiant and determined than any other crowd. We hold a different view. Some of us have seen a strong Punjab crowd being dispersed by the sweep of a heavy stick. The crowds at Lahore, Kasur and Amritsar were as determined as can be imagined, but none of them could stand even a little bit of firing. We imagine that crowds of the dimension admitted by official testimony, in any other part of the world could certainly have overwhelmed such small forces as were arrayed against them. We have it upon official testimony that a huge crowd in Bombay was dispersed on the 10th April by two dozen horsemen dashing into

it, and a Bombay Pydhownie[1] crowd is noted for its mischievousness when it is bent on mischief. We are inclined to think that in India generally, and in the Punjab particularly, there seems to be an unwritten code, requiring the police never to run any risk and to resort to firing on the slightest pretext. If it is a test of a civilized government that it shall not value the life of the meanest citizen as cheap, we fear that the Punjab Government has signally failed in that test. The plea that the governing race is, in numbers, hopelessly inferior to the governed cannot be accepted as any excuse for disregarding, under an ordinary test, the value of human life entrusted to its care. The indifferent answers given by some officers to questions regarding their orders strongly incline us to the belief that the firings we have mentioned could have been avoided with a little forbearance, a little tact and a little regard for the lives of the citizens. We are fortified in this belief by the knowledge that in every case that has come under our observation, no arrangement was considered necessary for taking care of the wounded after the dispersal of the crowd.

To return to the narrative, extraordinary as it may appear, the authorities, as we have seen, did not allow the relatives to take charge of the wounded and the dead. This created a great deal of ill feeling and resentment. On the 11th also, therefore, the hartal was continued. Constant parleying took place between the leaders and the authorities. The leaders pleaded, with all the earnestness at their command, for the return of the dead and the wounded, but to no purpose. Without in any way conciliating the people, the authorities wanted the hartal to be broken. We have had several interviews with the Lahore leaders since their discharge. They have favoured us with their statements; we believe that most of the leaders tried their best to break up the hartal, even though the authorities would not return the dead and the wounded, but they did not succeed. There was a big meeting on the 11th at the Badshahi Mosque at which the idea of breaking up the hartal was considered, but nothing came out of it. There was an interview again with the Deputy Commissioner, at which the leaders suggested that they should again have a meeting on the understanding that the military should not be posted near the meeting-place. Pandit Rambhuj Chowdhari affirms that such an undertaking was given by Mr. Fyson. The latter denies it. The evidence in our possession confirms Mr. Chowdhari's affirmation. A very big meeting took place at the Badshahi Mosque.

[1] A municipal ward of Bombay city

Feeling certainly ran high. Pandit Rambhuj Dutt Chowdhari was alone able with his powerful voice to gain a hearing. Without any decisive result, the meeting dispersed, and as the people were going to their homes the military fired. It is contended on behalf of the military that the situation demanded firing as the crowd had become defiant. If it is true that there was a promise by Mr. Fyson to withdraw the military, their very presence was unjustifiable. There was again loss of life. This added to the resentment of the people and made the work of the leaders well-nigh impossible. Further consultation amongst the leaders took place. The authorities began to assume a progressively uncompromising attitude. They would see some leaders and decline to see others. Hartal still remained. There was danger of starvation and consequent pillage. People, therefore, opened *langarkhanas*, i.e., free restaurants. These were run by voluntary subscriptions, and thus the 15th of April was reached. On the 16th Lala Harkishen Lal[1], one of the magnates of the Punjab, Lala Duni Chand, one of the most popular Municipal Commissioners of Lahore, with a record of unbroken public service, and Pandit Rambhuj Dutt Chowdhari were invited by the Deputy Commissioner to meet him, only to be arrested and deported. Soon after their deportation, Martial Law was proclaimed in Lahore. At that time, the reason given to the leaders by the Deputy Commissioner was that it was being proclaimed in order to break the hartal, and Col. Johnson has said definitely in his evidence that he would have put the military in charge of the shops and forcibly sold their goods if they had not opened them. This warning was actually given and the proud merchants of Lahore had to suffer the humiliation of opening their shops under military pressure. Whether the people were right or wrong in sustaining the hartal as a tangible expression of their resentment we shall not discuss, but right or wrong, there was nothing criminal in the people refusing to open their shops. But it was criminal to compel them by threat of force to open their shops. Indeed, we are not sure that a peaceful hartal is not an infinitely superior weapon, even from the Government standpoint, to the use of violence as a means of seeking redress.

However, Col. Johnson has before Lord Hunter given his opinion that Martial Law was necessary in Lahore for the sake of preventing the spread of 'rebellion' in the other parts of the Punjab. We believe that the introduction of Martial Law in

[1] A big financier, who controlled many business enterprises in the Punjab

Lahore was an utterly unjustifiable act. No violence was done by the people either to person or property in Lahore. We do not include in public violence the rough handling to which a C.I.D. official was subjected at one of the Badshahi Mosque meetings. It was no doubt improper on the part of those who assaulted the official. But if an incident of this character could justify the Martial Law reign, we should have Martial Law not as an exceptional event but as an ordinary rule of life. No evidence has been brought forward publicly to connect a single leader in Lahore with an organization outside. No connection has been established even between Amritsar and Lahore. The personal interest of the Lahore population was entirely bound up with the preservation of law and order. Lahore contains no martial element. The introduction of Martial Law in the city of Lahore was therefore justified neither for the safety of Lahore nor for the prevention of infection spreading from it. It was an unmerited reflection cast upon the staunch loyalty of the citizens of Lahore. We wish here to draw a broad distinction between loyalty to the British Constitution and the King, and indiscriminate support of a tyrannical deputy who disgraces a high office to which he may be called.

The disturbances, where they took place, were an undisciplined demonstration against Sir Michael O'Dwyer's rule. From the very commencement of this rule, he estranged the educated classes by every means he could devise. He incensed the populace by his overzealous canvassing for contributions to the War in men and money. We consider it to be a proper thing to use social and moral pressure for stimulating contributions to the War, in which the very existence of the Empire may be at stake. But Sir M. O'Dwyer overstepped the limits of decency and, in his laudable zeal for outstripping his fellow satraps in supplying men and money, he forgot himself and did not consider the quality of the means adopted. The consequence was that his under-officials out-heroded Herod, and, as remarked in a previous chapter, we have in our possession evidence to show that British Rule was disgraced by officials whose one aim was to get recruits and money. It was a result too dearly bought.

It has been suggested that recruiting cannot be held to be a cause of the violent part of the demonstration, because the districts in which undue pressure is said to have been used were the districts that were exceptionally free from violence. This statement is no doubt partially true. The reason, however, in so far as it is true, is obvious. Those who were at all able to protect themselves, more or less successfully, avoided the pressure. Those who could

not resist the pressure were not likely to be the men to rise against it at a later stage, unless they felt conscious of their strength. There is however such a thing as vicarious resentment, as there is vicarious sacrifice; and as national consciousness grows from day to day, so is there likely to be a demonstration of vicarious sacrifice and vicarious violence; and it behoves both the Government and the people to make a wise choice. It hardly requires any recommendation from us that vicarious sacrifice is infinitely preferable to vicarious violence. We have no doubt that the Punjab Government goaded to vicarious violence the people, who were endeavouring to train themselves for vicarious sacrifice.

But Lahore, to its credit, never left the chosen path. The sufferings of Lahore are, in our opinion, a purer treasure in a way even than those of the people who were the victims of the massacre of Jallianwala Bagh.

We shall now cast a cursory glance at these sufferings.

Col. Johnson, of African fame, was in command of the Lahore Martial Law Area from the 15th of April to the 29th of May, 1919. His administration was so sweeping that it made itself felt by all classes of people, high and low, not excluding the students, numbering several thousands, studying in the various colleges. The tallest had to bend before his iron rule.

Take his curfew order. Men, women and children, living in small places where people are used to retire early, may not notice the inconvenience of it as in a big city like Lahore. In Lahore it became intolerable. Even those who required medical help had to be without such assistance, and when the difficulty was pointed out to this officer by Pandit Jagat Narayan[1], he promptly stated: "You cannot wage war without having to suffer such hardships." An officer holding the responsible position that Col. Johnson did, ought not to have used a technical legal phrase in respect of a state of things which by no stretch of reasoning could be called "waging of war". It was a prostitution of terms to apply the expression to a state of things that existed in Lahore or, for that matter, in the Punjab. We have read all the evidence produced before Lord Hunter, and we have been unable to notice a single fact or argument in support of the statement that the Punjab was "waging war against the King." Col. Johnson was obliged to admit that people never made use of arms anywhere. Those who had arms, which they could have freely used, neither

[1] Member of the Legislative Council of the United Provinces; one of the three Indian members of the Hunter Committee

used them themselves nor allowed others to make use of them. We shall presently see what "waging war" actually meant in the opinion of the Judges of the Martial Law Tribunals, but here we have the spectacle of a British officer, of long standing and varied experience, making the most irresponsible statements, unsupported by anything that could be accepted by reasonable men, and acting, on his own showing, upon hearsay, taking drastic measures against the people who had done no wrong except protesting in an orderly manner against unjust administration. Many of those who broke the curfew order, knowingly or unknowingly, reasonably or unreasonably, were publicly whipped like common and incorrigible criminals.

Col. Johnson "laid the greatest importance" on the notice he gave to the effect that, if any bomb was thrown on his troops, it would be taken as done by all persons living within the radius of 100 yards, and that he would give to all those living within that area an hour's time to leave and then dismantle and demolish every building there, except mosques and temples.

He had commandeered 800 tongas, which number was finally reduced to 200, and these were detained up to the time the Martial Law was in force. He commandeered all the motor-cars belonging to Indians. He restricted travelling by railway, so as "to limit the activities of gentlemen who might proceed outside the city to the district with a view to cause trouble there". He issued an order stopping all the free restaurants (*langarkhanas*). He regulated the prices of food-stuffs. He dispossessed licence-holders of their guns and his ardour had to be restrained by the Government in regard to those who were known to be men of "undoubted loyalty". He confirmed the orders that were issued by the Deputy Commissioner closing the Badshahi Mosque,[1] and it was permitted to be opened only on an undertaking being given by the trustees that "no Hindu would be allowed to enter the Badshahi Mosque".

He constituted Summary Courts. He himself tried cases. 277 persons were thus tried, of whom 201 were convicted. The maximum sentence was 2 years' imprisonment, 30 stripes and a fine of 1,000 rupees. 800 stripes were ordered by Summary Court Magistrates, and they were distributed amongst 66 persons. The highest number of stripes was 30, the lowest 5. These men were publicly flogged until an order came to the effect that they were not to be so flogged. There was hardly any medical examination.

[1] It was closed to the public for two weeks.

Lord Hunter asked him whether he never imagined the punishment had serious effect. The answer was, "I cannot imagine it." In his opinion it was "the kindliest method of punishment". To Mr. Justice Rankin he said he "terrorized" people, and dozens and dozens of sentences were saved. Justice Rankin thought that it was a little strong to suggest that whipping should be regarded as the most efficacious and convenient method of summarily dealing with masses of people in minor breaches, and asked Col. Johnson whether it should not be rather exceptional, and the answer was :

> I hardly agree with you. You have a very great population. You are creating new offences by the issue of these orders. If the jail is the only punishment, it would not affect this population here very much. The jail is an extraordinarily comfortable place from the general standard of households in the city. They are well fed in the Central Jail and one would soon have got used to the conditions. We were going to have the whole lot of them. I feared the jail would be filled.

In another place he says the value of whipping is equal to 1,000 soldiers. In our opinion, in applying the above reasoning, Col. Johnson has used barbarous arguments in order to support a barbarous punishment, and this fact alone makes him unfit for holding a responsible position, such as was entrusted to him by the Punjab Government. Nor were these the only punishments of whipping awarded. He has given those that were recorded by the Summary Courts, but the unrecorded punishments were perhaps more numerous than the recorded ones. Over 170 statements collected by us from Lahore go to show conclusively that the temper shown by the highest officers of the Crown had filtered down to the lowest, and in so filtering had reached such a fineness that it was ruffled on the slightest pretext, and was allowed to have its full play upon the populace, without any restraint worthy of the name.

His railway-travelling order, besides being general, was particularly aimed at lawyers' clerks and their messengers. Sir C. Setalvad[1] asked :

> In the order No. 6 you say, "I have reasons to believe that munshis, agents and chaprasis of pleaders are engaged in disseminating seditious propaganda." Therefore, you issued an order prohibiting them from leaving Lahore Civil Command without permit, and you ordered every

[1] Chimanlal H. Setalvad (1865-1947); eminent lawyer and liberal politician; one of the three Indian members of the Hunter Committee

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> legal practitioner to submit a complete list of every munshi, agent or chaprasi directly or indirectly employed by him?

Col. Johnson replied in the affirmative. When he was asked what evidence he had, he admitted it was all verbal.

It is well known how far this bias against the lawyer class was carried, how lawyers from outside the Punjab were refused admittance on the ground that they might also disseminate sedition. Even a scholarly lawyer of Mr. Manohar Lal's standing, respectability, known loyalty and caution bordering even on timidity, could not count upon being safe from the attentions of the Martial Law officers. He is an M.A. of the Punjab, a B.A. of Cambridge, a fellow and a member of the Syndicate of the Punjab University. He was a foundation scholar of St. John's College, Cambridge, and possesses several other distinctions. He is the Vice-President of the High Court Bar Association and the President of the Forman College[1] Graduates' Union. He was arrested at about 7.30 a.m. on the 18th of April, as a trustee of *The Tribune* newspaper. There was no warrant, nor was he told the charge on which he was arrested. He says:

> On my arrest at my house, I had barely two minutes to take leave of my wife and children, and I was given no indication of where I was to be taken.

He says further:

> At about 2 p.m., I was removed by the police from the Telegraph Office to the Central Jail, Lahore, where after the usual ceremonies at the gate, of depositing watch and chain, pencil, loose cash, etc., and signing the register by my thumb impression only, I was taken into a cell in the Ward No. 14 of the jail. This ward is meant for condemned prisoners, or those awaiting trial for capital or similar offences. In this cell, I was supplied after a time with two filthy jail blankets, and two iron basins to eat and drink out of. After about three hours, I was transferred to another part of the jail, known as the *Chakkis*, i.e., a series of cells furnished with arrangements for grinding corn. I do not wish to describe the cells, because they can easily be seen. All our sanitary and other arrangements were inside the small cells, consisting of stinking earthen vessels, cleaned twice a day. I was, when in this cell, allowed a short time in the morning to walk on a small indicated beat of about fifty yards, and go to the tap for a wash, if desired. I had no clothes but the suit in which I was taken away from the house, and it was not till Monday the 21st,

[1] Forman Christian College, Lahore

that, in the afternoon, I was given a few clothes brought by my son, when he came to interview me.

My wife and children had no idea of where I was confined till late in the afternoon of the day of my arrest. I was allowed no communication with them, except for the postcard I was able to send through the Superintendent of the jail on Saturday afternoon.

On Monday, 21st April, my friend, Kanwar Dalip Singh, Bar-at-Law, and my son came to see me at the jail, but, as I was allowed to see only one of them, I had a few minutes' interview in the presence of the *Darogha*[1] of the jail with my barrister friend. My request for the indulgence, if that it was, for a minute's talk with my son was refused by the Superintendent, Mr. Cowan.

On Wednesday the 23rd, I was transferred to the European ward, where I was comparatively more comfortable, having considerable liberty of movement, and because of the accommodation and clean lavatory and washing arrangements and a small library.

I lived in this ward till the morning of my release, the 16th of May. During this period I had, I believe, three regular interviews with my friends and relatives, one very brief, one as a special case with Kanwar Dalip Singh, as he used to be frequently in the jail, on account of his being retained by the Government for the undefended prisoners, and one, as an act of special kindness by the Superintendent, with my brother who was passing through Lahore.

During the whole of this time, I was given no indication as to what the charge or accusation against me was. I was left in a state of complete uncertainty.

Mr. Manohar Lal gives us also a glimpse of what happened to his invalid wife and children. He says :

I learnt, during one of the interviews allowed me in jail, that my house was searched after my arrest. It was locked up within less than three quarters of an hour of my arrest. My wife, an invalid lady, and my children had to find shelter in the servant's quarters and the kitchen in the compound, and they had to use bedding lent to them by friends. The search took place on the 18th of April, and my family was able to return to the house on the 19th of April, at about 6 p.m.

Two or three valuable books were also taken away by the police and remained unreturned to the day of his making the statement. He concludes the story of his arrest as follows :

To this day I am ignorant of any accusation against me, or of anything else that led to, much less necessitated, my arrest and confinement.

[1] Head warder

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In examining the possible reason for his arrest, he says :

> I do not take any part in the active life of the town, being almost entirely a student, so far as professional duties permit. During the many and frequent meetings to which the Deputy Commissioner called representatives, etc., of the people, I was never called, nor was otherwise present nor did I attend any of the meetings held by private gentlemen to devise means to stop the hartal. (Statement 150, p. 198.)

An officer who can order or allow the arrest of a man of Mr. Manohar Lal's standing without the most searching investigation is unfit to hold the high command that Col. Johnson did. It betrays a contempt for Indian honour such as ought not to be possible in those who wear His Majesty's uniform.

Another form of torture invented by this resourceful officer was to paste his notices on the houses of those whom he considered to be "evilly disposed persons". The owner was made responsible for any damage done, including even the dirtying of these notices. Sir Chimanlal asked him for a definition of "evilly disposed persons", and asked whether those whom he suspected would be the evilly disposed people. His astounding reply was, "If you like to put [it] that way, I would not object." "I want to know what was in your mind?", asked Sir Chimanlal. The answer was :

> I thought that people who were not known for their notorious loyalty should be employed on that work, and the persons deficient in this quality were selected by the C.I.D.

Sir Chimanlal suggested that the task meant watching the notices for full 24 hours from day to day. Col. Johnson admitted the necessity for such a watch, but held it to be absolutely justifiable. Intolerable as such an order was in any event, it became a thousand-fold intolerable when a whole institution was held responsible.

And this brings us to the story of the violence done to the student world as well as the professors of colleges. We must give the dialogue between Sir Chimanlal Setalvad and Col. Johnson in order that the working of Col. Johnson's mind may be thoroughly understood.

> Q. The Sanatan Dharma College was one of the buildings selected for putting up that notice?
>
> A. I believe it was.
>
> Q. It was not in the first list prominent, though it was but subsequently added?
>
> A. Yes, the list was recast afterwards.

Q. And the notice stuck on the outer wall of this college was torn down by someone?

A. That was the information laid before me, not by the police, but by somebody.

Q. Is it true that all the students of the hostels of the college were arrested?

A. I ordered that every male found on the premises should be arrested.

Q. How many were arrested?

A. 500.

Q. 500 students were arrested for this notice being damaged?

A. And the professors too.

Q. All of them so arrested were marched to the Fort which is three miles away from the College?

A. Quite.

Q. And during that march they were ordered to carry their bedding on their shoulders or heads?

A. If they wanted to carry their bedding, they could.

Q. Were they not made to carry them?

A. I made no order as to that. If they wanted to carry them, they could.

Q. On a Lahore summer day?

A. It was a May day.

Q. It was very hot in Lahore?

A. Yes.

Q. All these 500 students and professors were marched a distance of three miles?

A. Quite.

Q. And they were kept under orders in the Fort?

A. Yes, that is so.

Q. How long were they kept there?

A. I think one day. I beg your pardon, two days.

Q. They were then released after taking from the Principal certain undertakings as to their seeing that the notices were preserved?

A. Yes, after I got the necessary guarantee that such a thing would not happen again.

Q. I put it to you, Colonel, do you think that the measure that you took was a reasonable one?

A. Yes. I was looking for it. I was looking just for such an opportunity.

Q. You considered it then, and you consider it now, a reasonable order to make?

A. Undoubtedly.

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Q. Your frame of mind, then, Colonel, was as you indicated in your report, that you were waiting for an opportunity to bring home to them the power of Martial Law?

A. That was so.

Q. You were longing for such an opportunity?

A. Only in the interests of the people themselves.

Q. I do not suggest that it was not in their interest. It may or may not be. But you were longing for an opportunity to show the might of Martial Law?

A. Quite.

Q. You got that opportunity?

A. And I took it.

Q. And you took it and marched these 500 students to the Fort in the hot sun?

A. That is so.

Q. And you still maintain, that was a proper exercise of your authority?

A. Undoubtedly. I will do it again tomorrow, if circumstances require.

It should be remembered that the last cold-blooded reply of Col. Johnson was given, not whilst he was in the thick of the battle, but on the 24th November, 1919, nearly six months after he had left his command of Lahore. If his precious notice was wilfully defaced by anybody at all, it was his duty to make an enquiry, and not straightway proceed to punish the professors and the students. But Col. Johnson was nothing if not thorough, and therefore he took action against the D.A.V. College, the Dyal Singh College and the Medical College, not by way of punishment, but in order to keep the students "out of mischief", and the order issued was that there was to be a roll-call of all the students, four times a day, the hours being 7 and 11 in the morning, and 3 and 7.30 in the evening. "And the Medical College students, in order to attend this roll 4 times a day, had to walk in all about 17 miles a day?" was Sir Chimanlal's question. The impertinent reply given by Col. Johnson was: "I think it was only 16. I measured it." Sir Chimanlal then asked :

And they had to walk like this, in the hot sun of Lahore, for 3 weeks every day?

A. That is so, unless exempted by a medical certificate.

Q. You thought, Colonel, then, and you still maintain the view, that this was a reasonable order to make in order to keep students out of mischief?

A. That was my opinion then.

Q. And still it is your opinion?

A. Absolutely.

Q. Did it ever occur to you, and does it occur to you now, [that] it was working upon students the utmost hardship to make them travel 16 miles every day in the Lahore sun for three weeks?

A. No hardship at all.

We must give in Col. Johnson's own words the extraordinary justification for his extraordinary action :

Q. I put it to you again, Colonel, did it ever occur to you that by treating—I do not know how many hundreds, possibly thousands, of students in the manner you did, with regard to the roll-call, you were making these young men bear bitter hatred towards the British Government for the rest of their lives?

A. It did, but I came to the conclusion that there was so much sedition in these colleges that nothing that I did could make them worse.

Q. Do I understand you to say that although it did occur to you that this treatment of yours might result in turning them bitter against the British Government, your view was that they were such confirmed seditionists that you could not make them more bitter?

A. I do not accept your description, but the atmosphere of the colleges was such that you could not hurt it.

Q. Do you think that, by the measures you took, you were helping in the least to improve it?

A. I was certainly not making it worse.

Q. Were you improving it?

A. I was not out to make them loyal, but I was to keep them out of mischief and to keep them from outlying districts.

Q. Did you succeed?

A. Yes.

Q. You think that is the best way?

A. That is the best way I could think of. There are two ways. One is to close the colleges, and the other is to prosecute them.

Q. I take it to be your view that the best way of making people in this country loyal and well disposed towards Government is to adopt more harsh measures towards them?

A. I put it the other way—by teaching that there is a penalty for such suspected sedition.

Q. Did it ever occur to you that among these thousands of students there must have been a large number of perfectly innocent ones?

A. Yes, I gave exemptions to some.

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The Colonel thought that some students had insulted English ladies. We have not found anything to justify this charge. He has himself produced nothing in support of his opinion, but he had on that account a meeting of the principals of the colleges. He had a "frank talk" with them, and asked them to submit proposals for adequate punishments. The principals came out with what was suitable punishment in their view. He considered that some of the punishments were inadequate, and he promptly informed the principals that "unless the punishments were raised, the colleges would be closed and the students would be stopped from attending the examinations." In this way, a thousand and eleven students were punished. This is what Mr. Sant Ram Grover, M.A., B.Sc., Professor of English, Dyal Singh College, says about the students and their treatment :

> During the hartal days, I observed no change in the attitude of the students of my college, and I cannot recall even a single case of unseemly conduct on the part of any of them.
>
> Like many other buildings, our college was selected for having Martial Law notices posted thereon. About ten days or more after the proclamation of Martial Law, a notice was served on the Principal of our college, at about 7 p.m., one evening, that the writer of a seditious poster, which was attached to the notice, must be found out and reported to the Officer Commanding before 12 noon the next day. The trustees, staff, and students met the following morning to find out the writer, but were unable to do so, as no one connected with the college appeared to have been the author thereof. We were just drafting a reply, when Col. Johnson with some C.I.D. men came to our college. Raja Narendra Nath, one of the trustees, and some others came down to explain the matter to the Colonel. One C.I.D. man pointed out a place in the college, where he said he had found the poster stuck on the wall. I suggested to the Colonel that it must all be a story, for, though the poster appeared to have been fixed with a nail on the wall, there was no corresponding mark on the wall itself. We then showed to the Colonel the reply we had drafted. On this, the Colonel asked the reply to be sent to his office, which was done. The same evening, another notice was received asking the Principal to see him the next morning at 9 a.m. The Principal saw the Colonel at the appointed time, and returned with some soldiers with fixed bayonets. He was asked to pay Rs. 250 by way of fine, or go to jail for three months. The fine was paid on the spot.
>
> A few days after, our Principal, like those of other colleges, got an order from the Deputy Commissioner to find out and punish the ringleaders, no explanation being given as to ringleaders of what movement

were meant. We took it that some students had to be punished. To satisfy this demand, the College Council met and picked out a few students, and drew up a list of punishments. The list was shown to and approved of by the trustees. I took this list myself to the Deputy Commissioner with a letter from Raja Narendra Nath, mentioning the punishments, saying that a larger number of students was not castigated, because it would cause an unnecessary agitation, dangerous to society.

A day or two after this, we got a reply that the punishments were inadequate, and that a sufficient number of students had not been punished. The College Council again met, and a few more students were added to the list, and the punishments of others enhanced. The next day, we heard from the Deputy Commissioner, approving of the punishments and sending a cheque for Rs. 250 in remittance of the fine previously realized. (Statement No. 151, p. 201.)

The punishments consisted in rusticating students, suspending them from attending examinations, etc. All this without any real trial. The letter, addressed on behalf of Col. Johnson to the Principal of the D.A.V. College on the 10th of May, shows most accurately the attitude adopted by this officer. We, therefore, give it below without any further comment.

Copy of a letter No. 111-4, dated 10th May 1919, from the Staff Officer, Lahore (Civil) Command, Punjab Club, Lahore, to the address of the Principal, D. A. V. College, Lahore:

The Officer Commanding, Lahore (Civil) Area, has carefully considered your letter of the 7th instant. In reply, I am directed to say that Col. Johnson considers the disciplinary action suggested therein as entirely inadequate, in view of all the facts at his disposal, which would tend to prove that the students of your college have even exceeded those of other colleges in Lahore in seditious activities. And I am to say that unless he receives from you today a schedule of punishments which, in his opinion, are more adequately applicable to the unenviable reputation of your college, the Officer Commanding would have no alternative but to immediately close the D. A. V. College and exclude all its students from the forthcoming examination.

In order to assist you in framing a scale of punishments, I am directed to inform you that in the case of the Government College, 6 students are being expelled and debarred from ever entering any other college in the University, 6 are not to be allowed to proceed to any further examination, 6 are to be rusticated for a year, 15 forfeit their scholarships, besides minor punishments in 112 other cases.

In the Dyal Singh College, 7 students are to be expelled, 5 are to be rusticated for a year, 14 will be put back one year, 14 are suspended

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for three months, 2 are temporarily deprived of their scholarships, and 224 are to suffer minor punishments, whilst 245 are required to furnish substantial securities for their future behaviours.

The Officer Commanding thinks that it may help you to submit proposals which will save him the necessity of closing your college, if I add that he expects such disciplinary action to be in no degree less than those to which I have drawn your attention.

Finally, I am to say that the Officer Commanding, Lahore Civil Area, is unable to accept the proposal that any portion of the fines inflicted should be paid to the Comforts Fund for British soldiers.

(Sd.) W. BARNS, MAJOR,
STAFF OFFICER,
LAHORE CIVIL COMMAND

Then there was an order making it a crime for more than 2 Indians to walk abreast. "The preamble stated, 'Whereas it is expedient to prevent violence or intimidation, if more than two 'natives' come and do not give way to a European, that is likely to lead to a breach of the peace'," said Col. Johnson to Sir Chimanlal. Sir Chimanlal elicited the fact that the breach of the peace would be committed not by the "natives", but by the Europeans, and Indians had to suffer in order to prevent a breach of the peace on the part of European who might resent more than two Indians walking abreast. One of the reasons he gave to Sir Chimanlal for depriving Indian owners of their cars was that it was a reasonable measure, as "he wanted to bring home to the people that they could not play this game and that they could not have risings in Lahore."

The following questions and answers demonstrate fully the blighting effect of Col. Johnson's rule.

Q. Is it true, as has been alleged, that a marriage party in a certain part of Lahore was arrested, because they were more than ten, and moving about as they usually do, and the marriage party and the bridegroom were arrested and the priest and others were flogged?

A. It is quite true. It is the one instance that I know of, that is to be regretted. The moment I heard of it the fines were remitted and the Civil Magistrate was removed.

It is good of Col. Johnson that there was at least one instance which caused him some regret, but it is also the one instance which shows how dangerous the punishment of flogging is, and how his totally unnecessary orders caused the greatest irritation and inconvenience to the population that was perfectly harmless.

We have been dwelling on the acts of Col. Johnson as if they were his own original productions. Whilst he was, no doubt, capable of doing most of the things himself, there can equally be no doubt that there was a mind and a purpose behind these acts that was not Col. Johnson's. That Officer was executing Sir Michael O'Dwyer's policy and wishes. Mr. Manohar Lal was arrested, because he was a trustee for *The Tribune*. That independent newspaper had to be killed. Mr. Kalinath Roy, the able Editor of *The Tribune*, had offended him more than once by his independence. His article on Sir Michael's vituperative speech of the 7th April, entitled "Blazing Indiscretion" was the last straw. How blazing the indiscreet speech was, the events have shown. He had not a single self-respecting man to defend his indefensible conduct towards the educated classes. Anyway, Mr. Kalinath Roy was duly arrested, tried and convicted for seditious writings.[1] We have no hesitation in saying that there was not a word of sedition in Mr. Roy's writings. His trial was nothing less than an outrage on decency in political life. No less cruel was the prosecution of the Editor[2] of *Pratap*, a paper that had just commenced its career and whose Editor was widely known for his meekness and the harmless religious character of his writings. The existence of independent journalism became an impossibility during the Martial Law regime and *The Tribune*, the *Punjabee*, and the *Pratap* stopped publishing.

We now come to the oppression not practised in its nakedness, as it was in connection with the orders we have till now dealt with, but veiled and practised in the name of law and justice. We refer to the Martial Law Commissions[3]. These Commissions were supposed to conduct a judicial but summary trial of persons who were supposed to have committed serious crimes, i.e., waging war. We have examined the papers in connection with the trial of the Lahore leaders. They were 11 in number, most of them occupying a high status in society, and some of them worthy to be Sir M. O'Dwyer's peers. Seven of them are barristers or pleaders. Lala Harkishen Lal has furnished us with a statement,

[1] His petition for mercy was rejected by the Lt.-Governor of the Punjab on June 13, 1919. He was, however, released on August 27, 1919, as his sentence of imprisonment was reduced from 2 years to 3 months by the Governor-General-in-Council on July 6, 1919.

[2] Radha Kishan, who was sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment which was later reduced to 2 months by the Lt.-Governor on July 25, 1919

[3] They began their work on April 24, 1919. Each Commission was composed of three members.

in which he has no hesitation in saying that he was charged because Sir M. O'Dwyer was, in plain English, jealous of his reputation as a financier, and in other respects concerned with activities which were distasteful to the Lieut.-Governor. He shows in his statement how insidious attempts were made to ruin the enterprises that he was controlling. Lala Harkishen Lal says that his deportation was without the least justification, and his trial and conviction were based purely on fabrication. The general dislike that Sir M. O'Dwyer felt towards the deponent was intensified in that the deponent had been appointed a member of the Congress Deputation, and was to proceed to England at the end of April, 1919,[1] and that he had also been elected to preside at the Punjab Provincial Conference which was to be held at Jullundur on the 18th and 19th of April, 1919.

He and the other leaders were tried for waging war. We have read the *precis* of the charge against the accused, and it consists in the accused having taken part in the Rowlatt Act agitation, in the hartal, having made speeches, having supported *langarkhanas* and in being present at the meetings we have already described. We have read the evidence produced against these popular leaders, and we have read also the judgment, and have come to the conclusion that the whole of the trial was a travesty of justice, and it was an abuse of language to consider their acts as tantamount to the 'waging of war'. It is remarkable, too, that the judges took judicial notice of the state of war in the Punjab, because of the proclamation establishing Martial Law, whereas it was their clear duty, in trying individual cases, to take evidence rebutting the proposition that there was a state of rebellion or war in the Punjab. Lala Harkishen Lal has stated what it cost him to undergo the trial and imprisonment. He says the telegrams cost him well-nigh Rs. 1,200, the trial another sum of Rs. 12,000 and the appeal a good round sum, but the accounts were not yet complete. Loss of business meant nothing less than 3 lacs of rupees. It may mean nothing to him to lose all this money, but we are aware of some who have been impoverished because of these so-called judicial trials.

Mr. Santanam[2], a barrister of 10 years' standing, and practising in Lahore, and who was engaged for the defence, has

[1] The Deputation left for England on April 28, 1919.

[2] K. Santanam, secretary to the Commission appointed by the Punjab Sub-committee of the Indian National Congress to report on the Punjab disturbances

furnished us with a graphic description of the tribunals. We make no apology for giving a long extract from his statement. After describing what he had seen himself of the firing on the 10th April, and of the other effects of the Martial Law, he proceeds :

> The consciousness of the humiliation to which every Indian, irrespective of status, was subjected in those days was however nothing in comparison to the pain one felt at the sorry plight of those poor prisoners who had been arrested in hundreds and were being arraigned before the Martial Law Tribunals. It is no exaggeration to say that no legal help of any kind was forthcoming. The Government had, no doubt, out of a feeling of great humanity (one likes to think so at least), appointed a counsel for each Tribunal to take up the case of those who could not afford to engage a lawyer to defend them. But this was a colossal sham, as such a counsel had often to defend as many as 10 to 15 men at a time, and that too, without any adequate time to consult them, or prepare their case. Some of these gentlemen had confessed to me that in several cases they had not had as much as 5 minutes with each accused for consultation, before being asked to defend them against such serious charges as waging war, conspiracy, arson, murder, etc. The procedure usually was to bring up before a Tribunal a batch of the accused, often numbering 30 and 40, who had never been told for what offence they had been arrested, to read out the charge to them, and ask them then and there to name what witnesses they were going to summon in their defence. They were also told at the same time that the Government would try their best to summon these witnesses, but could not guarantee that each and every one would be produced. As often as not, the *precis* of the evidence for the prosecution was not read out to them, nor were they allowed to take copies of the *precis*. Each accused was asked if he had a counsel of his own; if not, he was told that the counsel appointed by the Crown would defend him. After this, they were taken back to the jail, and were not allowed to see even the Crown counsel till 9 o'clock on the morning of the day fixed for their trial, which usually was 3 or 4 days after the day on which the charge was read out to them. Sometimes, I am told, the Crown counsel was allowed to see the prisoners in jail from 7 a.m. in the morning till 8.30 a.m., when the prisoners were usually taken to court. But it can be imagined what this concession amounted to, if it is remembered that these counsel had to attend the court every day at 10 a.m., and had to defend fresh batches of accused each day, so that they could only have consultation with those whose cases were coming on that very day. Let it also be remembered that the trial of 20 and 30 persons on very serious charges was usually over in a day, and it can be imagined what sort of trial these poor men could have had.

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If this was the fate of the men who were too poor to engage counsel, the fate of those who were in a position to do so was not any better, as, though willing to pay, they could not find any counsel of any standing to take up their cases. The first difficulty they encountered was that no one knew on which day any accused would be brought up before a Tribunal and arraigned. In this uncertainty, the better class of lawyers could not accept a brief beforehand, quite ignorant as to whether the date would be suitable to them or not.

The second difficulty was that most of the lawyers having taken some part or other in politics, which was anathema to the then Government, were afraid that their turn might come next to be arrested, and did not want to hasten the evil day by taking up the cases of the alleged revolutionaries. The third and the most important one was that there was a general belief that the Government looked upon counsel who took up such cases as seditionists and revolutionaries themselves and such a course was enough in itself to get a man into trouble. This idea was strengthened by the action of the Hon'ble Mian Mohammad Shafi, now a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council,[1] whom a relative of Seth Ram Pershad had engaged to defend him when he would be brought up for trial. A few days after this, Mr. Shafi returned the brief, and I have it on very reliable authority that the reason he gave was that a high officer of the Government had as much as given a hint to him that such a course on his part was not looked upon with approval by the Government. It can better be imagined than described what effect this incident had on the already demoralized Bar.

My own personal experience is that whether the Government disapproved or not, it was evident that the police which was all in all at that time, certainly did not relish the idea. Up till May 1919, I had the good fortune not to attract the attention of the C.I.D. to myself. But on May 14th, I was engaged on behalf of the accused in the case of Lala Harkishen Lal and others, known as the Lahore Leaders' Case and went up to Simla with a petition for transfer of the case and for permission to get counsel from outside, which was, of course, never granted. But this action of mine seems to have been enough for the C.I.D., for, when I came back from Simla, I was told that the C.I.D. had been regularly patrolling my house in my absence and incidentally frightening my family into fits. Ever since then, I have been regularly shadowed and my movements watched and it is only recently that their unwelcome attentions have been somewhat relaxed.

From what I have said above, it will be clear that the accused were practically undefended and the Government succeeded in its object of

[1] He took his seat on July 16, 1920.

securing speedy convictions without any opposition. The order prohibiting counsel from outside entering the Martial Law [area] was meant only to prevent the truth of the atrocities being committed here from becoming known to the outside world, and to obviate the possibility of any agitation being set up against the monstrous injustice perpetrated here under colour of judicial procedure.

Not content with setting up these difficulties in the way of an efficient defence being put up, the Tribunals went further and did things which no court, either civil or military, with any pretensions to deal justice of even a rudimentary character, would dare do. The ordinance of the Viceroy empowered the convening authority to convene a court with the powers of a Summary General Court Martial "wherever it might be necessary in the interests of public safety". But all the trials conducted by all the four Martial Law Tribunals were invariably under the powers of a Summary General Court Martial, or, as it is otherwise called, a Drumhead Court Martial. I might explain that these Courts Martial are intended for the armies on the actual field of battle, where the niceties of legal procedure cannot be observed in the interests of military expediency.

The counsel engaged in the cases were treated with scant courtesy and were made to feel that they were there by mere sufferance. The most reasonable requests were most insolently refused and sometimes counsel were even actually insulted.

No records of proceedings were allowed to be taken on behalf of the accused except short notes by the counsel himself. There was actually an order to this effect by the convening authority which I herewith attach. (Appendix A.)

The record taken down by the court was an extremely unfair one, as the evidence-in-chief for the prosecution was taken down verbatim, but the answers in cross-examination were not taken down for the most part, especially those which were in some way favourable to the accused, in spite of repeated requests by the counsel for the accused. The reply usually given by the Commissioners was that, sitting as a Summary General Court Martial, they were not obliged to keep any record at all, except such notes as they considered necessary for their own use. As a consequence of this, it will be observed in the existing records that there are often pages of depositions of prosecution witnesses followed by a few lines of statement in cross-examination and these few lines too contain the most futile and unimportant answers. As an instance, I might point to the evidence of one Maratab Ali Shah, a Sub-Inspector of Police in the Lahore Leaders' Case, being witness No. 29 for the prosecution. He was subjected to a very severe cross-examination for nearly half an hour, and if it were all taken down, it would have been clear that if any

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witness broke down completely, it was he. But on the actual record there are only two lines, and this man's evidence has been relied on by the Commissioners in their judgment.

No fair or reasonable opportunities were given for cross-examination. Counsel were often told to limit their examination to a certain number of questions, or were given a time limit, irrespective of whether their questions were relevant or not. A good deal of protection was given to the prosecution witnesses and the Commissioners very often told them not to answer inconvenient questions, though perfectly relevant to the case. They also encouraged them to be insolent to the counsel.

Very often when a witness was cornered and was hesitating for an answer, the Commissioners told him, "If you don't remember, say so"; and this hint was invariably taken by the witness who afterwards was ready with his answers, "I do not remember." The protection accorded to the European witnesses specially was something ludicrous. Any questions put with the object of making them contradict themselves were considered *lese-majeste*. Very often a witness, who had deposed to a certain incident, would shelter himself behind the reply "I do not remember". After this you were not allowed to put any other questions prompting his memory so as to elicit the true reply. If you did, the Commissioners came out with, "Do not you hear that he says he does not remember?" In deposing to the above facts, I speak from my experience of the Tribunal presided over by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Leslie Jones, which tried the Lahore Leaders' Case.

Towards the close of the case, very little argument was allowed. Very often a time limit was placed. Legal objections were brushed aside most contemptuously. When I appeared before the Tribunal presided over by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Broadway in the Gujranwala Leaders' Case, I put in an application raising nearly all the points of jurisdiction now raised before the Privy Council. The learned Commissioner at first refused to hear me and said he would send on the application to the convening authority for disposal. On my protesting against such a course and quoting a section of the Army Act for the simple proposition that the convening authority was *functus officio* when the court was once convened, and it was for the Court to decide these questions, he most grudgingly allowed me to argue, but told me that he would allow me only half an hour for arguing about 7 or 8 points of jurisdiction that I had raised. My protests were ignored, and I began my argument. In the middle of my argument, the Government Advocate got up to object to some remark of mine. The Commissioner at once came out with this remark, "Mr. Herbert, why do you think it worthwhile to object? It will only make him take a longer time. Let him have his say and let us be done with it." At the end of a little over half an hour, I was asked to finish my argu-

ments as I had only 5 minutes more allowed to me. I had perforce to comply with it and the Court without calling on the other side for a reply passed its order. In it, only a few objections I took up are dealt with most cursorily and the rest ignored.

The trials which were carried on under such circumstances were a mere farce, and no real justice was sought to do [*sic*] or was administered. My experience of the two Tribunals I appeared before was an extremely painful and humiliating one, all the more so, because I had the honour of appearing before both the presiding officers in the calmer atmosphere of the High Court, where I had known them to act at least with a judicial decorum. My experience of Martial Law has been a revelation to me, inasmuch as I found that judges who, in the High Court atmosphere, would respect judicial forms and give a scrupulously fair hearing to the accused and their counsel, brushed aside in the Martial Law atmosphere all canons of propriety and rendered themselves practically unfit as judges even though dealing with matters of life and death.

Nor were the leaders the only ones arrested and tried. Several others were tried before the Martial Law Commissions, and many more before the so-called Summary Courts. We have been furnished with a statement, from which we find that sixty-four were tried before the Commissions, of whom eight were discharged, three hundred and fifty tried before the Summary Courts and one hundred and two discharged, and 40 were arrested and released without trial, after having been kept in custody for several days, even extending to over a month, as in the case of Mr. Manohar Lal.

Thus Lahore, which had done no wrong, which had tried to conciliate the authorities, whose leaders had done all that was humanly possible to serve the authorities, had Martial Law inflicted upon it, and that under an officer who proved to be heartless, cruel, and utterly indifferent to the sentiments and susceptibilities of the people who had the misfortune to come under his charge. Every conceivable form of humiliation of every stratum of Lahore society was brought into service. We consider that, so far as we are aware of the local conditions, Martial Law was totally uncalled for, was unduly prolonged, and was ruthlessly and inhumanly administered, and indescribable injustice was perpetrated, even through the courts known as Martial Law Commissions or Summary or Area Officers' Courts.

KASUR

Kasur is an important town in the Lahore district, about 40 miles from Lahore. It is an important railway station on the

main line, and a fairly large trade centre, with a population of 24,000. On the 6th April, there was no hartal in Kasur. Nothing happened on the 10th, but, on the 11th, the news of Mr. Gandhi's arrest and the deportation of Drs. Satyapal and Kitchlew had reached Kasur early in the morning. There was, therefore, hartal during part of the day, and a public meeting in the evening. The speeches were so unexceptionable that, with all the desire to prosecute the leaders, the leading lawyers of Kasur, in connection with the speeches, nothing could be found against them of an incriminating nature in their speeches. We know that the Sub-Divisional Officer, Mr. Marsden, laboured the point about the speeches and, in his evidence before the Hunter Committee, suggested that the lawyers, by their irresponsible talk and failure properly to interpret the Rowlatt Act, had created an atmosphere of excitement. Whether there was misrepresentation about the Rowlatt Act in the course of conversation on the part of anybody, we do not know. Some exaggeration and some misrepresentation about unpopular acts of a legislature or an executive are, unfortunately, inevitable in any society, no matter how well organized or cultured. But we believe that the lawyers in question did not indulge in any exaggeration whatever about the evil effects of the Act. As we have shown in discussing the Act, its evil effects are hardly capable of being exaggerated, for the Act perpetuates a regime of lawlessness, wherever it can be made applicable.

The 12th of April followed with a complete hartal. The temper of the people was different on the 12th from that of the 11th. We believe the testimony of one of the witnesses before the Hunter Committee that some people had come in from Amritsar, had given an exaggerated picture of the events there and inflamed the minds of the gullible or the disreputable element in Kasur. The idlers as well as the middle class people gathered together, marched on the station, and tried to set fire to it. The fire which was started in the lamp-room was easily put out by some of the leaders, who had rushed in on hearing of the intentions of the crowd. Partially foiled in the attempt, the crowd went to the signal station, wherein a train had just arrived and stopped. The crowd emptied the mineral waters compartment of its contents, and, seeing some Europeans, made a disgraceful attack on them, in which they were again foiled by the timely appearance of Mr. Ghulam Mohiyuddin, a noted pleader of Kasur, and his friends. Mr. and Mrs. Sherbourne and their children were taken to a place of safety. The train, however, proceeded further with two more precious lives. They were two English soldiers. On the train

reaching the station, the soldiers thought their safety lay in escape. They got out of the train and fired on the howling mob in pure self-defence. But their fire produced no effect on the mob, save perhaps to excite it to still further fury, and these two innocent Englishmen were brutally clubbed to death. In all the excesses, none perhaps was so brutal, inhuman and cowardly as this unprovoked murder of innocent soldiers. Indefensible as the conduct of the mob must be held in Amritsar, it has at least the double provocation in the shape of the arrest of Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal, and the firing near the carriage-bridge as an extenuating circumstance. We cannot too strongly condemn these excesses. Drunk with the blood of their innocent victims, these rioters proceeded to the revenue offices, and burnt them. They were finally dispersed by the police, who were ordered to fire on them.

It is remarkable how the mob fury subsided in every place in a few hours. In Kasur, too, perfect quiet reigned after a few hours. Our examination of these incidents shows that the mob fury was a sudden outburst, and not the calculated result of a conspiracy or a plot. The authorities were able to make arrests without any difficulty. Mr. Marsden was sent to replace the Indian Sub-Divisional Officer, and Martial Law was proclaimed on the 16th April.

The administration of Martial Law was placed in the hands of Col. MacRae, who was followed by Captain Doveton. In some respects, these two officers excelled their brother officers in their inventiveness, irresponsibility and total disregard of the feelings and sentiments of those who were affected by their orders. We give the following condensed summary of their proceedings, made from the evidence before Lord Hunter's Committee. The first arrests commenced on the 16th. There was a proclamation parade at the Town Hall, and, evidently, to signalize the inauguration of Martial Law, they arrested Baba Dhanpat Rai, an aged and respected leader of long standing. He is 65 years old. He was detained at the Lahore Central Jail for 46 days, and released on the 1st of June, without ever having been told why he was arrested. 21 further arrests were made that same day, 3 more the next day, 4 on the 18th and 40 on the 19th. In all, 172 persons were arrested; of these, 97 were discharged without being sent up for trial. Of the 75 sent up, 51 were actually convicted. Amongst the men arrested were included Maulvi Ghulam Mohyuddin and Maulvi Abdul Kadir, who were the men who had succeeded in protecting Mr. and Mrs. Sherbourne and who, otherwise, had used their influence entirely to restrain the excesses of the crowd.

The houses of many of these leaders were searched without the slightest excuse. On the 1st of May, the whole town of Kasur, excluding women and little children, was required to attend at the railway station for purposes of identification. They were made to sit bareheaded in the hot sun till 2 o'clock, without water or food. As one of the witnesses said before Lord Hunter, this was a totally useless procedure, bare of any substantial results, so far as the collection of evidence was concerned. We who have some experience of law and the manner in which evidence can be collected and tested have no hesitation in saying that it is impossible to secure correct identification by holding a parade in this manner, and that no value can be attached to identification thus procured. We suspect that the so-called parade was held purely with a view to humiliating the whole town and in order to strike terror. For, after the people had collected, search parties were sent out in order to see that nobody absented himself. It is not difficult to imagine the state in which the unprotected women must have been in the presence of these search parties.

During the trials at Kasur, 40 men were sentenced to be whipped. The total number of stripes given was 710. The flogging-post was erected on the station platform. Schoolboys were also punished with flogging. The head master of one school is supposed to have reported that his boys were getting insubordinate and asked for military help. The Officer Commanding, thereupon, suggested that some of the boys should be whipped. Therefore, boys from this school and another were ordered to be collected. The head master was asked to select 6 boys. He selected those who were not quite high class, but who were not physically fit. The Officer Commanding, therefore, rejected these boys and asked Mr. Marsden to select others, and so a selection was made out of the boys belonging to the complaining school and another, without any other reason than that they were bodily fitted to receive the punishment more than the others. They were whipped outside the station entrance in the presence of other schoolboys. In answer to the question by Lord Hunter as to what the object was, the reply given by Mr. Marsden was that there was no particular object. It should be remembered that there was no question of any Martial Law offence. No investigation, no trial. It was an unlawful and wanton use of authority. It was in Kasur again that prostitutes were invited to witness flogging on one occasion. (See their joint statement No. 279 B.)

Two men were even shot by the sentries. One was found to be dumb. Probably in both cases the shooting was wilful and

wanton. We think that had the sacredness of Indian life been recognized, and a sense of justice prevailed at the top, the sentries would not have been so free with their guns, as we fear they were.

Kasur was the place where fancy punishments were most common. "What happened was," said Mr. Marsden, "Captain Doveton did not like to go through the formalities of trial and sentence." He wanted to do things "summarily". There can be no question of a record of the many punishments awarded by this capricious officer. He "used to make people mark time and climb ladders". By way of change, some sadhus were whitewashed. Capt. Doveton denies that this was deliberate. He says that they were asked to unload lime and they became whitewashed. We totally disbelieve this explanation, and we believe the testimony of eyewitnesses who have described the process. One form of punishment consisted in making the so-called delinquents lift heavy bales in the station warehouse. People who failed to salaam every white man were made to rub their noses on the ground if they were not flogged. Captain Doveton and Mr. Marsden suggested that the people liked Martial Law and were rather "amused" at these punishments than terrified or humiliated. Capt. Doveton got from the people an address for himself, and actually, by way of punishment, required Mohammedans to compose verses in his praise. He inflicted also the punishment of skipping, which consisted in the punished people skipping 20 times without a break. He says that at least 20 people were thus punished.

Mr. Marsden has complained that among the exaggerations made by the pleaders there was one in which a Hindu pleader was reported to have said that the people were like "unarmed cattle in the eyes of the Government". The punishments that we have described, and the levity with which the people's feelings were regarded, certainly bear out the charge made by the pleader. In this report, Captain Doveton has said that these people had become "willing slaves". Sir Chimanlal Setalvad asked him to interpret the term and he said, "It means, willing to work in the way you require." This officer tried cases which were of a civil nature, and ordered punishment, and in this manner disposed of the case of the rental of a temple property. He also punished people who in his opinion were turbulent or defiant, and he said that he imposed ultra Martial Law punishments, because he did not consider that the Martial Law punishment was suited to those who were "merely truculent or openly defiant". Sahibzada Sultan

Ahmed[1] asked him whether, in doing so, he was not going beyond General Benyon's instructions. Capt. Doveton thought that he had a full discretion to do so. He sent out parties of reprisals in respect of those whom he had called but who had not turned up. The reprisal consisted in burning the property of such people. He was asked whether he thought he was justified by any Martial Law order. His reply was, "Yes, I do." And thus several poor people had their belongings destroyed, without warrant.

Before the trials of the prisoners were commenced, gallows were erected in a public place, in anticipation of the Judges awarding the punishment of hanging. These gallows were erected as near to the scene of the mob outrage as possible. It was elicited in the course of examination that this was done by the orders of Sir M. O'Dwyer, but before the hanging order could be carried out, public hanging was vetoed, because, we fancy, of the agitation set up in the Indian Press against this contemplated outrage upon public decency. This hanging suggests a serious reflection. Eighteen persons were hanged as a result of the Martial Law trials throughout the province, and many more would have been hanged but for the strong agitation that was set up throughout India, and the timely, firm and philanthropic promptitude of the Hon'ble Pandit Motilal Nehru, who entered into cable communication with the Secretary of State and, pending proceedings in appeal, asked for the suspension of death sentences. Fortunately, the Secretary of State intervened and ordered the Viceroy to suspend these death sentences. We cannot help expressing our deep regret that the Viceroy should not have of his own accord suspended these death sentences. Our regret is all the more poignant from our knowledge of the looseness and disregard of ordinary procedure with which Martial Law trials were carried out. We much suspect that many of those who were hanged and over whose heads the death sentences are still hanging, were or are totally innocent.

In deliberate disregard of facts, and insolent adherence to that attitude, perhaps no officer has outdone Col. MacRae if he has been equalled by any of his brother officers who had charge of Martial Law administration. In his statement before the Hunter Committee, he said, "This city has for many years past been noted for sedition." He admitted that he had never known

[1] Bar-at-Law; Member for Appeals, Gwalior State; one of the three Indian members of the Hunter Committee

Kasur before. Sir Chimanlal therefore asked: "On what do you base that statement of yours?"

A. It is all hearsay.

Q. You had no personal knowledge?

A. No.

Q. Who told you that this place had for many years past been noted for sedition?

A. I don't propose to answer that question.

Q. You make this statement in a responsible document to the authorities, and so I want to know what is the basis of this statement?

A. I leave it as I have put down.

Q. True, you may leave it as you have put down, but I want to know the reasons for your statement. I put this question, because, previous to this, officials have stated that in Kasur before the 10th April, there was no political activity and nothing done so far as politics were concerned. And therefore I am surprised to find in your statement that this city has for many years past been noted for sedition. Do you still adhere to that statement?

A. I won't answer this question.

* * *

Q. Then you make the statement: "This city harbours pleaders who are well known to have anti-Government feeling." Is that also hearsay?

A. Yes.

Q. And stands on no other footing, as the other statement?

A. Yes.

Q. Are you aware, as Martial Law administrator, that several pleaders assisted the authorities, on the 12th and subsequent days, to maintain law and order, and that one of them was actually seen to mingle in saving Mr. Sherbourne?

A. Yes.

Q. Knowing that several pleaders assisted the authorities in the manner I have described, you still adhere to the statement that the pleaders are well known to have anti-Government feeling?

A. I adhere to the statement, and say it is hearsay.

Q. Do you adhere to it now?

A. I acknowledge your facts as correct.

Q. If they are correct, do you adhere to this sweeping statement or are you prepared to modify it?

A. I put it to you in turn: did all the pleaders try to stop the whole . . . ?

Q. Well, I am not here to answer your question.

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A. Well, I don't want to answer yours.

Col. MacRae had also stated that the *hundis* of Kasur merchants who had not joined them in the hartal, were dishonoured by the Amritsar merchants. Col. MacRae replied that that was also hearsay, and "he had no evidence in support of it". This officer had ordered that Martial Law notices should be posted on the houses of the well-known agitators. Sir Chimanlal asked what he meant by the word "agitators". The answer was: "I think it is good English."

Q.—But what do you mean by agitators?

A.—I don't want to answer otherwise than I have said in my statement.

This unedifying dialogue went on for some time longer. We have reproduced these portions to show the manner in which this officer, at least, discharged the very responsible duties which he had to perform, and with reference to which he has been indemnified in advance by the Government.

This officer had issued orders that reprisals would be taken against the property of the persons on whose walls any proclamation had been defaced. He declined to answer the question whether the order was written or oral, by saying, "What does it matter whether it was written or oral?" It is difficult to say which is more offensive, whether the insolence of the answer or the brutality of the order. We use the term "brutality", because the reprisals were to be taken (according to the answer given by the witness) "even though the notice may have been defaced by someone else"; and when he was asked whether he thought the order to be a reasonable order, he replied: "It was a reasonable order, and I still think so."

Q. As regards the whipping of schoolboys, you gave directions that the biggest six boys were to be selected for whipping?

A. Yes, generally speaking.

Q. Their misfortune was that they happened to be big?

A. Of course.

Q. Because they were big, therefore they had to suffer these lashes?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you think it was a reasonable thing to do?

A. I thought so under the circumstances, and I still think so.

We have selected only a few samples from the answers given by the two officers in question. In fact, their answers are a study in insolence and irresponsibility. We do not know that those who

appointed these officers are not more to blame than the officers themselves. They perhaps knew not what they were doing. But those who selected them should have known that these officers were unfit for the post to which they were called. On the merits, we are of opinion that the introduction of Martial Law was, so far as local circumstances are concerned, totally unnecessary and the Act[1] was administered in an improper manner.

PATTI AND KHEMKARN

These are two small railway stations, a few miles from Kasur. At Khemkarn, the station property was looted and wires cut. As stated by Mr. Marsden, it was a small thing and done by "apparently the lower classes, shopkeepers, riff-raff labourers and people of that type". And at Patti, as stated by Mr. Marsden, the chief inhabitants of the town gave assistance to the officials and the police, and all was quiet. Yet the effect of Martial Law was felt at these two villages also in full force.[2]

GUJRANWALA

Gujranwala district is in many respects one of the most important in the province and Gujranwala itself, though a small town containing a population of 30,000, is the most notable for being the birth-place of Maharaja Ranjit Singhji. It is also an important railway station, only 42 miles from Lahore on the main line. The places in this district which have come under our notice, besides Gujranwala, are Wazirabad, Nizamabad, Akalgarh, Ramnagar, Hafizabad, Sangla Hill, Moman, Dhaban Singh, Manianwala, Nawan Pind, Chuharkana, and Sheikhupura. Gujranwala was cut up into two districts on the first of November last, the portion cut out being known as the Sheikhupura district. For the purposes of this report, therefore, the original district will be considered as one whole, coming under the jurisdiction of the same officer.

It is common cause that there were no signs of unrest up to the 13th April last, or, more correctly speaking, up to the 14th. So much was this the case that Col. O'Brien[3] was in the ordinary course transferred, on the 12th, to Ambala, and was the recipient of an address from his friends and admirers at Gujranwala.

[1] Presumably, the Indemnity Act of 1919

[2] As stated by Marsden before the Hunter Committee, even at Patti 31 persons were convicted and of these 14 were sentenced to be whipped.

[3] Deputy Commissioner of Gujranwala

In answer to a question by the Hunter Committee he said that had he or the authorities known that there was any trouble brewing, he would certainly not have been transferred, but would have remained at Gujranwala, as, indeed, he was brought to Gujranwala immediately there was trouble, i.e., on the 14th. On the 30th March, there was no stir at all in Gujranwala, and there was no hartal. On the 4th April, the matter of the hartal was informally discussed by the members of the District Congress Committee in connection with Mr. Gandhi's message. A large public meeting was held on the 5th, at which 4 innocuous resolutions were passed dealing with the Rowlatt Act. The speeches made at this meeting were studiously moderate. Col. O'Brien was, however, anxious about this meeting. He sent for certain noted men of Gujranwala and warned them that if any disturbances took place they would be held responsible; and they asked the Deputy Commissioner, and the Superintendent of Police who was also present at the interview, to attend the meeting, if they chose to. The 6th of April opened with a complete hartal and people, young and old, joined in fasting and prayer. The various statements made before us go to show that the authorities tried their utmost to prevent the hartal, and even fasting, and great pressure was exercised on behalf of, or by the authorities to prevent the hartal.

Up to the 12th, as has already been remarked, everything was calm and quiet. But suddenly the news of the arrest and externment of Mr. Gandhi, as also the arrest and deportation of Drs. Satyapal and Kitchlew, found its way to Gujranwala; so also did the happenings of the 10th at Amritsar and Lahore. On this, the common people as well as the leaders, began to consider the advisability of another hartal, this time by way of protest against the said arrests and sympathy for those who had died or were wounded by the firing at Lahore or Amritsar. The leaders had an informal conference, and after much discussion, they seem to have come to the conclusion that, whilst they recognized that, at that time of tension, a hartal might be a dangerous thing, they would not be able to restrain the ardour of the people, and that therefore they should try, if there was a hartal, to keep the hartalists occupied, and engage their attention by arranging an open-air meeting. The authorities again tried, without success, to prevent a hartal, and the 14th of April saw another complete hartal.

The 13th of April and after, being the *Baisakhi* holidays, Gujranwala had attracted a large crowd of holiday-makers, who are at no time averse to having a drink, and were least so on this occasion. So, on the 14th, at Gujranwala, we find the elements

that go to make a crowd unruly, viz., the holiday mood of 'do as you please', the drink, the resentment over the Government doings, the knowledge of mob excesses elsewhere, and idleness.

Early in the morning it was rumoured that a dead calf was hung up on one of the railway bridges near the station. There is no doubt that, whoever did it, it was a most imprudent act, calculated to rouse the worst passions of the Hindus. Various theories have been put before us—one is, that it was the work of the police, who did not like the union between Hindus and Mohammedans. It has been developed in the Gujranwala statements. The authorities have not been able to trace the mischief-makers. There can be little doubt that it was done by those who wanted to disunite the two sections. The effect, however, was quite the contrary. The people simply considered the hanging of a dead calf to have been instigated by the authorities, the more so because pork was found to have been thrown by someone on a mosque. And this belief knit the two closer together. A crowd, therefore, proceeded towards the station railway bridge. Meanwhile, a train, going to Wazirabad from Lahore side, had arrived. A *khansama* on it gave the news of the massacre of the 13th. The train was packed with holiday-makers. Some of the crowd were evidently bent upon stopping the train from proceeding further. They seem to have thrown stones at the train. They then began to set fire to the Gurukul bridge. The attempt, however, was indifferently made. Whilst this was being done, the Governor of the Gurukul, Lala Rallya Ram, Mr. Labh Singh, Bar-at-law, Mr. Din Muhammad, pleader, and others, scenting the danger, proceeded to the scene of action. A European officer and a few constables were also seen approaching the bridge. The fire was put out by the Gurukul staff, assisted by the Indian gentlemen just mentioned. It is an extraordinary thing that the Superintendent of Police said that "it was no business of the police to extinguish fire, but their duty was to protect public property." (Statement 282.)

The crowd then proceeded to the Kachi bridge, which lies on the other side of the station. Here the Superintendent of Police, Mr. Herron, was trying to disperse the crowd, and thought fit to fire, inflicting several casualties. Meanwhile, the leaders were trying to restrain the crowd and keep the people within the town limits. They had, therefore, organized a meeting which was proving quite successful, and might have proved entirely successful, but for an unfortunate occurrence. The men who were wounded were brought to the meeting, we presume, to excite its sympathy.

The attempt entirely succeeded. The meeting broke up, and a crowd proceeded towards the station, bent upon seeking vengeance. Valuable properties, one after another, were destroyed, including the Church, the Post Office, the Tahsil[1], the Court House and the railway station. It seems that the police were mere onlookers, and made no attempt to check this incendiarism. In the statements before us, it has actually been suggested that the police even incited the mob to incendiarism, and the evidence contained in them certainly lends colour to the suggestion.

Col. O'Brien returned post-haste to Gujranwala. He seems to have telephoned to Lahore for a blank card. Examined by Sir Chimanlal Setalvad as to what powers he had, he said, "I had a conversation with the Chief Secretary on the telephone on the 15th, and said to him, I might probably have to take certain actions and I hope that they will be legalized afterwards, if done in good faith." "But that was before the declaration of Martial Law?" asked Sir Chimanlal Setalvad. Col. O'Brien replied, "Yes." Sir Chimanlal further asked, "You telephoned to him that you would have to take certain actions, and you wished that your actions should be legalized, if done in good faith, and he issued a blank cheque?" The answer was, "Yes. He said, 'Use your common sense. It would be all right'." If this be the genesis of the Indemnity Act, we have no hesitation in saying that it was discreditable. What action was taken by this officer "in good faith" will be seen presently.

We are satisfied that the destruction of the valuable property, including a place of devotion, was wanton and unjustified, and no firing on the part of the Superintendent of Police, or even the wicked hanging of a dead calf on the bridge, could possibly be held to justify incendiarism. The firing and, especially, the hanging of a dead calf constituted grave provocation, but they could not be pleaded in justification of excesses.

When Col. O'Brien returned, the mob's fury had subsided. He had asked for assistance, and it came promptly at 3 o'clock in the shape of aeroplanes, which dropped bombs on utterly innocent people. At no place where bombs were dropped was any meeting going on. Bombs were dropped on the Khalsa Boarding House. This is how a student describes the scene:

> We heard the noise of aeroplanes at about 3 p.m. . . They remained hovering over the Boarding House for about 10 minutes. . . . Suddenly a noise was heard and a shell came down, which struck our confectioner

[1] Office of the Tahsildar

> Ganda Singh. . . . A small piece of it injured the finger of my right hand. A boy fell down on account of the shock. (Statement, 296, p. 408.)

The Superintendent of the Boarding House has also made a statement. He says:

> No political meeting was ever held in our school, nor is it allowed. On the 14th April, none of the boarders went to the city. Our hostel and school are at a distance of about half a mile from the city and more than a mile from the station. (Statement 297, p. 409.)

According to the evidence given by Captain Carbery before Lord Hunter's Committee, his orders were "to disperse crowds going or coming". So far as the bomb-throwing on the Khalsa Boarding House is concerned, there was no crowd either going or coming, there was no meeting and it appears to us that there was no necessity whatsoever for throwing bombs on the Khalsa Boarding House, and it was by a stroke of good luck only that no lives were lost.

It is interesting to find, from the officers concerned, how they dropped bombs and fired machine-guns. People were bombed who were running back to their village when the firing was started.[1] The following dialogue took place between the Hunter Committee and the officer.

> Q. You first bombed, and they began to run away into the village?
>
> A. Yes.
>
> Q. That is over the houses in the village?
>
> A. Yes. I suppose some of the shots hit the houses.
>
> Q. The people were running away, they dispersed and got into some houses?
>
> A. Yes.
>
> Q. You fired the machine-gun into the village; you may be thereby hitting not those people whom you dispersed, but other innocent people in their houses?
>
> A. I could not discriminate between the innocent people and other people. I tried to shoot the people who ran away and who I thought were coming to do damage.
>
> Q. The result of bombing was that they dispersed?
>
> A. Yes.
>
> Q. They ran into the village?
>
> A. Yes.
>
> Q. Was not your object accomplished? Where was the need of firing the machine-gun indiscriminately into the village?

[1] Machine-guns were used or bombs dropped on Gharjak, Bhagwanpura, Dhulla and other neighbouring villages.

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A. The machine-gun was not fired indiscriminately. I shot at the men who were running away. I said the crowd scattered and ran back into the village and I fired at the men.

The officer says he was at a height of 200 feet. He could see "perfectly well". To the question "What was the further need of machine-gunning them and killing them", the prompt reply was, "To do more damage."

Q. Your object seems to be to hit or kill more people of that crowd, although they had begun to disperse, and were running away after the bombs were thrown?

A. I was trying to do it in their own interest. I also realized that if I tried to kill people, they would not gather again and do damage.

"The idea being to have a sort of moral effect?" was the further question put by Sir Chimanlal. "Quite right," was the quiet reply. The officer then machine-gunned into another village. There he fired into a crowd of people who were returning to their village, having come from Gujranwala. The evidence before us shows that there was no crowd such as is described by the officer, but there were stray parties of people who were utterly innocent. It is an admitted fact that they were all totally unarmed. The reason for firing into the Indian quarters of Gujranwala was that the people should not be in the street. "150 rounds" were fired "into the native city" and the officer, in order to make certain that he was understood, said to Sir Chimanlal, "You must understand it was no good firing at the houses. I was firing at the natives, into the native city."

In our opinion, all this firing from the aeroplanes was entirely unjustified. It was begun after the destruction by the mob was over, and the crowds had dispersed. There was, therefore, no question of preventing further damage. We believe, too, that the firing was thoughtless, if not vindictive, and the officers in charge of the machines, on their own showing, held the lives of the villagers cheap, and fired in order to terrorize the people. The casualties, according to the list supplied and embodied in the statements produced before us, amount to 12 killed and 24 wounded, and if the loss of life was not greater, it was no fault of the officers concerned. The bombs would not explode.

If there was no excuse for the bombing of the 14th, there was less to bring the aeroplane into play on the 15th, because Col. O'Brien had by that time more military aid than he needed, certainly all he had asked for.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer seems to have been the originator of the suggestion of bombing from aeroplanes. Whether he was or not, it is certain that he approved of it. It should be remembered that the people of the Punjab were not used to the aeroplane or any other bombing. It must be admitted that aeroplane bombing can be justified only in proved necessity, and in the face of existing or imminent danger. All danger had been over in Gujranwala when the aeroplanes arrived. The mere presence of the aeroplanes was absolutely sufficient protection. The European population of Gujranwala was in no danger. Not a single European life was lost. Nothing has been shown to prove a military necessity for bombing. The official evidence shows that bombing was recklessly practised upon an unresisting people, and at a time when there was no danger threatening life or property, and when the experience of Amritsar and Kasur had shown that the mob fury was a sudden and momentary outburst with no persistence about it. On the 15th began indiscriminate arrests of barristers, pleaders and other leaders, some of whom, the authorities knew, had helped, at considerable risk to themselves, to curb the fury of the mob. There was at the time of these arrests, on Col. O'Brien's own showing, not a tittle of evidence to justify these arrests. They were made, as he says, in virtue of regulation 12 of the Defence of India Act regulations. This regulation simply authorizes arrests on suspicion well grounded. The only possible regulation which Col. O'Brien had in mind could be the following:

> In exercise of the powers conferred by Rule 12 A.A. of the Defence of India Consolidation Rules, 1915, the Lieutenant-Governor is pleased to authorize all commissioners to arrest without warrant any person against whom reasonable suspicion exists that he is promoting or assisting to promote rebellion against the authority of the Government.

If this is the regulation he had in mind, he, being a Deputy Commissioner, had no power of arresting under it. Moreover, it was a stretching of interpretation to have arrested the people who had done no wrong to the knowledge of the Deputy Commissioner, as at least he then possessed. It was admitted in the evidence before the Hunter Committee, and it is amply proved before us, that these leaders were arrested there and then, some of them were not even permitted to put on their clothes or even their head-dress. They were handcuffed in pairs, and about 22 of them chained together were made to walk a distance of two miles through the city, headed by two municipal commissioners, one a

Hindu and the other a Mohammedan, and carried to Lahore in an open truck without arrangements for food or other necessities of life. The prisoners included the Governor of the Gurukul, Mr. Rallya Ram, nearly 63 years of age. He says:

> I was in a batch of 22 prisoners. All were chained together and handcuffed in pairs. We were, in this condition, marched through the public streets, and were made to run. We were taken to Lahore in an open truck. One of us was not even allowed facility for answering calls of nature. He was asked to perform it where he was seated, and when we reached Lahore, I was unable to get out of the prisoners' van without the rest, who were chained with me, also coming down. I was, therefore, forcibly dragged down and much hurt owing to my suffering from lumbago. (Statement 282, p. 388.)

Col. O'Brien was asked why he would not allow people time even to dress. His reply was that he was in a hurry to finish the arresting. It is pertinent, therefore, to enquire why he did not send these leaders in a van to the station. The irresistible inference is that he wanted to make a demonstration and terrorize the people. Col. O'Brien considered that the arresting "was the kindliest thing to do".

On the 16th, Martial Law was proclaimed, and, under it, the people of Gujranwala were subjected to humiliation, flogging and many indignities. In order to compel people to open their shops, the following remarkable order was passed:

NOTICE UNDER MARTIAL LAW RULE NO. 2

April 18, 1919

> As we have come to know that some shopkeepers, who live within the municipal limits of Gujranwala, shut up their shops when the army and the police people go to them to purchase articles, or that they refuse to sell the articles to the army or the police soldiers for a reasonable price. Therefore, the undermentioned orders are issued that after the publication of this Notice, those shopkeepers who would be found acting as mentioned above, would be arrested and they would be liable to be punished by flogging.
>
> (Sd.) F. W. BERBERY,
> LIEUTENANT-COLONEL,
> OFFICER COMMANDING, DISTRICT GUJRANWALA

The following Martial Law notice shows what was meant by the Saluting Order, so much discussed by the members of Lord

Hunter's Committee, and made so much of in the evidence before us:

MARTIAL LAW NOTICE NO. 7

We have come to know that Gujranwala district inhabitants do not usually show respect to the gazetted commissioners, European civil and military officers of His Imperial Majesty, by which the prestige and honour of the Government is not maintained. Therefore we order that the inhabitants of Gujranwala district should show proper respect to these respectable officers, whenever they have occasion to meet them, in the same way as big and rich people of India are respected.

Whenever anyone is on horseback or is driving any kind of wheeled conveyance, he must get down. One who has opened or got an umbrella in his hand, should close or lower it down, and all these persons should salute with their right hand respectfully.

(Sd.) L. W. Y. CAMPBELL,
BRIG.-GENERAL,
OFFICER COMMANDING, DISTRICT GUJRANWALA

Col. O'Brien sought to justify this order on the ground of Indian custom. Neither custom nor prudence can possibly be held to justify an order so manifestly humiliating and degrading. The evidence tendered before us goes to show that in its execution, soldiers had also to be saluted, and flogging was the punishment awarded for failing to salaam. If anybody did not salute them, he was struck on the back twice or thrice with a stick. Opposite the shop of Haveli Ram, a *haldi*[1] seller, a person who was a stranger and was buying *haldi*, was struck for this very reason that he did not get up and salute the soldiers. He had not seen the soldiers as he was with his back to the street. (Statement 305; also Statement 290, 293, 298, 300 and 301.) Students had to attend daily to salute the Union Jack.

Men of status were made to clean the drains in the bazaar, although in some cases the municipal sweeper had already cleaned them. (Statement 304.)

People were forbidden to carry sticks. Railway travelling was stopped for some time, and the curfew order was issued, thus reducing the people to a state of helplessness.

Then followed the prosecutions before the Martial Law Tribunals and the Summary Courts, and about these the same remarks are applicable as have been made about the Amritsar trials.

[1] Yellow turmeric

There is abundant evidence to show that the evidence had been manufactured. The theory of rebellion practically broke down before Lord Hunter's Committee. The only ground Col. O'Brien had to give was that rebellion was "judicially proved". Almost every public leader was arrested. The treatment meted out to Diwan Mangal Sen and his family, the vindictive evacuation of Lala Amar Nath's house, the arrest and detention of people who were never tried, constitute a story of deliberate cruelty which was a disgrace to British Administration.

WAZIRABAD

Wazirabad is the next important railway station, 20 miles from Gujranwala on the main line. It is also a junction station. It is a small place, with a population of about 10,000. Just after the *Baisakhi* fair, every year, large gatherings of people from surrounding villages and districts take place in Wazirabad. There was no hartal on the 30th March, or the 6th April last, but the crowds that gathered from the villages brought also the news of the happenings at Lahore, Amritsar and Gujranwala. The people who had come from the villages, twitted the Wazirabadis for not observing hartal, and said that "since the people of Wazirabad did not observe hartal, nobody would take their girls in marriage". (Statement 312, p. 434.) There was a meeting on the 14th, at the Mosque, to consider the desirability of having the hartal. On the 15th, the hartal came off, but there were mischief-makers, who were not satisfied with the mere stoppage of business. The events, of which they had heard in an exaggerated form, rankled in their bosoms, and they proceeded to cut telegraph wires and damage the railway line. Some of these then proceeded to Rev. Mr. Bailey's house. They were joined by others on the way. The mob wantonly burnt the Rev. Mr. Bailey's house, including his valuable literary treasures. The police appeared to have been present at the scene, but they made no attempt to check this most unjustifiable incendiarism. Fortunately, no lives were lost. Not a single person of note seems to have taken part in this destruction. Some of the notables of Wazirabad appeared to have attempted to check the mob excesses, with more or less success. The Rev. Mr. Bailey's house stands on an isolated piece of ground, about two miles from Wazirabad and a mile from Nizamabad. So much for the mob action, for which there is no justification. The destruction of an innocent and popular missionary's house makes the action all the more regrettable and reprehensible. We have not been able to find out any particular motive for this action, save

that the mob had yielded to an anti-European fury.

Col. O'Brien, accompanied by the police and the military, reached Wazirabad on the 16th. Arrests took place immediately, and the whole of the demonstration, like that of Gujranwala, took place in Wazirabad also.

On the 18th, a durbar was held, at which Col. O'Brien is reported to have said:

> Listen, you foolish and mad people, you had thought that the British Government had ceased. Now your madness will be cured. We have got a prescription for your madness. Be it known to you all that the Government has authority to confiscate the property of any person, to raze to the ground his house, nay, if it likes, it can set fire to it. Accordingly, first of all, I do hereby order that the whole property of Jamiat Singh Bagga[1] be confiscated to the Government. (Statement 313, p. 442.)

Martial Law was proclaimed the following day. This is how its administration is described by Dr. Daulat Singh, late secretary of the local Arya Samaj:

> Martial Law notices were posted at different places and on some buildings. These were affixed to the places and houses with which the arrested persons had connection. A set of Martial Law notices was also posted at the Arya Samaj Mandir, although the Arya Samaj had nothing to do with any of the events. I, who was against the hartal and took no part whatsoever in the movement, was to be held responsible for the safe custody of the Martial Law notices, as I happened to be the secretary of the Arya Samaj. Two persons had to be specially engaged to keep watch, and I had to go personally several times to see the notices, that no mischief-monger might tear them away or damage them. Martial Law authorities were very particular that the notices were not injured or interfered with. (Statement 308, p. 422.)

It was a breach of Martial Law regulations to remove or deface such notices, and occupiers of premises to which the notices were affixed were held responsible. Dr. Daulat Singh was arrested, and the registers of the Arya Samaj were attached and removed. He was detained for 10 days, asked to give evidence against certain persons, and then discharged about the 30th May. He was arrested again on the 7th June. He describes how evidence was manufactured against him, how he was given no time even to engage a pleader, how on the flimsiest evidence he was convicted and how Col. O'Brien said: "As Swami Shraddhanand is taking part

[1] Old Sikh leader and prominent citizen of Wazirabad

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in the agitation, you must be taking part also." (Statement 308, p. 426.)

It is further stated that if any person did not salaam a European by mistake or oversight, he had his turban taken off his head and tied round his neck. He was dragged to the camp by the military. There he was either fined or flogged. (Statements 308 and 313.) One witness states that although he had salaamed, but because his salaam was not noticed, he was made to kiss the shoes of the officer in question. (Statement 319.) This evidence is abundantly corroborated by many witnesses.

Butter was regularly collected for the troops without any payment. When the collection of butter was stopped, one rupee per house was "realized for the expenses of the military". (Statement 314.) Only widows were exempted. The witness adds that when the money thus collected was exhausted, more was collected. The same witness says that, in addition, 67,000 rupees were collected as indemnity from Wazirabad. He was himself a municipal commissioner, and he had to do his share of collecting in his own ward.

He himself was arrested on the 7th June, and was given only one hour to produce his defence witnesses. Those who had arms were authorized to fire without hesitation on any mob, if they exceeded the limits of the law. (Statement 309.)

The evidence before us further shows that bribes were freely given to and accepted by the police from persons who wanted to avoid arrest or to get out of having to give false evidence.

A number of *charpais* (cots) were taken away from the people for the use of the military. They have neither been paid for, nor returned. (Statement 310, p. 423.)

As in Gujranwala, the curfew order was imposed in Wazirabad also, and schoolchildren were compelled to attend roll call and salute the Union Jack thrice a day. "They were put to great trouble, specially by walking a long distance in the noonday sun." (Statement 311, p. 434.)

Reference has already been made to the confiscation of Sardar Jamiat Singh's property. It is interesting to know exactly what this means. His son, in his statement says:

> When the Deputy Commissioner and other officers reached near our shop, I came to know that warrants had been issued against my father also. The police searched our residential house and sitting-room, and scolded the ladies in the house in my presence. They then asked where Jamiat Singh had gone, or where they had concealed him. (Statement 311, p. 431.)

Although the son had definitely told the police that his father had gone to Jammu, he was constantly worried. On the 21st April, the confiscation order was pronounced. Four ladies and six minor children were summarily turned out of the house.

> The ladies had only those few clothes on which respectable *purdanashin*[1] women generally wear within the four walls of their houses, and the children were even more scantily dressed, and, in fact, some of the children had been playing in the yard without any clothes. They did not allow the ladies to put on their shoes even, and the children who were naked were turned out as they were. The family of a man who was worth lakhs and who had donated thousands of rupees to schools, colleges, dharmsalas and other charitable institutions, and who had helped hundreds of people in the city in time of need, was that day without a house and without the necessaries of daily life. (Statement 311, p. 432.)

Only those who know what *purdanashin* ladies wear whilst in their houses and what they wear when they go out, can appreciate the enormity of the outrage done to the ladies in thus turning them out, and Sardar Jamiat Singh is the premier citizen of Wazirabad, a leader among the Sikhs, who had done valuable work during the War and was the recipient of a sanad from the Commander-in-Chief. Sardar Jamiat Singh surrendered himself as soon as he returned, i.e., on the 26th April, but the confiscation orders were not withdrawn till the 4th of May. We have gone through the record, such as it is, of his case, and a variety of papers submitted to us, and we have no doubt that the conviction against him was wholly wrong. The charge-sheet was not shown to him in the first instance. His counsel could not get a certified copy of it, nor were all the defence witnesses called. Sardar Jamiat Singh is 62 years old. He has a cataract in one of his eyes. He was treated as a common felon, and for some time was locked up in a solitary cell.

The trials of persons arrested here seem to have been more farcical than elsewhere. Here is a graphic description as to how evidence was manufactured.

> All the citizens were sent for by beat of drum to the police station. Minors and badmashes (entered in the register) were considered as informers. Anybody, against whom the police wanted to get up a case, was brought before the boys who were tutored to give evidence, and thus the poor men were entangled. The same boys appeared before the Commission as witnesses; and it was on their evidence alone that the people were punished. (Statement 313, p. 444.)

[1] Those who observe *purdah*; in orthodox households such women live in secluded apartments.

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NIZAMABAD

Nizamabad is a small village hardly a mile from Wazirabad, and consists of one narrow lane full of houses and workshops combined. It is a noted place for handmade cutlery prepared by hereditary artisans with the crudest tools. There is no doubt that some of the men, as has been already stated, joined the crowd that burnt Mr. Bailey's house, but the punishment meted out to the poor villagers was out of all proportion to the crime of a few of them. On the 18th of April, a special British troop train came from Lahore side and stopped before the village, which is situated near the railway. The soldiers surrounded the village. They looted the shops, took out flour, ghee, molasses and made the villagers carry these things to the train. For nearly a fortnight the people were made to attend the police station and had to sit in the sun from 7 in the morning till 8 in the evening. The people had to close their workshops. (Statement 329.)

A lad named Muhammad Ramzan had unwittingly crossed the soldiers' cordon. He was grazing his goats. He was shot and he died on the spot. "Two or three British soldiers tied the dead body with his turban, dragged it and left it by the pond near the village." (Statement 330.)

Mir Wajid Ali, a Mughul, describes in a long statement how attempts were made to extort evidence, how people were made to attend the police station from day to day and wait there in the hot sun, and he winds up his statement:

> My son and I were searched and put in the lock-up. On the 9th of June, my son Islam Beg and myself were brought before the Deputy Commissioner, Col. O'Brien, at about 6 p.m. with 5 or 6 other persons of Wazirabad. We were all released by the Deputy Commissioner after undergoing the punishment of rubbing our noses on the ground. (Statement 327, p. 454.)

Thus, when there was no evidence at all on which to convict, a degrading form of punishment had to be invented in order to insult apparently innocent men. 6,500 rupees were exacted from these villagers as indemnity. (Statement 327.)

Witnesses 324, 325, 326 and 334 have given evidence showing how attempts were made by the police by threats and actual corporal punishment to extort evidence.

AKALGARH

Akalgarh is a railway station beyond Wazirabad on the Wazirabad-Lyallpur branch. It has a population of about 4,000, and is noted chiefly for its being the residence of the celebrated

Diwan Sawan Mal and his son, Mul Raj, Governors of Multan in the later days of the Sikh rule.

In Akalgarh itself, there was no disturbance of any kind whatsoever during the month of April last. There was the hartal on the 6th and a public meeting, at which Diwan Gopal Lal, one of the descendants of Diwan Sawan Mal, presided. On the 14th April, there was another hartal over the arrests and the events at Amritsar and Lahore. Telegraph wires were, however, cut on the 15th, when there was no hartal at Akalgarh. These wires were cut at a distance of about a mile, whether from Akalgarh or from the railway station. It was not the work of a crowd, nor, so far as we can see, of anybody from Akalgarh. The theory suggested to us was that the wire-cutting was done by those who were coming back from the Wazirabad *Baisakhi* fair, Akalgarh being 23 miles from Wazirabad.

On the 22nd of April, however, the Deputy Commissioner came, stopped at the canal bridge and sent for the gentry of the town. He required them to repair the road leading to the dak bungalow, and ordered that it must be repaired quickly by the town people in such a manner that his motor could have an easy passage. Nearly Rs. 2,000, therefore, were collected from the people, and the road extending over a mile was compulsorily fitted for the passage of the Deputy Commissioner's motor. The whole of the amount was raised in a single day from the small town. Not only, therefore, was the levy illegal and objectionable on principle, but it was also unconscionably heavy for a place so poor as Akalgarh.

Then followed, as at Gujranwala and Wazirabad, the arrests of the leading people. A batch of 30 accused was tried, 20 of whom were acquitted, 2 lads of 15 years of age were sentenced to simple imprisonment for one day, 6 were convicted and the case against 2 was withdrawn.

The intimidation of witnesses, the corruption that went on during nearly two months and the terrorism that reigned at Akalgarh are all set forth in the statements furnished to us, with a wealth of detail enough to carry conviction. We propose to sample out a few of these disgraceful incidents.

Nanak Chand was called to the police station and asked to give false evidence. On his refusal "he was made to stand in the sun for half an hour". He was abused. He was told that he would be shot if he did not give evidence. Thereupon, he gave a statement to dictation, but he says that he gave the true evidence before the Court. He adds that he saw other people being treated

likewise. People were forced to assemble at the dak bungalow. He was obliged to supply the military officers milk free of charge. (Statements 343 to 345.)

Diwan Gopal Lal referred to above was arrested on the 22nd April. He was detained in jail for two months and was ultimately let off for want of evidence. He says:

> I was arrested because I refused to pay money which the Revenue Assistant and M. Sahib Khan demanded from me as a bribe through the *Zaildar* and Chaudhri Ghulam Kadir and Sirdar Khan. While I was in jail, they received from my relatives, as a bribe, a sum of Rs. 5,000 for me, and Rs. 1,000 for my brother-in-law. (Statement 340 p. 468.)

Ram Lal, a student aged 15 years, was arrested on the 23rd April, and discharged on the 13th May. (Statement 342.)

Lala Ganesh Das Pasi and his two brothers were arrested. He states how a bribe of Rs. 2,000 was paid; how he was still detained, how they were finally discharged, how on the 23rd of May his property was confiscated on the plea that he was an absconder. He says that his property was not restored to him, in spite of his acquittal, up to the 19th of July 1919. (Statement 346.)

Chaudhri Fazal Dad was a *Lambardar* and Vice-President of the Municipality of Akalgarh. His crime was that he had appeared as a defence witness, on which account, he says, he was arrested, tried and fined Rs. 500. On May 26th, he was, without any reason, as he says, dismissed from lambardarship by Colonel O'Brien. He states that the road repairs, referred to above, were done during his lambardarship. He states that "the people who were not of the labouring class were forced by the Revenue Officer and the *Zaildar* to work without any payment". Out of the Rs. 1,800 collected by force, "only Rs. 700 or Rs. 800 were given to the contractor". He adds:

> All the people of the town were collected at dak bungalow, and some machine-guns and some big guns were fired from the railway line. The people were plainly told that they should not appear as witnesses for the defence, and ought to appear for the prosecution, as desired by the Sub-Inspector of Police. (Statement 336.)

Rs. 1,000 were also collected from the people as the expenses of the machine-gun firing already referred to, and a small sum for repairing the telegraph wire. (Statement 340 A.)

RAMNAGAR

Ramnagar is no bigger than Akalgarh. It is situated about 5 miles from Akalgarh on the bank of the Chenab. It is not on

the railway line. The late Maharaja Ranjit Singh had a palace there called Baradari.

There was a hartal on the 6th April, and a partial hartal on the 15th April. No damage is reported to have been done at Ramnagar, but it is alleged that an effigy of His Majesty was burnt on the 15th April, and the ashes thrown into the river. We have enquired into this allegation with the closest attention. Several hundred witnesses were examined by us. And though the evidence thus collected was convincing and conclusive to repudiate the charge, it was decided to invite the public in the openest manner to give us any information to the contrary that they might possess. A public meeting was, therefore, held on the 30th November, 1919, in the open at Ramnagar, at which those who believed that the King's effigy had been burnt or had information on it, were invited to make either a public or a private statement, but not a single witness came forward to state that there ever was any such insult offered to His Majesty. We are satisfied that it was entirely a manufactured charge. The statements, collected by us, will show that up to the 23rd April no mention was ever made of this matter by any of the police officers. Col. O'Brien has stated in his judgment, which we have carefully examined, that the delay in mentioning the incident was due to preoccupation on the part of the police. This is wholly unacceptable, for, there should have been a mention of the incident at least in the police diary. On the 17th April, the Inspector of Police, although he went round the whole of Ramnagar, made no mention of it. The alleged leader in the affair, although he was available, was not arrested before the 9th of May.

Yet the people of Ramnagar were, all the same, not only made to labour under a calumny, but the best of them were made to suffer heavily through a prosecution wantonly undertaken, supported by manufactured evidence led in a trial in which the canons guiding ordinary trials were set aside.

Lala Karam Chand, 60 years old, by temperament a religious man, living practically in retirement, was himself a victim. He was prosecuted along with 27 others and sentenced. He was in Government employ from 1877 to 1900 in the Postal and the Railway Departments. After 1910 "he practically renounced worldly affairs". He passed 9 months out of the year at Hardwar. He denies that "there was any funeral procession arranged for, or any effigy burnt". He admits that a few boys passed through the bazaar on the 15th April and shouted "*Hai Hai Rowlatt Bill*" (Alas! the Rowlatt Bill). He says that on the 17th April a Sub-

Inspector went to Ramnagar and recorded that there was hartal but nothing else. And it was on the 23rd April that the Revenue Officer went to Ramnagar and after consultation with the *Zaildar*, sent him and others to Akalgarh on the pretext of an enquiry. On the 24th, they were handcuffed and sent to Gujranwala and remained in jail up to the 16th May. Till then they did not know for what purpose they had been arrested. They were brought back to Ramnagar on the 17th May. On the 19th, they were required to give the names of their witnesses and they were tried on the 22nd, with the result we have already mentioned. (Statement 422.)

Lala Sundar Das states that even the despatch of telegrams by the people of Ramnagar in connection with the arrests was resented. He and others were produced, on the 11th June, before the Deputy Commissioner at Gujranwala, and, before they were discharged, they were ordered by Colonel O'Brien "to draw lines on the ground with their noses and express repentance". (Statement 419.)

Lala Hans Raj says that Abdulla, *Lambardar* of Ramnagar, went to him on the 8th May, and told him that if he did not pay Rs. 200, he would be arrested the next morning. The witness protested. He says:

> The next morning, I found the brother of Abdulla, *Lambardar*, and another person belonging to a criminal tribe, sitting at my door with lathis (sticks) in their hands. No sooner had I opened the door than I was suddenly seized by them and dragged to the bazaar.

The witness still refused to pay the money. He was then forcibly taken to the police station. He then describes how evidence was manufactured against him and others, after he himself had been given the option of becoming a Crown witness. The witness was at Wazirabad on the 15th April and reached Akalgarh at about 5.15 p.m. It was, therefore, physically impossible for him to have taken part in any procession or demonstration at Ramnagar, at the time when the effigy is stated to have been burnt. (Statement 417, p. 357.)

Lala Gobind Sahai and others were arrested for having dared to go to the Deputy Commissioner in connection with this case, and were released on the 11th June, after undergoing the same performance as Lala Sundar Das. (Statements 423 and 424.)

Lala Ram Chand describes how at first the prosecution story, that an effigy was carried in a funeral procession and burnt with

several maunds of wood, had been changed into the burning of a cloth doll. (Statement 425.)

Sayed Hakim Shah, a retired station-master, sets forth how the prosecution story shifted, how he himself happened to go to the riverside on the very evening and saw nothing burning, how on the 22nd May he was asked to give evidence for the prosecution and how he refused and was badly treated for his refusal. He has a record of 37 years' service in the Railway Department. (Statement 432.)

Bhagwan Das was approver in the effigy case. He has now made a long statement repudiating the evidence which he gave for the prosecution, setting forth the circumstances under which he did so. (Statement 443.)

We feel that Akalgarh and Ramnagar were made to suffer humiliation, loss of liberty, loss of money and terrible anxiety, simply because Col. O'Brien was bent on teaching a severe lesson to people, those who had for the first time in their lives begun to realize national consciousness and to interest themselves in public affairs. The tyranny was aggravated by reason of the presence of an utterly unscrupulous local official, Malik Sahib Khan, whose name figures prominently in the statements collected by us regarding these villages.

HAFIZABAD

Hafizabad is 15 miles from Akalgarh on the Wazirabad-Lyallpur railway line, and is a fairly large trade centre. It has a population of more than 5,000 souls.

The hartal spirit, as a protest against the authorities' action at Lahore and Amritsar on the 10th, was travelling along the whole railway line and had reached Hafizabad also. And there was a complete hartal on the 14th April. A crowd, principally of drunken idlers, had gone to the station. Near the level crossing about 300 yards from the station, this crowd stopped the train and, in a wanton manner, attacked Lieutenant Tatam, who was in a first-class compartment with his little boy. They broke the window panes of the carriage. Meanwhile, others in the crowd resented this barbarous behaviour and protected Lieutenant Tatam at some peril to their own lives. At the request of Lieutenant Tatam, the driver hurried away the train, which safely reached Wazirabad. On the 15th, a drunkard, called Top, led a crowd of about a hundred and broke the wires and damaged a pointsman's hut. Top was taken in custody, the crowd followed him to

the Tahsil and broke the Tahsil windows by throwing stones. A shot fired into the air dispersed this crowd.

Colonel O'Brien went to Hafizabad on the 22nd April. Then followed a repetition of what has been described about Akalgarh and other places, resulting in the terrorizing of a whole population.[1]

Bihari Lal Kapur was arrested, together with his servant boy, for reasons mentioned in his statement, and in connection with the attack on the train. He says two boys and a Government servant were produced as witnesses against them, but they were acquitted after having been kept in custody for one month and nine days. (Statement 396.)

Harnam Singh had to submit to extortion to the tune of two hundred rupees, in order to save his son, but it proved of no avail. The son was arrested, tried and imprisoned. (Statement 397.)

Hukam Devi states that her son had to go to jail, because she was unable to find money to bribe the police. (Statement 398.)

Ruldu Ram, a pleader's clerk, describes the way in which private feuds were taken advantage of for the purpose of damaging the leaders, even those who had done valuable work during the War. He describes also the way in which the police concocted evidence. (Statement 401.)

Sardar Diwan Singh, Sub-Editor, says :

> First of all, 6 men, all of whom were respectable people, were arrested and handcuffed. They were not told the charges against them, nor were they given any other information. After the lapse of a month and a half, charges were framed against them. In order to get up false prosecution witnesses, the people were subjected to corporal punishment; filthy and abusive language was used against them in the bazaar. They were severely treated and the police subjected respectable men to all sorts of hardships and indignities. . . . Telegrams were sent to His Excellency the Viceroy and the Lieutenant-Governor, Punjab, about false prosecution witnesses. But no attention was paid nor any enquiry held. . . . When it became known to the Colonel that such telegrams were being sent, they were censored and refused. The Summary Court Martial disposed of all the Hafizabad cases in the course of one single day. . . . The accused in the Hafizabad cases included big landowners, *raises*, bankers, lawyers and

[1] It was reported that Gujranwala police proceeded to Hafizabad with a warrant for the arrest of 121 persons, containing neither names nor descriptions of the persons to be arrested, and the police did arrest 121 residents of Hafizabad under the warrant.

other respectable people, and were marched through the streets and were deliberately humiliated. (Statement 388, p. 517.)

Lala Rup Chand Chopra gives a graphic account of the energetic measures taken by Colonel O'Brien regarding the recruiting, and then regarding the prosecutions under Martial Law. Not finding things to his satisfaction, i.e., many people not having been arrested up to the 30th April, Colonel O'Brien is said to have removed some of the old officials and put in men of his own choice. On the evening of the 30th April, a proclamation by beat of drum was issued to the effect that every turban-wearer was to present himself the next morning in front of the Tahsil, and if anybody absented, he would be shot. He adds that during the new regime, people were made to sit all day long in the open, and the process was repeated from day to day. (Statement 390.)

The same order as at other places was issued regarding school-children. Some British soldiers helped themselves to various articles from shopkeepers, without making any payment. The witness went with Mr. Andrews to the Inspector's house on the 20th October, and a case of extortion was brought to his notice on the part of the punitive police, with the result that two constables had to be dismissed and a havildar degraded. Mr. Chopra concludes his statement by saying that he is an Oxford man, has resided in England for 13 years, belonged to the Indian Ambulance Corps raised in London, and that he has never taken part in politics, but that he comes forward with his evidence for the sake of seeking redress for the wrongs done to the people. (Statement 390.)

Lala Beli Ram Kapur was arrested and locked up with 23 others in a room measuring 12 by 15, the same room having to be used by all of them for natural purposes also. They were kept as under-trial prisoners up to the 6th of June. (Statement 405, p. 540.)

Sardar Mewa Singh, a retired head clerk in the Forest Department, describes the cruelty of the recruiting methods. He describes his own arrest as follows :

> On the 21st of April, I was arrested without a warrant. On the 22nd, warrants were drawn and the signature of the District Magistrate obtained. I was placed for two days in the Hafizabad lock-up, which was very dirty. 23 men were packed up there in a single room. It could hardly accommodate four persons. We were put to fearful discomforts, not being allowed even to ease ourselves, when we felt the necessity. Two of us were taken out at a time in handcuffs. At times we had to pass stools in the lock-up. On the 23rd of April, 1919, we were removed to the

Gujranwala District Jail. All the 23 persons were bound by the same chain. Handcuffs were put on the hands of everybody. We were taken there under strict surveillance and a guard of armed military police. We were not allowed to answer a call of nature, or to drink water on the way. The treatment accorded to us by the menial staff was intolerable. On the 23rd of May, 1919, we were again taken back to Hafizabad for identification. I cannot express the horrible treatment that was meted out to us by the police on our way to Hafizabad. Some seven or eight men were allowed their own food by the Superintendent, Jail, Gujranwala. When we were taken out from the Gujranwala Jail in handcuffs, the Jailor asked the Sub-Inspector of Police to allow us to take our meals which were ready, but the latter refused to allow us to do so. We had thus to fast for the whole day. We were brought down to Lahore on the 29th May. The papers were shown to the Public Prosecutor, who sent this case back, considering our offence to be slight. On the evening of 4th June, Mr. Wace called on us to put in a list of defence witnesses. In spite of our repeated requests we were not informed of the charges against us, nor were we given the names of the prosecution witnesses. The date for the hearing was fixed for 7th June, which left us a very short time to prepare our defence. We could not inform our relatives, nor engage the services of lawyers. One of my defence witnesses, Dr. Umrek Singh, Assistant Surgeon, was at Simla. He was not called. In cross-examination, Dr. Daulat Ram admitted that he was on bad terms with me. Other prosecution witnesses appeared out of fear of the police. My defence witnesses, who are all respectable gentlemen, had deposed that I had been confined to bed on account of some trouble in the eyes, and could not have left my house. I am more than 60 years of age. I have never taken any part in any political meetings. Mr. Wace, after consultation with Colonel O'Brien, the Deputy Commissioner, fined me Rs. 500. My petition for mercy still remains undealt with. This is all due to the mischief of the police who had won over a few badmashes (hooligans) to support them. Thus all the occurrences took place on the same day, at the very place. The disturbances continued for two days, the 14th and the 15th. On the former, the police did not try at all to check the activities of the people, rather, they abetted them. On the latter day, the disturbances were quelled by simply firing a few blank cartridges and without the help of any additional police or military from outside. Had the police done their duty on the first day, these things would never have happened at all. The damage done to the buildings at Hafizabad might have amounted to a few rupees. Rs. 6,000 have been collected from the inhabitants in the form of a fine. The people have to bear the expenses of the punitive police, and this is a source of great trouble to the poor subjects of His Majesty. (Statement 389.)

Lala Ram Sahai, Head Master, Anglo-Sanskrit School, was also among those who were arrested. In his absence, his house was searched. The search continued up to 11 at night. He was taken to the Gujranwala jail and brought back to Hafizabad after a fortnight. He says :

> Here pressure was brought to bear upon me to become a prosecution witness. The Inspector of Police used no physical force, but he employed moral pressure of every kind. He first praised me as an educated man and then alarmed me that I might be hanged and all my property confiscated, or that I might be transported for life. First, I told him that I did not like to play the traitor, and he advanced try [*sic*] arguments as to how it was no treason to tell the truth. I then consulted my father and the religious instructor of the school and decided that I must tell the truth and nothing but the truth. On my saying so to the Inspector, he told me that he wanted truth only. But when I made my statement, he suggested that I should not say that I was ready to speak at the peaceful meeting of the 6th April. He also suggested that if I was questioned as to whether the leaders took part in violence or not, I should answer that I was not expected to know it, for I was not present on the occasion. I, of course, fully believed and believe even now, that the leaders among the accused, such as Gurdial Singh and Lala Ram Sahai, did no violence. But I suppressed this from my statement, being influenced by the atmosphere that had been created around me. After I had given my statement, I was told that there was no evidence against me, and that I would be released and made to appear as a prosecution witness. I, of course, was prepared to tell the truth and did tell it, except that I did not mention that the accused did no violence. No question was put to me about violence in the Court.
>
> On 21st May, 1919, we were again brought back to Hafizabad. Prostitutes and other low people came to identify us. This time, as the number was very large, and as there was not sufficient room in the prisons, we were kept outside in a big office room. We were handcuffed day and night, and had to answer calls of nature in batches in full view of each other's nakedness. We were handcuffed two by two, and answered the call of nature in the same position. We slept at night in the open, with handcuffs on.
>
> On the 23rd of April, 1919, I was presented before Colonel O'Brien, who ordered me to furnish a security of Rs. 1,000, which I did and was thereupon released. After 4 days, the Deputy Commissioner sent for me again, and I was told outside his bungalow that I was under no restrictions any more. Colonel O'Brien then came out and said, "*Toba Karo*" (cry penitence). I expressed, in word and action, my repentance, though I

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knew that I was innocent. He then said that I must "clear myself", by which he meant that I must appear as a prosecution witness.

As written above, I appeared as a prosecution witness afterwards, according to my promise. The Deputy Superintendent of Police told me afterwards that he would have arrested me again if I had not appeared as a prosecution witness. Martial Law was not yet over.

I again want to emphasize the fact that I fully believe that the leaders took no part in the violence done at the station or in the Tahsil. (Statement 413.)

We quote at length from this statement, in order to show what subtle pressure was brought to bear on a cultured man to make him give false evidence, and how even Colonel O'Brien let himself to the coaxing process, not excluding threats. The indignities and the indecency, as described by the witness, during the confinement, mostly wrongful, to which cultured or well-brought-up men had been subjected, betray the degradation to which the officials had sunk in their desire to suppress agitation.

SANGLA HILL

Sangla Hill is a comparatively modern place. It is a railway station, 62 miles from Lahore, situated on the Lahore-Lyallpur branch. It has a population of about 4,000 people. It was on the 12th April that a hartal was observed owing to Mr. Gandhi's arrest. According to Mr. Bosworth Smith[1],

The effect of the meeting in connection with the hartal was not at once evident. On the 13th, the *Baisakhi* fair passed off fairly quietly. . . . On the 15th, telegraph wires were cut between Sangla and Salanwala. On the 16th, a Sikh with some other Sikhs, assisted by a large mob from the town, forcibly released a military prisoner at Sangla station. He was an Indian prisoner. On the evening of that day (15th), some men made a murderous attack on Mr. Wells, a telegraph inspector.

This account is altogether exaggerated. The testimony produced before us shows clearly that the Sikh who forcibly released a military prisoner had run amok, and there was no crowd behind him. It was an individual affair. There was no murderous attack on Mr. Wells on the 15th or any other day, and he was not seriously injured. It is perfectly clear from the evidence in our possession that the people of Sangla were in no way implicated

[1] Joint Deputy Commissioner, Gujranwala; one of the Martial Law officers

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in any attack on anybody, or in any damage to property. But Martial Law was, all the same, proclaimed on the 19th April. The Deputy Commissioner visited Sangla and did nothing at the time, except to warn the people against repeating the hartal. On the 22nd, however, an officer with British soldiers arrived, arrested 11 leaders and after a few hours' detention released them. Arrests, however, were commenced on the 26th April. The arrested people were released on the 29th. But on the 12th May, a military demonstration was held and shots were fired from the hill, evidently with a view to overawe the people. Captain Ewing of the mobile column stated before Lord Hunter's Committee that they had "a demonstration with a machine-gun and Lewis gun firing before a large number of people". On the same day, 13 leaders were again arrested, handcuffed and marched under humiliating circumstances. On the 13th May, 64 further arrests were made. They were bound with their own turbans, a most disgraceful procedure, and marched off to the police station. A roll-call of inhabitants was taken daily for some days. On the 14th, 47 other arrests were made, and on the 18th, Mr. Bosworth Smith told the people under arrest that if they paid a fine of Rs. 50,000, they would all be released. Mr. Bosworth Smith admits that he wanted to levy a fine of Rs. 50,000 on the Sangla people, but denies that he made it a condition of release. All the same, the fact stands that, on the 19th May, 116 persons out of 124, all told, were released, the contention on the part of the people being that some people, apart from those who were arrested, agreed to the fine of Rs. 50,000. The eight persons not released were tried on the 1st of June, convicted and sentenced to 6 months' imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 100 each, on evidence which was totally insufficient to sustain the conviction.

People were flogged upon pretexts the most trivial, admittedly without any previous medical examination, as a rule. Provisions were carried away from shopkeepers without payment. Respectable people were called upon to pull *pankhas* (fans) for the officers and to stand in the sunshine from time to time. Schoolboys, including little children, were compelled to attend roll-call from day to day, and made to stand in the hot sun and say, "Sir, we have done nothing wrong, and we will do nothing wrong in future." This was so strict that Mr. Balmokand could not get an exemption for his nephew, 7 years old. He tried his "best to get the boy exempted from roll-call, but to no use". The boy, therefore, attended regularly for 3 days. On the 5th day, on his return, he was perspiring. "He fell down and began vomiting.

Doctor Gian Chand of Sangla was called, but in vain. Then an army I.M.S., who was there, was called, but he too could not help. The boy died on the 7th May." The roll-call was compulsory for 4 times every day. (Statement 358.)

Basant Ram was arrested along with 25 others on the 19th May. He and the others were released on the 22nd May, without any statements having been taken from them. He says:

> During the period of arrest, the police did not permit us even to answer calls of nature, unless we paid something. We paid Rs. 2 daily for this very purpose.

On the 23rd May, he was again summoned and was told by the *Thanedar* (Sub-Inspector) that if he still refused to give evidence, he would be taught a lesson then and there. He further says:

> He began to beat me very severely in the bazaar, and dragged me through the bazaar to the police station. (Statements 366 and 368.)

Sohan Mal had several maunds of ice taken away from him by the military without payment. (Statement 369.)

Harish Chandra, a student, although he had salaamed, was stopped by the military. He was there and then given 5 or 6 cuts with a cane on his legs, arms and back, without being heard. The witness says:

> The Commanding Officer threw a leather hunter [*sic*] over me in rage, which clung round to my feet, but he drawing it back, they took their way. (Statement 570.)

Sardar Singh was pressed to give false evidence. He refused. He was, therefore, arrested and kept in the lock-up for 4 days. He says:

> Even the members of the Municipal Committee came to the lock-up and asked us to give evidence, if we wanted to be released.

The witness was in the lock-up along with 97 other men. (Statement 371.)

Lachhman Das had the contract of a serai (rest house). During the Martial Law days, the military made it their headquarters and did not allow any traveller to occupy it. He paid, himself, Rs. 75 as rent per month and Rs. 30 to his servants. He suffered a loss of Rs. 150 per month. The officers remained there for 2 months. He had to remain in his shop day and night, for the rations were taken from him. One night, one of the officers' servants came to fetch milk for the Extra Assistant Commissioner and the Inspec-

tor of Police. He was, therefore, obliged to light a lamp. This was treated as a breach of the curfew order by the Commanding Officer, and consequently he and his companion were arrested. He pleaded that he was bound to supply milk to the officers and that, if he had not, he would have committed an offence, and that he could not possibly supply the milk without lighting a lamp. The officers paid no heed to the plea. In the meantime, his eldest brother came out from the neighbouring house and enquired what the matter was, and so he, too, was arrested. They all remained in custody for 2 days, and were then released under security. 5 days later they were summoned to the station and were sentenced to a fine of Rs. 50 and five stripes each.

Lachhman Das was pronounced to be medically unfit for receiving whipping; his fine was, therefore, doubled in lieu of stripes. (Statement 372.)

Sham Das was not allowed to drink water, whilst he had to stand in the heat of the sun when under custody. He, therefore, fell ill, but he received no medical attention. He was set free after 9 days. He says, "Even now, I do not know the reason of my arrest." (Statement 373.)

The authorities wanted the nephew of Nihal Chand, and as he was not at the time in Sangla, the uncle was arrested. He was kept standing in the sun like many other people. He proceeds:

> Owing to my old age and also owing to the strong sunshine, I fell down senseless 3 times. I was released after 4 or 5 days, without any explanation. (Statement 374.)

Jan Muhammad Patoli says that whilst they were made to wait from day to day, they could neither eat nor drink. He, too, like witness No. 374, fell sick owing to the hot sun. He was set free after 10 days. He adds that when he opened his shop, constables helped themselves to his goods. He rendered bills, but never received any payment. (Statement 375.)

Sohan Lal and 2 others, respected and well-known residents of Sangla Hill, have made a joint statement. They state that Rai Sri Ram, Sub-Divisional Officer, visited Sangla Hill on the 18th. He saw the people, made no arrests and went away. On the 19th Colonel O'Brien visited Sangla Hill. He, too, saw the people and said that he was pleased to pardon them regarding the hartal. The arrests only began on the 22nd April. (Statement 376, p. 503.) If what Mr. Bosworth Smith has stated regarding the disturbances at Sangla Hill had been true, the two responsible officials would not have gone away without making any arrests.

The suggestion naturally is that it was Mr. Bosworth Smith who altered the position and prompted the arrests, and has magnified individual offences into popular disturbances, so far as Sangla itself is concerned. It is true that telegraph wires were cut near Sangla. The Moman station, which is not far from Sangla, was burnt and looted, but unless Sangla people could be directly traced to have taken part in the wire-cutting or the burning of the station, they could not be held liable.

The above 3 witnesses give particulars of the different arrests with names. These arrests we have already referred to in describing the administration of Martial Law in Sangla. The paragraph in the statement, showing how evidence was manufactured, will bear repetition. The witnesses state:

> On the 11th May, by means of violent threats, beating and exposure in the sun, the police succeeded in forcing 29 persons to stand as witnesses for the prosecution. This number included boys of ten years, and 14 men of the railway staff. One was Prem Singh Bazaz, who had been previously convicted for abduction by force and sentenced to $3\frac{1}{2}$ years. (Statement 376, p. 504.)

Dr. Karam Singh Nanda relates how he, in common with others, had to give daily attendance for identification and stand in the sun without water and food. He says that many fainted, and that he suffered so much from the heat of the sun from day to day that he fell ill and was invalided for 2 months. He says that he was identified as being in Sangla on the 12th, whereas he was in Gujranwala and had to give evidence in the court on that day. He refers also to the fact that 180 men, who were arrested, were detained for 9 days and were asked to pay Rs. 50,000 if they wished to be released. (Statement 380.)

Kundan Lal, commission agent, states how British soldiers helped themselves to goods from shops without payment. (Statement 381.)

MOMAN

Moman is a railway station, 6 miles from Sangla on the Lahore side. There is no doubt that a party proceeded to this station from the surrounding villages and burnt and looted it, a procedure for which there was no provocation whatsoever, and which was an act of pure wanton destruction. It is not certain whether the people from the surrounding villages burnt the station, or whether it was a party of outsiders. In any case, the high-handed measures taken by the authorities by way of reprisals were totally uncalled for. We have not burdened our notes with many statements re-

garding Moman, because it is practically a part of Sangla, and the people of the surrounding villages came in for the same ill-treatment that the people of Sangla had been subjected to.

MANIANWALA AND NEIGHBOURING PLACES

This is a village hardly containing a population of 500 men, and it is one of the villages near the railway station, Dhaban Singh. This station was burnt and looted by the people from the surrounding villages on the 16th April, 1919. The villagers had heard exaggerated reports of what had happened at Amritsar, which evidently excited them to this act of incendiarism; and as one of the witnesses states, what began as an act of vengeance ended as one of loot on the part of evil-doers.

But, bad as the action of some of the villagers was, the reparation exacted by the authorities was heartless, and passed the bounds of decency. On the 19th April, a troop train arrived at the Dhaban Singh station. Guns were pointed towards Manianwala; some soldiers alighted from the train and proceeded to the village, shooting as they went. One man at least was shot dead, others were wounded. One at least was maimed for life and rendered unfit for work. There seems to have been no warrant for this shooting. Women fled from their houses on hearing the shots, including those who were about to be mothers. Sardar Atar Singh, a *Lambardar* of thirty years' standing, and founder of the village, narrowly escaped death. His house was searched, cupboards were broken open, and cash and other things removed. Atar Singh is said to be 115 years old. He is certainly over 100 and can hardly move about, and passes his days seated on a bedstead. He and Inder Singh were arrested; he, being unable to walk, was put on a horse. They were both taken to the station, and confined in an iron wagon which served as an improvised lock-up. There, they were detained for some days. This wagon, being made of iron, without any lining, was naturally unbearable during the hot days of April, and in this way, several other villagers had to pass their days often without food and water. (Statement 577.)

A few days later, Mr. Bosworth Smith came with a party of soldiers, more than once. Mr. Labh Singh, an ex-professor, M.A., and Barrister, was specially sent by us to Manianwala to make further investigation as to the evidence of a shocking character given to us. He has brought statements which are reproduced as a part of our own record. This is what witness Teja Singh deposed before him :

I had not yet left for the bungalow where most of the villagers had gone by the order of the police. It was in my presence that Mr. Bosworth Smith gave a severe beating to Munshi Nawab Din and Lehna Singh. He asked him to give evidence against Bhai Mool Singh, forcing him to say that the latter had delivered a speech against the Government. After placing him in the custody of a constable who was ordered to take him to the bungalow, Mr. Bosworth Smith went towards the women. He removed their veils and used abusive language. He called them "flies, bitches, she-asses" and worse things. He said to them, "Your skirts will be examined by the police constables. When you were sleeping with your husbands, why did you allow them to get up and go?" He also spat on them. (Statement 580.)

Gurdevi, the aged widow of Mangal Jat, stated before Mr. Labh Singh :

One day during the Martial Law period, Mr. Bosworth Smith gathered together all the male persons of our village, over 8 years, at the bungalow, which is some miles from our village, in connection with the investigations that were going on. While the men were at the bungalow, he rode to our village, taking back with him all the women, who met him on the way, carrying food for their men to the bungalow. Reaching the village, he went round the lanes and ordered all the women to come out of their houses, himself forcing them out with sticks. He made us all stand near the village *daira*. The women folded their hands before him; he beat some with his stick, spat at them and used the foulest and most unmentionable language. He hit me twice and spat in my face. He forcibly bared the faces of all the women, and brushed aside their veils with his own stick. He called them "she-asses, bitches, flies", and "swine", and said, "You were in the same bed with your husbands; why did you not prevent them from going out to do mischief? Now your skirts will be looked into by the police constables." He gave me a kick also, and ordered us to undergo the torture of holding our ears by passing our arms under and around the legs, while being bear double. (Statement 582.)

This statement is supported by several women of Manianwala.

Nawab Din, Government school-teacher, says that Mr. Bosworth Smith pressed him to say that Mool Singh had spoken against the Government, and states:

But when I repeated that it was not the fact, he began to belabour me with sticks, and beat me so long and so cruelly that the marks of injury were visible on my wrist and ankles for a long time after. He said that I was a Government servant and I should, therefore, give evidence in favour of the Government. He went on beating me for some time, after which he ordered a constable to take me to the bungalow. (Statement 578.)

> One Lehna Singh also received similar treatment. [He says:] As we left for the bungalow, the Sahib addressed himself to the women, whose cries fell upon our ears, as we went along. (Statement 579.)

We have dwelt upon these incidents at some length, and we consider that an officer who is capable of behaving in the manner Mr. Bosworth Smith seems to have, is totally unfit to occupy a post of any responsibility in a civilized Government or to wear His Majesty's uniform.

The other statements in connection with the incident at Manianwala show how over eighty villagers were arrested and subjected to the greatest inconvenience, how the villagers were obliged to pay for meals which the Government was bound to supply them whilst they were in detention, and how they were pressed under a variety of threats to give false evidence, how flogging was administered, how Mr. Bosworth Smith conducted his trials, and how on the kind of evidence described in the statements, villagers were tried before the Martial Law Commission, and some of them transported for life. Happily the sentences were reduced, and, under the Royal Proclamation these very men have been discharged. But no such discharges can possibly atone for the grave injustice done to the villagers, the majority at least of whom appear to have been utterly innocent. A punitive police has been imposed on the villagers, and a heavy indemnity was levied upon them by Mr. Bosworth Smith, which was subsequently reduced.

We cannot close this brief review of the barbarities of Manianwala without mentioning that Mr. C. F. Andrews personally visited the place[1] on behalf of the Congress Sub-committee, and he brought evidence supporting the statements about the inhuman treatment described above.

NAWAN PIND (CHAK NO. 78)

This again is a very small village, smaller even than Manianwala, in the Tahsil Khangah Dogran. This is also near the railway station, Dhaban Singh, and, therefore, came in for practically the same treatment as Manianwala, except that the womenfolk seemed to have escaped the disgraceful treatment that was meted out to their less fortunate sisters of Manianwala. That some villagers might have taken part in the burning of the Dhaban Singh station is quite likely, but there can be no justification for the cruel and vindictive punishment of a whole village, and yet the

[1] In November 1919, before leaving for Africa

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selection we have made out of nearly 40 witnesses, all speaking about similar or the same incidents, shows that the same treatment was meted out to the residents of Nawan Pind as to those of Manianwala.

Khushal Singh states that the day following the burning of the railway station, the inhabitants of the surrounding villages, including Nawan Pind, had gathered on the railway station. The Tahsildar was there to select a man for the membership of the District Board, and on the arrival of the men, the booking-office was on fire. After giving their votes, the men went away. The Tahsildar must have known most of the voters, and yet many of them were arrested in connection with the burning of the station. This witness states that, on his happening to be at the railway station the 3rd day after the fire, he learnt that the Sub-Inspector had been asking the porters to identify those who had burnt the station. The porters protested that the people were too many, and it was night time, and that they could not, therefore, identify them. The Sub-Inspector seems to have cajoled them. He said he would collect people from those villages and they (the porters) should only point out some of them and that he would see to their arrest. The next step was that all the people, except women and children, were ordered to appear before Mr. Bosworth Smith. [The witness says:]

> No sooner did the Sahib arrive there, than we were all placed in rows. The porters, as well as the railway staff, came with the Sahib. The porters were ordered by the Sahib to identify from the rows of the people those men who were concerned in setting the railway station on fire; those who were touched by the porters were separated from others, and bound hand and foot.

The identification was conducted in the following manner:

> A man was identified by one porter, with a *Lambardar*, *Zaildar* and the Sub-Inspector of Police at his elbow. Then again another porter was made to identify the same person, in like manner. Thus some 28 or 29 men were arrested. One Bhagwan Singh begged to state that he had not left his home on the said day. The Sahib ordered him to be bound to a tree and flogged 12 times, because he had made a submission. After that, all the persons that were identified by the porters were taken to the railway station, where the names of the people had been called by the *Patwari*. Ishwar Singh was not present. The Sahib enquired whether there was any relative of his present. The *Patwari* replied that his brother-in-law, meaning me (Khushal Singh), was there. The Sahib at once ordered my arrest. We were all taken to the serai (rest house) and shut up in a

room, and a guard was posted outside. We remained there for 2 days without anything to eat or drink. The relatives who came there with food were turned back. . . . On the 9th day we were taken back to the canal bungalow. Ishwar Singh also arrived on that day. The Sub-Inspector told him that if he deposed in favour of the prosecution, he would not be arrested. Teja Singh, son of Maya Singh Kambo, of Nawan Pind, was also there at that time, and was made a prosecution witness. Sadhu Singh, goldsmith, Jwala Singh, *Zaildar*, and Banta Singh, son of Jwala Singh, had also been arrested, and they were set free by the Sub-Inspector of Police on their promise to appear as prosecution witnesses. No sooner was I made a prosecution witness, than I was also released. Everybody, man or woman, from our village, was made to sit before the Tahsildar. Everybody who was arrested was called and punishment pronounced against him. No evidence was taken. If anyone said anything, he was beaten. (Statement 611.)

Here we have a full view of the so-called trials conducted by Mr. Bosworth Smith, as also of the way in which prosecution evidence was manufactured. Mr. Wathen, the Principal of the Khalsa College, Amritsar, one of the biggest educational institutions in the Punjab, has left on record his view of how justice was miscarried in Nawan Pind. We reproduce below the whole of his argument:

The case of Bhagwan Singh and Maghar Singh, sons of Jewan Singh of Nawan Pind, Chak No. 78, Tahsil Khangah Dogran, Dist. Gujranwala.

These two men were convicted on the 9th of May, 1919, under Article 6(a), (b), (c), Indian Penal Code, the charge being that they took part in burning Dhaban railway station, and were sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment and Rs. 200 fine each.

The parties are now appealing against their conviction on the following grounds :

(a) They were not present that day at the railway station, and offered to produce several witnesses to prove an alibi. Their witnesses were not called by the court.

(b) They were identified by coolies of the railway, who were to them complete strangers, and it is suggested that the coolies were prompted, possibly bribed, by certain enemies to single out these two brothers.

(c) The enemies, it is suggested, are Jwala Singh, *Zaildar*, and Jewan Singh, *Lambardar*, who have an old quarrel with the family of Jewan Singh. This quarrel, which is about a lambardarship, has been going on for about 5 years. Evidence about it can easily be had and was offered, but was not called for.

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(d) This statement has been made to me by the youngest brother of the accused, Jagat Singh, a boy of 18, whom I know well and who has been my pupil for four years in this College and School. Of Jagat Singh's personal loyalty I have no doubt whatever. I am in a position to know what Jagat Singh's feelings are, and a suggestion that Jagat Singh was a politician of anti-British tendency would be regarded here as ludicrous; also the fact that these brothers who support the boy sent him here suggests that they are loyal; for it is usually the loyal Sikhs who send the sons from afar to an institution which is supposed to have the special favour of the *Sircar*. I have made enquiries among the railway coolies, many of whom know the two convicted brothers, and their universal opinion is that the brothers are perfectly innocent, and the case has been got up against them by their enemies.

(e) The point which seems to vitiate the evidence against the men is that the third brother, Mangal Singh, was also identified by the same coolies as having been present at the railway station. It so happened that on the very day when he was alleged to have been at Dhaban, he happened to be staying with Jagat Singh at Khalsa College and was seen there by many reliable witnesses, including the Vice-Principal and some members of the staff.

He (Mangal Singh) actually came to see me in order to get leave for Jagat Singh. I wrote and told the Deputy Commissioner of this, and on learning [this] in the Court, [he] immediately ordered Mangal Singh's release. I suggest that had the Court realized that Mangal Singh, whose alibi was proved, was the brother of Bhagat Singh and Maghar Singh, it would have regarded the evidence as to identifying them as vitiated, for the same coolies who identified Bhagat Singh and Maghar Singh also identified Mangal Singh.

(Sd.) G. A. Wathen
Principal
Khalsa College, Amritsar
(Statement 613.)

The parties in question were hastily discharged on the production of Mr. Wathen's letter, but everybody cannot have the good fortune of having an intermediary known to a man occupying Mr. Wathen's position, as young Jagat Singh proved to be.

Bishan Singh gives a detailed account of the trial. He describes how, when a railway babu said he could not identify, the *Lambardar* and the *Zaildar* coaxed him, and how a man who had

been away from Nawan Pind was thus identified and convicted. (Statement 612.)

Surain Singh was asked about the presence of Mangal Singh in the course of the trial of a batch of prisoners by Mr. Bosworth Smith. He proceeds:

> I said he was not present there. But certain other people, such as Jwala Singh, *Zaildar*, and Jiwan Singh, deposed that he was in the riot. Upon this, Mr. Bosworth Smith sentenced me to 3 months at once. I was let off as it was found afterwards that Mangal Singh was at Amritsar on the day of the occurrence at Dhaban Singh, from the letter of the Principal, Khalsa College. (Statement 614.)

We presume that Surain Singh was sentenced on a charge of perjury. He was a *Lambardar*. It was possible for him to escape full imprisonment, because of Mr. Wathen's letter, but although he has been proved to be innocent, his dismissal still stands.

Sohan Singh was also sentenced for the same reason, and released too upon the same discovery. He too was a *Lambardar* and was dismissed like Surain Singh. (Statement 615.)

Nandi, wife of Khushal, deposing about her son, says:

> No defence was even demanded. The fact is, he, against whom the railway coolies reported, was punished. No one was asked to even give his own statement. A man belonging to their *kot* (village) objected to such a procedure. He was fastened to a *shisham* tree and severely lashed. (Statement 616.)

As in other places, so in Nawan Pind, the officials helped themselves freely to people's goods. Thus, goods worth more than 108 rupees were taken from Hira Singh in the shape of flour, dal, sugar, ghee and milk. The villagers made collections, and paid the poor man. (Statement 618.)

Kishan Chand says he supplied Mr. Penny's and Mr. Bosworth Smith's camp and others with rations to the extent of 400 rupees. The villagers made up the amount. (Statement 619.)

Jwali, wife of Kahan Singh, states that her husband, 70 years old, weak as he was, was also arrested. She says:

> The police on duty would not allow us to give food to our relatives without payment. I had to pay Re. 1 per day per head, as was done by others. (Statement 620.)

Nand Singh says:

> The whole male population of the village, from 10 years upwards, was sent for. They were made to sit in rows in the sun, from morning till evening. Mr. Bosworth Smith was there. My brother, Bhagwan Singh,

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stood with folded hands and said that he was innocent and had not committed any crime. Upon this, Mr. Bosworth Smith became angry and ordered him to be beaten. A rope was sent for, which was brought by Satroo, *Chaukidar*[1], with which Bhagwan Singh was bound at once. Satroo was ordered to cane him, and he gave 12 lashes. Mr. Bosworth Smith was standing by him and said he did not mind if he was dead. He became unconscious, water was poured into his mouth and after a little time he came to his senses. He was then taken away by the Sub-Inspector and arrested. This frightened the whole people, and none dared to speak. Soldiers with rifles were standing round all, and Mr. Bosworth Smith said that if anybody spoke he would be also treated likewise. (Statement 621.)

This village was fined Rs. 10,000. One-third was taken during the last *rabi*[2]. (Statement 622.)

CHUHARKANA

This is an important *mandi*, viz., a market-place visited by hundreds of men from the neighbouring villages, who bring their stock to the market. The village of Chuharkana lies about a mile and a half from the *mandi*. The station Chuharkana is near the *mandi*.

The hartal was observed on the 12th April. A public meeting announcing it was held on the previous day, in which all, including the municipal councillors, took part. Nothing happened up to the 14th. By the 15th, however, the news from Amritsar and Lahore had become common property, and people were much agitated. Some people, living at the *mandi*, and others from the villages who were at the *mandi*, proceeded to the railway station, and in broad daylight, took implements from the railway gang, damaged the line and burnt the station.

This was followed by the arrival of the military, and machine-guns, with an armoured train. There was considerable indiscriminate shooting. Rai Sahib Sri Ram Sud has sought, in his evidence before the Hunter Committee, to justify the shooting, but the whole of the evidence in our possession contradicts his statement. Indeed, he seems to be condemned out of his own mouth. It should also be remembered that the shooting took place before the proclamation of Martial Law. Now, R. S. Sri Ram Sud is a Sub-Divisional Officer of many years' standing; he has served in the district since August 1918; he, therefore, knew the people. He made himself principally responsible for the firing and, when

[1] Watchman
[2] Season for the winter crop

he was cornered by Pandit Jagat Narain, he said that his authority was derived from the Criminal Procedure Code. In answer to Sir Chimanlal, who enquired on what he came to the conclusion that he should fire, he said, "Because we already came to know that the mob had already collected there, and there was reliable information of it." Again he says: "I had already heard that the people of Chuharkana were rushing to the market to loot." "Therefore, without any further enquiry, you began to fire?" asked Sir Chimanlal. "Yes, we determined to open fire," was the answer. He was then asked: "Your idea was that you wanted to strike terror." He replied, "Well, if necessary. And we found it necessary." "And after that firing, you proceeded further to the station?" asked Sir Chimanlal. "Yes," was the reply. The Rai Sahib then described the movements of the people.

> Q. What do you mean by moving? They were not committing any mischief?
>
> A. No, not at that time. People were coming out and going into the village.
>
> Q. You do not know what their object was in coming out and going into the village?
>
> A. Well, their object was to attack the armoured train.
>
> Q. From a distance, how did you know that they were collecting to attack the armoured train?
>
> A. Unfortunately, I cannot illuminate things which are in my brain.
>
> Q. Pardon me, Lala, we are dealing with what materials you then had and what you saw then. I want to know, when you refer to their movements, what was the actual movement. Will you kindly tell me?
>
> A. I said they were coming and going and I fancy they were collecting.
>
> Q. With what object you cannot say?
>
> A. They were collecting for some sinister purpose.
>
> Q. From the fact that you saw some people were going to the village and certain people going out, you concluded that they were collecting with some sinister object?
>
> A. They saw our armoured train and yet they did not hide. What was the conclusion?

Now this evidence was given by the Rai Sahib on the 17th December. The evidence collected by us on our own behalf was long before that time and it was checked by one of us on the 6th December, and it goes to show that there was no crowd collecting and that the movement that the Rai Sahib saw was the very

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opposite of what he imagined it to be. The people were going out and hiding themselves through fear.

Dula Singh, a Jat, who knows what he is talking, and who seems to know every inch of the ground, says:

> They fired with the machine-guns at the men who were leaving the village out of terror. I saw three persons falling down wounded by the machine-gun fire. Maula Baksh and Kartar Singh, Members of the Committee, were also in the carriage. (Statement 468.)

Ganpat Mal says:

> Firing from the machine-guns lasted for a long while and people went on running hither and thither. . . . On the 17th April, the same course was followed; the British soldiers came with machine-guns. They alighted from a train and fired on the people who were running hither and thither. (Statement 458.)

Thus, whilst we will not go so far as to say that firing before Martial Law could not be justified, we believe that the firing referred to by the Sub-Divisional Officer was hasty, premature, indiscriminate and due to panic or over-zeal. To strike terror was no part of the officer's business. It is a sign not of strength but of weakness, not a vindication of justice but a perpetration of injustice. A guilty conscience alone resorts to terrorism. We admit that the incendiarism, the looting and the wire-cutting were all bad, unwarranted and disgraceful, and that the culprits deserved condign punishment. But nothing that the people did could possibly justify the random firing that was resorted to and that resulted in the loss of innocent lives and permanent injury to several innocent people, and the other barbarous measures that were taken, in order to "terrorize" a whole people.

The other measures were more or less the same everywhere. The evidence about looting by the soldiers is stronger and more voluminous for Chuharkana than elsewhere. Cattle were forcibly seized and milked for the soldiers. Goats, utensils, eatables were taken away even in the absence of the owners. It is difficult to estimate the material loss that the people must have suffered during the Martial Law regime.

Sucha Singh says:

> The police got one bedding from me by frightening me and it has not been returned as yet. (Statement 449.)

Shaman deposes to the effect that his crops were forcibly taken by the sepoys who were there, for the use of their horses. (Statement 464.)

Mohan Lal says:

When Mr. Bosworth Smith came here, provisions of the value of Rs. 45 were taken away from our shop, but no value has been realized up to this time. (Statement 474.)

Haveli Ram says:

My shop and house were locked up for 10 or 15 days. . . . Many of the *mandi* shops were searched. The British soldiers promenaded the *mandi*, and tyrannized over the people. They used to enter the shops and take away anything they pleased . . . The soldiers paid nothing to me as the price of the things they bought from me. (Statement 453.)

Ganpat Mal says:

They took away anything they saw for their ration. Hens, eggs, goats and milk, all these were forcibly snatched from the people. The policemen came to the people and asked for beddings, which people had to give because they were very much afraid. Until now they have not been returned. The police took buffalo milk forcibly from me and nothing was left for my children. I gave one bedding, which has not been returned to me as yet. . . . During the Martial Law days, I had to pay Rs. 25 from *mandi* side, and Rs. 10 from the village side, for defraying the expenses of the military rations. (Statement 458.)

Certain shopkeepers, who had supplied the military with rations, sent in to the authorities a list of the articles supplied. The reply sent by the Superintendent of Police, Gujranwala, was:

It be sent to the Sub-Inspector with the direction that this money can under no circumstances be realized now. The applicants be made to understand that they should not trouble us again and again.

The villagers were prevented from cutting their crops for some days. In some cases, their crops were confiscated without just cause. These acts are practically admitted by Mr. Bosworth Smith who was chiefly responsible for the Martial Law administration in these parts, viz., between Sangla Hill and Sheikhupura.

Shan Singh says:

My pecuniary losses amounted to about 2,000 rupees on account of the damage done to my crops. (Statement 454.)

Jiwaya says:

I had my crop of gram, $3\frac{1}{4}$ *qilaas*[1], near that of Sher Singh, which has been used by the army for their horses and was never paid for. Even when they were asked not to do it, they threatened me stating that if we

[1] Measure of land

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prevented them from taking the green fodder, they would take us before the Sahib, and we would be punished. (Statement 456.)

Ganpat Mal says:

It was also ordered that all that were present should remain in the village and no one should go outside into the fields to reap the wheat crop. He ordered the *Patwari* to go round the fields, so that people should neither reap their crops nor give anything to their animals to eat or take care of them. Accordingly, the cattle wandered uncared for, and the crops were ruined. Some of the crops were damaged by the military. We got only one-fourth of the output of the crop. (Statement 458, p. 597.)

About the so-called trials and the procedure adopted prior to them, the statements bristle with facts corroborating what has been stated by us about other places. Mr. Todar Mal says that when the identification parade was going on, Mr. Bosworth Smith said: "I want only big men, they are *gandi makkhi*[1], I do not want common people." This witness was pointed out as one of the guilty ones by Sardar Kartar Singh. He says:

I immediately challenged him and asked him why he had singled me out. He said that he could not give the reason, as the C.I.D. had prohibited him. He would have to do what was required. (Statement 450, p. 589.)

He was tried, but acquitted by the Martial Law Commission.

Kanshi Ram says:

The defence evidence, which we wished to produce before the Deputy Commissioner, was not allowed, nor was anybody's statement recorded. (Statement 451, p. 590.)

Maya Singh says that his son Ujagar Singh had gone out to fetch medicine and was arrested together with others. He protested, and thereupon *Langra*[2] Sahib (i.e., Mr. Bosworth Smith) ordered him to be fastened to a tree and to be given 25 stripes. ...He was confined in the cell for 10 days, and when the accused were identified in the canal rest-house, none identified him, and he was accordingly let off. (Statement 448.)

Haveli Ram says:

One day, Ladha Singh, the watchman, informed all the *mandiwalas*[3] that all should present themselves the next morning at the canal bungalow, and that the absentees would have their properties forfeited. We reached

[1] Contemptible flies
[2] Lame
[3] Residents of a *mandi*, a market-place

the bungalow the next morning, and had to sit there without any food or drink. We were all required to stand in the sun at 12 noon, and had to do so for full 2 hours. All those that were pointed out by porters at the instance of the *Lambardar* were arrested and sent to the police-station. They were given nothing to eat or drink, and if anybody wished to give them anything to eat or drink, he was beaten and abused. They were taken to Lahore the next day, and were brought in groups, and their sentences were read to them. (Statement 452, p. 592.)

Sardar Shan Singh says:

I was confined in the serai, with other arrested people, after being handcuffed behind my back. I had to stay there for about 15 or 16 days. I could not even take my meals; nor could I bind my turban on account of the handcuffs being put on my hands from behind. I was kept handcuffed even during the night. Other people, who were confined with me then, used to put food into my mouth; others would bind for me my turban on my head. My elder brother, Kahan Singh, was also confined with me there. He had one Arab horse which Ali Mohomed, Sub-Inspector of Police, asked him (my brother) to give to him, and he (the Sub-Inspector) would let him go. My brother replied that he was quite innocent and would not give his horse for nothing. The Sub-Inspector of Police was very angry at this refusal of my brother, and he added that he would charge him with many offences. The first thing that he did was to put surreptitiously some articles of a railway babu in the house of my brother, and then after an investigation, got those articles produced from his house. . . . . The Sub-Inspector of Police asked me to pay Rs. 500, if I wanted to save my skin. I refused to pay, and on that I was also *challaned*[1] together with my brother. But afterwards my wife borrowed the amount of Rs. 500 from someone and paid the same to the Sub-Inspector, through Sundar Singh, Zemindar, Sheikhupura, Chak Manora. Upon that, the Sub-Inspector of Police promised to release me. . . . . The Sub-Inspector stopped the men who were made to depose against me, from giving their evidence, but he put only one ordinary witness instead. This resulted in my release on account of the ineffectiveness of the evidence. (Statement 454, p. 549.)

Even a blind man was not free from interference. Ladha Mal, a blind man, was asked to produce his son, and, as the son was not then present, he was arrested, and discharged only after the mother had brought the son. (Statement 467.) Ganpat Mal states that Mr. Bosworth Smith ordered the villagers to gather together on pain of their property being burnt or confiscated. He says:

[1] Charged-sheeted

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Accordingly all people, out of fear, assembled in the Durbar Sahib[1]. The *Langra* Sahib ordered the *Patwari* to bring the census report. Lala Sri Ram, the Deputy of Sheikhupura, read out the names from the report of those who were not present. The women were sent for, through the police. The Sahib ordered them to produce their husbands; otherwise, their houses would be burnt and lands confiscated. After giving this order, the women were asked to go; and the brothers and fathers of the absentees, who were present there, were arrested and taken away.

He further says:

The arrested men were brought in batches of 10 or 12, and sentenced to two years' imprisonment each, and fined Rs. 200. No evidence was taken, only they were asked to beg pardon and the people replied, "Sir, we are innocent; if we have done anything, we should be pardoned." (Statement 458.)

Sardar Harnam Singh says he pays a revenue-tax of Rs. 400, and that he bought Rs. 800 worth of War Bonds. He pays Rs. 60 as house-tax. His brother, Khushal Singh, was arrested. He engaged Mr. Martin for his defence on a payment of Rs. 1,000, but, he says:

Nobody allowed him to plead. Nobody heard the defence witnesses, who were present; nor were they sent for. Khushal Singh's case was disposed of within 5 minutes.

He says:

In all summary trials, Mr. Bosworth Smith, or any Inspector of Police present used to address the accused thus. "Do you beg for pardon?" To this the accused invariably replied, "Sir, we are innocent, we should be pardoned." But this was recorded on the file as if accused had made confession of their guilt. No defence witness was heard; nor was any time given to prepare the defence. On the first day, about 100 people were convicted, and within 2 or 3 hours their judgments and orders were also written. (Statement 447.)

Rs. 1,500 were levied from Chuharkana as a fine. Towards this, Mangal Singh and his brother had to pay Rs. 230. (Statement 460.) The firm of Lala Faquir Chand Jangli Mal paid Rs. 50 for the maintenance of troops in the month of April, Rs. 114 for the punitive police, Rs. 20 for the Lieutenant-Governor's Memorial. "These sums were realized forcibly from us," says the agent. (Statement 480.)

[1] Sikh temple

SHEIKHUPURA

Sheikhupura is a historic place, 25 miles from Lahore, and the last place to be noticed in the Gujranwala district. It derives its name from the pet name of the Emperor Jehangir, and it was the residence of Rani Nakain of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. It has a population of about 2,500 people.

Sheikhupura observed a hartal on the 6th of April. It was spontaneous and complete, in spite of the interference by the Sub-Inspector of Police with the people. There was a meeting in the evening, where, as admitted by the officials, temperate speeches were made. The Sub-Divisional Officer, Rai Sahib [Sri] Ram Sud, unsuccessfully attempted to stop the meeting by summoning the pleaders and using threatening language towards them. Then, up to the 13th, there was perfect peace. The news of Amritsar and Lahore, however, had its effect upon Sheikhupura's population, and the morning of the 14th saw another spontaneous and complete hartal, when too, there was no untoward incident. It has been alleged that a baker's shop was forcibly closed that day and that the baker was assaulted. The statement is denied, in spite of a conviction registered by the so-called Summary Court. During the night, however, some telegraph and signal wires were cut by unknown persons, very probably from Sheikhupura.

In any case, the trouble did not arise out of the hartal, but all the same Martial Law was proclaimed on the 19th, and everything that has been narrated of the other places happened in Sheikhupura also. The pleaders came in for special attention. They were subjected to special humiliation; they were arrested and detained for 40 days and finally discharged without a trial and without being told why they had been arrested. A special feature in Sheikhupura was that the whole of the male population, over the age of ten years, was made to sweep a large area of land,[1] just in order to humiliate the people. They were also made to attend, from early morning till evening, for 7 days for the purpose of the so-called investigation. Schoolboys had to attend, as in other places also.

A 60-year-old respected *Lambardar* of 38 years' standing and a retired Inspector of Police[2], was arrested simply because his sons were not in Sheikhupura when they were wanted. His property was confiscated and his tenants prohibited from cutting the crops.

[1] This was done at the instance of Bosworth Smith

[2] Sardar Gauhar Singh; *vide* p. 274.

The soldiers and the police freely helped themselves to the goods of the people. The usual pressure was applied for extorting evidence and the trials resulted in the same miscarriage of justice as elsewhere. But, unlike the other places, Mr. Bosworth Smith reported the pleaders to the High Court with a view to their being deprived of the right of practising. Out of nearly 70 statements, we have selected about 30 for presentation, which support all the statements made above.

Sardar Boota Singh, B.A., LL.B., was a member of the District War League, who had assisted in recruiting and had received a certificate for his services. He says that he took no part in either hartal, being engaged elsewhere on both the days. Writing of the 14th April he says:

> No mob was seen collected in any place, no demonstrations were made anywhere and nothing unusual was done by the people.

Together with the other local pleaders, he was suddenly arrested on the morning of the 19th. [He adds:]

> All of us were put in charge of some 25 soldiers, who carried loaded guns with fixed bayonets. We were made to parade the city in this condition and were more than once made to sit upon filthy ground in the presence of our co-villagers. After making a full display of our humiliating condition for about an hour, we were marched double speed towards an armoured train. . . . I was abused, jeered at and beaten with a stick on account of my not keeping pace with the others owing to my ill-health.

The prisoners were taken to Lahore, the journey occupying two hours. Their repeated requests to be allowed to answer nature's call were refused by the guard, and no food was supplied to them till late in the evening. [He continues:]

> From the railway station, we were taken to the Central Jail, Lahore, where we were handcuffed and taken to solitary cells. For 40 days we were thus detained, thereby suffering the greatest possible discomfort and hardship.

As if all this was not enough, further humiliation was heaped upon them, even as they were discharged; for they were taken handcuffed to Sheikhupura, marched to the police station and then to the Naib Tahsildar's house in the town, evidently in order to mock them, and it was there that they were finally discharged. (Statement 486.)

Lala Ushnak Rai, B.A., LL.B., is a first-grade pleader of 9 years' standing. He has been a hereditary *Lambardar* of two villages, owns extensive landed property, and has continuously aided

the War funds. He says, "Up to April last, I never took part in any political meeting." On the morning of the 15th, he was sent for by the Sub-Divisional Officer. He promised to co-operate with the officers in the maintenance of law and order. The same evening, the Sub-Divisional Officer went to Chuharkana, a step which seems to be inconsistent with his evidence before Lord Hunter's Committee, before which he stated that the peace of Sheikhupura was apparent and not real. It should be remembered that he left Sheikhupura in spite of the wire-cutting incident already referred to. The witness says that he co-operated with the local Extra Assistant Commissioner up to the evening of the 18th April. He even presented himself on the 19th before the Sub-Divisional Officer, and reported that all was well in Sheikhupura, but a few minutes later he was arrested in his own house and was not allowed either to close the doors of his house or to put on his jacket. He adds:

> I was then made to squat on dirty ground, while they were waiting for Gosain Maya Ram, whose office was only a few yards off from mine. I had no desire to squat down, as I was not tired, but I was made to squat in order to humiliate me.

Speaking of the railway lock-up at Lahore, he says:

> It was totally unfit for habitation, as it had been used previously as a latrine, and was reeking with foul smell.

They were made to leave their turbans and shoes outside the lock-up. Gauhar Singh, being a Sikh, protested against the removal of the turban, and wanted to keep his spectacles on, as he could not see without them on account of his age. His protests were disregarded. He was dismissed from his *lambardari* without his being informed of it, and his appeal to the higher authority was also dismissed without his being heard. (Statement 485.)

Gosain Maya Ram, also B.A., LL.B., says that the arrests took place early in the morning:

> We were not properly clad. Some were arrested in their night-shirts and pyjamas, whilst Maulvi Alim Din, Pleader, had only a shirt and a dhoti on. Our request to have our clothes brought was met with a curt refusal and a frown.

He further adds, to illustrate the studied manner of the humiliation:

> Myself, S. Boota Singh, Maulvi Alim Din and Jamiat Singh were put in one compartment, and were ordered to sit on the floor, although there were benches to sit upon. Sardar Buta Singh had taken a purgative the

same day, early in the morning. He wanted to make water, and requested one custodian to allow him to do so, but to no purpose. All of us repeatedly made the requests, whereupon one of the soldiers replied, "Can't you swallow it?"

After describing the other scenes, he says:

The hardships which we had to undergo in the jail are simply indescribable. The ordinary jail food is fit for cattle, and not for human beings. We were allowed to leave our cells for half an hour only in the morning, and half an hour in the evening, for bathing, etc. Even this one hour was many times denied to us by the warders, who used to open and shut out doors at will. (Statement 483.)

This witness relates an interesting conversation he had with the Sub-Divisional Officer, who tried to warn him first, and then the other pleaders, from going to the meeting of the 6th April, and when he succeeded in showing that there was nothing wrong about the meeting and nothing inconsistent with the pleaders' licences to go to the meeting, the appeal was made on personal grounds, to which the Gosain weakly yielded. Then the Sub-Divisional Officer sent for other pleaders and told them that the Gosain had promised not to join the meeting. When the latter heard of this, he said:

I felt hurt, and thought that the Sub-Divisional Officer had made wrong use of my name to influence the others; so I wrote to him that I meant to go to the meeting, and that he had no right to use my name in this fashion. (Statement 484.)

Sardar Pritam Singh, Pleader, who happened not to be arrested, witnessed the ushering in of Martial Law, which was proclaimed in the evening of the 19th April. He thus described it:

This proclamation was read by the Sub-Divisional Officer, Rai Sahib Sri Ram himself, and after the reading was over, the people were told by him that he had been invested with powers to shoot them, in case they repeated the hartal a second time. On this occasion, he made a thrust at the chins of several old respectable people with the end of his stick.

He then describes the machine-gun demonstration referred to before the Hunter Committee:

About the end of April, a moving column of British and Indian soldiers made a demonstration of the strength of the Sirkar (Government) with a number of machine-guns and motor-cars mounted with guns. Several iron pieces were placed against a mound, facing the machine-guns. After the machine-guns had been worked, and the iron pieces pierced with gun-fire, they were shown to the people, who had been

made to see the tamasha by the order of the authorities. They were told that those persons would be made the targets of these very machines, if they rebelled against the Sirkar again. This show of power was, however, preceded by the reading of a proclamation, issued by the Lieutenant-Governor, wherein he had advised the people to co-operate with the Government in bringing about normal conditions.

This demonstration of power, side by side with an appeal for co-operation, seems to be an incompatible mixture.

There was another demonstration, on or about the 7th May, of a different character, this time intended not merely to terrorize, but also to humiliate. We again give it in the language of the same witness:

He gathered together in the sun all the people of the place including, among others, pleaders who had not been arrested. The pleaders were separated from the rest and made to stand in two rows, the front row consisting of those who had not joined the meeting of the 6th April, and the back row consisting of those who had joined that meeting but without taking any active part in it. Mr. Bosworth Smith then began his speech, and he took the Indian pleaders as his text. He said, among other things, that the pleaders of India were a low class of people (*kamin*), who agitated against the Sirkar and made the innocent zemindars their tools. He asked me, personally, as to what my father was, and where I had received my education. On being informed that I was the son of a schoolmaster and had my education in the Forman Christian College at Lahore, he wondered how I could have at all taken to the agitation. Mr. Bosworth Smith went even so far as to call me a "little worm", in the presence of the other pleaders.

After he had done with the pleaders, Mr. Bosworth Smith made Sardar Gauhar Singh, a retired Inspector of Police, parade before the people, barefooted and handcuffed, in the sun. The Sahib told the people that Gauhar Singh was a disloyal subject of the Government, and that three of his sons[1] had been sent to jail for their misdeeds. The Government would forfeit [*sic*] his pension and deport him to Burma.

He then advised the people generally. He said that they were all *suar log* (swine) and *gandi makkhi* (contemptible flies). He actually spat on the ground, saying *kala log* (black men) *ganda log* (contemptible people), *sab ek rang ka* (all of one colour), inasmuch as they had rebelled against the *Sirkar* by the closing of their shops. He told them that they never should listen to the pleaders, who always cheated them, but go for advice to their *Lambardars*, *Zaildars*, Tahsildars and Deputies. (Statement 503.)

[1] Amar Singh, Atma Singh and Santok Singh, the last aged only 16 years

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Here we have a special insult offered to the pleaders, an attempt to wean the people from those whom they considered their friends, the studied degradation of a respected Inspector of Police, because of the supposed misdeeds of his sons, and a vulgar abuse of the whole of his audience, and all this by an officer who was in charge of the district, and who was sent to restore order, and to punish the evil-doers.

The case of Gauhar Singh shows to what extent the officials went in relentlessly persecuting innocent people. Sardar Gauhar Singh and his family have practically been ruined, and in bringing ruin to these men, the officer who especially interested himself in them did not hesitate to resort to questionable means. If the statement of Sardar Amar Singh, his son, is to be relied upon, Rai Sahib Sri Ram had his eyes upon this family for some time. Says this witness:

> Accordingly, on the 19th of April, 1919, my father was arrested and sent to the Lahore Central Jail, without being guilty of any crime, but he was released that very day. What happened to us at Sheikhupura that day is beyond description. All our houses were locked up and all ladies and children turned out. The crop in the fields was confiscated, a guard was stationed there, and we were prevented from reaping it then. On this account, we suffered a heavy loss, which is well known to the people of our village. We were constantly threatened with our houses being set on fire.

On the 20th April, the witness, along with two brothers, was arrested. His brother-in-law was also arrested, also a friend of his, together with two servants. Sardar Amar Singh says that they were made to suffer "simply for my sake, as they were my servants". And these five, that is, the brother-in-law, the friend and the two servants were released without trials on the 28th May. The witness himself was brought to Sheikhupura on the 24th May. He was presented to the public, handcuffed, on the pretence of identification. He says this was done "merely to disgrace me in the eyes of the public". On the 26th, he was brought before Mr. Penny, but as there was no evidence at all against him personally, he was discharged. (Statement 490.)

Witnesses 492, 493, 497, 499, 500 and 501 depose either to pressure having been brought to bear on them to give evidence against Gauhar Singh, or to having been themselves arrested, charged and convicted for no other fault than that they would not perjure themselves. Sardar Gauhar Singh, himself describing his case, says:

> In spite of my sons having voluntarily surrendered as required by the authorities, my house, stables and other quarters remained locked up for about 8 days, and a strong police guard was placed around our house and the fields. So we had to remain out homeless. Our crops suffered a great deal owing to our not being allowed to look after them. Our poor tenants, who were to receive $\frac{2}{3}$ of the produce, suffered as well. These tenants had to pay full canal dues without any reduction. On the 17th of May, I was arrested again and was released on the 30th of May, 1919.

He was dismissed from his lambardarship, without being asked to show cause. (Statement 488.)

Although there was no damage done in Sheikhupura, and no damage done by the crowd of people to the wires indemnity was levied. Gosain Maya Ram, Pleader, says:

> The value of the loss cannot exceed Rs. 5 at the most. At first, the indemnity proposed was Rs. 9,000 which was subsequently reduced to Rs. 100, out of which nearly Rs. 60 were recovered from 4 pleaders, who had the misfortune to be sent to jail for forty days, for no fault of theirs. (Statement 483.)

Lala Thakar Dass has brought to light what Mr. Bosworth Smith admitted in his evidence, namely, that he wanted a *tobaghar* (house of repentance) to be erected. The witness's contribution was to be Rs. 1,000. (Statement 507.)

Before closing our review of the events of Sheikhupura during April, it is necessary to glance at a portion of the evidence given by Colonel O'Brien, Mr. Bosworth Smith, Rai Sahib Shri Ram Sud, who show the animus that they brought to bear upon their work. It will be remembered that Colonel O'Brien justified the arrests without warrants, of people in general, on the strength of powers given to the Commissioners under the Defence of India Act. The ordinary common sense view of the section, which we have already quoted, would be that the Commissioners did not include Deputy Commissioners; where powers have been given to Deputy Commissioners, they have been specifically mentioned. However, as far as Sheikhupura pleaders were concerned, Col. O'Brien shifted the ground by saying that they were arrested for organizing hartal. Mr. Bosworth Smith, who was never before in Sheikhupura and, therefore, had never seen the pleaders before, has not only condemned them as a class without cause, but had the effrontery to report them to the High Court. Rai Sahib Shri Ram Sud has admitted that he had a ground of complaint that one of the pleaders was (a) "a subscriber to *The Tribune*", (b) "was seen bareheaded with another pleader on the

day of hartal", and (c) "as the president of the meeting, after the 6th April, he got letters of regret from some of the pleaders"; while another was (a) "a subscriber to the *Moslem Herald*", (b) "was seen at the home of another pleader", and (c) "had written a letter to the president of the meeting, regretting his inability to attend it".

We have not dealt with the summary trials in any detail nor with extortion. The evidence on both these points is to be found in the Sheikhupura statements in a full measure. The summary trials were a farce. The evidence on extortion is most damaging.

LYALLPUR

Lyallpur is the headquarters of the Lyallpur district. It is a new town containing a population of over 15,000. It is one of the largest depots for the exportation of wheat in the province. There was a spontaneous and complete hartal on the 6th April, and there was a public meeting also, at which resolutions were passed and carefully prepared, written-out speeches, moderate in tone, were delivered. The meeting was held after due consultation with the authorities. Nothing happened up to the 12th. But, by that time, the news of the arrests of Mr. Gandhi, Dr. Kitchlew and Dr. Satyapal had arrived and also about the firing at Lahore and Amritsar. This brought about another spontaneous hartal. The leaders tried to avoid it, but they were not able to control the feelings of the people. They, however, rendered to the authorities great assistance in observing peace. Rumours about the alleged firing on the Golden Temple had considerably disturbed the Sikh population specially, and the hartal was prolonged. But, through the tact and vigilance of the leaders, the hartal was broken up on the 15th. There was no disturbance whatsoever in the town. Wires were cut near Lyallpur, but there was no connection between the wire-cutting and the hartal or any person in Lyallpur. Bundles of *bhusa* (chaff), stacked at the station, were burnt. This was considered to be the work of incendiaries. Innocent people were arrested and put to a lot of trouble in this connection, but upon a claim made on behalf of the Secretary of State for compensation a full enquiry was held and the magistrate dismissed the claim, and found that the burning of *bhusa* was not the work of incendiaries. Unfortunately, the enquiry was held too late for the protection of the innocent people. We have annexed the judgment to the statements recorded by us. The magistrate says:

The *bhusa* appears to have gone on fire between 8.15 p.m. and 8.45 p.m. The fire was noticed by the picket at about 8.40. The night was dark, there was strong wind blowing from the direction of the factory at the time. This wind later developed into a dust storm of great violence.

The stack or rather pyramid of bales which was nearest to the factories had taken fire. The fire had begun on the side nearest to the factories. The *sirki* covering or roof over the bales had caught fire. The fire communicated itself to the bales at once. The *chaukidar* of the *bhusa* stacks was absent at the time. The store-keeper or the officer in charge of baling operations arrived shortly after the fire had begun. I reached the spot with cavalry very shortly after the fire had begun. A few people from the factories, a few members of the municipal staff and the store-keeper alluded to above were the only persons on the spot when I arrived. There was no information of any crowd having visited the stacks or of any single person having been seen near the stacks. The absence of the *chaukidar* seems to have been due to laziness and not to have been arranged or premeditated. Neither patrol nor picket saw anything suspicious in the vicinity of the goods yard. The subsequent dust storm and the covering of the ground by footprints of the helpers who tried to prevent the fire spreading to other stacks prevented all possibility of evidence.

A very exhaustive police enquiry was made; no trace of anything bearing on the burning of the *bhusa* came out. There were some approvers in the Lyallpur cases, who were associates of and in the secrets of those who were convicted in the Lyallpur disorders. None of these however had any information to give in regard to the burning of the *bhusa*, which does not seem to have formed part of the plans of their associates.

There was a strong suspicion at the time that this was the work of an incendiary, because,

1. similar acts had occurred elsewhere in connection with the disorders;
2. a plot to burn *bhusa* had been alleged to have existed at Toba Tek Singh;
3. of the fact that goods had been removed from the goods yard the day before.

The police enquiry, however, has failed to connect the burning of this *bhusa* with the act of any incendiary or with any riot or rioters. Those convicted in jail in Lyallpur disorder were questioned by me. They have now, after conviction, no object in concealing what they knew, and have given information on a number of other points, but none of them have any information to give about the *bhusa*.

I have examined the theory of whether it was the act of some villager or villagers, but no clue has been obtained.

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Four factories were working on the day in question. One of them was in close proximity to the stacks. During the winter months no fires were caused to the *bhusa* by factories working; but since April, there have been a number of fires in piles of open cotton in factory yards, due to cinders from chimneys, etc. It is possible, though not likely on account of the distance, that this may have been the cause of the *bhusa* fire.

I have been unable to find anything, except suspicion, to point to this injury having arisen from riot and unlawful assembly within the area.

I am unable, therefore, to make the assessment contemplated in Section 15 A(2) (c) of the Police Act.

Incidentally, the magistrate has remarked:

There were no riots or disturbances at Lyallpur that day; though shops were shut, no disorder or unlawful assemblies were noticed in the town itself (Statement 517 A.)

So much was Lyallpur free from violent tendencies that Mr. B. W. Smith, Superintendent of Police, in giving his evidence before the Hunter Committee, said that Martial Law was not "essential", though he considered it was "desirable"; and yet there was all the military display, all the terrorism, prosecutions, salaaming orders, restrictions upon travelling and unwarrantable attempts to discredit and to undermine the influence, such as it was, of the natural leaders of the people.

It was not before the 22nd that arrests were commenced. Lala Chint Ram Thapar says:

On the 22nd, the people were not even out of their beds, when machine-guns were placed all round the city which was surrounded by British soldiers. About twelve people were arrested, I being one amongst them . . . . . On the 2nd of May, we were produced before the court, handcuffed in twos. We protested . . . In this way, we were taken from jail to court and from court to jail, and as long as we remained in the court, we remained handcuffed and were not allowed to sit. Efforts were made to make me an approver, and an autograph letter of the Deputy Commissioner was sent to me through a friend of mine.

But the witness was unbending. After conviction, the prisoners were taken to Lahore. The witness says:

At about 11 a.m., in the scorching heat, we had to walk from the jail to the station with handcuffs and fetters on. Our ankles were wounded owing to the fetters. (Statement 521, p. 664.)

Lala Bodh Raj, Chairman of the District Congress Committee, Director of the Punjab National Bank, Limited, at Lyallpur, and Vice-Chairman of D.M.A.S. High School Committee, a

legal practitioner of 22 years' standing, was also among those who were arrested. Unlike the Gujranwala district, the prisoners were told what charge they were to be tried under. It was under Sec. 143 of the Indian Penal Code regarding the formation of unlawful assembly. So they applied for bail and the application was rejected on the ground that some other charges, too, were under contemplation. Describing the treatment, whilst under detention, the witness says that although under-trial prisoners are entitled to have their own food from their houses, their application that they should be allowed to have their own food brought to them was not only rejected but they were taunted with this that as they could observe fast, they should be satisfied with jail food. During the trial, they were kept standing from 10 a.m. to 7 p.m. They, therefore, requested that they should be allowed to have refreshment during the day at their own expense. It was allowed for the first day, but for the rest of the days they were told that they were not entitled to it. The magistrate refused to allow them the inspection of records before or after the commencement of the proceedings, and yet they were asked to name the defence witnesses. (Statement 517.) Lala Amir Chand[1] arrived at Lyallpur on domestic business on the 13th April. He had arrived from Calcutta at Lahore on the 5th April. He, too, was arrested. The trial was postponed from time to time at the instance of the authorities. The last date fixed was the 14th of June, but, suddenly without a warrant, the date was anticipated and the trial took place on the 5th of June. The witness says, he was convicted without being able to produce his witnesses. He was charged afresh on the 6th and was sentenced to undergo imprisonment for 3 months, and on the 18th of June he was awarded 2 years' imprisonment. In common with so many sentences that were revised by the Lieutenant-Governor, his sentence had also undergone revision and he was discharged on the 18th of September. He was arrested again and made to furnish security, but for reasons best known to them, the police withdrew the case. The witness states that he subsequently learnt that he was arrested on the suspicion that he might have destructive instruments with him, as he had come from Bengal. He concludes:

> This was why the officers came with pistols in their hands to my house to arrest me. (Statement 524.)

Sardar Sant Singh, Vakil, gives a graphic description of the trial of the pleaders and others. He shows how at every step they

[1] Proprietor, Swadeshi Stores, Anarkali, Lahore

were obstructed in their defence, and delay was caused, during which time they were kept under detention, and although the case was not finished when Martial Law ceased to exist, they were convicted. Fortunately, as the trial was finished after Martial Law, they were able to appeal. The convictions were pronounced to be illegal by the Superior Court, and the cases were remanded for retrial. They were then released on 23rd July, but they were promptly rearrested, though this time they were allowed out on bail.

They, therefore, all in good faith, restarted their practice, but they were immediately sent for by the magistrate, and informed that they were still under-trial men, and were "guilty of improper conduct" for resuming their practice. The witness says that although the warning was concluded in the form of advice, they considered it prudent not to resume practice. The last act in the drama, however, was not yet finished. On the 1st of October non-bailable warrants were issued.

They were arrested, and the witness says:

> We were subjected to the indignity of sleeping in a dirty room, on dirty matting on the floor; our request to send us to the judicial lock-up in the jail was disregarded.

Ultimately, however, owing to the agitation that was set up by the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in the Imperial Council regarding this atrocity,[1] the proceedings were withdrawn and the pleaders discharged from detention. (Statement 516.)

Mr. Ram Dass Chhokra, Barrister-at-Law, says that, for the offence of reading a paper on satyagraha, he was interned "within the municipal limits of Lyallpur", and this internment lasted till the abrogation of Martial Law. He says:

> But, an order, which was harder than the one of internment, was one regarding the fixing of Martial Law notices at my office in the Kacherry Bazaar. My office is at a distance of at least half a mile from my residential house, and to guard the Martial Law notices from such a distance at the risk of one's complete liberty was a very hard job. I made a modest request to the Commander in regard to this matter, which was not, however, granted. I said to the Commander that as my office was at a considerable distance from my house the Martial Law notices might be handed over to me personally instead of being fixed to

[1] Malaviya had given notice of 92 questions, regarding Martial Law in the Punjab, which he intended to ask in the Imperial Legislative Council in September 1919. They were however disallowed.

my office during my absence, for, in the latter case they might be torn away before I came to know of their existence. I also made a second request to him, and that was that I might be allowed to paste the notices on to a board, which I would make arrangements to exhibit at my office during the day time, but which could be put away during night, and so I could be saved the night watch of notices. The Commander said those were quite reasonable requests and he would consult the Deputy Commissioner and let me know. The next day, I was informed that I could go to the office of the Superintendent of Police every evening, and find out if there were any Martial Law notices. As regards the second request, he kept perfect silence.

I saw the Deputy Commissioner after these orders had been passed against me, and asked him bluntly why I was being persecuted. He said he had not been receiving good reports about me. I said, "That is exactly what I have come to know. Will you kindly tell me specifically what it is that you have against me?" He promised to look up Police papers. I went to him twice after this, but each time I was informed that he had had no time to do so. And I do not know till now the reasons for the strange action of the authorities. (Statement 520.)

The pressure put upon witnesses to give false evidence was practically of the same character as described elsewhere. A remarkable expression was made use of by an officer to a witness who was expected to give evidence in particular, "*ya takhat lo, ya takhta milega*", meaning, "choose between the throne and the gallows". If the witness gave evidence as desired, he was to be free; if he did not, imprisonment was to be his lot. (Statement 530. See also Statements 518, 522, 525, 531, 533, 536, 537 and 548.)

GUJRAT

Gujrat is a historic place, famous for the battle[1] of Gujrat during the Sikh war. It has a population of nearly 20,000. It is a railway station beyond Wazirabad, on the main line, and nine miles from it.

An attempted hartal for the 6th April was prevented by the efforts of a local merchant, Lala Ram Chand Tandon, the President of the Sanatana Dharma Sabha. But on the 13th, some students from Lahore and belonging to Gujrat, as also a party that had gone to Wazirabad for the *Baisakhi* festival, returned by the late night train about 11 p.m. They formed themselves into a kind

[1] In 1849

of procession, and entered the town, crying out against the Rowlatt Act. In the morning, they spread the news of the doings in Lahore and other places, and succeeded in inducing shopkeepers to close their shops. The hartal having taken place, the authorities sent for the Municipal Commissioners, and asked them to keep watch in their respective wards. Accordingly, during the night of the 14th, they, with the help of their friends, looked after their respective wards, and nothing untoward happened during the night. On the 15th, the boys and others who had joined them proceeded to the Mission School, and asked the Head Master to close it. The latter, however, refused and is said even to have caned some of the boys. Thereupon the boys threw stones at the windows and smashed some panes. They did similar damage at the Station, burnt some papers, but before they could do anything more than break a few window panes, they were fired upon, and they dispersed. There were no casualties.

There was nothing beyond the above incidents. No responsible person had taken part in the promotion of the hartal or in what followed. Yet Martial Law was proclaimed in Gujrat on the 19th April. Mr. Williamson, the Deputy Commissioner, knew nothing about the Martial Law. He did not want it, and when he received a telegram announcing Martial Law, he questioned whether it could be Gujrat, in the Punjab, at all. He thought it must be Gujarat, in the Bombay Presidency. But he was mistaken, and Gujrat, which had done nothing to deserve it, was handed over to the military, and remained under their sway till Martial Law was done away with in June.

In Gujrat, there are two factions, in one of which local officials seem to be involved. The other is headed by Seth Chirag Din, a prominent citizen, and, till recently, an Honorary Magistrate and Municipal Commissioner. The official faction, therefore, appears to have determined upon breaking up their opponents. And Mr. Har Gopal, a Barrister of Gujrat, and others were arrested and detained in custody for a long time. They were tried by the Martial Law Tribunal and honourably acquitted; the judges remarking that the officials who had given evidence on behalf of the prosecution had perjured themselves. Lala Ram Chand Tandon, who had assisted the authorities during the War, and who holds Government sanads for various acts, was also harassed. Respectable pleaders and others had their houses searched without the slightest cause.

Seth Chirag Din himself was dispossessed of his magistracy and commissionership. He holds several sanads from the

Viceroy downwards. He holds a Kaisar-i-Hind medal. He was responsible for singly supplying 200 recruits. We invite attention to our selection of the Gujrat statements. Mr. Har Gopal applied for permission to prosecute the officials concerned for perjury, but the permission has not been granted.

All the other hardships, referred to in the other districts, were the lot of the residents of Gujrat also. It may be stated that there has been no political life in Gujrat. It does not boast of even a District Congress Committee.

A punitive police has been imposed upon Gujrat without any justification whatsoever. A tax of Rs. 42,000 has been fixed, and is to be exacted in six instalments. The first instalment has already been collected; strange as it may appear, one-fourth of it has been exacted from Lala Ram Chand Tandon and one-fourth from some pleaders. We consider that the incidence of the tax is as inequitable as the tax itself.

JALALPUR JATTAN

This is a small village in the Gujrat district, about eight miles from Gujrat. It is an important weaving centre.

There was no hartal here on the 6th April. On the 15th, however, what may be termed a sympathetic hartal took place. There was no damage done by the crowd. A procession was formed, in which all participated. A telegraph wire was cut by someone during the night of the 15th or 16th.

Apparently, for this offence, Martial Law was duly proclaimed. Arrests of respectable people followed. Seventeen were arrested in all. One was discharged without being brought up before the court. The others were produced before the Martial Law Commission. Of these, ten were discharged and the remaining six were sentenced to a variety of terms of imprisonment.

Schoolboys, including little children, had to attend the *Thana*[1] three times a day during Martial Law.

An indemnity of Rs. 12,000 has been imposed on this village without any justification. One-sixth of it has already been collected.

MALAKWAL

Malakwal, an important railway junction, is reached from Lala Musa which is on the main line, and which is over ten miles from Gujrat. It has a population of 3,000. At Malakwal, on

[1] Police Station

the 17th April, some men, probably railway labourers, had torn down rail, thus endangering the lives of passengers. A train was, as a matter of fact, derailed, but happily no damage was done.

Martial Law was proclaimed in due course and there was a repetition of the usual things. On enquiry we found that over forty arrests were made, including young students and about twenty of the railway clerical staff. Of these, eight were acquitted, and over fifteen released without ever being brought to trial, though they were detained for a long time in custody. Respectable men were compelled to pull pankhas for the officers. They were also called upon to clean streets and do other sanitary work. School-children were compelled to appear three times a day to salute the Union Jack.

The railway clerical staff was dismissed, although acquitted. Some of these were servants, who had an unbroken record of over thirty years' service.

We have now reviewed, in the briefest manner possible, the events of April last in the five districts, in which Martial Law was proclaimed, viz., Amritsar, Lahore, Gujranwala, Lyallpur and Gujrat. In spite of our desire to do full justice to the tragedy in the Punjab, for it was nothing less, we have been unable to do so. It is not possible for us to condense into the compass of a brief review the story of persecution, corruption and disregard of human feelings that is revealed in the evidence we are presenting to the public. We have endeavoured to hold the scales evenly. We have endeavoured to make every allowance for the exceptional circumstances in which the officers suddenly found themselves placed. Yet, we have come to the conclusion that the measures taken by the authorities to suppress what have been termed disorders were far in excess of the requirements.

What was the nature of the disorders, and how did they arise? These disorders consisted in incendiarism in isolated places; murders of innocent Europeans; cutting of telegraph wires; burning, in an indifferent manner, of one or two small bridges; and derailment in one or two places. It is admitted that they were not universal, that the armed population remained unaffected, took no part, directly or indirectly, in the disorders; that the vast masses of the peasantry took no part in violence; that the population, even according to the official testimony, alleged to have been concerned in the disorders, was only 4½ lacs out of 2 crores, the total population of the Punjab. According to the evidence in our

possession, the only places where violence did take place were Amritsar, Kasur, Gujranwala, Wazirabad, Nizamabad, Hafizabad, Moman, Dhaban Singh, Chuharkana, Khem Karn, Patti and Malakwal, containing a population of about $2\frac{1}{4}$ lacs. But it has to be remembered that of this population of $2\frac{1}{4}$ lacs, it is clear from the evidence both before us and the Hunter Committee and that obtainable from the records of the several trials, that only a very small fraction could have taken an actual part in the alleged disorders. The European lives lost were four. We cannot too strongly condemn this action of the mob.

But how did a people, generally peaceful, find it in them to burn public property and commit murders? We have attempted to give the answer. Sir Michael O'Dwyer put an undue strain upon the proverbial patience of the people. By his vilification of the educated classes, by his methods of recruiting and collecting the War Loan and other funds, by his suppression of the public Press, he had caused immense irritation among the people. His utterly unjustifiable deportations of Mr. Gandhi and Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal lighted the material he had made inflammable. Being defeated in his attempt to prevent the peaceful demonstration of the 6th April against the Rowlatt legislation, he thought he would make one supreme effort to crush the spirit of the people, struggling to find a free and disciplined expression. He mistook this healthy plant for a poisonous weed to be rooted out by every means; and he resorted to the madness of the deportations just mentioned. It would still perhaps have been well if he had issued peremptory orders to his subordinates not to be free with their rifles. But it was impossible for him to be temperate and furious at the same time. The unwise firing at Amritsar strained the temper of the people to the breaking point. The crowd became mad, and, in its fury, committed arson, murder and pillage, and spent its fury in three hours. The other places, mentioned by us, caught the infection from and copied Amritsar, we are, however, thankful to be able to say, without any further destruction of life except at Kasur.

Was this a state of rebellion or waging of war? Was this a state beyond the power of the civil authority, taking assistance, if necessary, from the military to cope with? Was it a state necessitating supersession of law? We have answered the question in dealing with each place separately, and the cumulative effect of the whole examination strengthens the conclusion that, so far as the published evidence before the Hunter Committee and the evidence in our possession shows, there was no necessity whatsoever

for the promulgation of Martial Law. The secret evidence led before Lord Hunter's Committee will have to be extraordinarily clear and overwhelming to establish a case for Martial Law.

The theory of rebellion or war completely broke down before the Hunter Committee. There was no proof of organization outside the Punjab and behind the so-called conspiracy. On the contrary, Col. O'Brien—one of Sir Michael's trusted lieutenants—had to admit that he had no evidence to support the theory of rebellion, that it was mere guess-work and that his arrest of the leaders of Gujranwala, too, was based on mere table-talk. He admitted that he had nothing to connect the leaders directly with violence, but that he wanted to hold them responsible if there was any violence at all in Gujranwala. The other witnesses fared no better. They only betrayed their own incapacity for assessing the values of acts and events.

The fact is it was necessary for Sir Michael's theory that the Rowlatt agitation was mischievous, to establish a widespread conspiracy. The wish was father to the thought, and he saw, and he made others see that in every speech of the leaders there was sedition, in every hartal a conspiracy, and in every Hindu-Mohammedan fraternization a menace to British rule. No wonder the conspiracy theory broke down.

And if Martial Law was unjustified, much more so was its prolongation for nearly two months. The measures taken under it were such as to disgrace any government, calling itself civilized. Its inauguration was heralded by the massacre of the innocents of Jallianwala Bagh. The tone of frightfulness set up by General Dyer was approved by Sir Michael O'Dwyer during the two dark months that followed. If our figures are correct, and we hold them to be so, nearly 1,200 lives were lost, at least 3,600 men wounded, and some permanently disabled. The vengeance taken was out of all proportion to the wrong done by the people—wrong moreover, which was initiated under grave provocation. The slow torture administered to the survivors during the Martial Law period, we have sufficiently described. We can only hope that the revelations presented by us will make a repetition of the atrocities impossible.

CHAPTER VI

Conclusion

We have now dealt with the five districts in which Martial Law was proclaimed. We have dealt with Sir M. O'Dwyer's

regime, and we have endeavoured to examine the Rowlatt Act and the satyagraha movement.

We desire to state that we have endeavoured to keep ourselves to the facts before us, and not based our conclusions on anything outside the evidence, printed separately, supplemented by the evidence given before Lord Hunter's Committee and the record of the Martial Law Tribunals.

We have been obliged in places to use strong language, but we have used every adjective with due deliberation. If anything, we have understated the case against the Punjab Government. We recognize that we have no right to exact an impossible standard of correctness from the Government. In times of excitement and difficulty, any officer is prone to make mistakes, in spite of the best intentions in the world. We recognize, too, that when the country is on the eve of important changes introduced in the administration, and the Sovereign has made an appeal to the officials and the people for co-operation we should say nothing that may be calculated to retard the progress.

But we feel that it is not possible to ignore acts of atrocious injustice on a wholesale scale by responsible officers, as it would not be possible, no matter how bright the future might be, to ignore the criminal acts of the people. In our opinion, it is more necessary now than ever before that the official wrong should be purged as well as the people's. The task of working the Reforms and making India realize her goal in the quickest time possible would be well-nigh impossible if both the people and the officials did not approach it with clean hands and clean minds. If, therefore, we recommend that officials who have erred should be brought to justice, we do so not in a vindictive spirit, but in order that the administration of the country may become purified of corruption and injustice. Whilst, therefore, we believe that the mob excesses in Amritsar and elsewhere were wrong and deserving of condemnation, we are equally sure that the popular misdeeds have been more than punished by the action of the authorities.

We believe that had Mr. Gandhi not been arrested whilst he was on his way to Delhi and the Punjab, and had Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal not been arrested and deported, innocent English lives would have been saved, and valuable property, including Christian churches, not destroyed. These two acts of the Punjab Government were uncalled for, and served like matches applied to material rendered inflammable by previous processes.

In examining, in detail, the events in the different districts of the Punjab, we have refrained from saying anything regarding the

Government of India. It is impossible, however, to ignore or slur over the inaction, if not the active participation, of the Central Government in the official action. His Excellency the Viceroy never took the trouble of examining the people's case. He ignored telegrams and letters from individuals and public bodies. He endorsed the action of the Punjab Government without inquiry. He clothed the officials with indemnity in indecent haste. He never went to the Punjab to make personal inquiry, even after the occurrences. He ought to have known, at least in May, everything that the various official witnesses have admitted, and yet he failed to inform the public or the Imperial Government of the full nature of the Jallianwala Bagh massacre, or the subsequent acts done under Martial Law. He became a party to preventing even a noble and well-known English Christian of unimpeachable veracity in the person of Mr. C. F. Andrews from proceeding to the Punjab,[1] whilst he was on his way, not to inflame passions, but simply to find out the truth. He allowed Mr. Thompson, the Chief Secretary to the Punjab Government, to indulge in distortion of facts and insult the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, whose statements, made in the Council[2], have almost all been now proved to be true out of the mouths of the official witnesses themselves. He expressed such a callous indifference to popular feelings and betrayed such criminal want of imagination, that he would not postpone the death sentences pronounced by the Martial Law Tribunals, except after he was forced to do so by the Secretary of State for India. He seems to have closed his heart against further light by shutting out questions by a responsible member of the Council like the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. He would not visit the Punjab for local inquiry. We refrain from criticizing his attitude over the Rowlatt agitation. But a sense of public safety forbids us to ignore His Excellency's inability to appreciate and deal with the situation in April. Whilst, therefore, we do not think His Excellency was wilfully neglectful of the interests of those who were entrusted to his charge by His Majesty, we regret to say that His Excellency Lord Chelmsford proved himself incapable of holding the high office to which he was called, and we are of opinion that His Excellency should be recalled.

[1] Andrews, while on his way to Lahore, was taken out of the train at Amritsar railway station, detained there for several hours and finally sent back out of the Punjab.

[2] Imperial Legislative Council

We summarize below our other conclusions :

1. The people of the Punjab were incensed against Sir M. O'Dwyer's administration by reason of his studied contempt and distrust of the educated classes and by reason of the cruel and compulsory methods, adopted during the War, for obtaining recruits and monetary contributions and by his suppression of public opinion by gagging the local Press and shutting out nationalist newspapers from outside the Punjab.

2. The Rowlatt agitation disturbed the public mind and shook public confidence in the goodwill of the Government. This was shared by the Punjab in a fuller measure perhaps than elsewhere, because of the use made by Sir M. O'Dwyer of the Defence of India Act for purposes of stifling public movements.

3. The satyagraha movement, and the hartal which was designed as a precursor of it, whilst they vitalized the whole country into activity, saved it from more awful and more widespread calamities, by restraining the violent tendencies and passions of the people.

4. The Rowlatt agitation was not conceived in an anti-British spirit, and the satyagraha movement was conceived and conducted in a spirit entirely free from ill will and violence.

5. There was no conspiracy to overthrow the Government in the Punjab.

6. The arrest and internment of Mr. Gandhi, and the arrests and deportations of Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal were unjustifiable, and were the only direct cause of hysterical popular excitement.

7. The mob violence which began at Amritsar was directly due to the firing at the railway over-bridge, and the sight of the dead and wounded at a time when the excitement had reached white heat.

8. Whatever the cause of provocation, the mob excesses are deeply to be regretted and condemned.

9. So far as the facts are publicly known, no reasonable cause has been shown to justify the introduction of Martial Law.

10. In each case, Martial Law was proclaimed after order had been completely restored.

11. Even if it be held that the introduction of Martial Law was a State necessity, it was unduly prolonged.

12. Most of the measures taken under Martial Law, in all the five districts, were unnecessary, cruel, oppressive and in utter disregard of the feelings of the people affected by them.

13. In Lahore, Akalgarh, Ramnagar, Gujrat, Jalalpur Jattan,

Lyallpur and Sheikhupura, there were no mob excesses at all worthy of the name.

14. The Jallianwala Bagh massacre was a calculated piece of inhumanity towards utterly innocent and unarmed men, including children, and unparalleled for its ferocity in the history of modern British administration.

15. The Martial Law Tribunals and the Summary Courts were made the means of harassing innocent people, and resulted in abortion of justice on a wide scale, and under the name of justice caused moral and material sufferings to hundreds of men and women.

16. The crawling order and other fancy punishments were unworthy of a civilized administration, and were symptomatic of the moral degradation of their inventors.

17. The imposition of indemnity and of punitive police at various places, notwithstanding exemplary and vindictive punishments meted out, through nearly two long months, mostly to innocent men, and the exaction of fines and illegal impositions were an uncalled for, unjust, and added injury.

18. The corruption and bribery that took place during Martial Law form a separate chapter of grievance, which could have been easily avoided under a sympathetic administration.

19. The measures necessary for redressing the wrong done to the people, for the purification of the administration and for preventing a repetition in future of official lawlessness are:

(a) Repeal of the Rowlatt Act.

(b) Relieving Sir M. O'Dwyer of any responsible office under the Crown.

(c) Relieving General Dyer, Col. Johnson, Col. O'Brien, Mr. Bosworth Smith, Rai Sahib Sri Ram Sud and Malik Sahib Khan, of any position of responsibility under the Crown.

(d) Local inquiry into corrupt practices of the minor officials, whose names have been mentioned in the statements published by us, and their dismissal on proof of their guilt.

(e) Recall of His Excellency the Viceroy.

(f) Refund of the fines collected from people who were convicted by the Special Tribunals and Summary Courts; remission of all indemnity imposed on the cities affected; refund thereof where it has already been collected; and removal of punitive police.

It is our deliberate opinion that Sir M. O'Dwyer, General Dyer, Col. Johnson, Col. O'Brien, Mr. Bosworth Smith, Rai Sahib Sri Ram Sud and Malik Sahib Khan have been guilty of such illegalities that they deserve to be *impeached* but we purposely refrain from advising any such course, because we believe that India can only gain by waiving the right. Future purity will be sufficiently guaranteed by the dismissal of the officials concerned.

We believe that Col. MacRae and Capt. Doveton have failed equally with Col. O'Brien and others to carry out their trust, but we have purposely refrained from advising any public action against them, as, unlike the others mentioned by us, these two officers were inexperienced and their brutality was not so studied and calculated as that of the experienced officers.

M. K. GANDHI
C. R. DAS
ABBAS S. TAYABJI
M. R. JAYAKAR

Report of the Commissioners Appointed by the Punjab Sub-committee of the Indian National Congress

84. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING

[DELHI,]
Thursday [*March 25*,][1] *1920*

MY DEAR CHILD,

My heart and my prayers are with you. Your letter grieves me beyond words. That you should suffer so much pain! But true joy will come to the godly. And as my faith in your godliness is unshakable, I have a certain belief that you will have a peace full of joy.

You will certainly see Mr. Menon[2] if you think that you should. I am anxious for you to get an early boat[3]. The voyage will give you the solitude you need and your home and your father the comfort and the companionship you will want.

[1] There is no clear evidence to establish the date of this letter but it is likely to have been written on the morning of March 25 from Delhi where Gandhiji spent three days before reaching Sinhgadh on March 26. Moreover in *My Dear Child* this letter has been serially placed before that of March 30.

[2] Dr. E. K. Menon, Esther Faering's prospective husband

[3] For Denmark

If you have not returned Mr. Banker's trunk, please do not send it by parcel. It may be returned on your coming back to Bombay. There is absolutely no hurry.

With love,

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat of the original in N.A.I.; also *My Dear Child*, p. 67

85. LETTER TO RAZMIA

[SINHGADH,][1]
March 27, 1920

MY DEAR RAZMIA,

I have already written to Dr. Ansari[2] about the Khilafat question. But I feel that I should write to you also. My talk with Hasrat Mohani[3] has left me much disturbed. According to him nobody believes in non-co-operation. But it has been taken up merely to conciliate me. Now in a matter so important as this there should be no question of conciliation and I would not have anything simply for my conciliation. Moreover non-co-operation to be successful has got to be taken up most enthusiastically by all, and no great cause has ever prospered if it has been handled without faith in it. I would therefore like you to discuss this with Hakimji[4] and let me know on his own behalf as also yours as to what is the real situation. There is no doubt in my mind that if this difficult Khilafat question is to be settled satisfactorily the Mussulmans of India will not only have to know their own mind but they must be prepared for sacrifices beyond measure. If there is no spirit of sacrifice at least they should get rid of a man like myself. I can secure no diplomatic triumph. I can only guide

[1] Although this letter was written on Gandhiji's personal letter-paper bearing his Sabarmati address, it must, in fact, have been written from Sinhgadh where he had arrived on March 26.

[2] Dr. Mukhtar Ahmed Ansari (1880-1936); nationalist Muslim leader; President, Indian Muslim League, 1920; President, Indian National Congress, 1927-8

[3] A leader of the Khilafat movement, who insisted on the boycott of British goods and was Gandhiji's chief opponent at the All-India Khilafat Conference held on November 24, 1919

[4] Hakim Ajmal Khan (1865-1927); eminent Muslim physician and politician who took a leading part in the Khilafat movement; President, Indian National Congress, 1921-2

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along the difficult, narrow and thorny path of self-sacrifice allied to absolute truth. Where these are absent I should feel like a square man [*sic*] in a round hole. I suggested to Hasrat Mohani that the principal leaders who want to do active service should meet me in Bombay between the 6th and the 13th April, and we could have a quiet chat, not for once only but often during the Satyagraha Week.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 4590

86. NOTES

RABINDRANATH TAGORE'S VISIT

Information has been received that Sir Rabindranath Tagore, the poet, is to spend a week in Gujarat. We shall profit best from his presence if we give him peace and learn from him the things we should. He does not like too many functions. He keeps indifferent health. Perfect silence is essential at the meetings which he is to attend. He dislikes people shouting. We believe that, if we bear these restrictions in mind, he will be able to visit Surat and Broach. How can we honour him best? By helping his enterprise financially. He is deeply attached to his Santiniketan Ashram and the School[1] it runs. The Ashram was founded by his father[2] and the School by himself. He meets the expenses for these from donations received. He has used his own money, too, for these enterprises of his. When he toured Madras last year, he received donations for Santiniketan from every place that he visited. We think it will create an excellent impression if something like that happens in Gujarat too. We hope this will be borne in mind at every place he visits.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 28-3-1920

[1] Visva-Bharati. Its foundation was laid on December 23, 1918, and it started functioning in July 1919.

[2] Debendranath Tagore

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87. LETTER TO M. R. JAYAKAR

Sunday [*March 28, 1920*][1]

DEAR MR. JAYAKAR,

I enclose herewith a draft cable[2] in connection with our Report. I need not say anything further as I hope to meet you on Tuesday[3]. I would like you to consider the advisability of your going to England alone to support our Report. I am totally against a spectacular display in the shape of sending a big deputation. It will hamper swift movement and concentration and it can only irritate the authorities. I want to be absolutely frank. I consider that I am the fittest to go, but my going is a virtual impossibility. You come next in my view; because you are a student like me and we want a man of application and studious habits and possessing a level head. Whether you can spare yourself or not is another question. The only possible men who can do effective work, besides us two, are Malaviyaji and Motilalji and Mr. Das. I have not considered the relative merits, because I myself feel that Malaviyaji cannot be spared from India. I know that Motilalji ought not to be, unless certain things happen and Mr. Das has a heavy case to which, I understand, he is tied down for three months. I have gone into this matter somewhat fully, because we may not get time during my short stay in Bombay for an exhaustive discussion.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

The Story of My Life, Vol. I, p. 366

[1] This letter was evidently written after the publication on March 25, 1920, of the Congress report on the Punjab disorders, but owing to Jayakar's illness the idea of a visit to England had to be dropped; *vide The Story of My Life*, Vol. I, p. 366.

[2] Not available

[3] Presumably March 30, as Gandhiji was in Bombay on this date

88. MEANING OF "BANDHU"

[Before *March 30, 1920*][1]

I had praised Shrimati Sarladevi's article, "Bandhu"[2], appearing in the issue of 29th February and asked the readers to read it several times over. Thereupon, some of them wrote to me to say that they had gone through the article and reflected over it but had failed to make out its meaning. They have requested me to explain the meaning myself. I could not reply immediately, being busy with my numerous activities. Now that I have some peace in Sinhgadh, I have read the article three times and give here the meaning as I understand it.

The first part of the article was written several years ago when she was living in Bolpur[3]. I saw her in her disconsolate state when her husband was in jail[4]. I saw that nothing would give her peace. The consolation which a friend could give in such circumstances, I tried to, but I could see that this brought no peace to her mind. She was suffering, I saw, as a woman separated from her husband does. When I spoke about the release of prisoners, trying to guess when one could expect them to be out, I found that I could engage her attention. It was while she was in this frame of mind that I once requested her to write something for *Navajivan* or *Young India*. She hesitated, putting me off with the remark : "Ideas will just not come." One day she observed : "Long ago I wrote something which, in Bengali, would be considered good. If you agree, I will complete it, and you may have it translated if you wish. I should have the right to send the Bengali to some other journal." I agreed. 'One does not look a gift-horse in the mouth' is a saying in English. Moreover, my aim was to see that she had something to occupy her.

It is easy to explain the meaning now. There is a saying among us that "Time is invincible." Time has also been described as an enemy. This same Time takes for us the form of a *bandhu* when we are not plunged in the grief of separation or lost in the midst of pleasures, and gives us peace. This was the peace

[1] The article was obviously written at Sinhgadh, where Gandhiji stayed from March 26 to March 30.

[2] Literally, brother

[3] Probably at Santiniketan

[4] In 1919

which was Sarladevi's when she lived in the woods. And so, Time, like a *bandhu*, tells us at early dawn: "Now be seated here and dive deep into your mind for a while." And again, when we have done our duty for the hour, is it any wonder that the Time-bird should smile at us with a face lit up with joy?

In the afternoon, no doubt, drowsiness comes upon us but the Brother Time cautions us to look outside, to observe the fields there and see that they are quiet, but not asleep. "What aspirations and hopes, what music and beauty shine through!" By thus overcoming laziness, we have had the peace of the noon too. And now comes twilight. Tired? Well, the Bird says: "Enough! Now sit quietly in one spot and do nothing." What else is there to do? For one who goes over the day's work with a tranquil mind at twilight and thanks God for a day well spent, what else is there to do at that hour? Passing the day thus, Sarladevi found that Time was a *bandhu*.

Here starts the second part. Who is to live in the house—she or the furniture? "We have left the woods and come to a city. Cupboards all around and tables and chairs." "A little bit of sky framed" in a small window—this is all that remained as a visible symbol of the Formless. "I must visit so-and-so, or invite so-and-so. The servant has left today; the other day also a servant left." Time passes on, without stopping, and every day something remains unfinished. Daily there are new worries. In such a state of mind, Time is an enemy—it is not peace. And so Sarladevi asks, doubtfully, whether Time is always a *bandhu* or one only when the heart is ready to receive him as such. "As we can have no real contact with a *bandhu* unless we make the mind free, so this *bandhu* perhaps does not like coming to us in the midst of all this uncontrolled rushing about for material things?" Of course, he does not. Happiness comes only where there is self-control. Lack of self-control is a sign that one is not at peace with oneself.

And therefore the writer asks: "Who is this gentleman whom one can approach only if one shakes off gentlemanliness? Is it the perfection inside me? One who is perfect inside needs no external *bandhu* to complete that perfection." If at all one does, the author proceeds to show what kind of a *bandhu* he must be.

Time being no longer ours, whom should we seek? Pondering over this, she remembered the *Bhagavad Gita*. She discovered in it the Ancient Being of beings, the Supreme Ruler. Only in Rama can the weak find strength. When there is no living creature to console one in separation and lighten the grief, the grief-stricken one calls on Rama. So long as the elephant could struggle

against the crocodile, he did not remember God;[1] but, when his lordship was exhausted, he began to call on the servant of servants. Hence Sarladevi says : "I who used to roar, I will humbly surrender myself in love to the charioteer[2] *bandhu*, friend of Arjuna and yet none else but God. I will not approach Him like Duryodhana, exhibiting my strength. I will lay my strength aside and then go to Him, receive His grace and have supreme peace. As in the body, so in the universe; as with me, so with all of you; as in my affliction my God was my staff, so may He be to all of you. Searching for that God, I have to look inwards to scan the heavens there and, as I do so, I realize that I am my own friend and I am also my own foe. If I would realize the Universal Self, I must first realize the self in me. Thus "The self is its own *bandhu*."[3]

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 4-4-1920

89. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING

ON THE TRAIN,
March 30, 1920

MY DEAR CHILD,

I have just received your letter for which I thanked God. I am from a resting place going to the Ashram. After leaving Delhi,[4] I have not been able to write to you. I had four days' good rest. I hope to go back after the 13th April.[5] When are you going to Denmark?

With love,

BAPU

From a photostat of the original in N.A.I.; also *My Dear Child*, p. 68

90. THE SATYAGRAHA WEEK

First and foremost in the programme for the holy National Week I put fasting and prayer. I have said enough to emphasize the necessity of both these for the unfoldment of our national life.

[1] In the story of *Gajendra Moksha*, Vishnu descends from Vaikunth and rescues the elephant from the clutches of a crocodile.
[2] Lord Krishna who drove the chariot of Arjuna
[3] *Bhagavad Gita*, VI, 5
[4] On March 25, 1920
[5] Gandhiji could go back to Sinhgadh only on April 29.

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I speak of these from personal experience. But, writing to a friend on this very matter of prayer, I came across a beautiful thing from Tennyson which I present to the readers of *Young India*, if perchance I might convert them to a definite belief in the efficacy of prayer. Here is the gem :

> . . . More things are wrought by prayer
> Than this world dreams of. Wherefore let thy voice
> Rise like a fountain for me night and day.
> For what are men better than sheep or goats
> That nourish a blind life within the brain,
> If, knowing God, they lift not hands of prayer
> Both for themselves and those who call them friend?
> For so the whole round earth is every way
> Bound by gold chains about the feet of God.

Throughout my wanderings in India, I have had the privilege of mixing with men of all creeds, of mixing with thousands of women, hundreds upon hundreds of students. I have discussed with them national problems with a passion which I am unable to describe. I have found that we have not yet reached a conscious recognition of our national state. We have not had the discipline necessary for a realization of that state and I venture to say that there is nothing so powerful as fasting and prayer that would give us the requisite discipline, spirit of self-sacrifice, humility and resoluteness of will without which there can be no real progress. I hope therefore that millions throughout India will open the Satyagraha Week with sincere fasting and prayer.

I do not wish, during this week, to emphasize the civil resistance part of satyagraha. I would like us to contemplate truth and non-violence, and to appreciate their invincibility. Indeed, if all of us regulate our lives by this eternal law of *satya* and ahimsa, there will be no occasion for civil or other resistance. Civil resistance comes into play when only a small body of men endeavour to follow truth in the face of opposition. It is difficult to know what is truth, when to defend it to the point of civil resistance and how to avoid error in the shape of violence in one's pursuit after truth. There may well be differences of opinion as to the advisability of preaching civil resistance as a creed during a week devoted to national uplift, in which one seeks the co-operation of all without distinction of party, class or creed.

Beyond the prayer and fasting on the 6th and the 13th we have the collection for the Jallianwala Bagh Memorial.[1] I trust

[1] *Vide* "The 6th of April and the 13th", 10-3-1920.

that complete organization would be set up in every province, in every district, and every town or village.

The third part of the activity is represented by three meetings during the week all over India at the stated times, whereat I have suggested the passing of certain resolutions, viz., on the Rowlatt Act which gave rise to the satyagraha movement, the Khilafat question which by Hindu association cements Hindu-Muslim unity, and what may be called the Jallianwala Bagh resolution, to be passed on the 13th April, calling upon the Government to take such measures as may be necessary to prevent a repetition of the tragedies that were witnessed during Martial Law regime and which were opened even before the inauguration of Martial Law by the unlawful massacre of the 13th. I suggest the following resolutions for acceptance :

FOR THE 6TH APRIL

1. This meeting of the citizens of . . . hereby places on record its emphatic opinion that there will be no peace in the land until the Rowlatt Act is repealed and therefore appeals to the Government of India to introduce at the earliest opportunity a bill repealing that Act.

FOR THE 9TH APRIL

2. This meeting of Hindus, Mohammedans and others, the inhabitants of . . ., trusts that the Khilafat question will be solved consistently with the just demands of the Mussulmans of India and with the solemn pledges of His Majesty's ministers and this meeting records its opinion that in the event of adverse decision being arrived at, it will be the duty of every Indian to withdraw co-operation from the Government until the pledges are fulfilled and Mussulman sentiment conciliated.

FOR THE 13TH APRIL

3. This meeting of the inhabitants of . . . is of opinion that whilst mob excesses at Amritsar, although committed after grave provocation, were worthy of condemnation, the deliberate and calculated massacre, without warning, by General Dyer, of innocent, unarmed and otherwise defenceless men at Jallianwala Bagh was an unexampled act of barbarity and hopes that the Government of India and the Imperial Government will take such steps as will render impossible a repetition of such barbarity and other similar barbarities committed by responsible officers in the Punjab during the period of Martial Law administration and hopes that

recommendations[1] made by the Punjab Sub-committee of the Indian National Congress will be carried out in their entirety.

Young India, 31-3-1920

91. SPEECH AT GUJARATI SAHITYA PARISHAD[2]

AHMEDABAD,
April 2, 1920

Let us consider what kind of literature should be produced if we are to educate the masses. The poet[3] gave us today the right point of view on this. He was shrewd in taking the example of Calcutta. He saw that things are the same in Ahmedabad as in Calcutta and his verbal attacks were entirely for our benefit. Sydney Smith was skilled in the art of satire. By using the pronoun "we", he tried to soften the blow; but our poet has used the pronoun "we" to mean his own people. We should see, however, that his attack is against us. Describing Calcutta, he says that the banks of the sacred Ganga are covered with huge buildings and this has turned what should be a beautiful scene of nature into an eyesore. Such a spot should fill us with thoughts of nature. Instead, when he thinks of Calcutta, his eyes fill with tears.

According to me, a labourer that I am, our duty is to realize God. Forgetting that, we have given ourselves to the worship of money and the pursuit of self-interest.

I ask writers: "Will you, through your creations, bring me sooner to God?" If their reply is in the affirmative, I will be a slave to their works. If the work of any writer bores me, it is not my dullness that is to blame but his art itself. A gifted writer should so perfect his art that the reader would be simply absorbed in his work. I am sorry that our literature has little of this kind of thing. There is nothing the masses can learn from the literature of today. There is not one idea in this literature in virtue of which it may endure for a week, or a year or a whole age.

Let us, then, see what literature we possess in the holy books we have had with us from ancient times. The satisfaction they give we don't derive from our modern literature. Even a barely

[1] *Vide* "Congress Report on the Punjab Disorders", 25-3-1920.

[2] Literary conference held at Ahmedabad on April 2 and 3 under the presidentship of Hargovinddas Kantawala

[3] Rabindranath Tagore who had spoken earlier at the Conference. "The search after gold must be subservient to the search after God" was his message.

passable translation of any of those works is more interesting to read than anything of the latter. There is much indeed, some will say, in contemporary literature. That may be, but it is an exhausting task to search for that "much". Whoever gives us today anything like what Tulsidas and Kabir[1] gave?

Live as you may,
Realize God anyhow, anyway.

We never see these days anything of this kind. Where do we find now what we received in the age of Akha[2]?

I returned to India after twenty years in South Africa and, looking round, I discovered that we lived in a state of fear. A people in such a state cannot express itself fearlessly. If we have to write under the weight of suppression, the springs of poetry in us will not flow nor will truth come floating on the wave. The same is true about newspapers. With the Press Act hanging over him, the editor cannot write uninhibitedly. With the same Act hanging over the writers, not a single line is written in freedom and hence it is that truth is not presented as it ought to be.

This is a period of transition in India. Crores of people feel that great changes are about to take place, that our poverty will give place to glory, that now the Age of Truth will dawn upon us. I hear these hopes expressed wherever I go. Large numbers of people think that India is about to turn a new leaf. If it does, what sort of writing shall we find on that new leaf? The Reforms which will have been granted will only prove to be a collar and we shall continue to be driven like bullocks, as we are driven today. At such a time, I ask the servants of literature nothing less than that they help us to a vision of God and Truth. They must demonstrate that India is not given to sinful ways, that she will not betray one's faith [in her].

No Indian in Madras has served South India so well as did Pope[3]—not the Pope of the *Iliad* fame. I am ever in love with human beings and would, therefore, always want to steal people's hearts. In order that I might steal the hearts of my brothers of the South, I had to learn their language. I cannot just now quote anything from the writings of the Rev. Pope, but this I will tell you that the poems, or rather the poetry, in Tamil which even the peasant can enjoy as he waters his field is just superb.

[1] A fourteenth-century poet and saint who had Hindu as well as Muslim followers

[2] A Gujarati poet of the seventeenth century

[3] Dr. G. U. Pope. He translated *Tirukkural* and *Tiruvachakam* into English.

The watering of the field begins even before the sun has risen. *Bajri* and wheat, everything is covered with pearly dew. The liquid drops on the tree leaves shine like pearls. This is what the men, these peasants, as they water the fields sing about. When I lived at Kochrab[1], I used to watch the peasants and listen to their songs. I found obscene words in their mouth. Why should this be so? I should like to have an answer to this from Shri Narasinhrao[2] here and from the Chairman[3].

I say to the Sahitya Parishad that, unless you help remove the filthy language from the mouths of our peasants, the sin of our degradation will be on your heads. I want to know from the servants of literature what the condition of the majority of our people is and what they will write for this majority. I will say only this to the Sahitya Parishad and repeat it over and over again: rid yourselves of all your shortcomings.

Lewis[4] thought of writing a book and wrote one for his children. They read it to their profit; men, women and children today may also read it and profit by it. I ask for such literature from our men of letters. I want, not Banabhatta's *Kadambari*[5] but Tulsidas's *Ramayana*. I have my doubts whether *Kadambari* will be with us for ever, but Tulsidas's work will certainly endure. Let us at present get just *rotli*[6], ghee and milk from our literature. Later on we shall add almonds, pistachio nuts, etc., and produce something like *Kadambari*.

If the meek people of Gujarat—a people filled with sweetness, whose goodness is without bounds, a people so very simple-minded and having unswerving faith in God—if these people are to go forward, their men of letters should sing and write for labourers and peasants in the fields.

It is my heartfelt prayer that our people may learn to write the truth, speak the truth and live the truth.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 4-4-1920

[1] A village on the outskirts of Ahmedabad, now within its municipal limits. The Ashram, established in May 1915, was first housed in a private building in this village.

[2] Narasinhrao Bholanath Divetia; Gujarati poet and man of letters; professor of Gujarati, Elphinstone College, Bombay

[3] Anandshankar Dhruva, Sanskrit scholar and man of letters; Vice-Chancellor of Banaras Hindu University, 1920-37

[4] Lewis Carrol, author of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*

[5] A long prose romance in Sanskrit written in the seventh century A.D.

[6] Round, flat unleavened bread

92. LETTER TO "THE TIMES OF INDIA"

LABURNUM ROAD,
GAMDEVI,
BOMBAY,
April 3, 1920

SIR,

I submit for adoption the following three resolutions[1] during the Satyagraha Week, i.e., for the 6th, 9th and 13th. I take it that there will be no two opinions about the first and the third resolutions. But I have heard criticism about the Caliphate resolution. I suggest that without the non-co-operation clause the Caliphate resolution will be inane. The country requires some definite action. And nothing can be better for the country than non-co-operation as some definite action. The forces of violence cannot be checked otherwise.

M. K. GANDHI

The Times of India, 4-4-1920

93. APPEAL FOR JALLIANWALA BAGH MEMORIAL FUND[2]

BOMBAY,
April 6, 1920

I trust that Bombay will respond in its own generous manner to the Punjab Memorial. It is a national monument. I have said repeatedly that it is in no sense anti-British. We should be unfit to call ourselves a nation if we did not treasure the memory of those innocent men who fell on the fateful 13th of April, 1919. I hope that Englishmen will see their way to subscribe to the Memorial. Their co-operation will be a demonstration of the non-racial character of the Memorial. Moreover, it stands independent of any finding, adverse or otherwise, of the Hunter Committee. It has been officially admitted that the men killed were innocent. Nothing that the Hunter Committee may find can possibly free India from the obligation to nationalize the plot in which innocent blood flowed in such profusion and to erect on

[1] For the text of the resolutions, *vide* "The Satyagraha Week", 31-3-1920.
[2] Released as a letter to the Press

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it a national memorial that shall preserve the memory of the dead and shall yet be free from any poison or hatred.

M. K. GANDHI

The Bombay Chronicle, 7-4-1920

94. SPEECH AT NATIONAL WEEK MEETING, BOMBAY

April 6, 1920

In connection with the National Week, a public meeting of the citizens of Bombay was held under the joint auspices of the Presidency Association, the Provincial Congress Committee, the Bombay branches of the Home Rule League, and the National Union, at the open space near the French Bridge, Bombay, yesterday. Among those present, besides the President, were Mr. M. K. Gandhi, Mrs. Annie Besant, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, . . .

. . . the Hon'ble Sir Dinshah M. Petit was elected to the chair . . .

The following is an authentic summary of Mr. Gandhi's speech . . . in seconding the resolution moved by the Hon'ble V. J. Patel urging the repeal of the Rowlatt Act.

Mr. Gandhi said he hoped that at least during the Satyagraha Week, if not for always, the meetings would be conducted on the same principles as they were done during the satyagraha campaign. The principles were that there should be no signs or sounds of approval or disapproval of the speakers' remarks but that they should be listened to in perfect silence and with respect. Mr. Gandhi felt that if this rule was observed the audience would be able to follow clearly the views that might be expounded by the various speakers. He called this the Satyagraha Week but he hoped that no one in the audience would be frightened by the word. He fully realized his responsibility as he knew that he was addressing a meeting called under the auspices of the Bombay Presidency Association which was a non-satyagraha body. He spoke about the Satyagraha Week without hesitation because he was neither emphasizing nor offering civil resistance for acceptance. He wanted to emphasize the necessity for truthfulness in speech and in deed and of non-violence in their relentless pursuit of Truth. Mr. Patel who had preceded him had said that resolutions were of no use. He agreed with Mr. Patel to a certain extent. But there were resolutions and resolutions. Theirs was not a resolution of despair but of confidence. It was not so much addressed to Government as it was a prayer addressed to the Almighty. He as a believer in fasting and praying made bold to say that if they had Truth on their side and a prayerful heart combined with determination to sacrifice themselves they could not but achieve success. Their resolution was moreover an invitation to Government to do their duty. The

Congress had offered co-operation[1] on the Reforms in so far as that co-operation spelt national uplift. It was an act of nobility on the part of the Congress when it offered co-operation in spite of the Rowlatt Act remaining on the statute-book as a weapon that could be used by Government at any moment to repress the people or their activities. The resolution was an invitation to Government to respond to that nobility by removing the Rowlatt Act even before the Reformed Assembly met.[2] Mr. Patel had also pointed out the difficulty of carrying a repealing measure in the event of Government not repealing the Rowlatt Act before the Reformed Assembly met. He very properly urged that the Viceroy had merely to certify that a particular measure would endanger the peace of the land to stop its progress. But he (Mr. Gandhi) felt that there were other ways of combating any such untoward result if the Government failed in its duty. He had no doubt about the Act being repealed during the first session of the Reformed Assembly. But even if that new Assembly failed to do its duty he assured the meeting that so long as there was a handful of satyagrahis left alive, there would be no peace in the land until that Act was repealed before its statutory period.

Therefore he seconded the resolution, not in despair but in all confidence, and recommended it to the audience as a token of the fixed resolve of the people of India to secure the repeal of that obnoxious measure which had cost such suffering for so many people.

The Bombay Chronicle, 7-4-1920 & 8-4-1920

95. THE PUNJAB SENTENCES

The Commissioners appointed by the Congress Punjab Subcommittee have in their report accused His Excellency the Viceroy of criminal want of imagination. His Excellency's refusal to commute two death sentences out of five is a fine illustration of the accusation. The rejection of the appeal[3] by the Privy Council no more proves the guilt of the condemned than their innocence could have been proved by quashing the proceedings before the Martial Law Tribunal. Moreover, these cases clearly come under the Royal Proclamation[4] in accordance with its interpretation by the Punjab Government. The murders in Amritsar were not due to any pri-

[1] At its Amritsar session held in December 1919

[2] Elections to the Central Legislative Assembly under the Reforms Act of 1919 were to be held in November 1920.

[3] *Vide* "The Amritsar Appeals", 3-3-1920.

[4] Of December 1919

vate quarrel between the murderers and their victims. The offence, grave though it was, was purely political and committed under excitement. More than full reparation has been taken for the murders and arson. In the circumstances common sense dictates reduction of the death sentences. The popular belief favours the view that the condemned men are innocent and have not had a fair trial. The execution has been so long delayed that hanging at this stage would give a rude shock to Indian society. Any Viceroy with imagination would have at once announced commutation of the death sentences—not so Lord Chelmsford. In his estimation, evidently, the demands of justice will not be satisfied if at least some of the condemned men are not hanged. Public feeling with him counts for nothing. We shall still hope that either the Viceroy or Mr. Montagu will commute the death sentences.

But if the Government will grievously err, if they carry out the sentences, the people will equally err if they give way to anger or grief over the hanging if it has unfortunately to take place. Before we become a nation possessing an effective voice in the councils of nations, we must be prepared to contemplate with equanimity, not a thousand murders of innocent men and women but many thousands before we attain a status in the world that shall not be surpassed by any nation. We hope therefore that all concerned will take rather than lose heart and treat hanging as an ordinary affair of life.

(Since the above was in type, we have received the cruel news. At last H. E. the Viceroy has mercilessly given the rude shock to Indian society. It is now for the latter to take heart in spite of the unkindest cut.—Editor, *Young India*.)

Young India, 7-4-1920

96. SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE[1]

The visit[2] of the greatest poet of the age to Gujarat is no small event. And Gujarat has honoured itself by extending to the poet a royal welcome in its capital. The deep reverence shown by the people must have touched the Poet's heart. His address[3]

[1] The draft of the article in Gandhiji's hand is available at the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi. The opening sentence in the draft reads : "It is no small event —the visit of the greatest poet of the age to Gujarat."

[2] In the first week of April 1920; for a photograph of Tagore and Gandhiji taken in Ahmedabad during this visit, *vide* illustration facing p. 169.

[3] Delivered on April 2

to the Sahitya Parishad is a prose poem. It breathes the loftiest sentiments. Every line of it is proof of the religious spirit pervading his effort. It is worthy of the Poet and the occasion. His reference to Calcutta as the product of modern civilization is a fine token of his innate courtesy and humility. He had to speak the truth in Ahmedabad with its commercialism and its sixty odd mills. He had to tell Ahmedabad that the search after gold must be subservient to the search after God. He performed his task with consummate skill by describing the condition of Calcutta. We hope that the people of Gujarat will take to heart the Poet's message. That would be its best appreciation.

Young India, 7-4-1920

97. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

BOMBAY,
[*April 8, 1920*][1]

CHI. DEVDAS,

I got all your letters. I look forward to more of them. For the present, keep writing to me regularly. I am always waiting to hear how things are going on there[2].

Take care of your health above everything else. Studies follow health. Development of the self comes between the two. This self, of course, will shed its light on both, health and studies. He who has known the *atman*[3] has known everything. Even the preservation of our health is to this end, and study too. This statement, however, may mean nothing or everything. If we do our work, looking upon everything as the means to the sole end of knowing the *atman*, we come to know it. We have to have faith till we do so. To put the same thing in the language of the *Gita*, we should go on doing our duty with no desire for the fruit. Millions of labourers work to dig a mine, in order to find one diamond. For many years they need to have faith that there is a diamond deep down. When at last they get it, it is not as if it had dropped there just then. It was always there. The same is true about the *atman* and knowledge of the *atman*. But why write all this to you? Whether

[1] The date is mentioned in a note to Devdas Gandhi which Sarladevi Chowdhrani wrote on this letter.

[2] At Banaras, where Devdas Gandhi was engaged in an advanced study of Hindi

[3] Self

or not you are aware of it, you have the vision of the *atman* all the time. Writing about your health and studies, I was led to all this. I placed studies below preservation of health. Should we also regard knowledge of the *atman* as taking second place to the body? In trying to answer this, we should see that we are always gaining knowledge of the *atman*. The effort does not cease during illness. If there is anything you do not understand, ask me.

Sarladevi is by my side. Pandit Rambhuj Dutt is expected tomorrow.

Mahadev left for Hajira today. Durga[1] has also gone with him. From there he will proceed to Sinhgadh and reach the place by about the 21st.

Nothing is certain about me.[2]

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S. N. 7168

98. SPEECH AT NATIONAL WEEK MEETING, BOMBAY

April 9, 1920

In connection with the National Week, a public meeting of the citizens of Bombay was held under the auspices of the Central Khilafat Committee of India, on the open space near the French Bridge, Bombay, last night, Mr. Mia Mahomed Haji Jan Mahomed Chhotani[3] presided . . .[4]

Mr. M. K. Gandhi moved the following resolution :

This meeting of the Hindus, Mohammedans and others, the inhabitants of Bombay, trusts that the Khilafat question will be solved consistent[ly] with the just demand of the Mohammedans of India and with the solemn pledges of His Majesty's Ministers and this meeting records its opinion that in the event of adverse decision being arrived at, it will be the duty of every Indian to withdraw co-operation from the Government until the pledges are fulfilled and Muslim sentiment conciliated.

Mr. Gandhi said they had met there that night not exclusively in connection with the question of the Khilafat, but rather to look back on what had happened in India during the last twelve months. The two events that stood

[1] Wife of Mahadev Desai

[2] Gandhiji reached Sinhgadh on April 29.

[3] A nationalist Muslim leader of Bombay

[4] The report in *The Times of India*, 10-4-1920 adds that the proceedings were in vernacular.

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out most prominent among others were the inauguration of swadeshi and the laying of the foundation of genuine Hindu-Muslim unity. The first was started in April and the latter became an accomplished fact when Hindu and Muslim blood mingled together in Jallianwala Bagh. Since then, that unity had gone on increasing. He appealed to the Hindus to sympathize with and support their Mohammedan brethren in the Khilafat question and thus cement that unity for good. Muslim hearts were sore, as they had never before been sore, over the threatened dismemberment of the Turkish Empire and over the question of Khilafat. If the Hindus failed to sympathize with the Mohammedans on the present occasion the great opportunity of cementing the unity would go, never perhaps to recur.

Proceeding, Mr. Gandhi said he had never blindly supported a cause and would never so support one. He asked them to support the Mohammedans because he felt that the Muslim cause was just. He had read the report of what happened at the interview[1] between the Prime Minister and the Khilafat Deputation, and he found there was no demand urged by the Deputation that was not just. Now what they naturally expected in the Prime Minister of the British Empire was that he should adhere to the solemn promises he had made whilst the War was on, regarding the Turkish question. What the Muslims of India wanted was that the *status quo ante bellum* should be maintained as far as possible regarding Turkey. They desired, among other things, that Constantinople and Turkey-in-Europe should remain in Turkish hands, and that there should be Turkish suzerainty over the Jazirat-ul-Arab.[2] As to those parts of Turkey which had a majority of non-Muslim population, the European powers might ask for whatever guarantees they liked from Turkey for the protection of the non-Muslim races provided those guarantees were not prejudicial to the position of the Sultan. If the Arabs, who were Muslims, wanted self-government they might have it but there should be the suzerainty of the Sultan over them. When they in India asked for self-government it did not mean that they did not want British rule. There was no Hindu or Mohammedan who was against the British flag waving over India. Similarly, Arabia might be granted self-government but the suzerainty of the Sultan should be there. In conclusion, Mr. Gandhi earnestly entreated his Mohammedan brethren to refrain from violence. Their cause was just and with God's help it was bound to triumph.

The Bombay Chronicle, 10-4-1920

[1] On March 17, 1920

[2] The holy places of Hedjaj. The Government of India affirmed on March 29, 1920, that the holy places of Hedjaj would remain under independent Muslim control.

99. *TWO LETTERS*

I have received two thought-provoking letters. One of them is by a well-educated, pure-minded sister. The second is from an English friend, a prominent Christian gentleman of England. The sister writes[1] :

These remarks are evidence of the purity of the sister's heart. She is perfectly right in saying that it is a great sin to disfigure or tear out the King's picture. If children learn such discourtesy and rudeness in their tender age, they will never grow fit to serve the people. A little reflection will be enough to show that in insulting the Emperor we but insult ourselves and, trying to throw dust at the sun, we only throw it in our own eyes. We may not like the British administration, but the Emperor is not responsible for it. He does not even know what happens in his Empire. It is not his duty, he does not have the means, to keep himself so informed. How is he to blame, then? Even if the blame is his, how will he be better by our tearing out his picture? The important thing, however, is that unworthy thoughts should not make their appearance in children's minds at all. They should be innocent. The mind should be innocent for the entire period of one's student life. Attachments and aversions should have no place in that period. Even if, however, we cannot attain such a high state, we may certainly keep ourselves free from rudeness, discourtesy and thoughtlessness. I don't think *Navajivan* is read by many children. I would therefore urge the parents to ask the children to read this article and see that they correct their wrong habit. Teachers also can do this.

The second point in the letter of this sister is about the people's bad habit of using foul words. The habit is so widespread that I think it will be difficult to remedy it. I have tried to do my bit to correct this bad habit, but I must admit that it was with the utmost difficulty that I could do so among my clients and others I am in contact with. It is an almost incurable disease. I remember what my clients often told me, that such words dropped out of their mouth without their meaning to use them. However difficult the task, we must succeed in it. It does

[1] This letter, not reproduced here, complained about school-children tearing out and disfiguring pictures of King Emperor George V in their books and about the widespread use of foul language among workers.

not even require our arguing with people, nor is it a matter on which people have strong feelings. It is only a matter of getting rid of a bad habit of long standing, so long indeed that the people cannot even see anything wrong in it. Many of the readers of *Navajivan* will feel that this article cannot be for them; for they never use foul words. If, however, they pay attention to the language they employ, they will discover that even they use the word *salo*[1]. We must constitute ourselves censors to keep watch over one another and, noting offensive words in the language, make a deliberate effort to get rid of them. If every time we hear a person using some bad word we politely request him to refrain from doing so, some improvement can be brought about. Even school-children have this habit; we acquire it right from our childhood. Improvement can easily be effected in schools through the teachers and, if the school-going boys can command courage, they can rid their own homes of this unclean habit.

The letter from the English friend I shall take up next week.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 11-4-1920

100. LETTER TO "THE BOMBAY CHRONICLE"

BOMBAY,
April 11, 1920

SIR,

Bombay has responded generously and yet not generously enough, to the call of duty from the Punjab. At the time of writing, it has subscribed nearly three lacs to the Jallianwala Bagh Memorial fund. Is it too much to expect Bombay to pay five lacs and the whole presidency with such trade centres as Ahmedabad and Karachi to subscribe the minimum ten lacs?

It is to be hoped that there will be no hesitation on the part of anyone to subscribe to a fund whose object is not to perpetuate the memory of the atrocity but of the innocent victims. I am told that the deed was so horrible that the memory of the dead could not fail to revive the memory of the deed and that therefore the whole episode should be forgotten. This is like saying that the innocents should not be thought of in our prayers because of the likelihood of our thinking of Herod. I suggest that

[1] A word of abuse; literally, brother of one's wife

the objectors have in their most laudable desire not to perpetuate hatred made the mistake of supposing that hatred can be eradicated by forgetting causes thereof. Hatred can be done away with only by an enlightened training and that in spite of the remembrance of the deed. The nation will not forgive the deed if it cannot find harmless scope for perpetuating the memory of the victims. The best way of checking hatred, therefore, is to teach the nation to isolate the memory of the dead, which is a sacred trust, from the "frightfulness" which should be forgiven even if it cannot be forgotten.

What will be the nature of the memorial is the question asked. It will depend upon the committee which has been specially appointed for the purpose and which includes the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the Hon'ble Pandit Motilal Nehru, Swami Shraddhanandji and myself. And I do know that whatever the shape that the memorial finally takes, it will certainly not contain anything offensive.

I hope, therefore, during the two days that the collection will continue, those who have not yet paid will not fail to take their share in this National Memorial. And it will be truly national and the Bagh will be a place of pilgrimage only if young and old, men and women, rich and poor give their quota.

Yours, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

The Bombay Chronicle, 12-4-1920

101. TELEGRAM TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO VICEROY

[BOMBAY,]
April 13, 1920

PRESSURE EXERTED ON ME PROCEED ENGLAND REGARDING KHILAFAT. WHILST I DO NOT THINK I CAN IN ANY WAY AFFECT POLICY HIS MAJESTY'S MINISTERS AT THIS STAGE AS ONE DESIRING WELFARE OF EMPIRE I FEEL I OWE IT TO MINISTERS AND BRITISH PUBLIC TO ACQUAINT THEM DISASTROUS CONSEQUENCES IF DECISION HOSTILE TO JUST MUSLIM SENTIMENT AND TO TELL THEM THAT SUCH ADVERSE DECISION MUST RESULT IN COMPLETE WITHDRAWAL OF CO-OPERATION FROM GOVERNMENT, A STEP I WOULD GLADLY AVOID IF I COULD BUT WHICH WILL BE A NECESSITY IN THE CASE OF THOSE WHO REGARD RELIGION AND SELF-RESPECT ABOVE

EVERYTHING. HOWEVER, I DON'T WISH TO PROCEED TO ENGLAND WITHOUT HIS EXCELLENCY'S PERMISSION AND APPROVAL. WILL YOU KINDLY LAY THIS BEFORE HIS EXCELLENCY AND TELEGRAPH REPLY? IN THE EVENT HIS EXCELLENCY'S APPROVAL I SHOULD LIKE FACILITIES FOR PASSAGE BY EARLIEST STEAMER FOR SELF AND COMPANY NOT EXCEEDING SEVEN.

Bombay Secret Abstracts, 1920, p. 574

102. SPEECH AT NATIONAL WEEK MEETING, BOMBAY

April 13, 1920

In connection with the National Week, a public meeting under the auspices of the Bombay Branch of the Home Rule League, and the National Union, was held on the open space near the French Bridge, Bombay, last night, Mr. M. A. Jinnah presiding.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi moved the following resolution:[1]

This meeting of the citizens of Bombay is of opinion that whilst mob excesses at Amritsar, although committed after grave provocation, were worthy of condemnation, the deliberate and calculated massacre without warning by General Dyer of innocent, unarmed and otherwise defenceless men at Jallianwala Bagh was an unexampled act of barbarity and hopes that the Government of India and the Imperial Government will take such steps as to render impossible a repetition of such barbarity and other similar barbarities committed by responsible officers in the Punjab during the period of the Martial Law administration and hopes that recommendations made by the Punjab Sub-committee of the Indian National Congress will be carried out in their entirety.

Mr. Gandhi said they had heard Dr. Tagore's message, and he could say that the acts of barbarity perpetrated by some officials in the Punjab could not have been condemned in more scathing terms than those used by the great poet. He entirely agreed with the Chairman that the acts committed by General Dyer were unworthy of a soldier and were such as would befit only a coward. Proceeding, Mr. Gandhi said they asked Government to adopt such measures as would render impossible a repetition of the barbarities committed in the Punjab, and to adopt in their entirety the recommendations made by the Sub-committee of the Congress. The main recommendation with which

[1] Before Gandhiji moved the resolution, C. F. Andrews read out a message from Rabindranath Tagore condemning the Jallianwala Bagh massacre.

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they were concerned was that under no circumstances in future should Sir Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer be given responsible positions either in India or in any other part of the British Empire. It was their minimum demand that these officials should be displaced. They admitted that some people in the Punjab committed bad deeds which deserved to be condemned but the deeds perpetrated by some Government officials were worse still. They could never forget what happened at the Jallianwala Bagh. They could never forget the memory of the innocent people who died there. He was glad that the people of Bombay had contributed Rs. 3,25,000 to the memorial, though he must say he felt a little bit disappointed that it was not quite what he had expected from Bombay. Continuing, Mr. Gandhi said they could not forget, till life lasted, the memory of the Jallianwala Bagh victims. He entertained no thoughts of vengeance, because vengeance was the resort of the coward. But they could never forget the memory of the dead. All that they intended in erecting the memorial was to reverence the memory of the innocent dead. Malice never entered into their thoughts.

The Bombay Chronicle, 14-4-1920

103. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING

SABARMATI,
April 15, 1920

MY DEAR CHILD,

I have just returned from Bombay. I passed the fasting and prayer week[1] at Bombay. It is true I have not written to you but that does not mean that I have thought any the less of you or prayed for you less lovingly. I had no time and I felt I had sent you enough verses to last you for some time. I should send more if I knew your condition of mind. And so I allowed a few days to pass by without committing myself to writing.

But now I have your precious letter. I am quite resigned to your marriage. I will not argue against it. You will do exactly as God guides you. Only always be sure it is the voice of God.

Yes, I should certainly love to see Mr. Menon. That you are willing to give yourself to him is proof enough to me that he is no ordinary young man.

There is no certainty about my going to London. It is mere talk as yet; I have written to the Viceroy and much will depend upon the answer.

[1] The National Week, April 6 to April 13

I had very rich experiences in Bombay during the fasting week. But of these when we meet. When are you likely to leave for home?

With love,

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat of the original in N.A.I.; also *My Dear Child*, pp. 68-9

104. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

ASHRAM,
Chaitra Vad 11 [*April 15, 1920*][1]

CHI. DEVDAS,

I arrived in the Ashram today, Thursday. I completed the two-day fast in Bombay.[2] I got the letter which you wrote after your return from Patna.

Sarladevi and Panditji[3] are in Bombay. They will arrive here on the 19th, leaving Bombay for Godhra on the 16th.

I saw a good deal of the poet[4] in Bombay, too. I also had him once for dinner at Revashankerbhai's[5].

The collection[6] in Bombay should be considered good, though of course it fell below my expectations.

Aunt[7] and Nirmala are both here. Mahadev and Durga have left for their village.

Balkrishna and Prabhudas are in Sinhgadh. Govindbabu is kept in Bombay for swadeshi work.

Have you now settled down to a routine? Mr. Andrews reports that everything is well with Ramdas[8] and Manilal[9]. Both

[1] The events mentioned in the text relate to 1920. In that year, Thursday fell on April 15, *Chaitra Vad* 12. The figure "11" seems to be a slip for "12".

[2] Gandhiji was in Bombay from April 6 to April 13, 1920.

[3] Rambhuj Dutt Chowdhari

[4] Rabindranath Tagore, who was in Bombay during the National Week

[5] Revashankar Zaveri of Bombay, a business man and great admirer of Gandhiji

[6] For Jallianwala Bagh Memorial Fund

[7] The addressee's aunt, Gandhiji's sister; Nirmala was her daughter-in-law.

[8] & [9] Sons of Gandhiji

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are keeping good health and, for the present, continue to work for *Indian Opinion*.

So I end today's letter to you with news in general.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 7169

105. CABLE TO SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA

[After *April 15, 1920*][1]

PRESSURE PUT UPON ME VISIT ENGLAND INTERVIEW MINISTERS AND PUBLIC REGARDING KHILAFAT QUESTION AND WITHOUT PREJUDICE OTHER DEPUTATION PLACE BEFORE MINISTERS AND PUBLIC TRUE HINDU-MOSLEM FEELING AND BRING THEIR NOTICE DISASTROUS CONSEQUENCES OF DECISION ADVERSE TO OVERWHELMING MOHAMMEDAN OPINION. BEFORE TAKING ANY SERIOUS STEP I WOULD LIKE PERSONALLY PLACE BEFORE MINISTERS MY FEELING IN THIS IMPORTANT MATTER AND UNDERSTAND MINISTERS' VIEWPOINT. I THEREFORE APPLIED FOR PERMISSION FOR SELF AND PARTY TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY AND APPROVAL MY MISSION. VICEROY WHILST WILLING GRANT PERMISSION NOT PREPARED GIVE OPINION REGARDING EXPEDIENCY MISSION. CAN APPRECIATE VICEREGAL DISINCLINATION GIVE OPINION SAME TIME AM UNWILLING PROCEED WITHOUT ENCOURAGEMENT FROM GOVERNMENT IN DIFFICULT TASK. COULD YOU PLEASE FAVOUR ME MINISTERIAL VIEW.

Bombay Secret Abstracts, 1920, p. 652

[1] This was evidently sent after the Viceroy's reply to Gandhiji's telegram of April 13, 1920. The reply was not received till April 15; *vide* "Letter to Esther Faering", 15-4-1920.

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106. LETTER TO ABBAS TAYABJI[1]

THE ASHRAM,
April 17 [1920][2]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Will you forgive me for not writing to you all these long days? Not a day has passed but I have longed to write to you a love letter. But the pressure of work has prevented me from so doing. I pleaded with Sarladevi to write to you on my behalf but she said nothing but a letter in my own writing would do. And so the weary days have gone on. I hope however that you received my message through Rehana. What a wonderful girl she is. Indeed the Tagores and the Tayabjis are the rarities for India and they are her friends. And it is my good fortune that I tumble upon them wherever I go. But I am not going to be satisfied until I get the girlies and Mrs. Abbas to do some spinning for me. You will blame me I know. Well, you can easily remedy the evil by sending one of the girls here to learn the art. If, however, that is impossible I must send you a teacher from here. Please tell me what you will have me to do.

And now for your health. Rehana told me that you still kept indifferent health. You worry too much. I should *burrrr*[3] away all worry and trust myself and the world to God. We are less than ants in the scheme of the universe. All therefore that is given to us to do is to try our best without attaching ourselves to results. And this applies as much to indisposition of the body as of the Punjab. In the one case you consult a doctor and sing; in the other you write a conscientious report and sing till you receive further orders. And now love to you all. A big post awaits me.

"Cheer boys, cheer; no more of idle sorrow" is a hymn I learnt as a schoolboy. It abides with me today.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original: S.N. 9593

[1] 1853-1936 nationalist Muslim leader of Gujarat; formerly, a judge of the High Court, Baroda. He was one of the Commissioners appointed by the Punjab Sub-committee of the Congress to report on the Punjab disorders.

[2] The reference to writing the report on the Punjab disorders suggests that the letter was written in 1920.

[3] This was a peculiar form of greeting used by the addressee and Gandhiji whenever they met.

107. THE KHILAFAT

I commented last week on a letter from a learned sister. I also referred in that article to a letter from an English friend. He writes to this effect. "I am surprised that you take interest in the Khilafat issue. I helped you on the South Africa question. I believed you to be a well-wisher of the British and to be a wise and honest man. But now you want to unite the Hindus and the Muslims against the British, taking the side of Turkey. I have lived in Armenia and know what oppression the [Turkish] Muslims have practised. I doubt your *bona fides* but, before hearing from you that what I see in newspapers is correct, I shall form no conclusions against you." The letter from the learned sister was prompted by love and so she did not doubt my *bona fides*. In the letter from the English friend, despite the friendly tone, my *bona fides* is in doubt. Both, of course, question whether my efforts will have happy results. They are not the only ones to have this doubt. Other friends have felt the same way.

I think it is impossible, when resisting injustice, wholly to prevent ill will against the wrongdoer. There is no doubt either, that a man who cherishes hatred harms himself through it. No one is perfect, of course, and, therefore, the man who cherishes hatred deserves our compassion, for he wishes the world to forgive him his errors but, refusing to forgive the world its errors, he has rendered himself unworthy of being forgiven. However, having long been given to anger and hatred, we cannot keep away these enemies even if we wish.

What then should we do? Should we refrain from opposing injustice, lest someone should oppose the wrongdoer? This is what happens among relations and friends. We want the mistakes of our relatives to be buried. In my view, if hatred is harmful so is misplaced love. There will be no harm done if mistakes by our relations are also exposed; there may be some good, on the contrary. The first step towards undoing a wrong is to recognize it as such and feel ashamed of it. It cannot be recognized fully if it is covered up and the person who has done the wrong abandons all shame, grows defiant and sinks ever deeper in the pit of error. Just as, in the case of a boil on the body, there is nothing for it but to cut it open, so also there is no way but to bring a mistake to light.

Neither of the two letters above suggests that injustice may not be resisted. It is with the method of resistance that they quarrel. In my method, resistance to injustice is taken to the length of parting company with the wrongdoer, be he one's father, if he does not change. If we do not, we become a party to the injustice. It is my personal experience that even if resistance to injustice is taken to the point of leaving the wrongdoer, it does not detract a bit from one's love for him. Injustice is a great wrong. It is a test of one's love whether one can love a friend despite his error. There is no great merit in returning good for good. As we learn from Shamal Bhatt[1], the enlightened man is one who returns good for evil. The *Gita* teaches us to look alike on friend and foe.

There is, thus, only one royal road before us. We should think long and much before deciding that a particular act is unjust or wrong. We should not be too ready to come to conclusions against any man who may appear to have acted unjustly. But, judge the matter how carefully we will, if we find that a wrong has been done we should fight it to the end. At the same time, if we discover that we were in error in believing that a wrong had been done, we should be ready to admit our error that very moment and apologize for it.

This method which I am demonstrating before India and in the cause of which I engage my friends, is a new experiment. It may have shortcomings; I see some. I never lay claim to perfection. But it is my conviction that this is the only right path. India can save herself along that path alone.

I am convinced that on the Khilafat issue the Muslims are in the right. The moment I see their error I will stop helping them. I do not say that they are free from hatred but I am sure that, joining my love with their hatred, I can diminish the intensity of that hatred. I also believe that, if my method is followed by a large number, their hatred can be counteracted altogether. Those who are full of hatred will in any case fight injustice, and exercise no restraint in doing so. The man who is free from hatred has also no choice but to fight. The wrongdoer, of course, is full of hatred. His victim, when he acts, acts in hatred. The only question is what the man without hatred should do. The answer to this is not always easy to find. A man grows through moral dilemmas. One rises only by falling again and again. Our duty is to remain alert, lest we make a mistake. To do nothing because of such fear is cowardice. Despite, therefore, the danger of our

[1] A Gujarati poet of the eighteenth century

making mistakes, wherever we find injustice we should resist it with love and thus deserve success [in our effort]—this, in my humble view, is the way taught by the *Gita*.

In Champaran,[1] in Kaira[2] and in the agitation against the Rowlatt Act,[3] fighting injustice passionately I failed to check hatred altogether but I could help to a greater or less extent in ending the injustice and succeeded in giving the people a glimpse of the sun of satyagraha. I could not reveal its full glory because my *tapascharya*[4] and my knowledge, I find, are much too imperfect. I am a friend of the British. My conscience bears witness that I wish no ill to the mill-owners. And so I keep to my path, with my mind ever at peace.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 18-4-1920

108. NOTES

Satyagraha Week

The occasion passed off peacefully. I should like volunteers in every village in Gujarat and Kathiawar to send to *Navajivan* a brief account of the celebrations. They should also mention in the report the amount of collections[5] at each place and say what has been done with them. The collection in Bombay may be said to be good, though it has not reached the figure of five lakhs. However, what is important to know is not the amount received but the spirit in which the contributions were offered. Anyone who knows this is bound to be entirely satisfied. If the rich offered big sums, the poorest among the poor also contributed their mite. Women gave on their own account and also persuaded others to give. The Gujarati Stri Mandal[6] played a fine part in this. With Shrimati Sarladevi in the chair, they passed strongly- but properly-worded resolutions. *Dheds*[7] and *Bhangis*[8] also offered what little they could within their means. Everyone, moreover, paid cheerfully. We can safely assert that there

[1] During 1917
[2] During 1918
[3] During 1919
[4] Self-suffering as moral discipline
[5] For the Jallianwala Bagh Memorial Fund
[6] Women's Association, at Bombay
[7] & [8] Members of the depressed classes whom Gandhiji later described as *Harijans*. The *Bhangis* are usually charged with sanitary duties.

was no occasion to press anyone to pay or shame anyone into doing so. I also observed, through my talks on this subject with hundreds of men and women who went round for collections, that there must have been hardly any people who had paid with the idea of perpetuating hatred and ill will. Most of them had only one thought in their mind, to perpetuate the memory of the innocent people who had been killed. Many also felt that by converting the Jallianwala Bagh into national property and raising a memorial column in it we would succeed in further cementing Hindu-Muslim unity which was strengthened on April 13, 1919. What Sir Rabindranath Tagore has said is perfectly true, that we shall certainly not advance by keeping alive the memory of General Dyer's cruelty. To perpetuate the memory of truth, firmness, courage and innocence, wherever these may be found—that is the people's real duty and in doing so lies the nation's regeneration.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 18-4-1920

109. TELEGRAM TO CHHOTANI[1]

AHMEDABAD,
April 18, 1920

IMPOSSIBLE LEAVE WITHOUT FULL DISCUSSION. CANCEL PASSAGES[2] TWENTIETH. REACHING TUESDAY.

Bombay Secret Abstracts, 1920, p. 620

110. SPEECH AT MEETING OF MILL-HANDS, AHMEDABAD[3]

April 18, 1920

This is the second anniversary of the peaceful triumph of justice.[4] I call it a victory both for the mill-owners and the mill-hands. I call this a victory of justice because the demand of the mill-hands was just and the means adopted by them to secure acceptance were pure. I should not wish victory for the mill-hands by unjust means.

[1] Mia Mahomed Haji Jan Mahomed Chhotani
[2] For going to England in connection with the Khilafat movement
[3] The speech was delivered in Gujarati.
[4] The reference is to the successful conclusion of the strike of mill-hands in 1918; *vide* Vol. XIV.

Last year Swami Shraddhanandji graced the last anniversary by his presence. Between then and now many things have happened and they have altered materially the state of India. A new spirit fires us, a new atmosphere pervades Indian society. But I do not propose to detain you on the general position in our country.

It would however ill become me to call myself your friend—and I pride myself in being considered a fellow-labourer—if I omitted all mention of the part that the mill-hands played in the events of the April of last year. During that month I was arrested at the instance of Government. There is no doubt that it was a serious blunder. But could the mill-hands undo the mischief by incendiarism and bloodshed? You are deeply attached to Anasuyabehn. She is worthy of your adoration. You heard a rumour to the effect that she was arrested; you were staggered; you were indignant. You felt that you were like birds with clipped wings. All this does credit to your love for her. But I would again ask : Is incendiarism a fit expression of your love for her? Nor may we escape responsibility by pleading that others too were concerned in the misdeeds. It is impossible for me to describe to you in adequate language the deep grief both she and I felt when we heard of the happenings in Ahmedabad. I can see nothing but catastrophe for India from methods of violence. Workmen would be committing suicide and India would have to suffer indescribable misery if working men were to vent their anger by criminal disobedience of the laws of the land. I do wish that you would not be misled into acts of violence because sometimes you see that violence seemingly answers the purpose for which it is intended. When I began to preach satyagraha and civil disobedience it was never meant to cover criminal[1] disobedience. My experience teaches me that truth can never be propagated by doing violence. Those who believe in the justice of their cause have need to possess boundless patience and those alone are fit to offer civil disobedience who are above committing criminal disobedience or doing violence. A man cannot commit both civil and criminal disobedience at the same time even as he cannot be both temperate and furious at the same time and just as self-restraint is acquired only after one has been able to master his passions, so is the capacity for civil disobedience acquired after one has disciplined oneself in complete and voluntary obedience of the laws of the land. Again, just as he alone can be said to be proof against temptations who having been exposed to them has succeeded in resisting them, so may we

[1] The source has "civil" which is evidently a misprint.

be said to have conquered anger when having sufficient cause for it we have succeeded in controlling ourselves. We failed last year in this test. It is my earnest prayer to you all that on this auspicious day you will recall the mistakes of April last and make a fine determination never to repeat them.

I shall now say a few words about the condition in general of the mill-hands, of which they need to know a great deal. We cannot become rich by merely getting more wages; nor is becoming wealthy the all in all. Anasuyabai has not dedicated her life to you merely for the purpose of securing for you better wages. Her object in doing so is that you may get enough to make you happy, to make you truly religious, that you may observe the eternal laws of ethics, that you may give up bad habits such as drink, gambling, etc., that you may make good use of your earnings, that you may keep your houses clean and that you may educate your children.

Your economic condition has improved. There is room for yet more improvement. It can take place in two ways by consultation with the mill-owners or by using undue pressure. The first is the only true remedy. In the West an eternal conflict has set up between capital and labour. Each party considers the other as its natural enemy. That spirit seems to have entered India also, and if it finds a permanent lodgment, it would be the end of our industry and of our peace. If both the parties were to realize that each is dependent upon the other, there will be little cause for quarrel.

I do not propose to examine the duty of the capitalist. If the labourer alone were to understand his rights and responsibilities and confine himself to the purest means, both must gain. But two things are needful—both the demands and the means adopted to enforce them must be just and clear. It is an unlawful demand which seeks merely to take advantage of the capitalists' position. But it is an altogether lawful demand when the labourer asks for enough wages to enable him to maintain himself and to educate his children decently. To seek justice without resorting to violence and by an appeal to the good sense of the capitalist by arbitration is lawful means.

In order then to achieve the end you must have unions. A beginning has already been made. I trust that the mill-hands in every department will form their unions and everyone should [*sic*] scrupulously observe the rules that may be formed for them. You will then approach the mill-owners through your unions and if the decisions of the former do not satisfy you, you will appeal to

arbitration. It is a matter of satisfaction that both parties have accepted the principle of arbitration. I hope that that principle will be fully developed and that strikes will for ever become an impossibility. I know that strikes are an inherent right of the working men for the purpose of securing justice, but they must be considered a crime immediately the capitalists accept the principle of arbitration. Ways are improving and there is every possibility of a continuous improvement. But there is equal need for reducing hours of labour. The mill-hands seem to be working twelve hours or more. Those who have to work so many hours per day can have no time left for mental or moral betterment. Their condition therefore must be reduced to that of the beast. It is our duty to escape the peril and yet in every step we take we must guard ourselves against damaging our industries.

The mill-owners tell me that the mill-hands are lazy, they do not give full time to their work and they are inattentive. I for one cannot expect attention and application from those who are called upon to work twelve hours per day. But I would certainly hope that when the hours are reduced to ten the labourers will put in better and almost the same amount of work as in twelve hours. Reduction in hours of labour has brought about happy results in England. When mill-hands learn to identify themselves with the interest of the mill-owners they will rise and with them will rise the industries of our country. I would therefore urge the mill-owners to reduce the hours of labour to ten and urge the mill-hands to give as much work in ten as they have been doing in twelve.

It is now time to examine the use we should make of the increasing wages and the hours saved. It would be like going out of the frying-pan into the fire to use the increase in wages in the grogshop and the hours saved in the gambling den. The money received, it is clear, should be devoted to education of our children, and the time saved to our education. In both these matters the mill-owners can render much assistance. They can open cheap restaurants for working men where they can get pure milk and wholesome refreshments. They can open reading-rooms and provide harmless amusements and games for them. Provided such healthy surroundings, the craving for drink and gambling will leave them. The unions also should attempt similar things. They will be better employed in devising means of improvement from within than in fighting the capitalists.

It is a sign of national degradation when little children are removed from schools and are employed in earning wages. No

nation worthy of the name can possibly afford so to misuse her children. At least up to the age of sixteen they must be kept in schools. Similarly women also must be gradually weaned from mill-labour. If man and woman are partners in life and complementary, each of the other, they become good householders only by dividing their labour, and a wise mother finds her time fully occupied in looking after her household and children. But where both husband and wife have to labour for mere maintenance the nation must become degraded. It is like a bankrupt living on his capital.

And just as it is necessary for the labourers to develop their minds by receiving education and to educate their children so it is necessary to develop the moral faculty in them. Development of the moral faculty means that of the religious sense. The world does not quarrel with those who have a true faith in God and who understand the true nature of religion. And if it does such men turn away the wrath of their adversaries by their gentleness. Religion here does not mean merely offering one's *namaz* or going to the temple. But it means knowledge of one's self and knowledge of God, and just as a person does not become a weaver unless he knows the art of weaving so does he fail to know himself unless he complies with certain rules. Chief amongst these are three that are of universal observance. The first is observance of truth. He who does not know what it is to speak the truth is, like a false coin, valueless. The second is not to injure others. He who injures others, is jealous of others, is not fit to live in the world. For the world is at war with him and he has to live in perpetual fear of the world. We all are bound by the tie of love. There is in everything a centripetal force without which nothing could have existed. Scientists tell us that without the presence of the cohesive force amongst the atoms that comprise this globe of ours it would crumble to pieces and we would cease to exist, and even as there is cohesive force in blind matter so much must there be in all things animate and the name for that cohesive force among animate beings is Love. We notice it between father and son, between brother and sister, friend and friend. But we have to learn to use that force among all that lives, and in the use of it consists our knowledge of God. Where there is love there is life; hatred leads to destruction. I hope that Anasuyabehn will help you to learn this great law of love and I ask you, if you recognize her love towards you, to reciprocate it by feeling in your own persons that same love towards the whole of humanity. The third rule is that we have to conquer our passions. It is called *brahmacharya*

in Sanskrit. I do not use it here merely in its accepted narrow sense. He is not a *brahmachari*, who, although he may be a celibate or may be living a chaste life as a married man, otherwise gives himself up to a variety of indulgences. He alone is capable of knowing himself who brings under complete subjection all his passions. He who exercises self-restraint in its widest sense is also a *brahmachari*—a man of faith, a true Hindu or a true Mohammedan.

It is a breach of *brahmacharya* to hear questionable language or obscene songs. It is licentiousness of the tongue to utter foul abuse instead of reciting the name of God, and so with the other senses. He alone can be considered the true man who having subjected his passions becomes perfectly self-restrained. We are like a rider who cannot keep his horse under control and is quickly brought down. But one who drawing in the reins keeps the animal under subjection stands a fair chance of reaching his destination. Even so does a man who can control his passions make for the goal. He alone is fit for swaraj. He alone is a seeker after truth. He alone becomes capable of knowing God. It is my earnest wish that you will not reject these remarks as if they were copy-book maxims. I ask you to believe that we shall never go forward until we have learnt the value of observing these truths. What I have told you is a fragment of my own experiences. My service of you is due simply to my love for you and I partake of your sorrows because I hope thereby to justify myself before my Maker. What though your wages were quadrupled and you had to work only a quarter of the time you are doing now if, notwithstanding, you did not know the value of true speech, if the *rakshasa*[1] in you injured others and gave the reins to your passions. We must have more wages, we must have less work because we want clean houses, clean bodies, clean minds and a clean soul, and we strive for better wages and less work in the belief that both are essential for this fourfold cleanliness. But if that be not the object to be achieved, it would be a sin to attempt and get better wages and reduce the hours of labour. May God grant you and Anasuyabai the power to achieve the end.

Young India, 28-4-1920 & 5-5-1920

[1] Demon

111. INVITATION TO WEDDING[1]

786[2]

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 20, 1920

DEAR FRIEND[3],

Fatima Bibi, eldest daughter of my friend Imam Saheb Abdul Kadir[4], who is as a brother to me and who has been staying with me for many years now ever since I was in South Africa, and living with me in the Ashram even in India, will be married to Saiyad Hussainmiya Uraizee on Monday, April 26, 1920, corresponding to Shaban 6 of the Hijiri year 1338, at 7 p.m. The *maulood sharif*[5] will commence at 6.30 p.m. I shall be grateful if you grace this auspicious occasion with your presence and give your blessings to the bride and the bridegroom.

MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

From the Gujarati original: S.N. 7162

112. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

BOMBAY,
Tuesday [*April 20, 1920*][6]

CHI. DEVDAS,

Of late not a single day has passed without my writing to you, but I have had no letter from you in reply. I have been worrying, therefore, lest my letters should have missed you. I address them myself, correctly.

[1] The source for this item is a printed invitation card.

[2] The figure stands for *Bismillahir-al-Rahamanir-al-Rahim* which means "to begin with the name of Allah, the God Mercy, the Merciful".

[3] Here the source has "Chi. Devdas Gandhi" written in hand.

[4] Formerly chairman of Hamidia Islamic Society, Johannesburg

[5] The auspicious recitation of the life of the Prophet

[6] Gandhiji's speech to the workers, mentioned in the letter, was delivered on April 18, 1920 which was a Sunday; "yesterday" in the text was evidently a slip for "day before yesterday".

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Did you have any talk with Babu Arvind Ghosh[1] about a Japanese gentleman named Hyami Hamashi. An enquiry is going on about this matter. I gave them all information about your visit. What can we have to conceal? The enquiry is quite innocent.

It is not yet decided whether I should go to England.[2] I shall be meeting Muslim friends this evening. A decision will be taken after that. I am rather lukewarm, but I don't want to oppose the proposal outright. I shall be here up to the 23rd, at the outside. At the earliest I shall leave here on the 22nd.

Sarladevi told me that she wrote to you yesterday. I am sending to you the speech which I delivered to the workers yesterday.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 7167

113. NOTES[3]

COMMUNAL REPRESENTATION

We have absurdities enough in India in communal representation being demanded by other small groups because the principle has been conceded in the case of Mohammedans.[4] But when the cry for communal representation comes from Indians in Burma, the absurdity becomes criminal. We understand some Indians of Rangoon have pleaded for communal representation in the Burmese Council to be formed under the Reforms. We do hope that the demand will be withdrawn before mischief is done. The Burman will have every right to resent any such separate treatment of Indian settlers there. We are in Burma as guests of the Burmese for their and our mutual good, not for the exploitation of the former. Their welfare should be our first consideration. As a friend correctly points out, the Indian demand would be like Gujaratis or Marwaris claiming communal representation for themselves in the Bengal Council. Surely, Indians of

[1] Aurobindo Ghosh (1872-1950); mystic, poet and philosopher; settled at Pondicherry in 1910

[2] In connection with the Khilafat question

[3] This and the following two articles have been identified as Gandhiji's from the draft in his hand preserved in the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi.

[4] In the Government of India Acts of 1909 and 1919

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Burma would have a right to enter the Burmese Council, only if they by force of ability and service can command the Burmese vote. We, who desire that nobody should set up claims in India which are against our interests, are bound to guard against desiring rights in Burma in conflict with the interests of the Burmans. And yet that is precisely what lies at the bottom of this demand for communal representation by Indian settlers. We, therefore, trust that wiser counsels will prevail and that we shall hear no more of communal representation for Indians in Burma.

Mr. Horniman's Deportation

26th April will be the anniversary of Mr. Horniman's deportation. During the interval the public have shown in various ways their strong disapproval of the summary order of the Bombay Government. Apart from Mr. Horniman's qualifications, deportations without trial of any British subject must be a matter of great concern to any order-loving citizen. We must make it impossible in India for any British subject to be deported or have his liberty otherwise restricted without due trial except under circumstances in which every government must have the power of suspending the operation of the ordinary rules of law. And we must make it clear that no circumstances are proved to have existed for Mr. Horniman's deportation. We hope therefore that the whole of the Presidency will ask at public meetings in every village that Mr. Horniman's deportation should be cancelled without delay.

Jallianwala Bagh Memorial

The National Week has been a striking success if Bombay is any index of the rest of the country. The three meetings were entirely successful. The Government know the opinion of the country on the Rowlatt Act, the Khilafat question and the Punjab tragedy. It is difficult to know to what extent fasting and prayer were undertaken. But there is no doubt that a respectable number went through the discipline in a proper religious spirit. But the most effective demonstration of the success of the national observance was the response made to the Jallianwala Bagh Memorial. The list published daily shows the liberality of the donors and its catholicity. But the public know little of the spontaneous help rendered by the fair sex and by those who have not hitherto been touched by the national spirit. A band of ladies went through personal canvassing with most encouraging results. Even *Dheds* and *Bhangis* collected subscriptions for the Memorial. Lists have

been coming in from far and near. Contributions have come in from far-off Champaran. It is hoped that those who have received the amounts will send their contributions to Lala Girdhari Lal at Amritsar without delay. They should remember that the day for the payment of the balance of the purchase price is near.

Young India, 21-4-1920

114. SWADESHI

The National Week closed on Tuesday the 13th. It was in every way a remarkable demonstration of Hindu-Muslim unity, the determination to secure repeal of the Rowlatt Act and the satyagraha spirit. The speeches delivered were sober and more to the point than before. There was no disorderliness at any of the meetings of which we have received reports.

What however about swadeshi? Was swadeshi too not a product of the satyagraha spirit and activity? It undoubtedly was. But swadeshi work is the most constructive of all. It does not lend itself to speeches so much as to solid action. It is not possible to save fifty crores of rupees annually by speeches or demonstrations. It involves much more than the severing of this annual drain. It involves the honour of Indian womanhood. Everyone who has any connection with the mill industry knows that the women working in the mills are exposed to temptations and risks to which they ought not to be exposed. Many women for want of home employment accept road repair labour. And only those who know what this labour is, understand the risks the women run. Give them the spinning-wheel and no woman need ever seek any other employment than sitting at the spinning-wheel. Swadeshi means even distribution of wealth from an occupation next in importance only to agriculture. It supplements agriculture and therefore automatically assists materially to solve the problem of our growing poverty. Thus swadeshi is our veritable *Kamadhenu*[1] supplying all our wants and solving many of our difficult problems. And an occupation which saves our honour and provides our livelihood becomes a religious duty.

How can the great consummation be achieved? The answer is simple. Those who realize the importance of the problem must set about working in one or all of the following directions:

[1] A mythical cow that gave whatever one asked of her

1. Learn spinning yourself whether man or woman. Charge for the labour if you need money, or make a gift of at least one hour's labour to the nation daily.

2. Learn weaving yourself whether for recreation or for maintenance.

3. Make improvements in the present handlooms and the spinning-wheels, and if you are rich, pay for them to those who would make them.

4. Take the swadeshi vow and patronize the cloth that is both hand-spun and hand-woven.

5. Introduce such cloth among your friends and believe that there is more art and humanity in khadi whose yarn has been prepared by your poor sisters.

6. If you are a mother, you will give a clean and national culture to your children and make them wear clothes made out of beautiful khadi which is available to millions and which can be most easily produced.

Swadeshi then means the creation of a most perfect organization in which every part works in perfect harmony with every other. If we succeed in bringing into being such an organization, not only is success of swadeshi assured, but real swaraj comes to us as a matter of course.

Young India, 21-4-1920

115. INDIANS ABROAD

The prejudice against Indian settlers outside India is showing itself in a variety of ways. Under the impudent suggestion of sedition the Fiji Government has deported Mr. Manilal Doctor[1] who with his brave and cultured wife[2] has been rendering assistance to the poor indentured Indians of Fiji in a variety of ways. The whole trouble has arisen over the strike of the labourers in Fiji. Indentures have been cancelled,[3] but the spirit of slavery is by no means dead. We do not know the genesis of the strike; we do not know that the strikers have done no wrong. But we do know what is behind when a charge of sedition is brought against the

[1] Son-in-law of Dr. Pranjivan Mehta, an old associate of Gandhiji. He went to Fiji in 1912 to take up public work there.

[2] Jayakunvar

[3] The indenture system introduced in 1877 in Fiji was abolished in January 1920.

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strikers and their friends. The readers must remember that the Government that has scented sedition in the recent upheaval in Fiji is the Government that had the hardihood to libel Mr. Andrews' character. What can be the meaning of sedition in connection with the Fiji strikers and Mr. Manilal Doctor? Did they and he want to seize the reins of government? Did they want any power in that country? They struck for elementary freedom. And it is a prostitution of terms to use the word sedition in such connection. The strikers may have been over-hasty. Mr. Manilal Doctor may have misled them. If his advice bordered on the criminal, he should have been tried. The information in our possession goes to show that he has been strictly constitutional. Our point, however, is that it is an abuse of power for the Fiji Government to have deported Mr. Manilal Doctor without a trial. It is wrong in principle to deprive a person of his liberty on mere suspicion and without giving him an opportunity of clearing his character. Mr. Manilal Doctor, be it remembered, has for years past made Fiji his home. He has, we believe, bought property there. He has children born in Fiji. Have the children no rights? Has the wife none? May a promising career be ruined at the bidding of a lawless government? Has Mr. Manilal Doctor been compensated for the losses he must sustain? We trust that the Government of India which has endeavoured to protect the rights of Indian settlers abroad will take up the question of Mr. Doctor's deportation.

Nor is Fiji the only place where the spirit of lawlessness among the powerful has come to the surface. Indians of (the late) German East Africa find themselves in a worse position than heretofore. They state that even their property is not safe. They have to pay all kinds of dues on passports. They are hampered in their trade. They are not able even to send money orders.

In British East Africa the cloud is perhaps the thickest. The European settlers there are doing their utmost to deprive the Indian settlers of practically every right they have hitherto possessed. An attempt is being made to compass their ruin both by legislative enactment and administrative action.

In South Africa every Indian who has anything to do with that part of the British Dominions is watching with bated breath the progress of the commission[1] that is now sitting.

[1] The Commission of Enquiry which sat from March 1920 to July 1920. It was appointed by the Union Government of South Africa to enquire into the question of Asiatics trading and holding land in several provinces of South Africa.

The Government of India have no easy job in protecting the interests of Indian settlers in these various parts of His Majesty's dominions. They will be able to do so only by following the firmest and the most consistent policy. Justice is admittedly on the side of the Indian settlers. But they are the weak party. A strong agitation in India followed by strong action by the Government of India can alone save the situation.

Young India, 21-4-1920

116. THE CAUSE OF THE VERNACULARS

To anyone who watched the proceedings of the recent Sahitya Sammelans[1] it must be clear that our national awakening is not confined to politics alone. The enthusiasm displayed at these gatherings indicated a happy change. We are giving in thought their proper place to the vernaculars in our national life. Raja Ram Mohan Roy's[2] prophecy that India will one day be an English-speaking country, has not today many stars in its favour. The great reformer's spirit, however, still haunts some. A number of our eminent men hastily generalize in favour of English as the national medium. The present status of English as a court language weighs with them unduly. They fail to see that the present status of English is no credit to us and that it is not conducive to the growth of a true democratic spirit. That crores of men should learn a foreign tongue for the convenience of a few hundreds of officials is the height of absurdity. An instance is often cited from our past history to prove the necessity of a lingua franca to strengthen the Central Government of the country. Nobody disputes the necessity of a common medium. But it cannot be English. The officials have to recognize the vernaculars. The second consideration that appeals to the Anglicists is India's position in the Empire. The argument, put in plain words, amounts to asking 31 crores of Indians to accept English as their common language for the sake of the other parts of the Empire whose population is not more than 12 crores.

The first fact that ought to receive consideration from every student of this problem is that after a century and a half of Bri-

[1] Literary conferences

[2] Raja Ram Mohan Roy (1772-1833); socio-religious reformer of Bengal; the pioneer of English education in India

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tish rule English has failed to take the place of a lingua franca of India. A kind of broken English, no doubt, does seem to have succeeded in this respect in our cities. But this fact can only dazzle those who profess to study our national problems in big cities like Bombay and Calcutta. And what is their population after all? It is only 2.2 per cent of the total population of India. The second fact that the Anglicists ignore is that a very large majority of our vernaculars are akin to one another, and as a result of this, Hindi as a lingua franca suits all the provinces except the Madras Presidency. In view of this advantage in favour of Hindi and in view of our present national consciousness how can we accept English as our lingua franca?

The solution of this problem will decide the fate of the vernaculars. In our educational system English is suffered to have an unnatural dominance over vernaculars. The extreme Anglicists hold that English should be used as the medium of instruction "at the earliest age possible". This argument is based on the fact that children in a foreign country pick up the language of the country without difficulty at an early age. Refuting this argument the Calcutta University Commission say:

> Whereas in a foreign country a child is surrounded by others who speak the language of the country, in a class-room he is surrounded by others who, with the exception of the teacher, are as ignorant as himself of the new medium; it is a class of one person teaching many, not of many teaching one; and it is only by experiment that class-room methods can be worked out successfully.

The "educational economy", as an advantage of vernacularizing our educational system, has received recognition at the hands of the Commission. We have pointed out, in our issue of February 11, that the recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission in this connection are a further step. The next logical step after this is recommending the use of vernaculars as the medium in our universities also. The Sadler Commission have made the matriculation stage as a halting place between the use of vernaculars as the medium of instruction in secondary schools and their use in the college department. They have suggested as their own opinion a bilingual system for the future. But they also say:

> We do not wish to prejudge the future. It is not for us to predict whether the natural desire to use Bengali to the utmost will eventually outweigh the immense advantages of being able to use a medium common not only to the educated classes throughout India, but to more peoples than

> any other, and giving access in effect to the literature and the scientific records of the world.

Though in view of the evidence submitted to them the Commissioners could not be persuaded to lay down a policy for the future in favour of vernacularizing university education also, it is equally true that they could not find anything in the evidence which supported the Anglicists or the bilinguists. Thus, though the replies to the Commissioners' questions do not in themselves decide the future, they do

> reveal a strong movement in favour of the immediate introduction of Bengali for some University purposes, and of its ultimate introduction for others, a movement of which there was little sign in the debate in the Imperial Legislative Council of 1915.

If we study the Commissioners' analysis of the replies, we can more fully appreciate their remark. The question put to the witnesses was: 'Do you hold English should be used as the medium of instruction and examination at every stage above matriculation in the university course?'

The replies are analysed as follows:

(i) 129 are positively in the affirmative;

(ii) 29 are in the affirmative, with slight reservations;

(iii) 68 are in favour of a joint use of English and the vernacular either side by side in the same institution, or in parallel institutions;

(iv) 33 replies suggest the gradual replacement of English by the vernacular as the object to be aimed at;

(v) 37 are in the negative; and

(vi) 9 are insusceptible of classification.

So, 155 replies are in favour of the English medium and nearly 138 are not against using the vernacular medium sooner or later. This proportion is certainly encouraging to the vernacularists. Besides, even among those that favour the English medium there is not an inconsiderable section of witnesses who advise the foreign medium, because there is no provision for proper and sufficient text books for different subjects. This school of educationists is not against the vernacular medium on principle. They do not like us to get into water till we have learnt swimming. Of a similar sort but more decisive is the evidence of the remaining witnesses that stand for the English medium. This latter evidence has stamped the vernaculars as unfit ever to serve the purpose of the medium of instruction. These witnesses betray an ignorance

of the history of our vernaculars. There was a time when Sanskrit was the sole medium for Hindu philosophy. But a few enthusiastic scholars enriched their vernaculars with a decent store of philosophic literature and brought Hindu philosophy within the reach of the masses. Can we not with our present ideas of organization do for our vernaculars in the sphere of science what once those vernacular scholars did in the sphere of philosophy? As against the diffidence of these witnesses, the vernacularists can cite the example of Japan. The Rev. W. E. S. Holland, Principal of St. Paul's Cathedral College, Calcutta, in his evidence, writes:

> Japan by use of the vernacular, has built up an educational system that commands the respect of the West.

The evidence of Babu Ramananda Chatterjee, the editor of the *Modern Review*, is even more convincing. He says:

> The use of the vernaculars in all grades of university education is indispensably necessary. All objections have force only temporarily, for the most highly developed modern languages and literatures were at first no better than Bengali. In their case development was obtained by use; and it will be obtained in our case, too, in the same way.

Thus we find that though the evidence before Dr. Sadler's Commission is not today in favour of vernacularizing university education, it does hold high hopes for the future of the cause of the vernacular medium. Time was when the vernacularists' cause was looked upon with distrust. There is now not only no distrust but confidence has taken its place. Two important institutions have recently joined the cause. The Women's University of Poona[1] and the Osmania University of Hyderabad are using the vernaculars as the sole medium. Their progress is being keenly watched by many. Their success will, as Justice Sir Abdul Rahim says, make the solution of the problem of the vernaculars easier. At the last convocation of the Hindu University, the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya invited all the eminent vernacularists to meet in a conference. We hope that such an organized effort will hasten full recognition of the vernaculars as media of instruction.

The present distribution of provinces is another factor which has done no less an injury than any other to the cause of the vernaculars. The redistribution of provinces on a linguistic basis will be followed by a rearrangement of universities.

[1] Shrimati Nathibai Damodardas Thakersey University

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We have shown above the three allied spheres of work for the cause of vernaculars. And it is evident that unless we advance this cause, we shall not be able to remove the growing intellectual and cultural gulf between our men and women and between the classes and the masses. It is also equally certain that the vernacular medium alone can stimulate originality in thought in the largest number of persons.

Young India, 21-4-1920

117. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

BOMBAY,
Wednesday [*April 21, 1920*][1]

Being busy today in seeing Panditji[2] off and with other things, I have not been able to write to you the letter which I should have liked to.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 7170

118. USES OF KHADI

The movement for swadeshi is slowly gathering momentum, though it is not progressing well enough to satisfy me. The Satyagraha Week saw a good awakening among the people and the swadeshi movement has also gained correspondingly. Muslims have now started taking greater interest in it. There is a new spirit among them. For them swadeshi means boycott. I have stated my view that boycott will not serve our purpose; even then, to the extent that boycott implies swadeshi, it is bound to produce some good. If any person, being angry, starts a fast, he will certainly enjoy the physical benefits of fasting. In like manner, adopting swadeshi in the spirit of boycott will have its benefit for the people. If we give up European goods but continue to use Japanese goods, we shall be falling out of the frying-pan into the fire.

[1] The letter is written in Gandhiji's hand on the back of a postcard dated April 21, 1920 from Mataji, i.e., Sarladevi Chowdhrani, to the addressee.

[2] Pandit Rambhuj Dutt Chowdhari

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How, then, can we ensure the propagation of swadeshi? Everyone who loves swadeshi is in duty bound to ask this question. If anyone believes that this can be done by increasing the consumption of mill cloth, he is wrong. We just do not produce enough cloth in India to meet our needs. If, therefore, we rest satisfied with using mill cloth, we shall have appropriated that much cloth from what is now available to the poor and thus raised its price. This would be wrong. But, then, the need for a swadeshi store in every village is also undoubted, for, as things stand today, those who use swadeshi cloth cannot get their needs from the ordinary shops. The truth of the matter is that he alone really encourages swadeshi who spins and weaves, if only to produce a yard of cloth and no more. If new mills could be brought into existence by a mere puff of the breath, this very day we could ensure the reign of swadeshi, of a sort. But mills take time to put up. With a puff of the breath we can learn hand-spinning no doubt. If only people try, any man or woman can learn spinning in no more than a day.

Hundreds of women have started spinning in this way but we do not get enough men and women to wear the cloth produced. A year ago, khadi was not available in sufficient quantity. Hand-spun yarn was quite difficult to come by in the beginning. Now, after one year, I am offered so much hand-spun yarn that I cannot take it all. The stocks of khadi with me have grown so large that the quantities cleared are inadequate.

The problem, then, of overcoming the prejudice against khadi has become as important as that of producing more cloth. We shall not succeed in producing all at once fine cloth from hand-spun yarn, in place of the [coarse] khadi being produced at present. The hundreds of thousands of women who spin will continue to produce yarn good enough only for khadi.

The swadeshi movement received the finest impetus from Shrimati Sarladevi Chowdhrani. During the National Week, she expressed a desire to wear a sari and blouse of khadi. I have not so far succeeded in inducing any woman to wear a sari made of khadi and so at first I thought Sarladevi was joking. But she was perfectly sincere in what she said and, what is more, she meant khadi as rough as what I wear. I got a sari and a blouse made for her and she celebrated the National Week in these. When her maternal uncle[1] saw her in this dress, he also remarked: "If you don't feel embarrassed yourself, there is nothing

[1] Rabindranath Tagore, who was in Bombay during the National Week

wrong with this dress. You can go anywhere in it.'' There was a big party on the 11th at Mrs. Petit's in honour of the poet and she had to decide whether she could attend it in khadi. She then remembered the poet's remark and honoured that party by attending it in this same khadi dress. She received no less respect than she used to in her costly silk saris. After this she went to all meetings and functions in khadi and at everyone of them which I attended I could see that people's respect for her had increased because of this dress. Thus, the uncle and the niece, who have acquired a reputation in the country for their artistic sense, did not reject khadi from that point of view at any rate. On the contrary, they introduced khadi as a dress for women in gatherings of rich people. This lady, who had been used to saris and other garments of finest texture, felt proud of wearing a khadi sari and a khadi blouse, not fighting shy of their heaviness. Till this attitude becomes fixed among large numbers of men and women or is adopted, at any rate, during this period of transition, I do not think it will be possible to make swadeshi a country-wide movement, for, as things are, if any cloth can be produced in lakhs of yards, it is khadi.

But I take no pity at all upon khadi-wearers. I do not believe I lack a sense of art, and in my eyes khadi is artistic enough. I can say from my experience and that of others, that, as against calico which sticks to the body because of perspiration in the summer, khadi has the property of absorbing moisture. Khadi is a more useful and superior cloth. It is more beautiful than calico because it has a soul in it. We can say that a piece of khadi has a personality of its own, if personality can be attributed to cloth. We can know, if we wish to, who attended to which process in the manufacture of any piece of khadi. There is some craftsmanship at any rate in the making of khadi. We can see that there is none in calico. Just as no two leaves of a tree are exactly alike, no two lengths of hand-spun, hand-woven khadi can be so. No painter can paint two paintings which are alike in every way; in like manner no weaver making khadi can make two lengths of it of identical quality. To some this will be a matter of regret. They probably believe that the right thing is to have, and to be able to produce, crores of yards of cloth of identical quality, one piece indistinguishable from another. This kind of machine production has its uses, but it is never reckoned as art. If we could not produce pins, or could not get paper, of identical quality, we would certainly feel at sea. But even in this machine age, even today, people who have appreciation of art prefer hand-made paper. Every-

one will be able to see the difference between hand-made paper and machine-made paper. Hand-made paper is expressive of a certain quality of individuality, of the art of its maker. Maybe such paper cannot be made available to many. All that I wish to prove here is that there is an art in khadi, as there is in paper, which is absent in machine-made goods. If we had not developed a prejudice against Indian goods, we would have appreciated the art in khadi too. In Scotland, the tweed prepared from wool by the women there is even today esteemed superior to the machine-made variety. The Scottish nobles prove, by their use of it, that the beauty and the warmth to be found in its roughness is not to be found in the smoothness of the machine-made variety. Hand-made tweed is considered fashionable and artistic, and therefore fetches more money.

Unfortunately for India, hand-made khadi came to be looked upon as clothing for the lower classes, as having no art in it. No one sets value on it and the khadi weaver can hardly earn eight annas a day. How can we expect appreciation of art in a country with such perverse notions? How can we expect such a country not to starve? Here, in this country, there is no appreciation for craftsmanship. The rich, fascinated by the machine-made, polished goods from Europe, see art in them, with the result that in their homes and in their dresses they never patronize Indian craftsmanship. The Collector of Surat once told me, commenting on the swadeshi movement: "Look at my drawing-room, how it patronizes Indian craftsmanship, how much art it holds; compare it with the homes of your rich friends and then tell me who encourages swadeshi better." What he said was true and I felt rather small. I am convinced that the day when India feels honoured in wearing hand-spun khadi and pays for it for the sake of the art which lies in it, starvation will disappear from the country and we shall find that the poor, who are hard put to it to get even cereals to eat, are well supplied with them.

I have, today, a very large stock of khadi with me. We are, moreover, facing a situation in which it may be necessary to abandon an activity that gives work to some women and poor people. I have had, therefore, to employ what ability I possess and try to prove some self-evident truths. To me, coats, Indian-style shirts and other garments made of khadi seem quite beautiful. If, however, I cannot carry the reader so far with me, I should like to say that khadi has many other uses. It can be used to make school bags and hammocks for children. Chairs, couches and other articles of furniture can be covered with it. Big car-

pets can be made from dyed khadi. It can serve for canopies. Handkerchiefs of any required size can be made from it. Straining pieces, bags, pillow-cases, bed-covers and many other useful articles can be made out of it. I appeal for help from every reader for popularizing khadi. A *Khatri*[1] has come forward to dye khadi red with swadeshi material. With his help, I am getting some khadi dyed red. For bed-covers, etc., red khadi is better. I want every reader to remember that a large number of women are employed at present in spinning. Some of them led immoral lives and some could not afford even milk for their children; these sisters have now been earning something through an honest occupation. I want every reader to play his part in promoting this craft through which we can end starvation in India and help people to lead purer lives.

Anyone who wants to place an order for khadi should write to the Manager, Khadi Section, instead of to me. If he writes to me, there is likely to be delay in his getting a reply. The prices of the varieties of khadi which have accumulated in the Ashram can be had by writing to the Manager, Satyagraha Ashram.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 25-4-1920

119. KATHIAWAR MANNERS

I have received several letters about the remarks I made, in the course of my speech[2] outside Lal Darvaja during a session of the Sahitya Parishad, concerning manners in Kathiawar. In one of them, I am accused of having done injustice to Kathiawar. My belief, on the contrary, is that in my speech I had praised the manners of Kathiawar. It was the exaggeration of these which I condemned. The generosity, the courtesy, the hospitality, the straightforwardness and the affection to be found in Kathiawar, I can never forget, nor upbraid. But, if I failed to criticize the intrigues, the hypocrisy, and the falsehood which have found their way into Kathiawar by reason of those very qualities or of other hostile factors, I would be missing an opportunity of saving others from the very faults from which I have escaped. Wherever I move and whenever I come in contact with Kathiawaris, I experience their good qualities as well as their faults. It is my conviction that

[1] Member of a community of dyers
[2] On April 2, 1920

the growing generation in Kathiawar, the youth, will advance very much if they develop the former and avoid the latter. They cannot however, eschew the faults if they just refuse to see them. I shall, therefore, ask the following questions of my correspondents:

1. Is it not your experience that the Kathiawari, more than others, gives promises which he should not, trying to be excessively obliging?

2. Have you not observed that, more than others, the Kathiawari spends beyond his means through what he supposes to be expression of regard for others?

3. Have you not observed that the actions of a Kathiawari, though he is ever so full of courtesy in the beginning, show him deficient in good manners, both in public and private?

I have experienced all the three faults in good measure. Even today, I receive complaints against Kathiawaris in respect of these faults. It may be that, because I come into contact with them frequently, I magnify their faults. Maybe because I am a Kathiawari, more complaints are brought to me about these faults. If so, this only means that the Kathiawaris have no more faults than the others. Even so, I shall urge them to rid themselves of whatever faults they have, so that their lives may become worthier and they are better able to serve themselves and the country.

Why should we derive false satisfaction from thinking that we are not worse than others? It is the duty of every man and every woman to observe his or her own faults regardless of what others do. I hope, therefore, that Kathiawaris, who are distinguished for their courage and venturesome spirit, will spot out their minutest faults and get rid of them and offer their courage and adventurous spirit as gifts to the nation, eschewing the defects which, in his sincerity, the late Navalram[1] observed in us and described.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 25-4-1920

[1] A nineteenth-century Gujarati writer

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120. IT IS A YEAR NOW

It will be a year on the 26th since Mr. Horniman's deportation, and yet we have not been able to secure his return to India. When the Emperor's proclamation was published,[1] everyone thought that Mr. Horniman's case was covered by it. But the Governor of Bombay thought otherwise and so far he has had his way in this matter. A great principle is at stake in Mr. Horniman's return, namely, the freedom of the citizen. Let us leave out of consideration Mr. Horniman's personal qualities. Maybe he was guilty, but, under a modern administration, even a murderer cannot be hanged or imprisoned without a proper trial. Within these last twelve months, a person in Ahmedabad who was charged with murder and was sentenced to be hanged, having been tried by a duly constituted court, was let off because of some procedural flaw, and that by our own Governor. The Bombay Government displayed a high sense of justice in that case. Why should it not display the same sense of justice in Mr. Horniman's case? Some people may also defend [the Government] by saying that a Government which displayed such a sense of justice must have a strong reason for depriving Mr. Horniman of his freedom without a trial; we do not accept this as a valid argument. That murderer was no threat to the Government; Mr. Horniman, in one sense, may be regarded as a threat to it. He could discomfit the Government by his pen and by his speeches and so the Government had some motive in depriving him of his freedom. This is why the sense of justice displayed in the murderer's case was not shown in Mr. Horniman's case. This is my view. If Mr. Horniman wrote anything unlawful, he may be tried and sentenced, but the people ought not to tolerate punishment without a trial. In defending Mr. Horniman's freedom, therefore, the people will be defending their own freedom, and so we hope they will not forget his case, but strive hard and take effective steps to secure the withdrawal of the prohibitory order against him.

Let us now consider what we can do. In Bombay, the months of April and May are a period of inactivity, the leaders being away. We cannot, therefore, hold any effective meeting in Bombay on the 26th. But, at the very first opportunity, mam-

[1] On December 23, 1919

moth meetings can be held on a fixed day all over the Bombay Presidency and people can demonstrate to the Government that they will not rest in peace until the order against Mr. Horniman is withdrawn. Let us not think that enough resolutions have been passed and that there is no point in passing any more. We should change our attitude to resolutions. Resolutions are looked upon as the first and the last step; instead, we should think of them as the first step, intended to convey the people's determination. If the Government fails to act upon them, we must have the strength to see that they are acted upon. We need not consider at the moment what that strength should be and how and when it should be employed. What should concern us now is whether the people are unanimous, whether they wish to have Mr. Horniman released. We have suggested how we can know this.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 25-4-1920

121. WHY SHOULD I GO TO ENGLAND?

Some readers take such a keen interest in all my actions that I am not always able to satisfy their curiosity. The reason is not my negligence, but the fact that I do not get enough time to answer all questions and that it is not possible for me to spare sufficient space in *Navajivan* for answering them through it. Some matters, however, being of public interest, I consider it essential to clarify the position. One such issue is the proposal that I should go to England.

Some readers have asked me why I, being generally opposed to leaders going to England, have myself now got ready to go. What they say about my view is quite correct and so their question is perfectly justified. But, then, I have never believed that no one should go to England under any circumstances. I can imagine a situation in which to refuse to go to England would be criminal. Not that I think of the Khilafat issue in this light. It is not quite essential that I should go.[1] However, my going may possibly do some good and so I have left the final decision to Muslim friends. When they expressed a desire that I should be ready to go in case they wanted me to do so, I agreed, and put forward

[1] The first Khilafat Deputation, which had reached England on February 26, was still there.

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two conditions: one, that people here should really be keen [that a deputation should go] and, two, that we should have the permission and approval of the Viceroy. His permission has been received. But he hesitates to express an opinion on the desirability of our going. So again I went to the Khilafat Committee and left to them the responsibility of deciding what I should do in this situation. There is a difference of opinion among the members. The general view was that, for the present, we should give up the idea of going; accordingly, the proposal of going to England has been dropped.

We were to go not only for the purpose of securing a settlement but also, should the settlement not meet our demands, to warn them of the reactions in India. Non-co-operation is no ordinary weapon. Properly employed, it can secure us full justice. I would, therefore, think it essential to give the fullest warning to the Government before employing such a mighty weapon and would welcome the idea of going to England for that purpose, circumstances permitting. But the Viceroy did not approve and we, ourselves, are not quite ready; I decided, therefore, that it would be better if I did not go. Even so, if the Muslim friends want me to go or if I see that the Government would like my going, I would certainly agree to go.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 25-4-1920

122. TO READERS

Only recently we changed the size of *Navajivan* and revised the price of a copy in Bombay and Ahmedabad. Paper is getting more scarce and its price is increasing. It seems that, if we continue to incur loss on *Navajivan* at the present rate, at the end of the year, that is after five months, the loss will have amounted to ten thousand rupees. The reader will undoubtedly approve of our decision not to accept advertisements. I also imagine that the reader will not approve of such a heavy loss. We have, therefore, decided to carry out the management's proposal to reduce the size to the minimum possible and so the reader will get only an eight-page *Navajivan* this time. I hope the reader will not be upset by this. As I have said before, I regard the reader as a partner in *Navajivan*. The management of *Navajivan* do not run it for profit or as business; nor do they wish to run it at a loss. If the paper had to be published at a loss, I would feel that the people have

no need of it. But I believe otherwise. For those who are managing the paper, this experiment of running a journal without advertisements is quite new. Besides, nobody had any idea that the price of paper would rise so high. It was supposed, on the contrary, that with the end of the war it would come down. It was also believed that the paper we used when we started was good enough. Experience has shown us that it was impossible to maintain the files of *Navajivan* with this inferior quality paper. Under these circumstances, the subscription rate has to be much higher. Accordingly, for the present we have fixed the subscription at four rupees for new subscribers, so that the old ones may not have to pay anything more; and, in order that the latter might have a share in bringing down the loss, the size has been reduced to eight pages. If there is no great increase in the price of paper, I hope we shall not have to make any more changes, during this year at any rate. I trust the reader will forgive us for the change that we have been obliged to make. At the same time, I wish to assure him that, the reduction in the size notwithstanding, there will be no cutting down of the fare. While dealing with the usual subjects more briefly, it will be our constant endeavour to see that nothing of importance is left out.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 25-4-1920

123. TO THE MEMBERS OF THE ALL-INDIA HOME RULE LEAGUE

It is a distinct departure from the even tenor of my life for me to belong to an organization that is purely and frankly political. But after careful deliberation and consultation with friends I have joined the All-India Home Rule League and accepted the office of its President.[1] Some friends whom I consulted told me that I should not join any political organization and that if I did, I would lose the position of splendid isolation I enjoy at present. I confess that this caution had considerable weight with me. At the same time I felt that if I was accepted by the League as I was, I should be wrong in not identifying myself with an organization that I could utilize for the advancement of the causes in which I had specialized and of the methods which experience has shown me are attended with quicker and better results than those

[1] This was on April 28, 1920.

that are usually adopted. Before joining the League, I endeavoured to ascertain the opinion of those who were outside the Presidency and with whom I had not the privilege to come in such close contact as with co-workers in the Bombay Presidency.

The causes referred to by me are swadeshi, Hindu-Moslem unity with special reference to Khilafat, the acceptance of Hindustani as the lingua franca and a linguistic redistribution of the Provinces. I would engage the League, if I can carry the members with me, in these activities so that they occupy the largest part of the nation's time and attention.

I freely confess that reforms take a secondary place in my scheme of national reorganization. For I feel that the activities chosen by me, if they could but absorb national energy, would bring about all the reforms that the most ardent extremists can ever desire, and so far as the desirability of full self-government at the earliest possible moment is concerned I yield to none in my desire to hasten our progress. And it is because I feel that the progress towards self-government can be best accelerated by developing the activities I have mentioned that I keep them in the forefront of the national programme. I shall not treat the All-India Home Rule League as a party organization in any sense of the term. I belong to no party and I wish to belong to none hereafter. I am aware that the constitution of the League requires it to help the Congress,[1] but I do not consider the Congress as a party organization, even as the British Parliament, though it contains all parties and has one party or other dominating it from time to time, is not a party organization. I shall venture to hope that all parties will cherish the Congress as a national organization providing a platform for all parties to appeal to the nation with a view to moulding its policy and I would endeavour to so mould the policy of the League as to make the Congress retain its non-party national character.[2]

This brings me to my methods. I believe that it is possible to introduce uncompromising truth and honesty in the political life of the country. Whilst I would not expect the League to follow me in my civil disobedience methods, I would strain every

[1] The All-India Home Rule League was affiliated to the Indian National Congress.

[2] In September 1920, Gandhiji assembled Home Rule Leaguers at Calcutta and changed the creed of the League into a form later adopted by the Congress at its Nagpur session. He also changed the name of the League to "Swarajya Sabha".

nerve to make truth and non-violence accepted in all our national activities. Then we shall cease to fear or distrust Governments and their measures. I do not wish however to develop the theme any further. I would rather let time solve the many questions that must arise from the bald statement I have made. My purpose just now is not to demonstrate the propriety of my action or the truth of the policy herein adumbrated but to take the members of the League into my confidence and to invite criticism of the programme herein set forth and any suggestions they may wish to make for the advancement of the welfare of the League.

Young India, 28-4-1920

124. WHY I HAVE JOINED THE KHILAFAT MOVEMENT

An esteemed South African friend who is at present living in England has written to me a letter from which I take the following excerpts :

> You will doubtless remember having met me in South Africa at the time when the Rev. J. J. Doke[1] was assisting you in your campaign there and I subsequently returned to England deeply impressed with the rightness of your attitude in that country. During the months before the War I wrote and lectured and spoke on your behalf in several places which I did not regret. Since returning from military service, however, I have noticed from the papers that you appear to be adopting a more militant attitude. . . . I notice a report in *The Times* that you are assisting and countenancing a union between the Hindus and Moslems with a view of embarrassing England and the Allied Powers in the matter of the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire or the ejection of the Turkish Government from Constantinople.[2] Knowing as I do your sense of justice and your humane instincts I feel that I am entitled, in view of the humble part that I have taken to promote your interests on this side, to ask you whether this latter report is correct. I cannot believe that you have wrongly countenanced a movement to place the cruel and unjust despotism of the Stamboul Government above the interests of humanity, for if any country has crippled these interests in the East it has surely been Turkey. I am personally familiar with the conditions in Syria and Armenia and I can only sup-

[1] Joseph J. Doke (1861-1913); minister of Johannesburg Baptist Church; edited *Indian Opinion* during Gandhiji's and Polak's incarceration in 1911

[2] For the peace terms presented by the Allies to Turkey, *vide* Appendix I.

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> pose that if the report which *The Times* has published is correct, you have thrown to one side your moral responsibilities and allied yourself with one of the prevailing anarchies. However, until I hear that this is not your attitude I cannot prejudice my mind. Perhaps you will do me the favour of sending me a reply.

I have sent a reply[1] to the writer. But as the views expressed in the quotation are likely to be shared by many of my English friends and as I do not wish, if I can possibly help it, to forfeit their friendship or their esteem I shall endeavour to state my position as clearly as I can on the Khilafat question. The letter shows what risk public men run through irresponsible journalism. I have not seen *The Times* report referred to by my friend. But it is evident that the report has made the writer to suspect my alliance with "the prevailing anarchies" and to think that I have "thrown to one side" my "moral responsibilities".

It is just my sense of moral responsibilities which has made me take up the Khilafat question and to identify myself entirely with the Mohammedans. It is perfectly true that I am assisting and countenancing the union between Hindus and Muslims, but certainly not with "a view of embarrasing England and the Allied Powers in the matter of the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire". It is contrary to my creed to embarrass governments or anybody else. This does not however mean that certain acts of mine may not result in embarrassment. But I should not hold myself responsible for having caused embarrassment when I resist the wrong of a wrongdoer by refusing assistance in his wrongdoing. On the Khilafat question I refuse to be a party to a broken pledge. Mr. Lloyd George's solemn declaration is practically the whole of the case for Indian Mohammedans, and when that case is fortified by scriptural authority it becomes unanswerable. Moreover, it is incorrect to say that I have "allied myself to one of the prevailing anarchies" or that I have "wrongly countenanced the movement to place the cruel and unjust despotism of the Stamboul Government above the interests of humanity". In the whole of the Mohammedan demand there is no insistence on the retention of the so-called unjust despotism of the Stamboul Government; on the contrary the Mohammedans have accepted the principle of taking full guarantees from that Government for the protection of non-Muslim minorities. I do not know how far the condition of Armenia and Syria may be considered an

[1] Not traceable

"anarchy" and how far the Turkish Government may be held responsible for it. I much suspect that the reports from these quarters are much exaggerated and that the European powers are themselves in a measure responsible for what misrule there may be in Armenia and Syria. But I am in no way interested in supporting Turkish or any other anarchy. The Allied Powers can easily prevent it by means other than that of ending Turkish rule or dismembering and weakening the Ottoman Empire. The Allied Powers are not dealing with a new situation. If Turkey was to be partitioned, the position should have been made clear at the commencement of the War. There would then have been no question of a broken pledge. As it is, no Indian Mohammedan has any regard for the promises of British Ministers. In his opinion the cry against Turkey is that of Christianity *versus* Islam with England as the leader in the cry. The latest cablegram from Mr. Mohamed Ali strengthens the impression, for he says that unlike as in England his deputation is receiving much support from the French Government and the people.

Thus, if it is true, as I hold it is true, that the Indian Mussulmans have a cause that is just and is supported by scriptural authority, then for the Hindus not to support them to the utmost would be a cowardly breach of brotherhood and they would forfeit all claim to consideration from their Mohammedan countrymen. As a public server, therefore, I would be unworthy of the position I claim, if I did not support Indian Mussulmans in their struggle to maintain the Khilafat in accordance with their religious belief. I believe that in supporting them I am rendering a service to the Empire, because by assisting my Mohammedan countrymen to give a disciplined expression to their sentiment it becomes possible to make the agitation thoroughly orderly and even successful.

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125. NON-CO-OPERATION

A writer in *The Times of India*, the editor of that wonderful daily and Mrs. Besant have all in their own manner condemned non-co-operation conceived in connection with the Khilafat movement. All the three writings naturally discuss many side issues which I shall omit for the time being. I propose to answer two serious objections raised by the writers. The sobriety with which they are stated entitles them to a greater consideration than if they had been given in violent language. In non-co-operation, the writers think, it would be difficult if not impossible to avoid violence. Indeed violence, *The Times of India* editorial says, has already commenced in that ostracism has been resorted to in Calcutta and Delhi. Now I fear that ostracism to a certain extent is impossible to avoid. I remember in South Africa in the initial stages of the passive resistance campaign those who had fallen away were ostracized. Ostracism is violent or peaceful according to the manner in which it is practised. A congregation may well refuse to recite prayers after a priest who prizes his title above his honour. But the ostracism will become violent if the individual life of a person is made unbearable by insults, innuendoes or abuse. The real danger of violence lies in the people resorting to non-co-operation becoming impatient and revengeful. This may happen, if, for instance, payment of taxes is suddenly withdrawn or if pressure is put upon soldiers to lay down their arms. I however do not fear any evil consequences, for the simple reason that every responsible Mohammedan understands that non-co-operation to be successful must be totally unattended with violence. The other objection raised is that those who may give up their service may have to starve. That is just a possibility but a remote one, for the committee will certainly make due provision for those who may suddenly find themselves out of employment. I propose however to examine the whole of the difficult question much more fully in a future issue and hope to show that if Indian Mohammedan feeling is to be respected, there is nothing left but non-co-operation if the decision arrived at is adverse.

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126. THE USES OF KHADDAR

While the swadeshi movement is going forward by leaps and bounds and Mohammedans are taking it up as enthusiastically as Hindus, it is well to consider the best method of promoting swadeshi. The veriest tyro in swadeshi knows that we do not manufacture enough cloth to supply our wants. If therefore we merely use mill-made cloth, we simply deprive the poor of what they need, or at least increase the price of mill-made cloth. The only way therefore to encourage swadeshi is to manufacture more cloth. Mills cannot grow like mushrooms. We must, therefore, fall back upon hand-woven and hand-spun yarn. Yarn has never perhaps been so dear as it is today and mills are making fabulous profits out of yarn. He, therefore, who hand-spins a yard of yarn, helps its production and cheapens its price.

How to spin yarn and weave cloth is then the question. I know from personal experience that it is possible to flood the market with hand-spun yarn and hand-woven cloth if the standard cloth comes to be recognized as fit for wear. This cloth is called khaddar in Upper India. It is called khadi in the Bombay Presidency. Thanks to Sarladevi[1], she has shown that it is possible to make even saris out of khaddar. She thought that she could best express herself during the National Week by wearing khaddar sari and khaddar blouse. And she did it. She attended parties in her khaddar sari. Friends thought it was impossible. They thought a woman who had never worn anything but the finest silk or the finest Dacca muslin could not possibly bear the weight of heavy khaddar. She falsified all fears and was no less active or less elegant in her khaddar sari than in her finished silk saris. "If you do not feel awkward in that sari of yours, you may go anywhere and to any party and you will find it would be well with you." It was with some such words that her great uncle, Sir Rabindranath Tagore, blessed her when he saw her in her khaddar sari. I relate this sacred incident in order to show that two of the most artistic people of India found nothing inartistic in khaddar. This is the cloth I venture to introduce to the cultured families of India, for on its use hangs the immediate success of the swadeshi movement during its infant stage.

[1] Sarladevi Chowdhrani

To me khaddar is any day more artistic than the finest Dacca muslin, for its association. Khaddar supports today those who were starving. It supports women who have been reclaimed from a life of shame or women who, because they would not go out for work, remained idle and quarrelled among themselves for want of occupation. Khaddar therefore has a soul about it. It has an individuality about it. The wearer is able to trace all the processes of its manufacture to the respective manufacturers. If our tastes were not debased, we would prefer khaddar to sticky calico even during the summer season. Let those who are now using it certify, if they will, to the truth of my statement.

This khaddar is now being stocked at the Satyagraha Ashram. And I have accumulated a stock which is beyond the capacity of the space at my disposal. I therefore ask the readers of *Young India* to come to the rescue by introducing khaddar in their own homes.

Needless to say that the Ashram makes no profits from it. Any margin left is devoted to recouping the loss incurred in the initial stages or in reducing the price of khaddar received from districts where the cost is heavier than elsewhere, for the cost is not the same all over. In inducing weavers to take to their original occupation, I am obliged to pay enough to support them and for the present.

Khaddar can be used for making underwear, even if one is disinclined to use it for the outer costume. But even if one is not inclined to use it for personal wear, it can be used for making caps, towels, wipers, tea-cloths, satchels, bed-sheets, bedding, hold-alls, carpet pieces, cushions, covers for furniture etc. I am having it dyed Turkey red in swadeshi dye. It then becomes more durable and looks less dirty when it is used for carpets or mattress-making or upholstering. I would advise those who wish to support this industry of the poor and the neglected to send for the khaddar by corresponding with the Manager, Khaddar Department, Satyagraha Ashram, Sabarmati.

RATES

MILL YARN WARP & WEFT KHADI

	R. A. P.
Double warp and double weft	
Width 25 inches per yard	0—9–0
„ 27 „ „	0—9–6
„ 30 „ „	0–10–0

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MILL YARN WARP & HAND-SPUN WEFT KHADI

Width 27" 20–Count's warp per yard		0—9–6
8– „ „ „		0—8–0
24" 20– „ „ „		0—8–0
Lined Khadi	„	0—8–6
Red Coloured	„	0—8–6

HAND-SPUN WARP & WEFT KHADI

24"	„	0—8–0
27"	„	0—8–6

For washed khadi add 0–0–6 to the above rates.

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127. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

BOMBAY,
Vaishakh Sud 10 [*April 28, 1920*][1]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I was very unhappy after I had left you. It was a mere chance that I heard your despairing words. Why did you keep them to yourself so long? The right thing for you is to come to me every time you feel despondent. I beg you that, henceforth, you should open your heart and let me know everything. Your writing [about these things] will not weary me. I should feel troubled, rather, if you didn't write.

Meanwhile, I send you the verse which has been my support in hours of despair :

All impressions of sense, O son of Kunti,
Are hot or cold, give pleasure or pain;
They but come and pass, ever fleeting,
Bear them unmoved, O Bharata.[2]

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 5784. Courtesy: Radhabehn Chowdhari

[1] Gandhiji left Ahmedabad for Bombay on April 27, 1920, and probably wrote this letter on the 28th, which fell on *Vaishakh Sud* 11. According to the Vikram Era, the tenth day in the bright half of this *Vaishakh* was omitted in reckoning.

[2] *Bhagavad Gita*, II, 14:

मात्रास्पर्शास्तु कौन्तेय शीतोष्णसुखदुःखदाः
आगमापायिनोऽनित्यास्तांस्तितिक्षस्व भारत ॥

128. PRESS STATEMENT ON THE TURKISH TREATY[1]

The cablegram regarding the decision of the Conference[2] at San Remo, is most disquieting. The decision is bound to greatly disturb the Mohammedan mind. I hope, however, that the Mohammedan leaders will neither be disheartened nor give way to anger. The issues involved are tremendous. The greatest self-restraint is, therefore, absolutely necessary. Non-co-operation is, I remain convinced, the only remedy enabling India to give disciplined expression to the deep wound that is being made into her very heart. The way to be trodden is, I know, weary and full of thorns, but I am certain that it is possible to wrench justice from an alliance that prides itself on its brute force. I know that the temptation to answer violence with violence is almost irresistible, yet I feel certain that the slightest violence done by us will not only return to us with mad fury, but will dash to pieces the present hope of Islam, whereas the completely peaceful withdrawal of co-operation must inevitably result in a revision of any arrangement that the Powers might make regarding Turkey. And that can be demonstrated to be unjust and a breach of the solemn promises made by His Majesty's Ministers. To those who distrust non-co-operation, I can only say, in all humility: 'You will accelerate the eruption of violence, if you succeed in defeating the scheme of non-co-operation and cannot replace it by some definite course of strong action, which must be more than a mere protest, so much more, that resort to it must bring about this desired end.'

The Bombay Chronicle, 29-4-1920

[1] This statement was published also in *The Times of India*, 29-4-1920 and in *Young India*, 5-5-1920.

[2] Of the Allies on April 26, 1920 to finalize the terms of peace to be offered to Turkey. As per its resolutions, Smyrna and Thrace were to be given to the Greeks, Mesopotamia and Palestine were to be British "Mandates", Syria and Cilicia French "Mandates", etc. *Vide* also Appendix I.

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129. LETTER TO SARLADEVI CHOWDHRANI

April 29, 1920

As I write this I hear Dipak[1] singing to Balkrishna's sweet sitar. Balkrishna is a great gift of the gods to me. He [is] innocent as a flower. He looks after me like a mother.

Did you read my message on the Khilafat to the A.P.[2]? Lest you may not have got a copy of *Y.I.*, I am sending you a copy. Do please read the article on khaddar.

Here is yesterday's *bhajan*[3]*:*

मोरी लागी लगन गुरुचरननकी ——
चरन बिना मुझे कछु नहीं भावे,
झूठ माया सब सपननकी । मोरी० ——
भवसागर सब सूख गया है
फिकर नहीं मुझे तरननकी । मोरी० ——
मीरां कहे प्रभु गिरिधर नागर
उलट भई मोरे नयननकी । मोरी० ——[4]

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

130. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

SINHGADH,
Vaishakh Sud 12 [*April 29, 1920*][5]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I have been waiting for your letter like one thirsting for water. When I see you in despair, I lose all heart, for I have built great hopes on you. I wish that you should not keep back

[1] Son of Sarladevi Chowdhrani

[2] Associated Press. Here Gandhiji presumably refers to the statement to the Press published on April 29, 1920, the preceding item.

[3] Devotional song

[4] Mira Bai:

My heart longs for the Master's feet
Nothing pleases me while the longing remains unsatisfied
All else is illusion, a play of dreams.
The ocean of life is all dried up,
Crossing it does not worry me.
Mira says, O Lord Giridhar Nagar,
My eyes see all things in a new light.

[5] Gandhiji was in Sinhgadh on April 29, 1920.

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from me a single thought or feeling. That is the only way I can retain your fullest devotion. You must, therefore, reassure me on this. You probably know what happened with Narahari. He kept back something in his mind and, without intending it, did me an injustice. I am sure this does not apply to you in the least. Even that instance was a trivial affair. But all of us can learn a great deal from it.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 5785. Courtesy: Radhabehn Chowdhari

131. LETTER TO ABDUL BARI

[SINHGADH,]
April 30, 1920

DEAR MAULANA SAHEB,

You will please pardon me for not going to Fyzabad. I could not without seriously impairing my health which I wish to conserve if only for the coming fight. I seem to have lost the use of my left leg. I am hoping to regain it here if I am permitted to stop for a few days. Please plead for me before our friends.

You must have heard all about the English visit. I was disinclined to go unless the friends particularly wished me to go. Of that there was no clear indication and I decided to send a cable[1] to Mr. Montagu. I now await his reply. I feel strongly that Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Shaukat Ali should be in Bombay for constant consultation.[2] Organization must start immediately. Unfortunately Maulana Abul Kalam Azad is still ill. I have asked him to come to Bombay at the earliest moment.

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

[1] *Vide* "Cable to Secretary of State for India", after 13-4-1920.

[2] As they, along with Gandhiji, were members of the sub-committee appointed by the All-India Khilafat Committee to decide when the movement on the Khilafat issue was to be started

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132. LETTER TO SARLADEVI CHOWDHRANI

SINHGADH,
April 30, 1920

I posted a pencil letter[1] just before leaving Poona for Sinhgadh. The doctor [told me that I] was too pulled down to attempt walking up. I in my infatuity thought I could do it. So Mahadev, Dipak and I began climbing up. But you will be sorry to learn that I could not move up even half a furlong when I felt an unbearable strain on the left thigh and I had to give up the attempt. I felt humiliated and deeply cut up to find myself so much reduced in strength. But I must be cheerful even under reverses. I shall try to be.

I have just got up with two dreams, one about you and other about the Khilafat. To my great joy, you returned within two days. I asked 'How so quickly?' You replied, 'Oh it was Panditji's[2] trick to have me by him. Jagdish's[3] marriage is as far off as ever. I have therefore returned.' I discovered that it was a dream. I fell off again to sleep in disgust to find myself there before a huge Mohammedan audience. One speaker who was speaking on the use of Hindustani as the common medium included the dialect spoken by the Bagdadis as Hindustani offshoot and therefore worthy of study. The others in the audience protested against this travelling outside India. Abdul Bari Saheb who was with me sided with the man. But he was speechless under the angry protest of the audience. Bari Saheb did not like this treatment of the man. I was explaining the pros and cons to them. The conversation drifted into the ways and means. I emphasized the necessity for adhering to truth at all costs when there was confusion and I got up. I commenced this [letter] immediately on getting up.

Dipak climbed up with Mahadev without any chair. He is none the worse for it. He had milk on starting and cake on reaching. He is now sleeping heavily. Prabhudas is looking much better and more active. Balkrishna had come half way to receive us. Revashankerbhai is coming tomorrow. The ice doctor too has just now turned up bringing two goats for me. I under-

[1] Gandhiji presumably refers to "Letter to Sarladevi Chowdhrani", 29-4-1920; he left Poona for Sinhgadh on April 29, 1920.

[2] Pandit Rambhuj Dutt Chowdhari

[3] Eldest son of Sarladevi Chowdhrani

stand that Tilak Maharaj is coming this evening. His party is already in his bungalow.

Here are goats coming in with their agreeable music. If the marriage is over or postponed I expect you to join the party and enliven it with your music and your laughter.

I can go on writing. But I must stop not from fear of wearying you but for the sake of taking up other work.

I am just reminded of L. Girdharilal's postcard asking for your bracelet which you had subscribed to the Bagh fund[1]. I think it was sent to you yesterday. In any case I put you in mind of it. I thought you had given the bracelet there and then.

You will not worry about my leg. The magnificent climate of this place should see me through. About Dipak you will not worry. We shall all look after him. Shankarlal[2] took him out for a drive round Colaba. He asked me whether he could take him to the cinema. I said I would not take the responsibility. I would send him some other time if you wished me to. I suggested instead a drive to Colaba or the Victoria Gardens. Hence the drive. Both Mahadev and Dipak dined with Shankarlal. Was I right about Dipak?

With love,

Yours,
LAW-GIVER

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

133. LETTER TO GILLESPIE[3]

[SINHGADH,]
April 30, 1920

I am aware of the great value attached to prayer in Christianity. My own impression however is that like all prayers much of the Christian prayer has become merely mechanical and often selfish. It is the mechanical and the selfish element in the Hindu prayer which I am trying with all the power in me to combat.

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

[1] Jallianwala Bagh Memorial Fund
[2] Shankarlal Banker
[3] Rev. Gillespie of Ahmedabad

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134. LETTER TO MRS. JINNAH[1]

April 30, 1920

Please remember me to Mr. Jinnah and do coax him to learn Hindustani or Gujarati. If I were you, I should begin to talk to him in Gujarati or Hindustani. There is not much danger of you forgetting your English or your misunderstanding each other. Is there?

Will you do it? Yes, I would ask this even for the love you bear me.

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

135. LETTER TO LAZARUS GABRIEL[2]

[SINHGADH,]
April 30, 1920

I have given my two sons[3] to South Africa and they can stay there as long as they choose. More it is not in my power to give. Every available man is wanted here and so every available pie.

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

136. LETTER TO NIRMALA[4]

April 30, 1920

After my talk with you I have been thinking a great deal about you. I see that if you want to, you can do much, but you need to steady your mind. You should think over and put into practice what you hear and read. I could see from your exercise book that your power of thinking is weak. My advice now is this. Under-

[1] Wife of M. A. Jinnah, formerly a nationalist Muslim leader who later became the founder of Pakistan

[2] Lazarus Gabriel of South Africa

[3] Manilal and Ramdas, who were sent by Gandhiji in 1916 to manage *Indian Opinion* at Phœnix

[4] Widow of Gokuldas, son of Gandhiji's sister, Raliatbehn. She had become an inmate of the Ashram at Sabarmati as desired by Gandhiji; *vide* Vol. XV, p. 281.

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stand all that you read, think over it and put into practice whatever appeals to you. Read *Navajivan* carefully. Try to understand the meaning of every verse of the *Gita*. This way alone will you go forward. Decide once for all that you will pass your whole life in the Ashram and acquaint yourself with all the work there. Consider in which of the activities you can be most useful and work accordingly. Meet Chi. Maganlal from time to time and acquaint yourself with everything with his help. Ask him for work. You should not remain imprisoned in your room, thinking that you are a child and that it would be improper to speak with others; understand that you can mix with everyone so long as your heart is pure and learn things from all of them as from brothers. Serve everyone. I shall take you to Bombay at the proper time. See that you write neatly. Your handwriting should be as good as types in print. Write to me regularly in legible handwriting.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. V

137. LETTER TO MANGALDAS PAREKH[1]

SINHGADH,
April 30 [*1920*][2]

BHAISHRI MANGALDAS,

I have your letter. It was three in the afternoon when I got it and I am writing this reply immediately. Even so, I do not think it will reach you on the lst. I think your suspicion of Ambalalbhai[3] is unjustified. I told you even that I had agreed with Ambalalbhai on certain rates. I did not go further into the matter because I thought you knew why I had gone to his place. There was nothing in my talk with him which I need have kept back from you, nor did I consider it improper to enter into negotiations with him after I had informed you. I negotiated with the mills

[1] A mill-owner of Ahmedabad. He had helped Gandhiji to establish the Ashram in Kochrab.

[2] Gandhiji was in Sinhgadh on April 30, 1920. The dispute between the mill-owners and the workers which is the subject of this letter took place in April and May of this year.

[3] Ambalal Sarabhai

which agreed to do so. I thought it advisable to restrict the scope of the strike, and I still think that way. How may I convince you that I have not the least desire to have things my own way in all matters? I exert myself to the utmost to see that justice prevails. More often than not, the line I take up is based on pure justice and, as justice always prevails, the people in their simplicity are led to believe that I try to have my own way in all things. When they come to know me better they see that I have no such desire, for I want neither money nor honour. I had had enough of wealth and gave up its pursuit. God meets all my needs through friends. Honour I receive in overflowing measure from my conscience so that no room is left for receiving more from others. For what other reasons, then, should I feel tempted to have anything my own way? There is a fundamental difference between our points of view and so there always remains some distance between our positions. You believe that, as it is, the workers get more than enough and that they will not use well what they will now get [in addition]. I believe that they get very little at present. I do not think either that even the increase I have asked for is sufficient to meet all their needs.[1] Nor do I believe as a matter of principle that they will use their additional income unwisely. Hence I demand practically the highest rates which prevail in Bombay, not the average of the highest and the lowest, and I see no injustice in this. I have already told you that, had I known in advance how much they spend on machinery in Bombay, I would never have agreed, as I did when we took the decision to appoint a *panch*[2], to take the Bombay rates for comparison. It is my duty to see that the industry in Ahmedabad does not suffer in any way, and as far as I can see I am not at all violating this duty in asking that the workers be paid as much as Rs. 30. Because you cannot see this, you think I am obstinate, but how can I believe so myself? I see that the difference between us is understandable. I would do much to be able to go with you, but I would not take a single step which would do injustice to the workers. Ambalalbhai has had no hand in the letter which I wrote to you. I think that he has acted in all sincerity, that he has done nothing out of a desire to harm your good name. If I think any time that this is his motive, I would not be with him even for a moment. To me, your reputation is

[1] On March 31, Gandhiji had written to mill-owners to give certain concessions to their workers.

[2] Board of arbitrators; literally, "five"

as dear as his. I should like to be a party only to what will advance your interest. It is still my request to you to accept the rates which have been agreed upon and, with the help of sincere workers like Anasuyabehn and Bhai Shankarlal whom you have with you today, raise the industry in Ahmedabad to a high level and set an example to others.

My health has gone down very badly these days, otherwise I would have come running straight to you. If possible come to Sinhgadh yourself and take some rest. There is no need to worry.

I return the papers which you sent.

SHRI MANGALDAS PAREKH
AHMEDABAD

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 7044

138. LETTER TO ADA WEST

[SINHGADH,]
April 30, 1920

MY DEAR DEVI[1],

The place where I have arrived today is a lonely little historic fortress[2]. The scenery around is glorious and the weather most bracing but mild. I have come here to give tone to a system which is much run down. I have with me Dr. Jivraj Mehta, Mahadev Desai, Swami Anand, Prabhudas[3], Balkrishna and Dipak. You know only Prabhudas. I need not introduce the others in this letter as I am anxious to finish this soon. I have a splitting headache on me, but having taken out your letter I must finish the reply.

Mrs. Gandhi has kept remarkably well. She is looking after Harilal's children. Fatima was married to a nice young man on the 20th[4]. It was a very simple ceremony, quite unpretentious. It was performed on the Ashram grounds. We shall meet her often as her husband lives in Ahmedabad. I have not heard from

[1] Sister of A. H. West, an intimate associate of Gandhiji in South Africa, she had assumed the Indian name Devi.

[2] Sinhgadh. Gandhiji stayed there from April 29 to May 4. So, "today" in the text is obviously a slip for "yesterday".

[3] Son of Chhaganlal Gandhi

[4] Evidently a slip for "26th", *vide* "Invitation to Wedding", 20-4-1920.

Mr. Kallenbach[1] since his expulsion from England. I have inquired but without result.

I am sorry to hear about Mrs. West. I hope she is better. Please make love to Hilda on my behalf. Does she ever remember or think of me? Building operations are still going on at the Ashram. I hope one day you will see it and even take your share in making it.

My life remains as busy as ever. I have not a moment I can call my own.

Devdas is at Banaras finishing his Hindi studies. Harilal is going strong about his business. What he will ultimately do, I do not know.

With love,

Yours,
BHAI

[PS.]

Bhai Kotwal I have not now seen for a long time. I do not even hear from him. Pragji Desai has joined Mrs. Gandhi's brother. Medh[2] is vegetating. Chhaganlal keeps books. Maganlal is the general manager. His children have grown. Prabhudas is said to have tuberculosis. Mrs. Chhaganlal has a very weak constitution. Krishnadas[3] [does] not keep over well. Imam Saheb looks after all the purchases. His wife does a lot of tailoring for the Ashram. I have given you a fair description of the activities of all you know.

BHAI

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

139. LETTER TO SARLADEVI CHOWDHRANI

May 1, 1920

It is now nearly 5 p.m. I have hardly left my bed. I had a most torturing headache last night and I remained in a comatose condition up to 11 p.m. I slept fairly well after. I am free from the headache but I cannot walk even a furlong. I ask you however not to worry about me. I thought you should know my

[1] A German architect and devoted friend and co-worker of Gandhiji in South Africa

[2] Surendrarai Medh of Ahmedabad, an associate of Gandhiji in South Africa

[3] Son of Chhaganlal Gandhi

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condition, if only to keep you to the fortnight's limit if Jagdish's marriage is then over[1] or if it is postponed. If you would persuade Panditji, too, to come so much the better. He must see and live the Ashram life.

Tilak Maharaj paid us a visit in the morning. He came in with his son and son-in-law. The conversation was purely formal.

Dipak is getting on. He seems to like the place. His tastes are clean. He is easily led. I shall put in[2] with this what I succeed in getting from him.

Revashankerbhai came in this morning. He brought some luscious mangoes. I fretted to find that you were not here to share them. This morning I got [up] at our usual time but turned in again. I did not watch the sunrise. Had you been here I know you would have dragged me to watch His Majesty coming in.

Padshah has been writing in the *East and West*. Perhaps the cutting came in whilst we were yet together. I have dictated an article based on it. It is rather good. You shall certify.

And now for a boon. I know you have granted many. The appetite has grown with the receiving. You said you were shy over working at the Ashram. Will you not get rid of your shyness by commencing household work there? This I do not mind having for my sake. It is not a matter of changing our viewpoint. It is merely a matter of getting rid of one's disinclination. Great and good though you are, you are not a complete woman without achieving the ability to do household work. You have preached it to others. Your preaching will be more effective when people know that even at your time of life and in your station you do not mind doing it.

With love,

Yours,
LAW-GIVER

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

[1] His marriage was solemnized on May 19, 1920.
[2] The source, however, has "up".

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140. LETTER TO SARLADEVI CHOWDHRANI

May 1, 1920

मुक्तिमिच्छसि चेत्तात विषयान् विषवत्त्यज ।
क्षमार्जवदयातोषसत्यं पीयूषवद्भज ।। २ ।।
यदि देहं पृथक्कृत्य चिति विश्राम्य तिष्ठसि ।
अधुनैव सुखी शान्तो बन्धमुक्तो भविष्यसि ।। ४ ।।
मुक्ताभिमानी मुक्तो हि बद्धो बद्धाभिमान्यपि ।
किंवदन्तीह सत्येयं या मतिः सा गतिर्भवेत् ।। ११ ।।[1]

I have culled the most powerful verses from the twenty I read yesterday. I remembered you once said the *Bhagavad Gita* did not appeal to you so much as some other things from other poets. These verses, too, may therefore fall flat on you. But I could not help sharing with you what seemed at the moment ennobling to me. Moreover they are my solace in my enforced idleness[2]. For I have not been able to leave my bed.

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

[1] If you aspire after deliverance, my child, give up sense pleasures like poison and enjoy forgiveness, straightforwardness, compassion, contentment and truthfulness as you would *amrit*. *Ashtavakra Gita*, I, 2

If, no longer identifying yourself with your body, you abide on the plane of *chit*, this very day you will find happiness and peace, free from your bonds. I, 4

He who believes himself free is free; he who believes himself bound is bound; truly do they say : "As you think, so you are." I, 11

[2] The letter was written from Sinhgadh where Gandhiji was resting as he had some leg trouble.

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141. LETTER TO JAMSHEDJI NASARVANJI MEHTA[1]

SINHGADH,
[*May 1, 1920*][2]

BHAISHRI JAMSHEDJI,

I welcome your letter. I cannot possibly fail to understand you or your sentiments; nor can it be said that those who are opposed to the idea of non-co-operation are not friends of the Muslims. There can well be a difference of opinion even among friends.

And now I shall answer your questions:

1. It is true that the effect of non-co-operation will be to create opposition to the Government, but it has not been conceived in a spirit of retaliation and, therefore, the question what crime the Government has committed does not rise; though, of course, the latter has not done all it could have. If the British Government fails to secure justice, the Indian Government can resign. In a situation like this the Indian Government cannot rest content with a mere protest. This is where it has failed and so the people are within their rights in withdrawing their co-operation and thereby expressing their displeasure.

2. We may not knowingly inflict pain on others. Nevertheless, if in consequence of some unavoidable act of ours anyone suffers, we cannot be held responsible. I have always the right to resign from Government service and, if the Government feels unhappy because of my resignation, I am guilty of no violence towards it. I may be living in my father's house and incidentally serving him in many ways, but I may quit the house and stop co-operating with him when I see him doing an injustice and that would certainly hurt him; even then, my duty would be to leave the house. My father would have invited that suffering on himself. If we do not act in this manner, the oppressors all the world over get a charter of freedom to persist in their evil ways.

3. Thus you will see that if we can organize non-co-operation without indulging in violence, we have every right to do so; it is in fact our duty to do so.

[1] A Parsi business man and public worker of Karachi

[2] The letter was in reply to one from Jamshedji Mehta dated April 24, 1920. The source assigns this letter to May 19, which is evidently an error. Gandhiji was in Sinhgadh only till May 4. Probably "19" was a misprint for "1".

4. Shaukat Ali's speech[1] has not alarmed me, for I think I understand what he means. I do admit that all the Muslims do not view non-co-operation in the same light that I do. But there is a clear understanding with them that there can be no violence side by side with non-co-operation. Besides, though Muslims may adopt non-co-operation in a spirit of retaliation, we can produce a happy result from it and save ourselves from an outbreak of violence. All good actions, by whatever feelings prompted, yield some fruit. The man who follows truth or exercises self-restraint out of fear or shame will yet reap the outward benefit of doing so; such is the power of good actions.

Many others must have sincerely felt the same doubt which you have and hence I am sending your letter and my reply for publication in the *Navajivan*.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS GANDHI

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 9-5-1920

142. WHY I HAVE JOINED THE HOME RULE LEAGUE

TO
MEMBERS OF THE
HOME RULE LEAGUE

Though much pressed before now by friends to join the All-India Home Rule League, I could not bring myself to do so. One reason for this was that I could not, and still do not, take interest in politics merely as such. But this time there was pressure of a different kind. When I was first asked, my views were not so well known as they are now. Besides, unlike as on previous occasions I found it impossible to remain silent during the last Congress[2]. I saw that I must place before the people my views on some of the issues. I was quite active at the Congress, and I do not regret the fact.

I was tempted to join the Home Rule League. I wrote to friends outside the Bombay Presidency and consulted them. I

[1] At Madras, as president of the Khilafat Conference, on April 17. In his letter to Gandhiji, Jamshedji Mehta had complained that Shaukat Ali's loose interpretation of "non-co-operation" and "non-violence" was rather alarming.

[2] The Amritsar Session of December 1919

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told them that, if I joined the Home Rule League, it would be in the hope of being able to put my ideas and methods into practice. Most of the friends approved of my ideas and also of my intention of joining the League. Some others approved of my ideas but expressed the fear that, by joining the League, I would sacrifice my freedom and my independent position. This fear had considerable weight with me. But I decided that, when they were admitting me to the League in full knowledge of my views, I would be able to preserve my freedom; I saw, moreover, that I would gain a platform for propagating my ideas. It is with this hope that I have joined the League.

I think that the key to the speediest achievement of swaraj lies in swadeshi, Hindu-Muslim unity and the spread of Hindi as the national language. Hence I will try to interest the League in these activities.

India's economic emancipation and moral regeneration can only be achieved through swadeshi. I would, therefore, exact a promise from every candidate for election to the Legislative Assembly that he would not be afraid to levy a tariff on foreign goods to any extent necessary for protecting Indian industry. So long as there is no unity between Hindus and Muslims, I think swaraj will remain a mere dream. I should like, therefore, to extend all help to the Muslims in their fight on the Khilafat issue and thus win them over for ever. I shall, therefore, try to engage every member of the League in Khilafat work.

We are to work with the millions and influence them. I will, therefore, try and see that I, and others as well, use for our work, both inside and outside the League, the respective regional languages in each region and the national language, that is to say, Hindustani, on the national plane. I would have every member of a legislature give the assurance that he would try to use, and see that others used, the respective regional languages in the [provincial] legislatures and the national language in the Central Legislature.

This idea carries with it another. To ensure speedy attention to people's needs and development of every component part of the nation, I will strive to bring about a linguistic division of India and try to induce the League to take up this cause. I will exert myself to get separate provinces for the Telugu, Sindhi, Marathi, Oriya and Gujarati-speaking peoples and will do all I can to use the League to plan the means, and induce others to plan them, for the full development of each.

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If I succeed in engaging the League in these activities, I shall feel confident of our being able to achieve swaraj at an early date. Looking at the matter from this point of view, I would put less value on the Reforms than on these other things. I do not mean to say that the Reforms are of no consequence. But I am not prepared to give them more importance than they deserve. Even if we were to have all power in our hands today, so long as we do not understand swadeshi or value Hindu-Muslim unity or retain the delusion that English may serve as the language of administration, I see that the Reforms could be used to deprive us of our freedom. They are but a means, not an end in themselves. Swadeshi and the other things are both means and ends at once.

I am of the view, besides, that my method of work yields better results, and quicker. This method consists in firm adherence to truth in all that we do, putting the fullest trust in truth and fearing no one in following truth as we know it. Acceptance of this principle brings about such a revolution in our life that we become self-reliant that very instant. Instead of depending on others, we learn forthwith to depend on ourselves. I wish, therefore, to work hard for the introduction of this principle of satyagraha in the activities of the League. I have no intention of drawing it into civil disobedience. The idea has not spread widely, and it seems to me that the country has not yet understood the spirit of civil disobedience. I wish, therefore, that no member should be alarmed because of my views about disobeying laws.

I shall seek other opportunities of elaborating my ideas before members of the League. Meanwhile, I invite comments from every member on the views set forth above. I also hope that all of them will express an opinion on the rightness or otherwise of my step.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 2-5-1920

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143. NON-CO-OPERATION

Now that the idea of non-co-operation is making an impact, I feel the need for an easily intelligible [Gujarati] equivalent for it as I felt for "passive resistance". *Asahakar* immediately occurs to me, but I request the help of readers for finding a better term.

The learned Mrs. Besant has passed strong strictures against non-co-operation,[1] and so have a correspondent in *The Times of India* and its Editor. Mrs. Besant's services to India have been so invaluable, her industry so great and her love for India so fine a thing that I cannot but hesitate to criticize her statements or express my difference with her. I have always, however, accepted the principle that we can differ, respectfully, even from those whom we look upon as our elders, and that gives me courage on this occasion as well to express my dissent from her.

With all three of them the great fear is that non-co-operation is bound to lead to violence. We certainly cannot claim that violence will never occur but, having taken all precautions against its occurrence, we must, I feel, go ahead with our programme. If we know that those who want to resort to violence are only waiting for non-co-operation to start, we should certainly postpone it. According to me, the success of the Muslims' cause lies in their preventing the outbreak of violence. They have realized this so well that violence is bound to be kept out. They know that non-co-operation cannot proceed even for an hour along with violence.

Someone may ask whether it is ever possible to prevent violence from breaking out anywhere in India. The reply to this is that an army is no longer an army if anything happens in it which was not in the plan; likewise, if we have become one, we must have the capacity to prevent accidents like outbreak of violence. Before we have acquired such capacity, we shall commit errors and shall have to rectify them. I admit all this but I know that the people must acquire this self-discipline. It seems to me that this is a great opportunity for doing so.

These writers have assumed, without any reason whatever, that the advocates of non-co-operation do not know their job. The latter do not intend to climb to the last step of the staircase

[1] The policy of non-co-operation did not appeal to Annie Besant and she tried to dissuade the Muslims from adopting it.

of non-co-operation all in one jump. If they proceed step by step, there will be very little fear of their falling.

There are risks, of course, in non-co-operation. But there is no alternative left. If the unjust settlement of the Khilafat issue is intolerable, there must be some way out. If the people are not to have even this weapon of non-co-operation, violence will remain the only course for them and that is a remedy worse than the disease, for our aim is not to vent anger but to secure justice on the Khilafat issue. Violence will not succeed in that; it seems to me, therefore, that there is no other weapon except non-co-operation.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 2-5-1920

144. NOTES

The Jallianwala Bagh Memorial and Popular Awakening

If we wish to measure the increase in popular awakening during the last year, we can do so from the contributions being received from all quarters for the Jallianwala Bagh memorial. From the list[1] given below, it will be seen that, wherever efforts have been made, even small villages have not lagged behind cities in offering their contributions. We have received several letters informing us that in certain places even the poorest of the poor have contributed amounts equal to what they spend on some accustomed necessity of theirs; in some parts, the volunteers moved the whole day from place to place and from house to house, to collect funds. The villages in which Mr. Mahadev Desai moved have, according to the information he sends us, a population of not more than a thousand each and yet in every village people contributing to the Memorial Fund belonged not only to the upper and educated classes, but also to the lower and illiterate classes; that is to say, there were contributors not only from Brahmins and *Vanias*[2] but also from goldsmiths, carpenters, smiths, oilmen and *Kolis*[3]. In one village, the majority of the population was Muslim. There are names of women, too. Shri Mahadev Desai reports that, in collecting the amounts he did, he did not have to

[1] Not reproduced here

[2] The merchant class

[3] Sturdy, sea-faring Hindu agriculturists inhabiting the sea coast of Gujarat

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press anyone for contribution. He would briefly explain to the people the reason for raising this Fund; in some places, he would show pictures of the Jallianwala Bagh, etc., in the report of the Congress Committee and explain what had happened,[1] and instantly, people would come out with whatever they could afford.

A saying which a gentleman quoted humorously to Mr. Desai, in one of the villages he visited, is worth reporting here. The gentleman remarked: "Well, friend, though the *dubli*[2] gathers only the *kharmato*, the havaldar[3] must have his trinket all right. That is what it is, these days. But this is a national cause, and so how can one refuse to pay?" There is a profound meaning in this saying; it brings out the condition of our peasantry in a most touching manner. The word *kharmato* means the grain left over in some corners after the harvest has been removed from where it was gathered in the field. With this explanation, the meaning of the saying will be clear. The present condition of our peasantry is like that of the *dubli* picking up *kharmato*; even so, they give his trinket to the havaldar, and gladly—to a havaldar who is a worthy beggar, that is, a national worker.

From this fact, another inference may also be drawn, that it is easier to carry on national work in villages than in cities; it would, therefore, be natural to make a start with village swaraj and thence proceed to swaraj for the whole country.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 2-5-1920

145. LETTER TO SARLADEVI CHOWDHRANI

May 2, 1920

Yesterday I gave you selections from the first chapter of the *Ashtavakra Gita*[4]. In it Janaka learnt that the remedy for his deliverance lay with himself, and that was to be free from the snare of the senses. In the second chapter he expresses his joy at the revelation. Here are some of the verses:

[1] The printed report contained, in all, 19 illustrations depicting the Bagh, the public flogging and the wounded persons.

[2] Woman of the *Dubla* community which supplies farm-labour and menial services in South Gujarat

[3] Village peon

[4] A dialogue between King Janaka of Videha and Raikva, the low-born, ugly-looking philosopher

अहो निरंजनः शान्तो बोधोऽहं प्रकृतेः परः।
एतावन्तमहं कालं मोहेनैव विडंबितः ।।१।।
तन्तुमात्रो भवेदेव पटो यद्वद्विचारितः।
आत्मतन्मात्रमेवेदं तद्वद्विश्वं विचारितम् ।। ५ ।।
आत्माज्ञानाज्जगद्भाति आत्मज्ञानान्न भासते।
रज्ज्वज्ञानादहिर्भाति तज्ज्ञानाद्भासते न हि ।।७।।
मत्तो विनिर्गतं विश्वं मय्येव लयमेष्यति।
मृदि कुम्भो जले वीचिः कनके कटकं यथा ।।१०।।
अहो जनसमूहेऽपि न द्वैतं पश्यतो मम।
अरण्यमिव संवृत्तं क्व रतिं करवाण्यहम् ।।२१।।[1]

I have selected five out of twenty-five. May I again charge you to copy them out and send them to Devdas? I should love to finish for you an abridged edition of this beautiful work of art.

I am no better today. I must still confine myself to bed. You still continue to haunt me even in my sleep. No wonder Panditji[2] calls you the greatest *shakti*[3] of India. You may have cast that spell over him. You are performing the trick over me now. But even two swallows cannot make a summer. If you are the greatest *shakti*, you will enslave India by becoming her slave in thought, word and deed.

I cannot get Dipak to write both to you and Panditji. You must therefore be satisfied with one letter to Panditji alone. He says, "Why should I write daily to Mataji, if she will not write?" I hung on this the lesson of good for evil. I told him too that probably you had written but the post had not yet been delivered. I

[1] Oh! I am stainless, ever at peace, awareness absolute, beyond *prakriti*; so long I was in delusion through *moha*. *Ashtavakra Gita*, II, 1

Just as one knows, the moment one thinks that a piece of cloth is but yarn which exists as cloth; so the moment one reflects, one knows that the universe is but the *atman* which exists as the universe. II, 5

It is our not knowing the *atman* which gives rise to the world of appearance; when the *atman* is known, the latter vanishes. A piece of rope appears as snake because we do not know that it is rope. But its knowledge dispells the illusion. II, 7

Just as the pot disappears into earth, the waves subside into water and the bracelet dissolves into gold, so this universe, projected out of me, is reabsorbed into myself. II, 10

To me, not seeing otherness even in these multitudes of human beings, all appears as a vast tract uninhabited; what is there for me to take pleasure in? II, 21

[2] Pandit Rambhuj Dutt Chowdhari

[3] Embodiment of life-force

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was certain of a letter from you yesterday. But none came. Today too there is a blank. I wonder, however. I know you have not failed me. It is the wretched post.

I enclose herewith two cuttings from *The Times of India* on Indian music. They may interest you. Or get rid of your inertia and you can give your music to India. It is not enough that you sing for her. You can make her sing even as you do. But that requires application and study, a determination to give your musical talent to India. If you are taking the trouble of copying the verses for Devdas I take it you will copy the *bhajan* too for the boy.

We had a visit from Tilak Maharaj yesterday also. He frankly said he had not my forbearance and he believed in giving tit for tat. This was in answer to my gentle remonstrance over his trenchant criticism of Mrs. Besant. Probably you have not read it. I read it only here. He has even defended Mr. Khaparde's description of her as aunt Putna[1]. He was refreshingly frank in his remark.

Miss Faering has not yet arrived. I have invited her to come to Sinhgadh if she need not be in Bombay for her passage. The last hope of hearing from you today is gone. For the post-boy has arrived bringing some newspapers only. Devdas writes saying Panditji—pardon me, I mean Malaviyaji—again thinks I should go to England. I am afraid he is too late now, and perhaps it is as well. Without perfect organization here our going would be worse than useless.

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

146. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING

Sunday, May [*2,*] *1920*[2]

MY DEAR CHILD,

I do not know whether you have arrived.[3] If you have, do come up to Sinhgadh. It is a beautiful place. It is reached from Poona by a tonga. If I knew, I could easily arrange everything. But I know you are able to manage this yourself. Sinhgadh is

[1] A female demon, daughter of Bali. She attempted to kill the infant Lord Krishna by suckling him, but was herself sucked to death by the child.

[2] This letter was evidently written from Sinhgadh where Gandhiji stayed from April 29 to May 4, and the only Sunday between these dates was on May 2.

[3] In Bombay; *vide* the preceding item.

about 13 miles from Poona. The tonga hire is at least Rs. 5/-. Sometimes it is more.

With love,

BAPU

From a photostat of the original in N.A.I.; also *My Dear Child*, p. 69

147. LETTER TO B. KRIPALANI[1]

May 2, 1920

I do believe your grandson[2] is doing better at the Ashram than he could do anywhere else. If I did not believe that of any boy I would certainly not keep that boy in the Ashram. In my opinion the Ashram education is such an all-round education that a boy discharged from it is capable of earning more than he would be after a study elsewhere for the same number of years. He acquires, that is to say, more confidence in himself. But I do confess that boys at the Ashram are constantly taught to believe that education is meant for building character and not wealth. Boys at the Ashram are constantly weaned from wealth hunger. I would strongly advise you not to force Girdhari to any institution, but to keep him wherever he wishes to remain. He is well able to choose for himself.

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

148. LETTER TO LALCHAND

May 2, 1920

MY DEAR LALCHAND[3],

I have read all your notes in the *Young India* of the 28th April. The first is quite good, the second is not bad, but it is weak and halting. The matter of the third is good, but the manner of dealing with it is bad, the fourth is bad both in manner and matter—in matter because the Congress Deputation, you must know, is not going, and if you did not know you should have made certain. It is bad in manner because the style is not that of *Young India*. The fifth note is very good in matter, but you

[1] Father of J. B. Kripalani

[2] Girdhari, nephew of J. B. Kripalani

[3] An employee on the editorial staff of *Young India*

have hardly done justice to a case so important as that of the ill-treatment of a lady. My criticism is not meant to frighten you. It is meant only to warn you to be more careful in future in your selection of subjects and manner of dealing with them. *Young India* will not look faulty for want of a variety of subjects. But it will certainly look paltry, if the subjects chosen do not show originality, accuracy of information, and strength in dealing with them. To be accurate, original and strong you must become a deep student. Then only will you acquire enlightened confidence in yourself. Never mind therefore the range of your subjects but go in for the depth, walk round your subject, walk into it, walk through it, and you will make the pages of *Young India* live. (Re-reading my own articles in the current issue I miss my usual strength in some parts of them. The Khaddar article[1] is the best, but the English of the last paragraph show[s] that I was half asleep or indifferent when I wrote it. Look at 'even if one is disinclined to use it', followed immediately by 'even if one is not inclined to use it'. The word 'use' occurs four times in four lines. I would never pass such a tenth-rate sentence in a good article. But you have. I do not mind your having done it, because until I have confidence in your style I must pay the penalty of my illness, sleepiness or indifference.

Take again "Non-co-operation"[2]. It is all solid stuff, but not at all solidly put. I know under what extreme difficulty I wrote that article, but I cannot on that account expect the readers to excuse indifferently written articles. My first article is fairly readable, but had I written it in Sinhgadh, it would have been written differently. The manifesto[3] is the thing I like. It is nice in style, terse in expression, brings out all my points gracefully and concisely. I could have written it better but it can pass muster.

And now I have given you enough food for thought. You have come to me to get the best out of me. Give the best of yourself to the country, and do better than your best from week to week and if you would do this you must study swadeshi, read up Dutt, Radhakamal Mukerji, Barrow, and all the writers on Indian industries; you must read up blue-books, statistical abstracts and deluge the readers with facts and figures from week to week. You will not tell me you have no library. You must go to

[1] *Vide* "The Uses of Khaddar", 28-4-1920.

[2] *Vide* "Non-co-operation", 28-4-1920.

[3] Presumably Gandhiji here refers to "To Members of the All-India Home Rule League", 28-4-1920.

Ahmedabad and search all the libraries and find out what you can get. Similarly on Hindi and the vernaculars, study the history of the French craze during the Norman period, how the English nation was saved by some lovers of English, how the energy of a single professor in Russia revolutionized Russian teaching, and how practically from that period commenced the Russian national revival. Then take the linguistic distribution. You will find among my papers some material already collected, but you can collect it yourself. On H[indu]-M[uslim] unity you have to specialize on the Khilafat question. You must get Mr. Banker to give you his English weeklies, the *New Age* and the *Nation*; study the history of Turkey, answer like a student all the calumnies against it. Add to this your knowledge of finance and you have enough to deal with every week.

I would like you not to destroy this letter, but read it carefully more than once and keep it as a reminder of what I expect of you. Of course you will share it with Patwardhan[1], but I do not want you to share the responsibility with him, for the simple reason that I have not yet burdened him with the responsibility of editing *Young India*. He has shouldered it and done it bravely too, but I have not yet located him. Till then his work in *Young India* is a gift for which I am thankful but which I will not criticize as I must criticize everything coming from your pen.

Do not please confuse two different thoughts. It is not the payment you accept which distinguishes your work from Patwardhan. You have come to me reserved for *Young India*. Patwardhan has come in as the handy man, as a stopgap. Maganlal takes no payment but I criticize him mercilessly in the departments which are his and Patwardhan will come in for similar treatment when he is installed as chief of any department.

Yours sincerely,

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

[1] Yadwarkar Patwardhan of Amraoti who worked as sub-editor on the staff of *Young India* for over a year without any honorarium

149. LETTER TO SYED FAZLUR RAHMAN[1]

May 2, 1920

Boycott[2] of Brit[ish] goods is a punishment. If I buy British goods I do not identify myself with any injustice perpetrated by the Brit[ish] Government. But if I co-operate with the Gov[ernmen]t even when it is doing an injustice I become party to it. Hence non-co-operation in respect of an unjust Government becomes a duty. If, through the timidity of influential Mohammedans and aloofness of Hindus, the masses of Mohammedans fail to take up non-co-operation, a bloody revolution must inevitably result, provided, that is to say, the Khilafat question is decided against the Mohammedans. If, however, both the above classes were to understand the inwardness of the general Mohammedan feeling, they could make non-co-operation a thorough success and bring about the desired result.

M. K. G.

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

150. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

May 2, 1920

I casually asked Mahadev yesterday whether he knew why you were unhappy. He thereupon reported the conversation about the car and all that you poured out on the occasion. At the moment, however, I shall answer none of those points. I shall wait for a letter from you. There should have been one today. Or, rather, what reply can I give? But I should certainly like to say something to calm you. I shall do so only after I hear from you.

About Radha, I shall clear the position right now. I do not want her to be married. It was your worry, as I understood it, which prompted me to think and say what I did. If, now, you have made up your mind about the girl and can carry Santok with you, I would look upon Radha's inviolate *brahmacharya* as our

[1] For another letter to the addressee, *vide* Addenda, "Letter to Syed Fazlur Rahman", 11-5-1920.

[2] Advocated by some Khilafat workers, particularly Hasrat Mohani.

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biggest achievement in the Ashram. My ideas and feelings about Radha and her marriage are the same as they have always been. Devdas's interpretation is that my ideas have not changed, but that I have become more considerate towards others. Or you may call it weakness if you like. I am not impatient, as I used to be, that others should share my views. That impatience has disappeared with more thinking and experience.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. V

151. LETTER TO SWAMI SHRADDHANAND

May 2, 1920

DEAR BROTHER,

I have your letter. Government employees will be asked to give up jobs only when definite alternative plans have been made for their livelihood. In this connection I am in consultation with Muslim brethren. I have not advised anyone to leave the country,[1] nor can I do so. Some of our Muslim brethren do no doubt intend to leave the country. We cannot stop them, but I tell these people also that their leaving the country will not be of any avail. If we leave the country as a step in satyagraha, we cannot think of bringing any pressure on the Government through it. In my opinion the time for Hindus [*sic*] to leave India may come when there is a Hindu king and when the subjects, in collaboration with him, make the practice of Hindu religion compulsory. If we now fail to non-co-operate with the Government I will understand this to signify that the religious spirit of the Muslims has weakened. As everyone can see, this question of the Khilafat involves a great blow to Islam. If at such a juncture Muslims are not prepared to make sacrifices in life and property, it can only mean that the religious spirit has become extinct in them. I would not be surprised if such a disaster should come to pass for, travelling round the world, I have witnessed the power of the age of *Kali*[2]. The

[1] Gandhiji presumably refers to suggestions made in the early summer of 1920 by some Khilafat workers that the migration of pious Muslims from India to Afghanistan might well be considered.

[2] Age of strife

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religious spirit is everywhere in decline and I find irreligion even in many things that are done in the name of religion. If what I have written is not clear to you, please tell me.

I hope the work of the Gurukul[1] goes on nicely now. I have been in this secluded spot[2] for the last four days.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

[From Hindi]
Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. V

152. LETTER TO SARLADEVI CHOWDHRANI

May 3, 1920

MY DEAR SARALA,

Finding Janaka exulting in the discovery that he was the changeless Brahma, Ashtavakra challenges his position in the 3rd chapter and says :

अविनाशिनमात्मानमेकं विज्ञाय तत्त्वतः।
तवात्मज्ञस्य धीरस्य कथमर्थार्जने रतिः ।।१।।
आत्माज्ञानादहो प्रीतिः विषयभ्रमगोचरे।
शुक्तेरज्ञानतो लोभो यथा रजतविभ्रमे ।।२।।
विश्वं स्फुरति यत्रेदं तरङ्गा इव सागरे।
सोऽहमस्मीति विज्ञाय किं दीन इव धावसि ।।३।।
श्रुत्वापि शुद्धचैतन्यमात्मानमतिसुन्दरम्।
उपस्थेऽत्यन्तसंसक्तो मालिन्यमधिगच्छति ।।४।।
सर्वभूतेषु चात्मानं सर्वभूतानि चात्मनि।
मुनेर्जानत आश्चर्यम् ममत्वमनुवर्तते ।।५।।
आस्थितः परमाद्वैतं मोक्षार्थेऽपि व्यवस्थितः।
आश्चर्यं कामवशगो विकलः केलिशिक्षया ।।६।।
उद्भूतं ज्ञानदुर्मित्रमवधार्यातिदुर्बलः।
आश्चर्यं काममाकांक्षेत्कालमन्तमनुश्रितः ।।७।।[3]

[1] Residential institution of learning founded by the addressee near Hardwar
[2] Sinhgadh
[3] Having known the *atman* to be in truth the Imperishable One without a second, how is it that you, enlightened about the *atman* and ever firm in mind, take pleasure in acquiring possessions? *Ashtavakra Gita*, III, 1

Just as, not knowing a sea-shell, one covets it under the delusion that it is a piece of silver, so through ignorance of the *atman* one sees it as the delusive world of sense objects and takes pleasure in them. III, 2

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इहामुत्र विरक्तस्य नित्यानित्यविवेकिनः।
आश्चर्यं मोक्षकामस्य मोक्षादेव विभीषिका ।।८।।
धीरस्तु भोज्यमानोऽपि पीड्यमानोपि सर्वदा।
आत्मानं केवलं पश्यन् न तुष्यति न कुप्यति ।।९।।
चेष्टमानं शरीरं स्वं पश्यत्यन्यशरीरवत्।
संस्तवे चापि निन्दायां कथं क्षुभ्येन्महाशयः ।। १०।।
मायामात्रमिदं विश्वं पश्यन् विगतकौतुकः।
अपि सन्निहिते मृत्यौ कथम् त्रस्यति धीरधीः ।।११।।
निस्पृहं मानसं यस्य नैराश्येऽपि महात्मनः।
तस्यात्मज्ञानतृप्तस्य तुलना केन जायते ।।१२।।
स्वभावादेव जानानो दृश्यमेतन्न किंचन।
इदं ग्राह्यमिदं त्याज्यं स किं पश्यति धीरधीः ।।१३।।
अन्तस्त्यक्तकषायस्य निर्द्वन्द्वस्य निराशिषः।
यदृच्छयागतो भोगो न दुःखाय न तुष्टये ।।१४।।[1]

Having known yourself to be that One from Whom emanates this universe as waves rise in an ocean, why do you run about like a weak, miserable wretch? III, 3

Having learnt that the *atman* is the living spirit, absolute and unconditioned, supremely beautiful, if one remains attached to the gross pleasure of sense, one gets defiled. III, 4

It is strange that even a wise one, knowing himself present in all creatures and all creatures present in himself, should be dominated by the sense of "I" and "Mine". III, 5

It is strange that even a man abiding in the Supreme Oneness and set on attaining *moksha* should get distraught with passion, yielding to its overmastering urge through experience of the pleasure it brings. III, 6

It is strange that a man who knows for certain that the desire which has possessed him is an enemy of knowledge should yet long for pleasure even though extremely enfeebled and nearing death. III, 7

[1] It is strange that a man unattached both to this world and the other, able to discriminate between the transient and the eternal and aspiring after *moksha*, should be afraid of *moksha* itself. III, 8

The steadfast man when consuming things which please, or when made to suffer, is neither happy nor angry, ever seeing the one *atman* everywhere. III, 9

The high-souled man, looking upon the ever-active body of his as not his, how should such a one be affected by praise or blame? III, 10

The man of steady intellect, who sees the entire universe as *maya* and is no more interested in its shows, how will he have fear even when death is near? III, 11

The high-souled one whose mind is free from desire even when things look hopeless, who, self-realized, rests supremely content in himself, with whom may such a one be compared? III, 12

The challenged Janaka, retaining the same exultant mood, replies in the fourth chapter :

हन्तात्मज्ञानस्य धीरस्य खेलतो भोगलीलया।
न हि संसारवाहिकैर्मूढैः सह समानता ।।१।।
यत्पदं प्रेप्सवो दीनाः शक्राद्याः सर्वदेवताः।
अहो तत्र स्थितो योगी न हर्षमुपगच्छति ।।२।।
तज्ज्ञस्य पुण्यपापाभ्यां स्पर्शो ह्यन्तर्न जायते।
नह्याकाशस्य धूमेन दृश्यमानाऽपि संगतिः ।।३।।
आत्मैवेदं जगत्सर्वं ज्ञातं येन महात्मना।
यदृच्छया वर्तमानं तं निषेद्धुं क्षमेत कः ।।४।।
आब्रह्मस्तम्बपर्यन्ते भूतग्रामे चतुर्विधे।
विज्ञस्यैव हि सामर्थ्यमिच्छानिच्छाविवर्जने ।।५।।
आत्मानमद्वयं कश्चिज्जानाति जगदीश्वरम्।
यद्वेत्ति तत्स कुरुते न भयं तस्य कुत्रचित् ।।६।।[1]

You will note that the verses in the fourth chapter are somewhat dangerous. It is strong food for a delicate stomach. All the chapters are not of equal length. The third for instance has 14 verses and the fourth only six.

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

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The man of steady intellect who knows that all this, in very truth, is appearance and no more, will he feel drawn by one thing and repelled by another? III, 13

He who has inwardly renounced attachment, who is unaffected by the pairs of opposites and who hopes for nothing—to him chance-brought things of enjoyment occasion neither happiness nor suffering. III, 14

[1] There can be no comparison, indeed, between the man, self-realized and steady of intellect, who enjoys things as sport, and the beclouded man carrying on his back, the burden of this world. IV, 1

The yogi, firmly established on that plane, which Indra and the other gods weakly yearn to attain, is never moved to joy. IV, 2

Neither good deeds nor sins touch the man who knows That: the sky and smoke do not touch each other in fact, though they seem to. IV, 3

The high-souled man who knows that this whole universe is but the *atman* itself, who can forbid him from living as he will spontaneously? IV, 4

None but the man of perfect knowledge has the strength to end all desire and aversion, in all the four planes of existence, from *Brahma* to a blade of grass. IV, 5

Rare is the man who knows the identity of his self and the Lord of the Universe; such a one does what he may and knows fear from no quarter. IV, 6

CWMG - XVII

153. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

SINHGADH,
Vaishakh Vad 1 [*May 4, 1920*][1]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I got today the post you sent me. As you have had no time, however, to write to me, I shall say something on the basis of what I heard from Mahadev, wishing to give you as much peace as I can.

1. Why did I at all inquire about the car? This itself shows my growing weakness.
2. There was much waste of time and money in what we did over Gurudev[2] and Fatima[3]. The result was nothing or almost nothing.
3. It is not true that work comes seeking me and I don't go seeking it.
4. Sarladevi had her meal sitting on the cushion bed on the floor and I also take my meals sitting there. Where is the need for all this hurry? Would it take more time if she and I had our meals at the right place? Even if it did, would it matter very much?
5. I am no more as scrupulously firm as I used to be.
6. India and the Ashram have lost by my activities outside the Ashram.
7. Indeed, I should leave everything else and, confined to the Ashram, lose myself in its activities like the school, etc. No one will now charge me with accepting defeat.
8. About Radha's marriage.
9. The power which was mine, in virtue of which everyone was obliged to listen to what I said, has disappeared.

I think it is natural that these and similar doubts should arise in your mind. Especially when I am so far away or, even though

[1] The letter also appears in *Mahadevbhaini Diary*, Vol. V, under May 3. May 4 is the more likely date since Gandhiji left Sinhgadh on that day.

[2] Rabindranath Tagore, for whom a reception was held in the Ashram when he visited it on April 2, 1920.

[3] Imam Abdul Kadir Bawazeer's daughter whose marriage was celebrated in the Ashram; *vide* "Invitation to Wedding", 20-4-1920 and "Three Occasions", 9-5-1920.

living in the Ashram, am like one living far away, my numerous activities are bound to perplex people.

I inquired about a car since in any case we have introduced many unwanted things. Economically, I saw that a car would be an advantage. We certainly use cars a good deal. The question was whether we could accept a car as a gift. I did not think it quite proper to give an immediate reply on my own. For two days I struggled hard against the idea but, thinking of Lyall[1], I softened and thought that I would accept the gift if you also desired that I should. Actually, I am so little in love with a car that I have often wished that Anasuyabehn's car might break down. It is true, however, that now I am not opposed [to using a car] as much as I used to be. I think, therefore, that you would be perfectly right if you believed that it was my weakness to have inquired about the car.

About Gurudev, I was a mere witness. I submitted to the desire of you all. Left to myself, I would not have gone in for arches, etc. I would have thought out a way of honouring him which would have cost little effort. I don't feel either way about what happened. I believe it was our duty to give him a fitting welcome. I don't think the students lost anything by being busy in this work. They merely followed the duty of service. These facts need to be borne in mind. Moreover, Gurudev is an exceptional man. He has poetry, goodness and patriotism in him. This is a rare mixture. He deserves to be honoured. What simplicity his is!

All that was done for Fatima seems perfectly right to me. If we remember that Imam Saheb is a Muslim, we shall see that we did nothing much. Every step was taken after full thought. If you admit that we were bound to celebrate her marriage,[2] you will see that everything we did was right. Imam Saheb could have observed still greater simplicity. It would have been excellent if he had given her no ornaments, but how can we expect so much? I especially want to satisfy you on this.

You may be sure I don't go seeking work. Which activity, do you think, did I go out of my way to take upon myself? If I had not joined the Khilafat movement, I think, I would have lost everything. In joining it I have followed what I especially regard as my dharma. I am trying through this movement to show the real nature of non-violence. I am uniting Hindus and Muslims. I am coming to know one and all and, if non-co-operation

[1] A missionary who taught English in the Ashram school
[2] As her parents were full-time workers in the Ashram

goes well, a great power based on brute force will have to submit to a simple-looking thing. The Khilafat movement is a great churning of the sea of India. Why should we be concerned with what it will produce? All that we should consider is whether the movement itself is a pure and worthy cause. I cannot leave any field in which I have cultivated some strength. My *moksha*[1] lies through them. If I refuse to work in these fields, I shall not succeed in giving anything through the Ashram either. It was for this reason that Doke described me as a pathfinder.[2] He had intended to name his book 'Pathfinder' or 'Jungle-breaker'. He kept the present name at the instance of Polak.

Even by establishing the Ashram I have shown a path. It is for you and others who are working in it to follow the path and reach the destination. Meanwhile, if it is given to me to live longer and have some peace, I may, on the basis of my matured experience, prepare a better scheme for the Ashram; that is another matter. However, you are free to engage me in the fullest discussions about this.

On that day Sarladevi was the only one left to take her meal and therefore had it where she was sitting. Ordinarily she used to have her meals in the dining-room. For myself, since I fell ill I have my meal wherever I happen to be when it includes no cereals. I do this for my convenience; it may also be attributed to my weakness. Your complaint is right, of course.

My staunchness has not disappeared. My ideas have grown stronger and more piercing. My indifference to worldly pleasures has increased. What I used to see but dimly has now become clearer to me. I have grown more tolerant, so that I am less particular about others [doing what I want them to do].

It is impossible for me to answer the question whether India and the Ashram have gained or lost through my outside activities. If I could think of a way, I would certainly confine myself to the Ashram, but the thing is not entirely in my hands. I should like it if you can convince me with argument and hold me down [to the Ashram].

It is quite true that I have lost my former fire. My illness has disabled me. I have myself observed that, ever since I lost the strength to stand beside you all and work, I have lost my fire. The steel-like strength of my body having given place to softness, I put up with many things. Did anyone ever see me going for a

[1] Liberation as the final end of life

[2] In his book *An Indian Patriot in South Africa*

change of air? Well, that is what I do now. When I think of the expenditure which has been incurred over me I get still more nervous. I feel ashamed when travelling second class. My soul suffers on such occasions and, to be sure, it loses its lustre. There is no way out of this. My best time is over. People may take now what they can from my ideas. I have ceased to be the 'ideal man of action' which I used to be. I am to be pitied for being in this state. There is no exaggeration in this. I have given expression to these feelings often enough, off and on.

But in the midst of all this, neither you nor I need despair. We should be able to see our defects and, wherever possible, should correct them. You have learnt a great deal through my 50 years of life. Cherish it. Build on it, bring credit to yourself and me. When you experience any difficulties point them out to me. Overcome those of them which you can by your own effort. Don't lose heart. If you find anywhere in this letter that I have misunderstood you, do not brood over the thing, but immediately seek a clarification.

I want you to be perfectly at peace and cheerful. Shamaldas has wired to me for money. I am saying no to him. We simply cannot give him any money.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 5786. Courtesy: Radhabehn Chowdhari

154. THE DELHI NOTIFICATION AND PRESS ORDERS[1]

The first repressive move in connection with the Khilafat movement has commenced at Delhi in the shape of a notification under the Seditious Meetings Act and a gradual muzzling of the Muslim Press. We are not surprised at this. We must expect the Government to anticipate every move of the Committee[2] and expect it to thwart the scheme of non-co-operation. Nor can the Government be blamed for it so long as it acts wisely and temperately. But the people must be prepared for the Government even to lose its senses, become panicky and adopt insane measures.

[1] This article has been identified as Gandhiji's from the draft in his hand preserved in the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi.

[2] The sub-committee, consisting of Gandhiji, Shaukat Ali and Abul Kalam Azad, appointed by the All-India Khilafat Committee

O'Dwyerism may erupt anywhere any day. The people must prepare for all contingencies. The preparation is simple. They must not lose their heads on any account whatsoever. They must not be angry. They must not play into the hands of mischief-makers and answer Government madness with madness. No one should act on his own responsibility. It should be remembered that civil disobedience is not to be offered, at any rate at this stage, in connection with the Khilafat movement. Non-co-operation, too, has not yet commenced. Every Government order must be strictly obeyed, all rules and laws faithfully carried out. Then and then only is non-co-operation likely to succeed. All the laws of war are applicable to this great struggle. An army moves silently, calmly and deliberately. No unit acts on its own responsibility. Discipline is the watchword of success. So must it be with the Khilafat army of peace. Its strokes will be sure and certain only when there is no violence in the face of the greatest provocation. The Government is not bound by any rule of non-violence. Indeed, the last resort of a Government is violence. The leaders must be prepared for prosecutions, internments, imprisonment, etc. Others must be ready to take their places. Then, when we have proved ourselves by going through the process of purification, will victory come, not till then.

Young India, 5-5-1920

155. HOW TO WORK NON-CO-OPERATION

Perhaps the best way of answering the fears and criticism as to non-co-operation is to elaborate more fully the scheme of non-co-operation. The critics seem to imagine that the organizers propose to give effect to the whole scheme at once. The fact however is that the organizers have fixed definite, progressive four stages. The first is the giving up of titles and resignation of honorary posts. If there is no response or if the response received is not effective, recourse will be had to the second stage. The second stage involves much previous arrangement. Certainly, not a single servant will be called out unless he is either capable of supporting himself and his dependents or the Khilafat Committee is able to bear the burden. All the classes of servants will not be called out at once and never will any pressure be put upon a single servant to withdraw himself from the Government service. Nor will a single private employee be touched for the simple reason that the movement is not anti-English. It is not even anti-Government. Co-

operation is to be withdrawn because the people must not be party to a wrong—a broken pledge—a violation of deep religious sentiment. Naturally, the movement will receive a check, if there is any undue influence brought to bear upon any Government servant or if any violence is used or countenanced by any member of the Khilafat Committee. The second stage must be entirely successful, if the response is at all on an adequate scale. For no Government—much less the Indian Government—can subsist if the people cease to serve it. The withdrawal therefore of the police and the military—that third stage—is a distant goal. The organizers however wanted to be fair, just and above suspicion. They did not want to keep back from the Government or the public a single step they had in contemplation even as a remote contingency. The fourth, i.e., suspension of taxes, is still more remote. The organizers recognize that suspension of general taxation is fraught with the greatest danger. It is likely to bring a sensitive class in conflict with the police. They are therefore not likely to embark upon it, unless they can do so with the assurance that there will be no violence offered by the people.

I admit as I have already done that non-co-operation is not unattended with risk, but the risk of supineness in the face of a grave issue is infinitely greater than the danger of violence ensuing from organizing non-co-operation. To do nothing is to invite violence for a certainty.

It is easy enough to pass resolutions or write articles condemning non-co-operation. But it is no easy task to restrain the fury of a people incensed by a deep sense of wrong. I urge those who talk or work against non-co-operation to descend from their chairs and go down to the people, learn their feelings and write, if they have the heart, against non-co-operation. They will find, as I have found, that the only way to avoid violence is to enable them to give such expression to their feelings as to compel redress. I have found nothing save non-co-operation. It is logical and harmless. It is the inherent right of a subject to refuse to assist a government that will not listen to him.

Non-co-operation as a voluntary movement can only succeed if the feeling is genuine and strong enough to make people suffer to the utmost. If the religious sentiment of the Mohammedans is deeply hurt and if the Hindus entertain neighbourly regard towards their Muslim brethren, they will both count no cost too great for achieving the end. Non-co-operation will not only be an effective remedy but will also be an effective test of the sincerity of the Muslim claim and the Hindu profession of friendship.

There is, however, one formidable argument urged by friends against my joining the Khilafat movement.[1] They say that it ill becomes me, a friend of the English and an admirer of the British constitution, to join hands with those who are today filled with nothing but ill will against the English. I am sorry to have to confess that the ordinary Mohammedan entertains today no affection for Englishmen. He considers, not without some cause, that they have not played the game. But if I am friendly towards Englishmen, I am no less so towards my countrymen, the Mohammedans. And as such they have a greater claim upon my attention than Englishmen. My personal religion however enables me to serve my countrymen without hurting Englishmen or for that matter anybody else. What I am not prepared to do to my blood-brother, I would not do to an Englishman. I would not injure him to gain a kingdom. But I would withdraw co-operation from him if it became necessary, as I had withdrawn from my own brother[2] (now deceased) when it became necessary. I serve the Empire by refusing to partake in its wrong. William Stead[3] offered public prayers for British reverses at the time of the Boer War because he considered that the nation to which he belonged was engaged in an unrighteous war. The present Prime Minister[4] risked his life in opposing that war and did everything he could to obstruct his own Government in its prosecution. And today if I have thrown in my lot with the Mohammedans, a large number of whom bear no friendly feelings towards the British, I have done so frankly as a friend of the British and with the object of gaining justice and of thereby showing the capacity of the British constitution to respond to every honest determination when it is coupled with suffering. I hope by my 'alliance' with the Mohammedans to achieve a threefold end—to obtain justice in the face of odds with the method of satyagraha and to show its efficacy over all other methods, to secure Mohammedan friendship for the Hindus and thereby internal peace also, and last but not least to transform ill will into affection for the British and their constitution which in spite of its imperfections has weathered many a storm. I may fail in achieving

[1] *Vide*, for instance, "Why I Have Joined the Khilafat Movement", 28-4-1920, and "Letter to C.F. Andrews", 20-6-1920.

[2] Karsandas Gandhi

[3] William Thomas Stead (1849-1912); English journalist and reformer whose enterprise and originality exercised a potent influence on contemporary journalism and politics; enthusiastic supporter of the peace movement in Great Britain

[4] Lloyd George

any of the ends. I can but attempt. God alone can grant success. It will not be denied that the ends are all worthy. I invite Hindus and Englishmen to join me in a full-hearted manner in shouldering the burden the Mohammedans of India are carrying. Theirs is admittedly a just fight. The Viceroy, the Secretary of State, the Maharaja of Bikaner[1] and Lord Sinha have testified to it. The time has arrived to make good the testimony. People with a just cause are never satisfied with a mere protest. They have been known to die for it. Are a high-spirited people like the Mohammedans expected to do less?

Young India, 5-5-1920

156. REPRESSION IN DELHI

There was no reason to believe that the Khilafat movement would go on without the Government resorting to repression. If anyone believed so, the notification[2] issued by the Delhi Government should open his eyes. The notification forbids the holding of any meeting in Delhi Province for a period of three months without the prior permission of the Government. This is but the beginning.

The Government would certainly not permit a movement like non-co-operation without trying to suppress it. No government would, for that matter. The movement is of such a nature that, if it succeeds, the administration would come to a standstill. The Government is certain to take steps to prevent this.

It is through repression that the people will be tested. If the Government were to remain quiet, non-co-operation would not have much effect. Every State depends in the last resort on the pistol, that is, on the power it wields. In this fight, however, the people's weapon is their capacity for suffering. If they pit their physical strength against the Government's, they will lose. The idea, therefore, of employing physical force simultaneously with non-co-operation will have to be given up altogether. And so I hope that the people will remain peaceful despite any repressive measures the Government may take in Delhi or elsewhere. Their success lies in doing so and going ahead with the programme. It should be remembered that in this struggle the soul-force of the Indian people is to be pitted against the brute force of the Allies.

[1] Sir Gangasinhji (1880-1943); represented India in the League of Nations after World War I; Chancellor, Chamber of Princes, 1920-25.

[2] *Vide* "The Delhi Notification and Press Orders", 5-5-1920.

If, in this, there is the slightest admixture of brute force by the people, even what is claimed as soul-force will be looked upon as brute force or as weakness.

If the people want to succeed on the Khilafat question with the help of soul-force, they should be ready to go to jail, to be deprived of their property and to resign from Government service. This is certainly no movement aiming at easy success.

It also needs to be borne in mind that we have not so far introduced the element of civil disobedience in this struggle. As I understand the matter, civil disobedience and non-co-operation do not go together. Any ordinances, therefore, which the Government might promulgate or any orders it might pass must be fully obeyed. If, in this movement, even a single worker follows his own judgment, he will do it much harm.

There is no difference between those who join this fight and the troops in an army. In an army, the individual soldier cannot act on his own responsibility but must await orders from his superiors, and this is also true of the Khilafat struggle or of any other struggle. If the soldier in the army is required to respect and obey his superiors, not to show temper, and so on, these things are equally necessary for workers in a movement like this one for the Khilafat. If we can acquire full control over the people, victory will be ours this very day. For acquiring such control, it is essential that the principles laid down above be followed. I hope, therefore, that no individual will risk anything on his own responsibility.

As it is, we have not started even non-co-operation. The peace terms have not yet been finalized.[1] The latest telegram from Mahomed Ali[2] is encouraging. Whether or no there is room for hope, till the peace terms are definitely announced[3] and instructions are issued by the Khilafat Committee, no one is to take even the step of resigning. At present, the people chiefly need to be educated in this, that none of them should, even by chance, be guilty of violence.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 9-5-1920

[1] By the Allies, in regard to Turkey

[2] 1878-1931; orator, journalist and politician; led the Khilafat deputation to England in 1920; President of the Congress, 1923

[3] They were announced in *The Gazette of India Extraordinary*, dated May 14, 1920.

157. ABDUCTIONS ON BORDER

There are certain wild tribes on the North-West Frontier of India. They are Muslims and live by carrying out raids and abducting people.[1] Recently they abducted an English girl and set her free only when they received a ransom. In like manner, they plunder Hindus in surrounding villages, abduct some and set them free when they are paid ransom. They harass Muslims, too, in the same manner. This is not, therefore, a case of Muslims plundering Hindus. Nevertheless, some Hindus, on the strength of the happy spirit of Hindu-Muslim unity which is in the air today, want that the Muslims, if they are sincere, should take steps to stop these raids. I know that this is said in ignorance. Indian Muslims have no influence whatever on the wild tribes on the border. They themselves suffer from these raids, as I have pointed out. Be that as it may, we must think out measures to stop this harassment. Those who suffer from these raids and abductions should get help. It is for the Government to provide it. If it cannot ensure such protection, what happens to the mighty power of protection with which it is credited? I have no illusions left about this power. The Government is not as strong for preventing crime as it is for punishing the guilty after a crime has been committed. The instances of Arar and Katarpur are quite fresh in our memory. Personally, I would not blame the Government for this state of affairs. As long as human nature remains what it is, crimes will continue. The State succeeds in preventing them, more or less, to the extent that they can be prevented by fear of punishment.

The best remedy against this should be with the people themselves. Be it on the border or elsewhere, the people should be capable of defending themselves. If they do not have the capacity, they should cultivate it. One method is to win over one's neighbour by love, and the other is to stop him by fear. Generally, a mixture of the two is employed. People develop enough physical strength for self-defence, and also try to cultivate friendly relations with the neighbours. The inhabitants of the border villages can

[1] During the period, 1919-20, no fewer than 611 raids took place in the Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan districts. They resulted in the killing of 298, the wounding of 392, and the kidnapping of 463 British subjects. *India in 1920.*

employ both these methods. They may prepare themselves to fight the raiders unitedly, and may also negotiate with them when there is peace. If the border tribes are starving, the people can help them as neighbours, after laying down terms. This is what the Government itself does.

At the same time, those Muslims who have any contact with the border tribes may send messages to them and persuade them to give up raids. If these measures are taken simultaneously, by the Government, by the people and, especially, by the Muslims, people may be saved from this harassment. It will not avail to sit back, thinking that the Muslims do nothing; besides, such a thought may be unfair to them.

I have had to write on this subject because newspapers in the North are full of it and I have received some letters on it. Men from the border areas have also been here [to see me]. As the spirit of nationalism grows among us, our desire to know about developments in other parts of the country should also increase.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 9-5-1920

158. A HUMBLE SUGGESTION[1]

I observe that many candidates have come forward for the choice of the would-be electors for the reformed Councils.[2] It must be granted that it is possible to render some service to the State by entering these Councils. But it is my firm belief that many can serve the country better by remaining outside. The late Mr. Keir Hardie used to say that it was practically impossible for a true Christian to remain in the British Parliament. Carlyle called it the talking shop. When there are many candidates, those who have accepted service of the land as an article of faith would do well to stand outside the lists, and they will find that they will be better occupied by educating the electorate and keeping the elected members to their promises at the polls. Even in England one sees the most effective service rendered by those who keep themselves outside the House of Commons. The real affairs of the English nation are conducted not by the seven hundred odd M.P.s but by the larger body who really control them. I would therefore

[1] This translation is reproduced from *Young India*, 19-5-1920.

[2] Elections for Legislative Councils, under the Reforms Act of 1919, were to be held in November, 1920.

venture to suggest to the larger body of those whose only ambition is to serve India, not to trouble about entering the Councils. To the aspirants after membership of Councils I would respectfully urge: 'Pray avoid the Councils if it is any axe of your own which you want to grind there, for it can be ground elsewhere. In a chamber where only national interests are supposed to be conserved and where a stiff fight has to be put up against strong vested interests, how can you think of serving your own little interest? Surely, you will not wish to injure the national cause by mixing your own with it.' I do not know who are the aspirants. But I draw my inference from what happens over municipal council elections. We shall benefit by our people entering the Councils if they are true men filled with humility and love of the country, courageous, fearless and versed in the subjects they have to handle.

The Reforms Act is full of defects which must be remedied. But even as a razor with the keenest edge is useless in incompetent hands, so may a most perfect constitution be rendered nugatory if it is handled by selfish or ignorant councillors. The most expeditious manner of reforming the Reforms Act would be to send to the Councils only those who wish to serve the nation. In their hands, even a defective constitution may be utilized for the good of the nation even as an able artisan effectively manages indifferent tools and even makes them better. We shall discuss the voters' duty some other time.[1]

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 9-5-1920

159. FAMINE IN ORISSA

Most of us perhaps do not even know where Orissa is. Our great poet, Sir Rabindranath Tagore, has made Orissa, with the name of Utkal, famous in a poem[2] of his. Jagannath Puri lies in Orissa, and a terrible famine is raging just now in Puri district itself. Orissa is a part of the province of Bihar, Bihar and Orissa being both under one Lieutenant-Governor. Orissa is a part of one of the poorest regions in India. We do not hear much about the suffering there because the people are backward in every way. I have often been asked to visit Orissa because of this famine, but as

[1] This last sentence is not found in the translation in *Young India*.
[2] Presumably the song which is now India's National Anthem

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I am not in a position to go there I urged Bhai Amritlal Thakkar, who is free from his Jamshedpur work, to go there and he left at twenty-four hours' notice. Already a telegram and a letter have arrived from him. He is now touring villages to observe the conditions there. I see even from his letters, however, that the people's suffering is acute. He writes:

> I visited a Bengali children's home and a hospital for beggars. These institutions are being run on donations obtained from Calcutta. The number of orphans, boys and girls, is about a hundred. There are some thirty to thirty-five patients in the hospitals. From the large number in both these institutions, the extent of the suffering in the neighbourhood can easily be imagined.

In another letter he writes:

> There have been numerous deaths. I have read the report of a committee of non-officials on this subject. The report ought to be published. Tomorrow I shall be visiting some villages in a bullock-cart. I shall be out for about five or six days. I shall be able to send a detailed report after my return from there; in between, I shall write a letter or two. In any case, do issue an appeal for funds. It would not be proper for me to move in the villages empty-handed. If possible, I shall take one or two cartfuls of rice from here and use the stock only in case of urgent need. Even then, kindly make immediate arrangements to collect funds.

There is also a letter from a gentleman in Orissa, who writes:

> There is a village named Dawa; it had 59 families. In this place, draught was followed by floods and the resulting damage was heavy. This village had a population of 411 of whom 11 were children and all of them died for want of milk. Of the 411 inhabitants, 303 are still alive and they look like skeletons. In all, 58 people have died. Sixty-one people have left their homes; some houses are vacant; of some others, the roofs have blown off. It is rare to see any food with these villagers; most of them go about naked. For lack of clothes to cover their limbs, some women simply cannot stir out of their homes. Some subsist on grass and leaves.

I shall publish further information as I receive it. But what I have given is sufficient to justify our sending help. I hope every one will contribute what he can. I am not yet in a position to say how much will be needed, but when I appeal to people to offer what they can, the total figure is not quite relevant. I have already written to Bhai Amritlal Thakkar to keep an account of the expenses incurred, and a full account will of course be published. We who take pride in describing ourselves as Indians must consider

it our religious duty to suffer when any part of India does so. How, then, can we remain unmoved by Orissa's suffering?

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 9-5-1920

160. CURSE OF WIDOWHOOD

Mr. Kanchanlal Khandwala's letter is full of figures about widows. Anyone's heart will bleed to read them. Impatient reformers will merely say that remarriage of widows is the only straight and simple remedy for this. I cannot say so. I too have a family of my own. There are many widows in my family, but I can never bring myself to advise them to remarry and they will not think of doing so either. The real remedy is for men to take a pledge not to remarry.

But there are other remedies, barring remarriage, which we do not adopt, or rather do not wish to adopt. Here they are:

1. Child-marriages should stop.
2. No boy and girl should be betrothed till they are of an age to live together.
3. Not only should a woman who has never lived with her husband be permitted to remarry, she should actually be encouraged to do so. Such women should not be classed with widows.
4. Those who became widows before the age of fifteen and who are still young should be free to remarry.
5. Instead of being regarded as a sign of ill fortune, widowhood should be looked upon as a holy state and respected accordingly.
6. The best arrangements should be made to educate widows and give them some occupation.

There is no doubt that, if these reforms are brought about, Hindu society would be rid of the evils arising from widowhood. Every family and every community may adopt these reforms for themselves. Many reforms are delayed because everyone waits for someone else to make a start. It is a divine injunction that man should do a good deed the moment he sees it as such; about a sinful act, one should think, consult a fortune-teller and take advice from thousands of people, and ultimately refrain from it. We become guilty in the sight of God if we delay in the performance of a good deed. But we act the opposite way. We are not afraid of doing anything sinful, but, when it comes to doing good, we wait for conferences.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 9-5-1920

161. THREE OCCASIONS

A wedding having taken place in the Satyagraha Ashram, I could not help making a comparison between this wedding in the Ashram and the weddings outside. I take the liberty to place before the reader some of my reflections on this.

Imam Saheb Abdul Kadir Bawazeer is an earnest Muslim of a noble family. His father was the Muezzin in the Jumma Masjid in Bombay for several years. The Imam Saheb has been with me for the past many years. He was with me in jail, too. After his experience of jail, he lost interest in business and came over with his family to stay with me in Phœnix. Bodily labour was a rule in Phœnix. The Imam Saheb had never done it, but started it there. We used to bring out *Indian Opinion* and the Imam Saheb picked up the work of composing.

The Imam Saheb has two daughters. He has lived with me as if he were my own brother and we have fully respected each other's religion, so that we have never felt sorry that we belong to different religions. We have felt nothing wrong in his doing his *namaz* and the Hindu following his own method of worship; on the contrary, we have believed that this is as it should be.

And now came the wedding of his eldest daughter, Fatima. We held consultations. Fatima, over twenty, is a wise girl. After having consulted her and the Imam Saheb, we decided to have a wedding which would become the Ashram and our life of poverty. We dropped the marriage procession, the band and all other pomp; we dropped even the feast. That the students might realize the importance of their *brahmacharya*, they too were consulted and it was decided that they should not attend the marriage. The relations of Imam Saheb and of the bridegroom, Bhai Syed Hussein Uraizee, and others connected with the Ashram, were invited to give their blessings. They were offered home-made sherbet and fruits and nuts. As for illuminations, there was nothing except a hanging lamp.

The ceremony lasted two hours, of which half an hour was taken up by the *maulood sharif* or reading out in Arabic the life of the Prophet by way of an auspicious beginning. This was followed by the Kaji Saheb writing down the *nikahnama*[1] in the

[1] Marriage agreement

presence of witnesses. The Khatib Saheb Abdul Munim Bagzada of the Jumma Masjid in Bombay led the bride and the bridegroom in reading it. It was then signed. This ceremony took about twenty minutes. Then came *fatecha* or thanksgiving, after which the sherbet and fruits were served and the bride and bridegroom paid their respects to the elders of the latter. The bridegroom wore a simple dress. The function, which began at half-past six, ended at half-past eight. Sister Fatima, then, went to meet the Ashram students. This was a moving scene. Knowing that the time had come for parting from her fellow students and the other residents, she started crying. She was reminded that it was her duty to carry her Ashram training with her to her husband's home. She understood that it was her duty to spread the message of truth, compassion, swadeshi, national service and simplicity in her new home. This wedding, thus, was over in two and a half hours.

Next morning I went to the city. There I saw numberless marriage processions. The bandsmen, in a variety of strange costumes, deafened one's ears with their noises. Children and young men, loaded with ornaments and velvet clothing in this intolerable heat, were dripping with perspiration. The bridegroom was veiled in a profusion of flowers. I saw in this no religion, nor real joy nor any grandeur. If we really wish to have band music, why foolishly ape the West? If we would follow the West, we should see that we have the genuine thing. Any person even with ordinary knowledge of music will say that there is no sweetness at all nor any music in the bands which we order. If we wish to take out a marriage procession, why should we not wear garments to suit our country's climate? If we wish to deck the bridegroom with jewels, why should we not use some discrimination or sense of art? If we want songs to be sung, why should we not train the women in them?

My complaint is not against pomp and splendour. Those who have money and no high aim in life will no doubt have them. They must have occasions to use their wealth. But I wish to see in all these things some discrimination and thought, some restraint and art, and progress. I do observe some changes in our marriage customs, but most of them, one observes, have been made without thinking. Instead of decreasing, pomp and expenditure have increased. It is entirely forgotten that marriage is also a sacred ceremony. If the better type of families introduced well-considered changes, I feel sure that others would soon seize upon them.

If the life of the nation is to progress, we should examine every aspect of it.

There is a charge against us which has some truth in it. We make too much ostentation. Rather than really enjoy ourselves, we make a show of enjoyment; instead of sincerely mourning, we make a show of mourning.

I left Ahmedabad and went to Bombay. There were other tenants in the bungalow in which I put up. There was a death in one of their families. The time was about noon. Suddenly the air was rent with cries; weeping and wailing had begun. The voices of children, women and men rose together. This crying went on till about nine or ten in the evening. Other women arrived; they, too, joined in beating their breasts and wailing. Most of this was mere show. Certainly, there is no respect for dharma in all this. Our religion forbids us to weep for the dead. Followers of other religions do not do so. In all this crying, one's duty towards one's neighbour is entirely forgotten. That there might be a sick person or a marriage in the adjoining house—why take thought of this? After all, it is the practice to cry, and cry loudly; if one does not do so, one will be denounced; hence one must cry loudly and beat one's breasts—this is the idea. It prevails not only among the poor or the illiterate but even among the better classes. How shall we rid ourselves of this evil practice, this sin?

I had two bitter experiences after Fatima's marriage, and I could not help comparing these with that, which seemed to me a grand occasion. I offer my reflections to readers with the hope that we shall closely examine our ways and give up the harmful practices which obtain among us.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 9-5-1920

162. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING

THE ASHRAM,
May 9, 1920

MY DEAR CHILD,

I did not at all like to part with you. But I know it was good for your health's sake. I only hope that the expectation has been fully realized and that the climate of Sinhgadh has agreed with you.[1]

I am sorry there is no chance of my being with you as early as I had thought. The great strike[2] commenced today. I, however, do hope that it will not last long. The mill-owners have no case and they have no fighters in their midst. It was a big meeting last night. The men were full of courage and determination.

I cannot help writing down for us again the heavenly lines of Trench—

> Yet, if we will one Guide obey
> The dreariest path, the darkest way
> Shall issue out in heavenly day;
> And we on diverse shores now cast,
> Shall meet, our perilous voyage past,
> All in our Father's house at last.

With love,

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat of the original in N.A.I.; also *My Dear Child*, pp. 69-70

[1] Evidently Esther Faering accepted Gandhiji's invitation (*vide* "Letter to Esther Faering", 2-5-1920), and reached Sinhgadh presumably on May 3 or May 4.

[2] In the cotton mills in Ahmedabad

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163. LETTER TO G. V. MAVALANKAR

ASHRAM,
Vaishakh Vad 8 [*May 11, 1920*][1]

BHAISHRI MAVALANKAR[2],

Kindly forgive my writing this letter. I cannot help doing so. I heard yesterday that you are preparing to marry. I simply could not bear the idea. Would you not observe a year's mourning? How can you forget the memory of a woman whom you called your better half, whose body became one with yours? Are we under no obligation to observe some self-control? I heard that your mother was very insistent. Why should even a mother's opinion count in this matter? How can we do anything unworthy of ourselves? To what end have we been educated? I shall say no more. May God grant you good sense. My right and duty as a friend is to caution you; you should go your own way, however. If you can see the wrong in the step which you are about to take, you may save yourself from it by the courage and the support which friends like me may give. If *you* think that you are taking the right step, ignore any advice which I or the whole world may give. In any case, you will forgive me, I am sure.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1223

164. DISTRESS IN ORISSA

Orissa, in spite of its enjoying the honour of having one of the great places of pilgrimage, viz., Jagannath Puri, appears to be a godforsaken country. For, even whilst India is pulsating with a consciousness of national life, we know little of Orissa. For most of us, it is a mere geographical expression. Not being a centre of modern education it has not produced the modern type of workers

[1] The date of this letter is given in Mavalankar's *Sansmarano*.

[2] Ganesh Vasudev Mavalankar (1888-1956); lawyer, parliamentarian and Congress leader of Ahmedabad; elected Speaker of Bombay Legislative Assembly in 1937 and of Central Legislative Assembly in 1946; Speaker of Lok Sabha until his death

and, therefore, nobody knows whether the people of Orissa are happy or unhappy. For months past an Orissa friend has been trying to interest me in its problems. He has for the last few weeks been telling me that there is practically a famine in the land. In a little village containing 59 families, numbering all told 411 men and women, recently 11 infants, he says, died for want of nutrition. Altogether 58 deaths have taken place owing to starvation, 61 have abandoned the village and those who are left are mere skin and bone. They have neither food nor clothing. Women being insufficiently clad will not leave their homes and some are living on grass and leaves! I was not prepared to believe this terrible story. I felt that before making a public appeal there should be some authentic information to be placed before the people. I therefore approached the Servants of India Society for lending Mr. Amritlal Thakkar's services. His fitness for the work cannot be questioned, for he has qualified himself for it for years by such kind of investigations. My request was readily granted and the following is the substance of what he has to say after a week's stay in the Puri District of Orissa:

> I have been travelling in the villages for the last 8 days. There are certainly famine conditions in Orissa. Whilst I was in Jamshedpur, I believed that Orissa was one of the granaries of India because Balassore provides a vast quantity of rice. But alas! Today I find that the people of the affected district have to get their rice from Calcutta, Sambalpur, etc. The country had a double visitation—famine and flood. It is said that during the last six months over 1,500 people must have died of starvation. I have already visited nearly 19 villages. Of these 6 are said to have lost 40 inhabitants simply from starvation. People are still dying. An old man died in my very presence. He was among those who had come for relief. A co-worker has just returned from a village telling me that he saw an old man who was dying of starvation. One stumbles upon children recently bereft of parents. You see wherever you go many reduced to mere skeletons. I have sent you the following telegram:
>
> I have visited already 19 villages. I am still travelling. Scores have died of starvation. Recently the Government have begun to distribute relief but it is insufficient. Please send five thousand rupees at once. Altogether from 30 to 50 thousand rupees will be required.
>
> According to the Famine Code, 50 *tolas* of grain have to be given to those who are unfit to work but only 26 *tolas* are

being given per head. The relief was commenced on the 10th April. Nearly 4,000 men have already received it. The quantity will, I hear, be shortly increased to 40 *tolas*.

The Oriya people are very poor. His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor some time ago visited the affected parts but not more than 5,000 people have been able to obtain partial relief. No famine works have yet been opened.

Mr. Thakkar's letter speaks for itself. I hope that the cry of distress coming from Orissa will not be heard in vain and those who can will not fail to contribute their quota.

Young India, 12-5-1920

165. NEITHER A SAINT NOR A POLITICIAN

A kind friend has sent me the following cutting from the April number of *East and West*:

> Mr. Gandhi has the reputation of a saint but it seems that the politician in him often dominates his decisions. He has been making great use of hartals and there can be no gainsaying that under his direction hartal is becoming a powerful political weapon for uniting the educated and the uneducated on a single question of the day. The hartal is not without its disadvantages. It is teaching direct action, and direct action, however potent, does not work for unity. Is Mr. Gandhi quite sure that he is serving the highest behests of ahimsa, harmlessness? His proposal to commemorate the shooting at Jallianwala Bagh is not likely to promote concord. It is a tragic incident into which our Government was betrayed, but is the memory of its bitterness worth retaining? Can we not commemorate the event by raising a temple of peace, to help the widows and orphans to bless the souls of those who died without knowing why? The world is full of politicians and pettifoggers who, in the name of patriotism, poison the inner sweetness of man and, as a result, we have wars and feuds and such shameless slaughter as turned Jallianwala Bagh into a shambles. Shall we not now try for a larger symbiosis such as Buddha and Christ preached, and bring the world to breathe and prosper together? Mr. Gandhi seemed destined to be the apostle of such a movement, but circumstances are forcing him to seek the way of raising resistances and group unities. He may yet take up the larger mission of uniting the world.

I have given the whole of the quotation. As a rule I do not notice criticism of me or my methods except when thereby I acknowledge a mistake or enforce still further the principles criticized. I have a double reason for noticing the extract. For, not

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only do I hope further to elucidate the principles I hold dear, but I want to show my regard for the author of the criticism whom I know and whom I have admired for many years for the singular beauty of his character. The critic regrets to see in me a politician, whereas he expected me to be a saint. Now I think that the word "saint" should be ruled out of present life. It is too sacred a word to be lightly applied to anybody, much less to one like myself who claims only to be a humble searcher after truth, knows his limitations, makes mistakes, never hesitates to admit them when he makes them, and frankly confesses that he, like a scientist, is making experiments about some of 'the eternal verities' of life, but cannot even claim to be a scientist because he can show no tangible proof of scientific accuracy in his methods or such tangible results of his experiments as modern science demands. But though by disclaiming sainthood I disappoint the critic's expectations, I would have him to give up his regrets by answering him that the politician in me has never dominated a single decision of mine, and if I seem to take part in politics, it is only because politics encircle us today like the coil of a snake from which one cannot get out, no matter how much one tries. I wish therefore to wrestle with the snake, as I have been doing, with more or less success, consciously since 1894, unconsciously, as I have now discovered, ever since reaching the years of discretion. Quite selfishly, as I wish to live in peace in the midst of a bellowing storm howling round me, I have been experimenting with myself and my friends by introducing religion into politics. Let me explain what I mean by religion. It is not the Hindu religion, which I certainly prize above all other religions, but the religion which transcends Hinduism, which changes one's very nature, which binds one indissolubly to the truth within and which ever purifies. It is the permanent element in human nature which counts no cost too great in order to find full expression and which leaves the soul utterly restless until it has found itself, known its Maker and appreciated the true correspondence between the Maker and itself.

It was in that religious spirit that I came upon hartal. I wanted to show that it is not a knowledge of letters that would give India consciousness of herself, or that would bind the educated together. The hartal illuminated the whole of India as if by magic on the 6th of April, 1919. And had it not been for the interruption of the 10th of April, brought about by Satan whispering fear into the ears of a Government conscious of its own wrong and inciting to anger a people that were prepared for it by utter distrust of the Government, India would have risen to an unimaginable height.

The hartal had not only been taken up by the great masses of people in a truly religious spirit but it was intended to be a prelude to a series of direct actions.

But my critic deplores direct action. For, he says, "it does not work for unity." I join issue with him. Never has anything been done on this earth without direct action. I rejected the word "passive resistance", because of its insufficiency and its being interpreted as a weapon of the weak. It was direct action in South Africa which told and told so effectively that it converted General Smuts to sanity. He was in 1906 the most relentless opponent of Indian aspirations. In 1914 he took pride in doing tardy justice by removing from the statute-book of the Union a disgraceful measure[1] which in 1909 he had told Lord Morley would be never removed, for he then said South Africa would never tolerate repeal of a measure which was twice passed[2] by the Transvaal Legislature. But what is more, direct action sustained for eight years[3] left behind it not only no bitterness, but the very Indians who put up such a stubborn fight against General Smuts, ranged themselves round his banner in 1915 and fought under him in East Africa.[4] It was direct action[5] in Champaran which removed an age-long grievance. A meek submission when one is chafing under a disability or a grievance which one would gladly see removed, not only does not make for unity, but makes the weak party acid, angry and prepares him for an opportunity to explode. By allying myself with the weak party, by teaching him direct, firm, but harmless action, I make him feel strong and capable of defying the physical might. He feels braced for the struggle, regains confidence in himself and knowing that the remedy lies with himself, ceases to harbour the spirit of revenge and learns to be satisfied with a redress of the wrong he is seeking to remedy.

It is working along the same lines that I have ventured to suggest a memorial about Jallianwala Bagh. The writer in *East and West* has ascribed to me a proposal which has never once crossed my mind. He thinks that I want "to commemorate the shooting at Jallianwala Bagh". Nothing can be further from my thought

[1] The Transvaal Asiatic Registration Act

[2] Once in 1906 as the Transvaal Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance and again in 1907 as the Transvaal Asiatic Registration Act.

[3] That is, from 1906 to 1914

[4] Against the Germans during World War I

[5] The satyagraha led by Gandhiji in 1917 to secure redress for the grievances of indigo plantation labourers against European landlords

than to perpetuate the memory of a black deed. I dare say that before we have come to our own we shall have a repetition of the tragedy and I will prepare the nation for it by treasuring the memory of the innocent dead. The widows and the orphans have been and are being helped, but we cannot "bless the souls of those who died without knowing why", if we will not acquire the ground which has been hallowed by innocent blood and there erect a suitable memorial for them. It is not to serve, if I can help it, as a reminder of the foul deed but it shall serve as an encouragement to the nation that it is better to die helpless and unarmed and as victims rather than as tyrants. I would have the future generations remember that we who witnessed the innocent dying did not ungratefully refuse to cherish their memory. As Mrs. Jinnah truly remarked when she gave her mite to the fund, the memorial would at least give us an excuse for living. After all it will be the spirit in which the memorial is erected that will decide its character.

What was the "larger symbiosis" that Buddha and Christ preached? Buddha fearlessly carried the war into the enemy's camp and brought down on its knees an arrogant priesthood. Christ drove out the money-changers from the temple of Jerusalem and drew down curses from Heaven upon the hypocrites and the Pharisees. Both were for intensely direct action. But even as Buddha and Christ chastised they showed unmistakable gentleness and love behind every act of theirs. They would not raise a finger against their enemies, but would gladly surrender themselves rather than the truth for which they lived. Buddha would have died resisting the priesthood, if the majesty of his love had not proved to be equal to the task of bending the priesthood. Christ died on the Cross with a crown of thorns on his head defying the might of a whole Empire. And if I raise resistances of a non-violent character I simply and humbly follow in the footsteps of the great teachers named by my critic.

Lastly, the writer of the paragraph quarrels with my "grouping unities" and would have me take up "the larger mission of uniting the world". I once told him under a common roof that I was probably more cosmopolitan than he. I abide by that expression. Unless I group unities I shall never be able to unite the whole world. Tolstoy once said that if we would but get off the backs of our neighbours the world would be quite all right without any further help from us. And if we can only serve our immediate neighbours by ceasing to prey upon them, the circle of unities thus grouped in the right fashion will ever grow in circumference

till at last it is co-terminus with that of the whole world. More than that it is not given to any man to try or achieve. "यथा पिंडे तथा ब्रह्मांडे"[1] is as true today as ages ago when it was first uttered by an unknown *rishi*[2].

Young India, 12-5-1920

166. KHILAFAT

As I told you in my last letter I think Mr. Gandhi has made a serious mistake in the Khilafat business. The Indian Mohammedans base their demand on the assertion that their religion requires the Turkish rule over Arabia; but when they have against them in this matter the Arabs themselves, it is impossible to regard the theory of the Indian Mohammedans as essential to Islam. After all if the Arabs do not represent Islam, who does ? It is as if the German Roman Catholics made a demand in the name of Roman Catholics, with Rome and the Italians making a contrary demand. But even if the religion of the Indian Mohammedans did require that Turkish rule should be imposed upon the Arabs against their will, one could not, nowadays, recognize as a really religious demand, one which required the continued oppression of one people by another. When an assurance was given at the beginning of the War to the Indian Mohammedans that the Mohammedan religion would be respected, that could never have meant that a temporal sovereignty which violated the principles of self-determination would be upheld. We could not now stand by and see the Turks reconquer the Arabs (for the Arabs would certainly fight against them) without grossly betraying the Arabs to whom we have given pledges. It is not true that the Arab hostility to the Turks was due simply to European suggestion. No doubt, during the War we availed ourselves of the Arab hostility to the Turks to get another ally, but the hostility had existed long before the War. The non-Turkish Mohammedan subjects of the Sultan in general wanted to get rid of his rule. It is the Indian Mohammedans who have no experience of that rule who want to impose it on others. As a matter of fact the idea of any restoration of Turkish rule in Syria or Arabia seems so remote from all possibilities that to discuss it seems like discussing a restoration of the Holy Roman Empire. I cannot conceive what series of events could bring it about. The Indian Mohammedans certainly could not march into Arabia themselves and conquer the Arabs for the Sultan. And no amount of agitation and trouble

[1] As in the body, so in the universe
[2] Sage

in India would ever induce England to put back Turkish rule in Arabia. In this matter it is not English Imperialism which the Indian Mohammedans are up against, but the mass of English liberal and humanitarian opinion, the mass of the better opinion of England, which wants self-determination to go forward in India. Supposing the Indian Mohammedans could stir up an agitation so violent in India as to sever the connection between India and the British Crown, still they would not be any nearer to their purpose. For today they do have considerable influence on British world policy. Even if in this matter of the Turkish question their influence has not been sufficient to turn the scale against the very heavy weights on the other side, it has weighed in the scale. But apart from the British connection, the Indian Mohammedans would have no influence at all outside India. They would not count for more in world politics than the Mohammedans of China. I think it is likely (apart from the pressure of America on the other side, I should say certain) that the influence of the Indian Mohammedans may at any rate avail to keep the Sultan in Constantinople. But I doubt whether they will gain any advantage by doing so. For a Turkey cut down to the Turkish parts of Asia Minor, Constantinople would be a very inconvenient capital. I think its inconvenience would more than outweigh the sentimental gratification of keeping up a phantom of the old Ottoman Empire. But if the Indian Mohammedans want the Sultan to retain his place in Constantinople, I think the assurances given officially by the Viceroy[1] in India now bind us to insist on his remaining there and I think he will remain there, in spite of America.

This is an extract from the letter of an Englishman enjoying a position in Great Britain, to a friend in India. It is a typical letter, sober, honest, to the point, and put in such graceful language that whilst it challenges you, it commands your respect by its very gracefulness. But it is just this attitude based upon insufficient or false information which has ruined many a cause in the British Isles. The superficiality, the one-sidedness, the inaccuracy and often even dishonesty that have crept into modern journalism, continuously mislead honest men who want to see nothing but justice done. Then there are always interested groups whose business it is to serve their ends by means fair or foul. And the honest Englishman wishing to vote for justice but swayed by conflicting opinions and dominated by distorted versions often ends by becoming an instrument of injustice.

The writer of the letter quoted above has built up a convincing argument on imaginary data. He has successfully shown that

[1] Lord Hardinge

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the Mohammedan case, as it has been presented to him, is a rotten case. In India, where it is not quite easy to distort facts about the Khilafat, English friends admit the utter justice of the Indian Mohammedan claim. But they plead helplessness and tell us that the Government of India and Mr. Montagu have done all it was humanly possible for them to do. And if now the judgment goes against Islam, Indian Mohammedans should resign themselves to it. This extraordinary state of things would not be possible except under this modern rush and preoccupations of all responsible people.

Let us for a moment examine the case as it has been imagined by the writer. He suggests that Indian Mohammedans want Turkish rule in Arabia in spite of the opposition of the Arabs themselves and that if the Arabs do not want Turkish rule, the writer argues, no false religious sentiment can be permitted to interfere with self-determination of the Arabs when India herself has been pleading for that very status. Now the fact is that the Mohammedans, as is known to everybody who has at all studied the case, have never asked for Turkish rule in Arabia in opposition to the Arabs. On the contrary, they have said that they have no intention of resisting Arabian self-government. All they ask for is Turkish suzerainty over Arabia which would guarantee complete self-rule for the Arabs. They want the Khalif's control of the holy places of Islam. In other words they ask for nothing more than what was guaranteed[1] by Mr. Lloyd George and on the strength of which guarantee Mohammedan soldiers spilt their blood on behalf of the Allied Powers. All the elaborate argument therefore and the cogent reasoning of the above extract fall to pieces based as they are upon a case that has never existed. I have thrown myself heart and soul into this question because British pledges, abstract justice and religious sentiment coincide. I can conceive the possibility of a blind and fanatical religious sentiment existing in opposition to pure justice. I should then resist the former and fight for the latter. Nor would I insist upon pledges given dishonestly to support an unjust cause as has happened with England in the case of the secret treaties[2]. Resistance there becomes not only lawful but obligatory on the part of a nation that prides itself on its righteousness.

It is unnecessary for me to examine the position imagined by the English friend, viz., how India would have fared had she been

[1] In his speech of January 5, 1918

[2] Made by the Allies, for example, with Russia, Italy and the Grand Sherif of Mecca in 1915

an independent power. It is unnecessary because Indian Mohammedans, and for that matter India, are fighting for a cause that is admittedly just, a cause in aid of which they are invoking the whole-hearted support of the British people. I would however venture to suggest that this is a cause in which mere sympathy will not suffice. It is a cause which demands support that is strong enough to bring about substantial justice.

Young India, 12-5-1920

167. "*IN PROCESS OF KEEPING*"

The writer of "Current Topics" in *The Times of India* has attempted to challenge the statement made in my Khilafat article regarding ministerial pledges, and in doing so, cites Mr. Asquith's Guild Hall speech of November 10, 1914. When I wrote the article, I had in mind Mr. Asquith's speech. I am sorry that he ever made that speech. For, in my humble opinion, it betrayed, to say the least, a confusion of thought. Could he think of the Turkish people as apart from the Ottoman Government? And what is the meaning of the death knell of Ottoman Dominion in Europe and Asia if it be not the death knell of Turkish rule and therefore also of the Turkish people as a free and governing race? Is it, again, true historically that the Turkish rule has always been a blight that "has withered some of the fairest regions of the earth"? And what is the meaning of his statement that followed, viz., "Nothing is further from our thoughts than to imitate or encourage a crusade against their belief"? If words have any meaning, the qualifications that Mr. Asquith introduced in his speech should have meant a scrupulous regard for Indian Muslim feeling. And if that be the meaning of his speech, without anything further to support me I would claim that even Mr. Asquith's assurance is in danger of being set at nought if the resolutions of the San Remo Conference[1] are to be crystallized into action. But I base my remarks on a considered speech made by Mr. Asquith's successor[2] two years later when things had assumed a more threatening shape than in 1914 and when the need for Indian help was much greater than in 1914. His pledge[3] would bear repetition till it is fulfilled. He said:

[1] *Vide* footnote 2 to "Press Statement on the Turkish Treaty," 29-4-1920.
[2] Lloyd George
[3] Made on January 5, 1918

> Nor are we fighting to deprive Turkey of its capital or of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace which are predominantly Turkish in race.... We do not challenge the maintenance of the Turkish Empire in the homeland of the Turkish race with its capital at Constantinople.

If only every word of this pledge is fulfilled both in letter and in spirit, there would be little left for quarrelling about. In so far as Mr. Asquith's declaration can be considered hostile to the Indian Muslim claim, it is superseded by the later and more considered declaration of Mr. Lloyd George—a declaration made irrevocable by fulfilment of the consideration it expected, viz., the enlistment of the brave Mohammedan soldiery which fought in the very place which is now being partitioned in spite of the pledge. But the writer of "Current Topics" says Mr. Lloyd George "is now in process of keeping his pledge". I hope he is right. But what has already happened gives little ground for any such hope. For, imprisonment or internment of the Khalifa in his own capital[1] will be not only a mockery of fulfilment but it would be adding injury to insult. Either the Turkish Empire is to be maintained in the homelands of the Turkish race with its capital at Constantinople or it is not. If it is, let the Indian Mohammedans feel the full glow of it, or if the Empire is to be broken up, let the mask of hypocrisy be lifted and India see the truth in its nakedness. To join the Khilafat movement then means to join a movement to keep inviolate the pledge of a British minister. Surely, such a movement is worth much greater sacrifice than may be involved in non-co-operation.

Young India, 12-5-1920

168. SPEECH ON NON-CO-OPERATION, BOMBAY

May 12, 1920

An urgent meeting of the All-India Khilafat Committee was held[2] in Bombay on 12th May to deliberate finally on the non-co-operation movement . . . the Central Committee has finally unanimously decided to adopt and work a full non-co-operation programme as recommended by the sub-committee consisting of Messrs Chhotani, Gandhi, Abul Kalam Azad and Shaukat Ali. . . .

[1] *Vide* "What Shall We Do Now?", 23-5-1920.

[2] Under the presidentship of Chhotani

Mahatma Gandhi in a clear, forcible speech again explained the non-co-operation movement. Its success depended on the firmness and courage of Moslems. Their Hindu brethren would willingly support Moslems but Moslems should take the lead. Every effort should be made to impress on all that any violence under any provocation would fatally injure the cause, while joint action was in progress. He assured all that his wife and children would gladly sacrifice their life and all for this sacred cause. . .

After solemn discussion and a speech from Mr. C. Rajagopalachari the resolution[1] was unanimously and most enthusiastically adopted, all standing and calling on God to witness their firm adhesion.

The Bombay Chronicle, 14-5-1920

169. LETTER TO ABBAS TAYABJI

THE ASHRAM,
May 13 [1920][2]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I was delighted to receive your cheerful letter. I am glad you feel like taking up more national work. You congratulate me quite wrongly. I deserve congratulations for drawing you out and still more for keeping you at Lahore in spite of the terrible depressions you used to have. You do not know what we would all have lost if we could not have kept [you]. And I shall have to share those congratulations with Mrs. Abbas and your great daughters who cheered you, sent you and kept you at Lahore. So I can by their sufferance keep only a quarter. And that would not have been mine, if you had not been a willing listener. So I suppose you will divide the quarter or will you want the whole and fight for it, now that you can again say *burrrr*—[*?*]

Please tell the girls I shall be jealous of their engagement if they do not bring their future husbands also to the great cause. But I forget that you all move in that vicious—or is it virtuous—circle of the Tayabjis.[3] So there is no bringing—you are all there.

[1] On non-co-operation, moved by Gandhiji. This resolution is not reproduced here.

[2] Gandhiji and Abbas Tayabji were in Lahore in early 1920 in connection with the work of the Congress Punjab inquiry committee. The reference to Lahore in this letter therefore suggests that it was written during that year.

[3] Members of the Tayabji family—Justice Badruddin Tayabji, faiz Tayabji and others

May the girls prosper and be a credit with their husbands to the great family and the nation which the family adorns. I must claim my yarn when you return.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 9594

170. THE KHILAFAT

A good many questions are being raised about the Khilafat. There is plenty of discussion in the papers too about it. Several people express the opinion that non-co-operation will lead to violence, and they ask how, if that happens, we shall profit from non-co-operation. As in all great ventures, there is bound to be an element of risk in non-co-operation. Life is full of experiments and risks. Not even *moksha* is to be obtained without our venturing for it. Man, full of errors, can consider only this : 'Is there a greater risk in doing this or in not doing it? If there is less risk in doing it, is it unavoidable for other reasons as well?'

I am convinced that, had there been no move for non-co-operation, violence would long since have broken out. It is non-co-operation which has prevented violence. The Muslims are boiling over, but they have kept their patience in the belief that the Hindus are with them. When they began to suspect that, despite all this, they might not get justice, they had to think. What should they do now? Some thought of violence. Some considered the unworthy idea of boycott but they realized that, even if it was right, it was not feasible. Meanwhile, at the very first conference[1] in Delhi, I suggested non-co-operation. They hailed it with one voice. I told them that non-co-operation would be possible only if they gave up the idea of violence. Even if there was a single murder by any of us or at our instance, I would leave. They agreed, and understood that non-co-operation was, in many respects, a more potent weapon than violence. This idea of non-co-operation was then taken up and, today, it has spread everywhere; it is only because of this that we have peace in India. I am quite convinced that, had the Muslims not fixed their eyes on non-co-operation, we would now be witnessing a miserable state of affairs in India. I think the Government would have succeeded in suppressing violence, but it would have occurred all the same. If it

[1] Held on November 23 and 24, 1919

occurs even in spite of non-co-operation, the Government will be able to suppress it. The only question is whether it would have occurred in the absence of non-co-operation. The answer to this must be in the affirmative.

So, then, we have to consider whether non-co-operation is necessary on other grounds. We cannot start it simply because violence has been prevented. Many evil things are done in this world. Steps to prevent them suggest themselves to us, but we do not feel bound to take them. In many places in India itself people do cruel things. If we could have our way we would prevent them, but we do not go to these places and try. The thing is beyond our capacity. Sometimes it does happen that we are in a position to prevent an evil by a lesser evil, but it does not therefore become our duty to commit the lesser evil. Hence we shall have to consider non-co-operation from two points of view. Is it an objectionable weapon? I have often replied to this, that it is not so, that, on the contrary, it is one's religious duty to non-co-operate on certain occasions. In fact, there is nothing wrong in non-co-operation itself.

We have then to consider whether or not we should use the weapon of non-co-operation on this occasion. In other words, should the Hindus help the Muslims to this extent? One and all admit that on the Khilafat issue the Muslims are in the right. It is the evident duty of Hindus to be with the Muslims in their suffering. The latter have no other weapon save non-co-operation. Can the Hindus then stand aloof and keep neutral? In my humble view, the Hindus are bound to join in non-co-operation.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 16-5-1920

171. WHAT SHOULD THE VOTERS DO?[1]

Many who had hitherto no concern with Council elections will be shortly called upon to vote for the reformed Councils. The powers, too, of elected members will be found to have increased.[2] This adds to the voters' responsibility. In all our cities the citizens have been exercising the municipal franchise. And of these elections it cannot be said that the electors have always acquitted themselves in a wise manner. Electors' private relations with the

[1] This translation is reproduced from *Young India*, 9-6-1920.
[2] Under the Reforms Act of 1919

candidates have often weighed with them more than the candidates' qualifications. It would be well if we set up a better standard for the elections to the Legislative Councils. Only thus shall we be able to make the best use of the Councils. I suggest also that voters should not identify themselves with any party or its quarrels. They should consider candidates' views and not their party. Their character should weigh more even than their views. A man of character will make himself worthy of any position he is given. Even his mistakes will not much matter. I consider it impossible for a man without character to do higher national service so that if I were a voter, from among the list I would first select men of character and then I would understand their views. My questions to them would be :

1. Do you approve of the present swadeshi movement? If so, are you prepared to levy heavy import duties on foreign cloth? Will you favour legislation for cheapening the materials and machinery required to produce swadeshi articles?

2. Do you hold that all the affairs of a province should be conducted in its own vernacular and that the affairs of the nation should be conducted in Hindustani—a combination of Hindi and Urdu? If you do, will you endeavour incessantly to introduce the use of the vernaculars in the administration of the respective provinces, and the national language in the Imperial administration ?

3. Do you hold that the present division of the provinces of India was made for administrative and political purposes and that no regard was paid to the people's wishes? And do you hold that this division has done much harm to the national growth ? If you think so, will you try to bring out a redistribution on a linguistic basis as early as possible?

4. Do you hold that there is not the remotest likelihood of India's regeneration without Hindu-Muslim unity? And if you think so, are you, if a Hindu, willing to help the Mussulmans in all legitimate ways in their trouble?

A satisfactory answer to them alone will entitle the candidates to my vote if I had one. I suggest these questions because I regard them as of great importance. If the electors do not see any significance in these questions, they may put others which they consider to be of greater importance for the upliftment of the nation. It is not the particular questions that matter but the knowing of candidates' views on national questions. My attempt is to point out that we need an electorate which is impartial, independent and intelligent. If the electors do not interest them-

selves in national affairs and remain unconcerned with what goes on in their midst, and if they elect men with whom they have private relations or whose aid they need for themselves, this state of things can do no good to the country; on the contrary, it will be harmful.

Now it remains to be considered what the electors should do if they do not receive a satisfactory answer to their questions or if they cannot find men of character. It is an established custom with regard to elections that electors, if they do not find any candidate to their liking, need not register their votes. In such a case abstention amounts to an exercise of one's vote. Exception was taken to this procedure, that if good electors refuse to make their choice bad electors would make the worst choice. This is to a certain extent true. But suppose in a certain place, all candidates being drunkards, the better portion of the electorate abstain from voting and the candidates manage to secure votes from their kind, can they exercise any influence in the Councils? No doubt their vote has its numerical value, but their views and speeches cannot influence the Council. Moreover, an intelligent abstention has its own effect. The electors having once failed to find a proper candidate will next time take steps to find out a suitable man and elect him, and by so doing they will raise the level of their own place. In a growing nation people are able to understand the national affairs and they are expected to purify the political atmosphere they live in and to maintain its purity. All enlightened and thoughtful voters will find that occasionally situations must arise when they will have to purposely refuse to register their votes. I earnestly hope that on such occasions our electors will have courage to do so. I hope that when they do exercise the vote they will give it to the best man no matter to which party he belongs.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 16-5-1920

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172. FOR USERS OF KHADI

The reader will be glad to know that the stock of khadi which had accumulated in the Satyagraha Ashram has been entirely sold out.[1] Shri Narandas Purshottam and Shri Vithaldas Jerajani of the Shuddha Swadeshi Bhandar have bought up khadi and other things worth 10,000 rupees and demands for khadi are also coming in from the Punjab, Sind and other provinces. So, the centres which had been asked not to send any more khadi [to the Ashram] have now resumed its supply. Those who want to buy khadi keep asking for samples and prices, but at present we are in no position to be definite about either. It should be remembered that it is only a year since the revival of hand-spinning. Following its revival hundreds of women who used to remain idle for want of work have started working and earning some money. Hundreds of weavers, who had given up their profession, have resumed weaving. So, the hand-spun yarn is not yet sufficiently fine and the khadi is not of uniform quality or texture. Moreover, the weavers are not paid at a uniform rate in all places. Where they cannot afford to accept payment at a low rate, they are offered more. By and by, we shall be able to achieve some sort of a standard regarding the width, the quality and the price of khadi, and, if we learn to appreciate its usefulness and sacredness, we shall soon succeed in getting khadi worth lakhs of rupees produced and see that the poor people earn all that money. Meanwhile, the khadi-wearer should be satisfied with whatever quality of khadi he gets. The only assurance which can be given is that nothing would have been added to the price of this khadi over and above the cost of the cotton and the labour involved in turning the cotton into cloth. If, moreover, we take its durability into account, we shall find no cloth which can stand comparison with it.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 16-5-1920

[1] *Vide* "The Uses of Khaddar", 28-4-1920.

173. FAMINE IN ORISSA

I wrote something about the Orissa famine in last Sunday's *Navajivan*. I was expecting a letter from Shri Amritlal Thakkar, as I hinted then. I have received it now and it is as follows.[1]

This letter is the result of first-hand investigation. How acute the distress is will be known only hereafter. Our duty, meanwhile, is clear to us. Where even a single person, for no fault of his, dies of hunger because of famine, other people have no right to eat in peace. I hope, therefore, that everybody will help to the best of his ability. Orissa is not such a place that the people themselves can help [those in distress] at the time of a calamity like this. They have received no help from other places. We have heard of this suffering and so it is our clear duty to help them. In Ahmedabad, the Gujarat Sabha has taken up this work and collections have already started for this purpose. Receipts will be given for any contributions received and the accounts received from Shri Amritlal Thakkar will also be published.

MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 16-5-1920

174. MILL-OWNERS AND WORKERS OF AHMEDABAD

I had hoped that I would not have to write anything about the dispute between the mill-owners and the workers.[2] But, when thousands of people stop working, I feel that as a journalist I am in duty bound to bring this matter to the notice of readers. There are problems of which a genuine solution is rendered more difficult by public discussion. Even so, when a situation has become the subject of talk among people, it is the duty of the journalist to put the matter before the public in its true perspective. This is so in regard to [the conflict between] the mill-owners and workers.

There are more than fifty mills in Ahmedabad. In these mills not less than fifty thousand workers are employed. The workers

[1] Not translated here. For the substance of the letter, *vide* "Distress in Orissa", 12-5-1920.

[2] On March 31, Gandhiji had written to the mill-owners requesting them to grant certain concessions to the workers.

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of the throstle section of the spinning departments demanded from their employers a wage of Rs. 30 and ten hours' work instead of twelve hours' as at present.

They submitted these demands after much thinking. There are other demands besides these which are not in dispute. They are, for instance, that in mills where they are not getting clean water, arrangements should be made to supply it to them, that lavatories, if not clean, should be improved, that separate lunch rooms should be provided where they do not exist at present. These facilities ought to be provided as a matter of course. It is a matter of shame that they have to be asked for.

What raised a serious dispute, however, was the demand for an increase in wages and decrease of working hours.

There were consultations between the representatives of mill-owners and workers. In this the object of both parties was to avert a strike. This could happen only in two ways : either the workers remain ignorant and do not try to understand their rights or, though knowing them, forgo them; alternatively, in case of difference of opinion between the two parties, they go to a third party for a decision. If this latter course is followed, the workers should be able to act unitedly. As the mill-owners need some means, a body like their Association, to speak with one voice and in concert, the workers should also have a union to represent them. With this end in view, an effort was made to organize workers' unions and a start was made with the workers of the throstle section.[1] Some unions were actually formed. If these unions function well, acting with unity of purpose and speaking with one voice, their strength will increase very much indeed and, at the same time, the members will learn to be bound by their decisions whether these are to their liking or not. The risk is that, with the establishment of unions, the workers' strength will increase and may be misused. The advantage would be that the members would learn to obey rules and exercise some self-restraint. Arbitrators can be appointed and disputes settled through them only if there are such unions. Only when this practice has taken root will there be an end to strikes.

In this case, when the workers put forth their demands as above, some mill-owners wanted to refer them straightway to arbitrators for their decision. Shri Ambalal [Sarabhai] took the lead in this. He felt that if disputes were resolved through arbitration, strikes could be averted and the industry could be saved

[1] *Vide* "Speech at Meeting of Mill-hands, Ahmedabad", 25-2-1920.

losses. And so he and others, who subscribed to his view, drew up a *panchanama*[1] and this was signed.

Shri Mangaldas was of the view that it would be better if there was nobody between the mill-owners and the workers; that this in fact would be the most honourable thing for the two parties. Any difference of opinion between them they should settle between themselves. He even tried to settle matters in this way. His great fear is that the workers are growing insubordinate day by day and refuse to submit to discipline. If this went on, the industry would suffer. Hence the workers should have training in securing justice by direct negotiations with the employers. He did solve some disputes in this way. But, finally, he also accepted to some extent the principle of arbitration in regard to the workers of the throstle section. It was decided that a joint award by him and myself would be accepted.

This notwithstanding, Shri Ambalal's *panchanama* remained, but on the understanding that, if Mangaldas's proposal led to an agreed decision, it should be accepted by Shri Ambalal's party. Shri Mangaldas and I could not reach agreement up to April 25. As Shri Ambalal was proceeding to England, he decided to finalize the rates of wages in so far as he was concerned and did so in consultation with the representatives of the workers. Shri Mangaldas was informed about them. Thereafter we started our consultation but could not come to an agreed decision. As a result, except in the twelve mills of Shri Ambalal's group, there was a strike from May 9. A compromise was possible if the workers accepted something less than the wages proposed by Shri Ambalal's group. This, however, they could not do, since they believed that even the wages accepted by Shri Ambalal's group were not adequate. At length, they agreed to entrust the matter to a single arbitrator for award. But Shri Mangaldas and I could not name such an arbitrator acceptable to both of us and so a strike has started.

My only wish is that the workers should preserve complete peace despite the strike, that the mill-owners, too, should take calm thought and do only what is right and proper. I see no need, just now, to answer questions like these: whether or not the demands of the workers are justified, whether they have erred in doing what they have done, whether the decision of the Ambalal group to appoint arbitrators was proper, whether there was any principle at stake in Shri Mangaldas's party fighting for a modification of rates by a small percentage, whether it was right of me

[1] Instrument appointing a board of arbitrators

to have associated myself with both *panchas*. For the present, I think it would be better not to go deeply into disputed matters so that a favourable atmosphere might be created for ending the strike without untoward incidents and for the resumption of work by the mill-hands.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 16-5-1920

175. MORE THOUGHTS ABOUT WIDOWS

The ideal of widowhood is one of the glories of the Hindu religion. If the vow of unswerving devotion to the husband has any meaning, it is that, once a woman has, with full knowledge, accepted and looked upon a man as her husband, even when he has died she should cherish his memory and rest in it, nay, find joy in it. It is by living in this way that thousands of widows in India have become sacred names worthy of remembrance in one's morning prayers. Only recently I had occasion to call on *Ganga-swarup*[1] Ramabai Ranade[2] and saw her in her own room. In the centre of the room, I saw a couch, with a portrait of the late Justice Ranade placed on it. I understood its significance but to make sure I asked her why the portrait was kept there. She replied : "Well, this was his couch; it was on this that he generally sat and so I have reserved it for his portrait. I pass my day and also sleep at night under its shadow." I was filled with joy to hear these holy words and I understood the glory of widowhood the better. I know that chaste and devoted wives like Ramabai are to be found everywhere in India.

But where shall we find men with the ideal of devotion to one wife? If there are none such, are the men merely to honour chaste and devoted wives and be satisfied with that; should they not honour such wives by themselves following with absolute firmness the ideal of devotion to one wife? What can be better worship than emulation? Where, on the contrary, there is not the slightest desire to emulate, what value is to be put upon mere lip-worship? I have been in India for five years and have gathered a good deal

[1] Literally, in a state like Ganga's. According to the *Mahabharata*, the sacred river took human form and lived as wife of King Shantanu for some time. Among Hindus, the term is prefixed to the name of a widow.

[2] Widow of Justice Mahadev Govind Ranade who died in 1901; a social reformer of Maharashtra

of experience of every aspect of Indian life. I have seen many a young man generally considered to have good character and to all appearances bearing great love for his wife, getting engaged and marrying soon after the wife dies. And this has pained me a great deal. If we had not been slaves of certain customs, the very idea that a man who had lost his wife should, even before he has returned home from the cremation, think of remarriage would be harrowing. Actually, the mother wishes to see her widowed son married again at the earliest. Even the mother-in-law encourages her widowed son-in-law to get married and the son-in-law is not in the least embarrassed when so advised. What is the meaning of such a man shedding tears [over his dead wife] ? What is the value of innumerable efforts such a man may make to perpetuate the memory of his former wife ? Again, how much value should the new wife attach to the love which he may shower on her? How can such a life be considered as guided by thought? I see nothing but wickedness in it and, as long as men do not mind being thus brazen-faced, to praise widowhood seems to me sheer hypocrisy and the very height of selfishness on their part.

A man who has been a friend to his wife for some years, has shared her joy and sorrow, has enjoyed life with her, should he not observe mourning even as long as one does on the death of a mere friend? Even in England, where widows can remarry, a woman of good family does not, maybe for fear of public opinion, venture to seek another man's company for a period of one year. The nobility of an Indian husband, however, does not last beyond the cremation ground and, at times, in the very precincts of the crematorium, even as the body of his holy wife is being consumed to ashes on the pyre, his relatives do not hesitate to propose to him remarriage and the widowed man feels no shame in lending his ear to such talk. It is essential that India saves herself from this pitiable plight. I see man's selfishness, conscious or otherwise, even in the movement for encouraging widows to remarry. By helping them to do so, men want to forget their own shame. If men believe that widows really suffer, they can help the latter to forget that suffering by themselves following uncompromisingly the ideal of taking only one wife. In such matters, public opinion has become so feeble that I have seen, all over India, educated men of noble families entering into ill-matched unions or, on the death of their wife, remarrying immediately.

Whether or not men do their duty, why should the women not have their rights? Women must have voting rights, by all means; but what will women, who do not understand what rights

are or, if they understand them, do not have the strength to secure them, do with voting rights? Let them have these rights, there is no harm in that; let them become members of legislatures in India; but the foremost duty of women is to save themselves from the intentional or unintentional tyranny of men and make India glorious and strong. It is only when an ignorant woman is ready to sacrifice her equally ignorant daughter to the fire of a recent widower's lust that the man, whose tears of grief on the loss of his wife have not yet dried, can think of remarrying. For my part, I believe that it is women's right, nay, it is a duty they owe to themselves, to their menfolk and to India, to bring about reforms of this kind.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 16-5-1920

176. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING

THE ASHRAM,
May 16, 1920

MY DEAR CHILD,

I cannot send you a love-letter, for the publication of the peace terms[1] again unsettles the regularity of my work. I am glad you are able to leave quite so early as the 19th. I hope you received my telegram[2] in reply to yours. Please do not worry about what happens to us here. We are all in God's keeping and if we wait upon Him and Him alone, whatever happens is for our good. Even so-called afflictions turn out then to be for our benefit. Give yourself perfect rest and peace at home, let your father meet you as a better Christian for having been to India and having come in contact with the Ashram and then when you are rested, strong in body, mind and soul, return. May you have a safe voyage, a happy time at home and a safe return. You will write of course regularly and give me your home address.

With deep love,

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat of the original in N.A.I.; also *My Dear Child*, pp. 70-1

[1] Presented by the Allies to Turkey; *vide* Appendix I.
[2] Not available

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177. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

ASHRAM,
Vaishakh Vad 13 [*May 17, 1920*][1]

CHI. DEVDAS,

Your letter of the 6th came as a shock to me. I am always afraid for your health. If I did not press you to come here, it was partly also because of this fear. I thought it would be better for you to live alone in some cool place. I am waiting impatiently for your next letter. I did not get the letter you wrote before the 6th; I don't know if I shall get it. The postal department is in no end of a mess these days. I sent a telegram to Panditji[2] about you, but I have had no reply to that either. Remember that I am going to Kashi on the 30th. There will be no harm if now you stay on there till then. We shall meet and think about the future.

I think I shall not have to go to England. Now that the peace terms are known, all that remains is to consult among ourselves what to do next.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Miss Faering leaves for Denmark the day after tomorrow.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 7173

178. PRESS STATEMENT ON TURKISH PEACE TERMS

The Turkish terms[3] are admittedly a staggering blow to the Indian Mussulmans. In spite of the claim made in the Government *communique* that the peace terms are a fulfilment of Mr. Lloyd George's pledge of 5th January, 1918, it is in my opinion not a true fulfilment either of the letter or the spirit of the pledge. However, what to do now is the question. I hope that the Mohammedans will not lose self-control nor give way to despair. Given an adequate measure of intelligent self-sacrifice, I have no doubt

[1] Although *Vaishakh Vad* 13 corresponds to May 16, Esther Faering, whose departure is mentioned in the text, left for Denmark on May 19, 1920.

[2] Madan Mohan Malaviya

[3] *Vide* Appendix I.

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that it is possible to secure justice. There is no sacred character about the peace terms. They are capable of being revised. The only question is whether the Mohammedans can exercise full self-control and at the same time undergo considerable amount of self-sacrifice. Any outbreak of violence will, undoubtedly, spoil what is a good cause. I am convinced that non-co-operation is the only effective remedy both for avoiding violence and for healing the wound inflicted on Mohammedan India. If other Indians and Englishmen would make common cause with their Mussulman fellow-subjects the task will be easy and it will ensure non-violence in the land.

I trust that the Khilafat Committee will call immediately a joint conference of Hindus and Mohammedans to consider the steps to be taken with a view to concerted action being taken for securing a revision of the terms in consistence with the pledged word of British ministers and the known religious sentiment of Indian Mussulmans.

The Bombay Chronicle, 18-5-1920

179. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

ASHRAM,
Amavasya[1] [*May 18, 1920*][2]

CHI. DEVDAS,

I got only today your letter of the 12th. You must have missed my letters for about a week because, thinking that you would come here, I did not write any. When I had no letter from you, I lost patience and started writing. When I did not receive any even after this, I sent a telegram and now they have started coming.

You cannot praise Panditji's kindness too much. He gets so many things done through his large-heartedness.

I am bound to worry about you in a general way. But I feel reassured by the thought that your character will always protect you.

I shall arrive there[3] on the 29th. Since I shall be starting from Bombay at night, there is only one train I can take. Panditji,

[1] The last day of the lunar month according to the reckoning in use in Gujarat

[2] The workers' strike at Ahmedabad, mentioned in the text ended on May 21, 1920. In May 1920 *Amavasya* fell on the 18th.

[3] Banaras

I presume, will be there. Pandit Motilal has written to everyone suggesting that all of us could stay in a hotel, but I have replied to him saying that, if Panditji is there, he will not allow me to put up at any place but his.

I have already sent you a copy of Mr. Montagu's reply.

Mr. Aiyyar of Pondicherry was here. He stayed for three days.

The workers' strike will end today. I believe they will resume work from tomorrow. I think I sent you all the leaflets.

Fatima is on a visit here with her mother-in-law, and so I stop.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 7174

180. SWADESHI DAY BY DAY[1]

Readers of *Young India* will be agreeably surprised to learn that the article[2] about khaddar has not only resulted in complete disposal of the stock that had accumulated at the Ashram, but it has evoked orders from Baluchistan, the Nilgiris, and even Aden. This is as it should be. The revival of the ancient cottage industry of India—hand-spinning during leisure hours in their own homes by the millions of women, and hand-weaving in similar circumstances by men—cannot but produce a silent yet effective revolution in this country and prevent an annual drain of crores of rupees which need never have left India and distribute the savings among the poor millions instead of concentrating them in the hands of a few capitalists. This is not to say that we do not want capitalists in India. They are there already. They are able to take care of themselves. It is the poor millions who need to be lifted up from grinding poverty and consequent degradation. Nothing but a full revival of the hand-spinning and the hand-weaving industry can raise them effectively and speedily. It is to be hoped therefore that the demand for khaddar being proved, its production will be stimulated in every nook and corner of India.

The most wonderful experience, however, of the popularity of swadeshi has been that of Shrimati Sarladevi Chowdhrani and

[1] This article has been identified as Gandhiji's from the draft in his hand preserved in the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi.

[2] *Vide* "The Uses of Khaddar", 28-4-1920.

Mrs. Mohani, the wife of that sincere and indefatigable worker, Maulana Hasrat Mohani. Writing from Lahore whilst preparing to go to Bareilly, where she had to go to attend the Khilafat Conference[1], the former says :

> I have done my packing racked with conflicts as to what to take and what not to take with me—whether to wear khaddar dress there while addressing the audience or swadeshi silk, the point of which will not be so well understood—whether to take up the trunk or to wrap up the holdall with clothes inside the bedding —whether to be smart and fashionable as of old or to be simple and common only. I have at last chosen to be the latter. But it is taking time and trouble to assimilate the new method.

Writing after her experiences of Bareilly, she says :

> Just coming back from visits to Mohammedan families. There were two ladies—wife and sister in one place. They took the vow for charkha and swadeshi. In another place there were six ladies who all took the same vow. It was a family of Cutchi Bohras[2], very rich and cultured, settled down here since the days of the Mutiny. I find I can do the swadeshi and charkha propaganda to perfection in these provinces. My swadeshi dress is having its effect. At a meeting called in Bareilly by Mrs. Mohani, fifteen Mohammedan ladies took the swadeshi vow.

Speaking to the Bareilly divisional conference in Hindustani on a resolution on swadeshi, she laid stress upon the deep poverty of India and her two chief wants—food and raiment—and she said that if we did not know how to manage our own homes and could not make the two ends meet, we would be ill fitted to undertake the management of the national affairs. It was remarkable, she added, that whilst the people were ready to listen to speeches which required from them no action and no sacrifice they were chary of attending meetings where they were told home truths and which drew their attention to their primary duty of attending to swadeshi at all costs. She asked them to work in the spirit of the late Vidyasagar[3], who was not only not ashamed of but took pride in wearing throughout his life khaddar cloth. She admitted that return to khaddar was difficult, but all upward movements were so. India would never be able to produce the beautiful cloth she did before, until she resolutely refused to use silks from China, Japan, France and elsewhere, and was content in the interval to wear cloth made out of coarse yarn that daughters of India were

[1] Held on May 3, 1920

[2] A Muslim community from Cutch, in Gujarat

[3] Ishwarchandra Vidyasagar (1820-1901); Sanskrit scholar and social reformer of Bengal

able to produce today. Her poverty and her nakedness, too, left no option to those who realized the actual condition of the country. She appealed to those on the platform to lead the way, emphasizing her admonition by quoting:

यद्यदाचरति श्रेष्ठस्तत्तदेवेतरो जनः ।
स यत्प्रमाणं कुरुते लोकस्तदनुवर्तते ।।[1]

The Chowdharis[2] had not much time left to them to test the truth of the above remarks in their own home, for they had to prepare dresses for their eldest son whose marriage was to take place on the 14th instant. Pandit Rambhuj Dutt Chowdhari writes:

> All marriage clothes have been made of swadeshi silk made in Benares. It is somewhat costly but excellent stuff. We have rigidly excluded all foreign silk.

Young India, 19-5-1920

181. SOME QUESTIONS ANSWERED

I write to thank you for yours of the 7th instant and especially for your request that I should, after reading your writings in *Young India* on non-co-operation, give a full and frank criticism of them. I know that your sole desire is to find out the truth and to act accordingly, and hence I venture to make the following remarks. In the issue of May 5th you say that non-co-operation is "not even anti-Government".[3] But surely to refuse to have anything to do with the Government to the extent of not serving it and of not paying its taxes is actually, if not theoretically, anti-Government; and such a course must ultimately make all government impossible. Again, you say, "It is the inherent right of a subject to refuse to assist a government that will not listen to him."[4] Leaving aside the question of the ethical soundness of this proposition, may I ask which government, in the present case? Has not the Indian Government done all it possibly can in the matter? Then if its attempts to voice the request of India should fail, would it be fair and just to do anything against it ? Would not the proper course be non-co-operation with the Supreme Council of the Allies, including Great Britain, if it be found that the latter has failed properly to support the demand of the Indian Government and people? It seems to me that in all your writings and speeches you forget that in the present question both Government and people are

[1] What the eminent man does, others do. The standard he sets up, the rest of the world follows. *Bhagavad Gita*, III, 21.
[2] Sarladevi and her husband
[3] & [4] *Vide* "How to Work Non-co-operation", 5-5-1920.

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at one, and if they fail to get what they justly want, how does the question of non-co-operation arise? Hindus and Englishmen and the Government are all at present "shouldering in a full-hearted manner the burden the Mohammedans of India are carrying,"[1] etc., etc. But supposing we fail of our object—what then? Are we all to refuse to co-operate and with whom?

Might I recommend the consideration of the following course of conduct?

1. "Wait and see" what the actual terms of the Treaty with Turkey are.

2. If they are not in accordance with the aspirations and recommendations of the Government and the people of India, then every legitimate effort should be made to have the terms revised.

3. To the bitter end, co-operate with a Government that co-operates with us, and only when it refuses co-operation, go in for non-co-operation.

So far I personally see no reason whatsoever for non-co-operation with the Indian Government, and till it fails to voice the needs and demands of India as a whole there can be no reason. The Indian Government does sometimes make mistakes, but in the Khilafat matter it is sound and therefore deserves or ought to have the sympathetic and whole-hearted co-operation of every one in India. I hope that you will kindly consider the above and perhaps you will be able to find time for a reply in *Young India*.

I gladly make room for the above letter and respond to the suggestion to give a public reply as no doubt the difficulty experienced by the English friend is experienced by many. Causes are generally lost, not owing to the determined opposition of men who will not see the truth as they want to perpetuate an injustice but because they are able to enlist in their favour the allegiance of those who are anxious to understand a particular cause and take sides after mature judgment. It is only by patient argument with such honest men that one is able to check oneself, correct one's own errors of judgment and at times to wean them from their error and bring them over to one's side. This Khilafat question is specially difficult because there are so many side issues. It is therefore no wonder that many have more or less difficulty in making up their minds. It is further complicated because the painful necessity for some direct action has arisen in connection with it. But whatever the difficulty, I am convinced that there is no question so important as this one if we want harmony and peace in India.

[1] *Vide* " How to Work Non-co-operation", 5-5-1920.

My friend objects to my statement that non-co-operation is not anti-Government, because he considers that refusal to serve it and pay its taxes is actually anti-Government. I respectfully dissent from the view. If a brother has fundamental differences with his brother, and association with the latter involves his partaking of what in his opinion is an injustice, I hold that it is his brotherly duty to refrain from serving his brother and sharing his earnings with him. This happens in everyday life. Prahlad did not act against his father, when he declined to associate himself with the latter's blasphemies. Nor was Jesus anti-Jewish when he declaimed against the Pharisees and the hypocrites, and would have none of them. In such matters, is it not the intention that determines the character of a particular act? It is hardly correct as the friend suggests that withdrawal of association under general circumstances would make all government impossible. But it is true that such withdrawal would make all injustice impossible.

My correspondent considers that the Government of India having done all it possibly could, non-co-operation could not be applicable to that Government. In my opinion, whilst it is true that the Government of India has done a great deal, it has not done half as much as it might have done, and might even now do. No government can absolve itself from further action beyond protesting, when it realizes that the people whom it represents feel as keenly as do lakhs of Indian Mussulmans in the Khilafat question. No amount of sympathy with a starving man can possibly avail. He must have bread or he dies, and what is wanted at that critical moment is some exertion to fetch the wherewithal to feed the dying man. The Government of India can today head the agitation and ask, to the point of insistence, for full vindication of the pledged word of a British Minister. Has the Government of India resigned by way of protest against the threatened, shameful betrayal of trust on the part of Mr. Lloyd George ? Why does the Government of India hide itself behind secret despatches ? At a less critical moment Lord Hardinge committed a constitutional indiscretion,[1] openly sympathized with the South African passive resistance movement and stemmed the surging tide of public indignation in India, though at the same time he incurred the wrath of the then South African Cabinet and some public men in Great Britain. After all, the utmost that the Government of India has done is, on its own showing, to transmit and press the Mohammedan claim. Was that not the least it could have done? Could it have done

[1] *Vide* Vol. XII, Appendix XVI.

anything less without covering itself with disgrace? What Indian Mohammedans and the Indian public expect the Government of India to do at this critical juncture is not the least, but the utmost that it could do. Viceroys have been known to tender resignations for much smaller causes. Wounded pride brought forth not very long ago the resignation of a Lieutenant-Governor. On the Khilafat question, a sacred cause dear to the hearts of several million Mohammedans is in danger of being wounded. I would therefore invite the English friend, and every Englishman in India, and every Hindu, be he moderate or extremist, to make common cause with the Mohammedans and thereby compel the Government of India to do its duty, and thereby compel His Majesty's Ministers to do theirs.

There has been much talk of violence ensuing from active non-co-operation. I venture to suggest that the Mussulmans of India, if they had nothing in the shape of non-co-operation in view, would have long ago yielded to counsels of despair. I admit that non-co-operation is not unattended with danger. But violence is a certainty without, violence is only a possibility with, non-co-operation. And it will be a greater possibility if all the important men, English, Hindu and others of the country, discountenance it.

I think that the recommendation made by the friend is being literally followed by the Mohammedans. Although they practically know the fate, they are waiting for the actual terms of the treaty with Turkey. They are certainly going to try every means at their disposal to have the terms revised before beginning non-co-operation. And there will certainly be no non-co-operation commenced so long as there is even hope of active co-operation on the part of the Government of India with the Mohammedans, that is, co-operation strong enough to secure a revision of the terms should they be found to be in conflict with the pledges of British statesmen. But if all these things fail, can Mohammedans as men of honour who hold their religion dearer than lives do anything less than wash their hands clean of the guilt of British Ministers and the Government of India by refusing to co-operate with them? And can Hindus and Englishmen, if they value Mohammedan friendship, and if they admit the full justice of the Mohammedan claim, do otherwise than heartily support the Mohammedans by word and deed?

Young India, 19-5-1920

182. PLEDGES BROKEN

After the foregoing[1] was printed the long expected peace terms regarding Turkey[2] were received. In my humble opinion, they are humiliating to the Supreme Council[3], to the British Ministers, and if as a Hindu with deep reverence for Christianity I may say so, a denial of Christ's teachings. Turkey broken down and torn with dissensions within may submit to the arrogant disposal of herself, and Indian Mohammedans may out of fear do likewise. Hindus out of fear, apathy or want of appreciation of the situation, may refuse to help their Mohammedan brethren in their hour of peril. The fact remains that a solemn promise of the Prime Minister of England has been wantonly broken. I will say nothing about President Wilson's fourteen points[4], for they seem now to be entirely forgotten as a day's wonder. It is a matter of deep sorrow that the Government of India *communique* offers a defence of the terms, calls them a fulfilment of Mr. Lloyd George's pledge of 5th January, 1918, and yet apologizes for their defective nature and appeals to the Mohammedans of India, as if to mock them, that they would accept the terms with quiet resignation. The mask that veils the hypocrisy is too thin to deceive anybody. It would have been dignified if the *communique* had boldly admitted Mr. Lloyd George's mistake in having made the promise referred to. As it is, the claim of fulfilment of the promise only adds to the irritation caused by its glaring breach. What is the use of the Viceroy saying, "The question of the Khilafat is one for the Mohammedans and Mohammedans only and that with their free choice in the matter Government have no desire to interfere," while the Khalif's dominions are ruthlessly dismembered, his control of the holy places of Islam shamelessly taken away from him and he himself reduced to utter impotence in his own palace which can no longer be called a palace but which can be more fitly described as a prison? No wonder His Excellency fears that the peace includes "terms which must be painful to all Moslems". Why should he insult Muslim intelligence by sending the Mussulmans of India a message[5] of

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.
[2] *Vide* Appendix I.
[3] Of the Allies
[4] Accepted by the Allies as the basis of peace on January 4, 1918
[5] Published on May 14, 1920; *vide* Appendix II.

encouragement and sympathy? Are they expected to find encouragement in the cruel recital of the arrogant terms or in a remembrance of 'the splendid response' made by them to the call of the King 'in the day of the Empire's need'? It ill becomes His Excellency to talk of the triumph of those ideals of justice and humanity for which the Allies fought. Indeed, the terms of the so-called peace with Turkey, if they are to last, will be a monument of human arrogance and man-made injustice. To attempt to crush the spirit of a brave and gallant race, because it has lost in the fortunes of war, is a triumph not of humanity but a demonstration of inhumanity. And if Turkey enjoyed the closest ties of friendship with Great Britain before the War, Great Britain has certainly made ample reparation for her mistake by having made the largest contribution to the humiliation of Turkey. It is insufferable therefore when the Viceroy feels confident that with the conclusion of this new treaty that friendship will quickly take life again and a Turkey regenerate, full of hope and strength, will stand forth in the future, as in the past, a pillar of the Islamic faith. The Viceregal message audaciously concludes, "This thought will, I trust, strengthen you to accept the peace terms with resignation, courage and fortitude and to keep your loyalty towards the Crown bright and untarnished as it has been for so many generations." If Muslim loyalty remains untarnished it will certainly not be for want of effort on the part of the Government of India to put the heaviest strain upon it, but it will remain so because the Mohammedans realize their own strength—the strength in the knowledge that their cause is just and that they have got the power to vindicate justice in spite of the aberration suffered by Great Britain under a Prime Minister whom continued power has made as reckless in making promises as in breaking them.

Whilst therefore I admit that there is nothing either in the peace terms or in the Viceregal message covering them to inspire Mohammedans and Indians in general with confidence or hope, I venture to suggest that there is no cause for despair or anger. Now is the time for Mohammedans to retain absolute self-control, to unite their forces and, weak though they are, with firm faith in God to carry on the struggle with redoubled vigour till justice is done. If India—both Hindu and Mohammedan—can act as one man and can withdraw her partnership in this crime against humanity which the peace terms represent, she will soon secure a revision of the treaty and give herself and the Empire at least, if not the world, a lasting peace. There is no doubt that the struggle would be bitter, sharp and possibly prolonged, but it is worth all

the sacrifice that it is likely to call forth. Both the Mussulmans and the Hindus are on their trial. Is the humiliation of the Khilafat a matter of concern to the former? And if it is, are they prepared to exercise restraint, religiously refrain from violence and practise non-co-operation without counting the material loss it may entail upon the community? Do the Hindus honestly feel for their Mohammedan brethren to the extent of sharing their sufferings to the fullest extent? The answer to these questions, and not the peace terms, will finally decide the fate of the Khilafat.

Young India, 19-5-1920

183. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

[BOMBAY,]
Jeth Sud 2 [*May 20, 1920*][1]

CHI. DEVDAS,

I get letters from you regularly now. Since I am going there,[2] I hesitate to say that you may go to Almora. If you wish to, you may, though. If you feel like staying there [for some time], we shall draw up a programme only after I arrive there.

I have come here[3] for a day in connection with the Khilafat. You will be reading about it all in *Young India* and *Navajivan.*

As for my health, there is nothing in particular except weakness. I am so weak that I cannot walk at all. The legs have lost all strength. I cannot understand the cause. I can do my writing and other work well enough.

Prabhudas, Balkrishna, Doctor, Mahadev and Revashankerbhai have stayed on in Sinhgadh. Miss Faering left yesterday.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 7175

[1] Esther Faering left for Denmark on May 19, 1920, and this letter, as is evident from the text, was written on the following day.

[2] Presumably Gandhiji refers here to his proposed visit, in the last week of May 1920, to Banaras where Devdas then was.

[3] Bombay; *vide* the following item.

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184. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

BOMBAY,
Thursday [*May 20, 1920*][1]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I have come here for a day. Ever since you left, I have spent the time for morning and evening prayers in long discussions. I discussed the things we have been talking about: my connection with the Ashram, Khilafat, swadeshi, Home Rule League work, how I cultivated peace and how others can do so. We talked at length. I am going to talk more yet. You will get reports from others.

Jaisukhlal has been to see me. He came only yesterday. His health is broken. Vrajlal is still running a temperature. His face looks all right, though. Make yourself thoroughly familiar with things before you return. I shall have to leave Ahmedabad for Kashi on the 26th.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 5695. Courtesy: Radhabehn Chowdhari

185. LETTER TO SHAH HAFIZ ALAM

[*May 21, 1920*][2]

DEAR SHAH SAHIB,

I have your letter of the 14th instant. I received it only today on my return from Bombay, where I had gone for the Khilafat business[3].

I wish our friends will understand that the whole struggle consists in suffering imprisonment and all the other hardships that

[1] The letter was evidently written on the same day as the letter to Devdas dated *Jeth Sud 2*, the preceding item. Gandhiji left for Banaras, according to his intention expressed in the last line, on May 26, 1920, which was a Wednesday.

[2] The source mentions that this letter was reported on June 5, 1920, and Gandhiji returned from his latest visit to Bombay, before that date, on May 21.

[3] Presumably in connection with the peace terms presented by the Allies to Turkey.

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the Government may seek to impose upon us. We must not expect to carry on a stubborn non-co-operation campaign and yet expect not to be arrested, bound over, imprisoned, deported. The whole struggle consists in our ability to undergo all these things without a single muscle being moved. I for one, therefore, will not only quarrel with the vigour of Government but will prepare the community for much greater. I hope to be in Benares on the 30th instant[1] where I will be pleased to meet Allahabad friends. What we now need is not big meetings but a proper grasp of the situation on the part of those who have to lead the movement.

Bombay Secret Abstracts, 1920, p. 933

186. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING

ASHRAM,
May 21, 1920

MY DEAR CHILD,

I tried to overtake you on Wednesday, but it was not to be. I had to settle the dispute of labour. I therefore postponed. They all told me you were anxious to meet me. Of course you were. A friend is waiting to take the post, so I must be brief. I have your last precious letter. I know you will be all you say. May God bring you back safe, strong in body, mind and spirit.

I hope you received my note[2] on the *Berlin*[3].

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat of the original in N.A.I.; also *My Dear Child,* p. 71

187. TELEGRAM TO SHAUKAT ALI[4]

May 22, 1920

YES. ALLAHABAD. 1ST OR 2ND JUNE SUITS.

Bombay Secret Abstracts, 1920, p. 825

[1] For a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee where Gandhiji proposed that the Congress should recommend a programme of non-co-operation to the country without any further delay

[2] Not available

[3] The ship on which Esther Faering sailed for Denmark

[4] Sent in connection with the forthcoming conference on the Khilafat issue to be held at Allahabad

188. LETTER TO G. V. MAVALANKAR

ASHRAM,
Jeth Sud 5 [*May 22, 1920*][1]

BHAISHRI MAVALANKAR,

I have got your letter. I destroyed it immediately after reading it. I could understand the dilemma[2] in which you find yourself. It should be enough for me if you do not misunderstand what I wrote to you. I simply cannot expect people always to act according to my advice. I did my duty. My mind is easy now. You may be sure that my regard for you will not diminish in the least.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1222

189. WHAT SHALL WE DO NOW?

The peace terms have been announced. We understand the English term *peace* to mean the treaty which ends fighting. But it also means quiet. If the terms which are announced had been described as the terms of war, the description would have been truer to facts. But, as was said in ridicule of the late Mr. Gladstone by an equally great man, the late Mr. Disraeli, language was invented not to express men's thoughts but to conceal them. That remark is perfectly applicable to the peace terms now announced. To say that there is peace where one party forces the other to agree to something against its will, crushes it under its brute strength, is a grave offence against *Satyanarayan*[3].

And yet the Supreme Council has framed such terms and sent them to Turkey. It has, by doing so, disgraced the epithet it uses to describe itself. For a council which ignores justice and, blinded by its strength, wishes to describe injustice as justice, to call itself supreme is to add insult to injury. The peace terms may be said to have completely violated the pledges given by British Ministers. The promise was to the effect that the Turkish Empire would be

[1] The date is given in Mavalankar's *Sansmarano*.
[2] *Vide* "Letter to G. V. Mavalankar", 11-5-1920.
[3] God in the form of Truth

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preserved intact in Asia and Europe, wherever there were communities of Turks. But the Turkish Empire has been preserved only in name. In fact, the Supreme Council has, as it were, imprisoned the Sultan in his own palace. This amounts to torturing the Turks by constantly reminding them of their past glory. There was hope that the holy places of Islam would remain under the control of the Khalifa. Actually, he has been deprived of his suzerainty over these holy places as also over the peninsula which Muslims know as Jazirat-ul-Arab; in all this, there is not even a trace of justice or truth. Its being described, nevertheless, as justice is the very limit of man's pride and haughtiness, his reliance on brute strength. If such one-sided terms can be described as just, many things in the world which we usually know as injustice will have to be considered just.

And yet His Excellency the Viceroy, addressing the Muslims,[1] tells them that they should remain peaceful, that what now remains leaves room for hope and so they should take heart, rather than fall into despair. They should remember [he says] the old friendship between England and Turkey, and now that the peace terms have brought about a reunion, they should cement the new friendship and help in creating a new and glorious Turkey. These words of His Excellency are like branding again a man who has received burns. What should one do in this difficult situation? If the Muslims sit still, all that they have done during the last four years will be proved to have been hollow. If the Muslims have no peace, Hindus can have none, and *vice versa*—such is the law of friendship. If, losing our peace of mind in this way, we give way to anger and, getting excited, take to violence, we shall have lost the game. If we refrain from violence, however, and show that we have the strength for self-sacrifice, we need not at all conclude that we have lost the game.

The Muslims and the rest of the country need not at all be shocked that the peace terms have been finalized. If India does her duty, these terms will certainly be revised. There is no reason to doubt this. To get these terms revised, India has only one thing at her disposal and that is non-co-operation. Non-co-operation has now become a duty because, if we do not start it, India will have been party to this injustice. The British Empire is alive only because of the co-operation of all its subjects. In everything it does, the Empire must have such co-operation, whether the co-operation is given willingly or otherwise. The chief manifestation

[1] In his message of May 14, 1920; *vide* Appendix II.

of satyagraha is refusal to submit to compulsion. Hence, wherever the people have even a little of satyagraha in them, they refuse to submit to compulsion and the rulers may manage such satyagrahi subjects by cajoling, that is, by pleasing them. On this issue of the Khilafat, the people should not submit to force nor allow themselves to be won over by cajoling. Hence, if the feelings of the Muslims have been really hurt, at any rate they cannot co-operate with the Empire. If the Muslims cannot, how can the Hindus?

A meeting of leading Hindus and Muslims is to be held shortly to consider when and how to start non-co-operation.[1] If the decisions of this meeting are enthusiastically accepted by the people, we shall produce good from what seems evil today. Meanwhile, the people should show the utmost patience and wait. That will be *tapascharya*[2] for them.

This great issue, however, raises many secondary issues. Some of these deserve attention. People from a number of places have strongly urged on me the inadvisability of non-co-operation and the risks involved in it. Hence, thinking that the answers I have given to some friends who have advised me deserve to be read by readers of *Navajivan* as well, I give here the substance of a letter from an English friend and of my reply to him.[3]

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 23-5-1920

190. IMPORTANCE OF KHADI

The reader will be glad to know that we have been receiving orders for khadi from all over India. All the stocks of khadi have been sold out and orders are still pouring in. But people should not understand from this that one should order no more khadi. Because people had lost faith in it, the production of khadi has stopped but otherwise our position is so good that we can produce heaps and heaps of it. Besides, though I want khadi to be sold, I place so high a value on it that I do not want anyone to order it, if it is actually not needed, just in order to reduce accumulated

[1] This joint Hindu-Muslim Conference was held at Allahabad on June 1 and 2, 1920. Three hundred influential representatives including Annie Besant, Madan Mohan Malaviya, Tej Bahadur Sapru and Motilal Nehru attended it.

[2] Self-suffering as moral discipline

[3] This article was followed by a Gujarati translation of "Some Questions Answered", 19-5-1920.

stocks. Khadi made from hand-spun yarn is sacred to me, so that such khadi is not to be thrown away. Moreover, consumption of khadi without real need will harm the country. Khadi will have been wisely used when we start wearing it in place of the fine cloth or foreign or mill-made cloth now used by us. Only then shall we succeed in overcoming the shortage of cloth in India. The rule, therefore, is that people who use a great variety of dresses should reduce their needs of cloth—so that the pressure on available cloth may be reduced and even in meeting their genuine needs they should use khadi wherever they can. This will spare cloth for the people and the money spent over cloth will have been well used, for, instead of a few people earning it, it will be distributed among thousands. It is not enough that we produce and consume; we should use our discretion in doing so. Production—and the manner of consumption too—should be so organized as to benefit the maximum number of people. This is the simple principle of economics. People starve only where this is violated. Hence a demand for khadi by itself will not please me. I can see, though, from the type of people who order khadi that they wish to put it to good use. We should also rejoice inasmuch as the demand for khadi is an expression of the love for the ideal of swadeshi. Orders for khadi have been received from places like Baluchistan and the Nilgiri Hills and from far-away Aden.

Perhaps we can derive still more satisfaction from the experience of Shrimati Saraladevi Chowdharani and the wife of the capable and extremely good-natured Maulana Hasrat Mohani. Saraladevi had an invitation to attend the Khilafat Conference at Bareilly. She went there on the 3rd. Having enjoyed wearing a khadi sari during the Satyagraha Week, she was perplexed what her duty was and considered the matter with herself. She wrote in one of her letters:[1]

After reaching Bareilly, on the basis of her experience there, she wrote:[2]

At the Provincial Conference at Bareilly, she moved the resolution on swadeshi. I give here some paragraphs from her speech in Hindi on that occasion:[3]

Soon after she had made this speech, she and her husband were to be put to a test, for their eldest son was married last

[1] & [2] Not translated here. For the relevant extracts, *vide* "Swadeshi Day by Day", 19-5-1920.

[3] Not translated here; for a report of it by Gandhiji, *vide* "Swadeshi Das by Day", 19-5-1920.

Wednesday. They were faced with the question what dresses they should get ready for the bride and the bridegroom. Writing about this, Pandit Rambhuj Dutt Chaudhari says:[1]

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 23-5-1920

191. MILL-OWNERS AND WORKERS OF AHMEDABAD

There is a proverb in English that all's well that ends well. Accordingly, the difference which arose for some time between the mill-owners and workers and the strike by the latter will be forgotten in a few days by both the parties as well as by the people but the good memories of that strike will remain. The workers, it can be safely asserted, showed in good measure the qualities of patience, firmness, courtesy, etc. It can also be said that they made an honest effort to give up drinking.[2]

Two circumstances militated against peace: that twelve mills were working and that the workers of the throstle department alone were on strike. The other workers were thrown out of employment for no fault of theirs. Even so, they exercised no pressure and peace was preserved throughout. We cannot adequately congratulate the workers on this.

We must admit, also, that the mill-owners, too, played their part in preserving peace. If they had wanted, they would have or could have provoked breach of peace. There is no doubt that, even if the workers had refused to be so provoked, the mill-owners could have made the maintenance of peace very difficult. On the contrary, the mill-owners, too, were always thinking how the strike could be ended early and it was because of this that it ended in ten days' time. I hope the workers will unhesitatingly resume work and give full satisfaction to their employers.[3] If they make good use of the increase in wages which the arbitrators have granted them, the fears which many mill-owners entertain on this subject will be dispelled. While, on the one hand, the wages have increased, on the other working hours have decreased. The workers should make good use of the time thus saved and prove their worth by

[1] For the sentences quoted, *vide* "Swadeshi Day by Day", 19-5-1920.

[2] Gandhiji had opened a temperance campaign among mill-hands, and by May 11 a hundred labourers had already signed the pledge.

[3] By May 20 work had been resumed in 18 out of 31 mills.

displaying greater vigilance and doing in ten hours the work they used to do in twelve.

I appeal to the mill-owners to be generous to the workers and win them over. If both the parties thus strive in the same direction, there will be no cause for differences or bitterness. One good principle has emerged as a result of this strike, namely, the principle of arbitration. The workers will not [I hope] go on strike hereafter but, whenever there are any differences between them and the employers, the two will always resolve their differences through arbitration. If this principle of arbitration comes to stay, there will be no reason at any time to fear disputes or strikes in Ahmedabad mills.

Both the parties have passed resolutions to this effect, but the value of resolutions depends on the future behaviour of those who pass them. The law cannot oblige them to do so. Everything depends upon the integrity and sense of honour of the two parties. And, therefore, rather than depend on the principle of arbitration, if the workers behave with courtesy and respect and the mill-owners, on their part, maintain a fatherly attitude towards the workers, no occasion will arise for an arbitrator to be appointed or for the workers to go on strike. The latter should realize that they can count on the services of revered Anasuyabehn or Shri Shankerlal Banker only so long as there is justice in their demands. But the ultimate aim of these two is also that the workers should have no occasion to require their services. If such a happy result can be brought about, everybody may then direct his attention to improving the internal conditions among the workers, and more can be done towards that end. It is very necessary to undertake such work all over India. There is awakening and people's enthusiasm and strength have increased. All this energy, however, if not used with discretion, will run to waste like so many floods and may even do harm if it takes a wrong turn as the latter do when they suddenly change their course. That the workers should try to improve their internal conditions need not be said; but I trust the mill-owners will take full interest in their effort and help them. It is to their advantage to do so. Where self-interest and the interest of others have gone together, the results have been the finest; let this general experience be the experience of the mill-owners and the workers alike.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 23-5-1920

192. MARRIAGE PROCESSIONS

I have received a letter on this subject from a highly educated lady. Thinking the following part of the letter[1] to be important, I place it before readers.

My purpose in reproducing this letter is to see that people start thinking about the subject, which I took courage to discuss, and do something at any rate to carry out the suggestions. On questions of reforms like these, so useful to the people, we cannot rest content with holding good views. We should, rather, learn to abandon immediately any custom which we think to be injurious. A number of people came to me from Baroda. As this was a year of marriages among *Patidars*[2] and as the Gaekwar Government had prohibited the evil custom, prevalent among them, of marrying off even little boys and girls, these people had come to consult me on how to get the ban removed. I told them that, if I had the powers of the Gaekwar Government, I would offer such satyagraha against people marrying off boys and girls of tender age that they would not even be able to stay on in the State. These friends understood my joke and not only did they give up the idea of securing my help but started discussing how this custom of child marriage, which had had so strong a hold over the people, could be ended. I told them that, if other communities have every year auspicious periods during which marriages can be celebrated, the shastras cannot be so wrong-headed as to forbid this to *Patidars*. In such matters, it should not be necessary even to seek advice. Any individual who feels so inclined may refuse to marry off his daughter, and think himself free, like anyone else, to arrange the marriage in any year. On this, they said that, if they did not get their daughters married this year they might not get a suitable match later. Thus [they said] though some customs may be bad, it is difficult to go against them. I told them, in reply, that even if but one single person comes forward to oppose such wicked customs, he will certainly get another to keep him company, and I gave these friends the examples of some *Patidars* who had waited till their daughters had grown up. I told them

[1] Not translated here. The correspondent endorsed Gandhiji's criticism of marriage customs; *vide* "Three Occasions", 9-5-1920.

[2] A community of Hindu agriculturists in Gujarat. They used to arrange marriages only in certain auspicious years.

finally that one who is convinced of the rightness of a certain course will risk anything in following it. About a daughter, the utmost risk is that she might remain unmarried till rather late. I can see no difficulty at all in this. It has been my experience that a wisely educated girl has no difficulty in maintaining self-control. I told the men of this. They took leave of me. I do not know what they finally did, but this example shows how strong is the force of custom. Until, regardless of its strength, we fight this force of custom with all our energy, we shall not succeed in ending these evil customs which sap the vitality of the people.

But I have strayed from the question of marriage processions to that of ill paired unions. The common man will not experience the same difficulty in getting rid of ostentatious marriage processions as the *Patidars* do in saving their daughters [from the evil of child marriage]. If everyone who is sick of such processions introduces reforms immediately where he is himself concerned, without waiting for others, we shall, with very little effort, shake off the hold of this and other suicidal practices of like nature.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 23-5-1920

193. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

I observe that, following the announcement of the peace terms, people[1] have been resigning their honorary positions and renouncing titles on their own responsibility. I think this is a hasty step. Before taking the momentous step of non-co-operation, it is very necessary for people to make petitions for a reconsideration of the peace terms and give public expression to their feelings on this issue. I hope, therefore, that people who have been thinking along these lines will not act individually and will take no steps without instructions from the central body[2].

[From Gujarati]

Gujarati, 23-5-1920

[1] For example, Yakub Hasan who resigned his membership of Madras Legislative Council on May 20, 1920

[2] The Central Khilafat Committee

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194. SPEECH ON SETTLEMENT OF MILL STRIKE, AHMEDABAD[1]

May 23, 1920

SHETH SHRI MANGALDAS, SISTERS AND BROTHERS,

Our reason for gathering here today is that the strike is over and we are once again free. The relations of the employers and the workers are again normal. We started the business of the meeting with two prayers. I hope every brother and sister here has reflected over these prayers. If any of them has not done so, I should like to draw their attention to them. Their tune was good, no doubt, but it is not to the tune that I draw your attention. I do so to the sweetness, the meaning, expressed through the tune. If we think over the two prayers, we shall see what a vast difference there is between *jiva*[2] on the one hand, and *Shiva*[3] on the other, between the human being, man or woman, in all his or her weakness, and Almighty God. We can do nothing except through God's will. God is the Supreme, All-powerful Existence, Whom we cannot but obey, against Whom neither satyagraha nor *duragraha*[4] avails, Who is omnipresent, omniscient and knows all. And so the prayer-song asks: "O God, what greatness yours, and what an insignificant, ignorant creature I am! What has one like me to do with pride and conceit?" We have but one duty, to pray to God, to pray to Him whether we are in bed or sitting, whether we are eating or doing anything else. This is what our shastras enjoin and our *bhajans* advise. The experience of all men points to the same thing. And so it is that we commence the business of this important meeting with prayers to God.

I should like to tell the men and women present here that, if they would leave this world satisfied that they had fulfilled the purpose for which they had come into it, they should do everything with God as witness. You should ask yourselves, before you do anything, whether it would please God. If the answer is in the negative, do not go ahead with it.

[1] According to a Bombay Secret Abstracts report this speech was made on May 23, 1920, at a meeting of representatives of mill-owners and mill-hands.

[2] Self

[3] The third God in the Hindu Trinity; principle of transcendent goodness.

[4] The opposite of satyagraha

When explaining the duty of workers, this is what I said once. If they wish to improve their conditions and want the goodwill of their employers, they should be honest and give up their addictions; they should become industrious and work hard, should be efficient and courteous. To be courteous means to carry out orders and speak with due respect, and this not only to the employer but to everyone else. We are not courteous if we are humble before the employer and salute him but insult our superior appointed by this very employer. One of the employers told me that the spinners in his mill had taken up the stand that they would resume work only if a certain jobber was removed. I should like to ask these workers who had refused to resume work whether they had come to this decision with God as witness.

We have now decided that hereafter we will not resort to a strike. We have found another weapon in its place, a weapon far more dignified than strikes. If we have a grievance and even a respectful representation to the employer brings no redress or satisfaction, we should go to the Association[1]. If we get no satisfaction from that quarter also, we should approach the *panch* for justice. The members of this *panch* are present before you. Sheth Mangaldas has been appointed to represent the employers and I, at the instance of the revered Anasuyabehn and Bhai Shankerlal and with my consent, to represent the workers. This *panch* will decide the points at issue in any dispute which may arise in the course of one year from now. While it functions, there must be no strike. Complaints are still being received from places that in some mills the workers have not resumed work.[2] I felt ashamed when I heard this and wondered whether there was any point in holding this meeting. But the majority of the workers have resumed work and it is for their sake that I am here today. I entreat those who have gone back to work to persuade the others to do the same. But they are not to force anyone in this matter, not to abuse anyone or speak with the least disrespect, not to go about flourishing a stick. You should only entreat them, should prostrate yourselves at their feet, humble yourselves before them, reason with them and tell them that it is their dharma to go back to work. If any members of the Union are guilty of rudeness and refuse to go back to the mills, they have no right to continue as members of the Union.

[1] Presumably, the Mill-owners' Association

[2] The workers insisted that the mill-owners concerned should state in writing their acceptance of the terms.

I therefore request all friends who have not resumed work to do so tomorrow itself. Only then will this big meeting justify itself.

In the presence of Shri Mangaldas, I request the employers —as a representative of the workers I can only request them with folded hands—that they should be generous to the workers and look kindly on them. I, on your behalf, have conceded to them that, if any workers misbehave or are guilty of some offence towards them, they may dismiss such workers and I shall not intervene. My only request is that they should be kind to the men, not dismiss anyone who might happen to be above the others and something of a leader to them. Sheth Mangaldas has assured me that he does not desire a single pice of the workers, that they do not want the workers' curses by robbing them of what is theirs, that they would rather part with a rupee to a worker than deprive him of a pice. He has told me this time and again. There will be no more disputes between the workers and the employers in regard to wages. Sheth Mangaldas asked me how they could agree to give the workers anything if the latter put their demand aggressively. If the workers approached them in a friendly spirit, as becomes employees, they would not mind conceding a rupee. I told him that, if any workers approached him in an arrogant spirit, he might certainly refuse to concede anything. Even when the manner is respectful, the workers may not demand anything in excess of their rights. If the workers remain courteous and are reasonable and if the employers display generosity and a sense of justice, you would have no need of approaching Anasuyabehn or Shankerlal or me.

All mill-owners who are members of the Association came together today and looked into the rates of wages in other departments. They fixed these rates at generous figures. I don't say that the rates were an award by the *panch*. If that had been so, we could only say that the workers had had bare justice. What has happened is of far greater value than any award by the *panch*. If they granted an increase to workers in the throstle department, the employers argued, what crime had workers in other departments committed? It would be more dignified, more generous, they felt, to give them something before, rather than after, they came asking for it. The rates were not fixed by the *panch*; actually, they are higher than what the *panch* had recommended and were offered by the employers of their own free will. We should welcome them without reserve, nay, even gratefully.

Workers in the blow-room and card-room, workers carrying basket-loads or drawing carts, oilmen, sizers, folders and such other

workers have not been granted this permanent increase, but they have what was granted to them earlier in the scheme signed by Bhai Ambalal[1]. That is, they get an increase of 25 per cent. Everyone, of course, will have a working day of ten hours.

In the case of framers, the figure has been raised from 35 per cent to 40 per cent and they will get a bonus, too, in the same way that the workers in the throstle department have been getting. In this matter, the framers have no ground for complaint. The employers have been generous to them.

For weavers and warpers, the figure put down was 25 per cent but this has been raised to 33⅓ per cent.

Winders will get an increase of 40 per cent over the existing rate, which will mean more than a rupee.

All these rates are good. All will admit, surely, that they are higher than the existing ones. Everyone will get an increase of between 25 and 40 per cent. I hope you will all be happy with these rates, be grateful to God and thank the employers.

I have heard that the workers in the weaving department are still dissatisfied. I have not looked closely into this matter; I have had no time to do so. The employers have given much thought to the subject. Their view is that the workers should not claim anything for the period of the strike.

I have told them of what I have heard about the workers in the weaving department. Their attitude is that they have given this increase on their own and so the weavers should not create a hitch when they wished to introduce convention for all time. Though I do not know who is in the right between you two, the employers and the workers, I put it to the latter whether, now that the employers had done so much for them, they would not like to abide by their decision. Even if they have taken up their stand to test the workers, the latter had better given in. Assuming that, when marking attendance, the managers informed you, as you say they did, that you would be paid [for the strike period], even then I would say that we cannot insist on having our way in this matter.

My next point, by way of advice, is that on this issue, too, we may demand justice, but the right way is not a strike. Some of the workers refuse to go back to work; this does not become them. An important principle has been laid down, that you should never go on a strike, that in case of dispute you should take it in the first instance to the Union and, failing there, place it before the

[1] Ambalal Sarabhai

panch. Can we now take the law in our own hands and refuse to go back to work?

Those of you who are still holding out should return to work from tomorrow. You may represent your case before the employers and, if you think that they have not been fair to you, ask for a *panch*; you may not, however, stop work even for an hour. I hope you will ever cling to this principle.

The employers cannot go on a strike. It is you, workers, who are obliged to do so. And so it is with a view to avoiding unnecessary loss to you and maintaining happy relations that they have accepted the principle of arbitration. If it is accepted only by them, what would be the workers' contribution? I request the workers of the weaving department to present respectfully any demand they may have and return to work. If you do so, the employers will feel that you have been very good and therefore they ought to concede your demand. We may not adopt tactics of coercion; if anyone believes that the demand could be secured through coercion, he is mistaken. I wish to declare in the presence of the employers that, if at any time I find the workers unreasonable, I will not help them but, on the contrary, help the former. My duty is to oppose injustice whenever I see it. If the workers are unreasonable with the employers, I can bring myself to oppose them too as I can oppose the Government and the employers.

If I accepted a bribe from you today—if you shower me with praises and garland me with flowers, that is as much as a bribe—if I were to be taken in by it all and get conceited, I might next learn to receive bribes from Sheth Mangaldas. I shall be of value only so long as I am useful in getting even justice dealt out. If you try to do an injustice, I shall have to oppose you and see that justice was done. I am against no one in this world; I do not take sides against employers nor will I ever do so against workers, but I should certainly oppose injustice by either. If we commenced the business of this meeting with God's name, it was entirely because we want justice.

I should once again like to tell Sheth Mangaldas as the leader of mill-owners and President of the Association, as a leading figure in the *Vaishnava* community, that, if he wanted the employers to have the workers under their full control, they should always do justice with God as witness, look kindly on them and love them as their own children. I want to assure him that, if they do this, the workers will not betray them.

We have done a great many things sitting under this tree.[1] We started our work today under this tree with God as witness; it is for you to see it through. Here, under this very tree, I want to tell you that our task is not yet over; it has just begun. So long as you have not obtained the employers' certificate, your task is not over, or mine or the revered sister's[2] or Bhai Shankerlal's. The flower garlands you have offered us mean nothing; it is your work which will count.

I shall end, as I began, with thought of God. The workers of the throstle department have collected some money and they offer it to me to be used in some good cause. I accept money from every quarter; for other causes, however, I generally hold out my hand to men like Sheth Mangaldas and will continue to do so in future. I will certainly not refuse the money you offer with so much love. I shall hand it over to the revered sister. She will use it for the uplift of the workers, to help them, especially, to be free from the evil of drinking. Next, the money will be used to provide education to workers' children and milk to such of them as go without it. I do not know how much you have brought but [whatever it is] I accept it as a token of your love and, as an expression of my love, I will use it in the manner I have indicated.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 30-5-1920

195. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

Tuesday [*May 25, 1920*][3]

CHI. DEVDAS,

I got one letter from you which you wrote from Calcutta. I wrote a good many to you. I wonder why you did not get any.

I shall arrive there on Saturday, accompanied by Bhai Shankerlal and Jugatram[4]. I shall be travelling by the Jabalpur

[1] On the banks of the Sabarmati. The daily meetings of workers during the lock-out in February-March, 1918, used to be held here; *vide* Vol. XIV, p. 217.

[2] Anasuyabehn Sarabhai

[3] Gandhiji reached Banaras, where the addressee then was, on Saturday, May 29, 1920; the second para of the text suggests that the letter was written on May 25.

[4] Jugatram Dave; author and educationist; full-time constructive worker devoted to the welfare of backward classes

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Mail. I have not looked up when it arrives there. But I have an impression that it arrives early in the morning.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 7176

196. INSANITY

In the course of its discussion of my views on non-co-operation the Allahabad *Leader* asked me to state what I meant by 'wise and temperate action' on the part of the Government in dealing with the Khilafat agitation. The U.P. Government have provided me with an excellent illustration of unwise and intemperate action almost, if not altogether, amounting to insanity. I refer to the externment from Mussoorie of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the son of the Hon'ble Pandit Motilal Nehru.

Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru's dignified letter to the Superintendent of Police furnishes the public with all the facts in connection with the order served on him. The whole of the Allahabad public could bear witness, if witnesses to the action of an honourable man were necessary, that Mr. Nehru junior was proceeding with his mother, his sisters and his ailing wife to Mussoorie purely for reasons of health. Having inquired of him, having received an unequivocal, straightforward and full explanation of his presence in Mussoorie, having the knowledge that the members of the family were with him in Mussoorie, the authorities ought to have accepted Mr. Nehru's word and refrained from taking further action. It should be remembered that Mr. Nehru in his letter to the Superintendent of Police said:

> I have no concern with the Afghan delegation[1] and it was an accident that we both happened to be in the same hotel. As a matter of fact their presence here has put me out to a certain extent as I was looking forward to taking possession of the rooms at present occupied by them. I am of course interested in the delegation as every intelligent person must be. But I had or have not the slightest intention of going out of my way to meet them. We have been here now for the last seventeen days and during this period I have not seen a single member of the delegation even from a distance. You are yourself aware of this fact as you told me this morning.

[1] Which came to India to prepare the foundation for a treaty of friendship, and in April, 1920, was in Mussoorie

This was not enough for the authorities. They had lost their mental balance. They wanted an assurance that Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru would not have any communication with the delegation, for we learn from the same letter:

> But although I have no intention whatever of seeing the Afghans or of having any communication with them, I utterly dislike the idea of binding myself down to any course of action at the instance of the Government, even though such action may not prove irksome. It is really a question of principle or conscience. You will, I feel sure, appreciate my position.

And the Government whom Mr. Oakes, the Superintendent of Police, represented, appreciated the position by serving on him the order of externment two days after the receipt of the letter.[1] Mr. Nehru was anxious that the Government should have the full facts before them, [and] therefore told them in the same letter:

> If the Government chooses to serve any order on me, I am for the present prepared to obey it. It will be a great inconvenience to me to go down suddenly and leave my family by themselves here. The condition of my wife's health requires the most careful attention and my mother is a confined invalid and it is most difficult to leave them uncared for. My sudden departure will upset my father's and my plans entirely and cause us any amount of trouble and anxiety. But I suppose individual conveniences cannot be considered in high matters of State.

In a well-regulated State, individual inconvenience is as much a 'high matter of State' as any other, except when individual welfare demonstrably requires to be sacrificed to corporate welfare. In this instance there was nothing, so far as the public are aware, to warrant the inhumanity of tearing a husband from his ailing wife and separating an aged mother from her only son and protector when they have no one else to look after them and are away from home. I call this insanity of a very severe type and it can only proceed from a guilty conscience. The Government know that the peace terms[2] are dishonourable and in breach of the pledges of ministers. They know, too, that the Mohammedan sentiment has been deeply hurt. They know that the Hindu sympathy is completely with them and they know that the Afghan delegation is also in complete accord with the Indian Mohammedan feeling. They are therefore afraid of any Indian of importance being in the position of knowing anything of or from the Afghan delegation. The Government have therefore become hyper-suspicious.

[1] The order of externment from Mussoorie passed on Jawaharlal Nehru was withdrawn on June 19, 1920.

[2] In regard to Turkey; *vide* Appendix I.

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But we must not answer this madness with madness. I am loath to think that the Government of Sir Harcourt Butler[1] desires to goad the people to violence so that he can repeat the frightfulness of the Punjab and terrorize the people into silence and submission. But whether it is the intention of that Government to do so or not, the leaders of the Khilafat movement must prepare themselves for more acts of the Mussoorie type. And the way to success lies not in becoming angry but in welcoming such acts of repression so that they may, ceasing to produce any effect upon those against whom they are directed, cease altogether even as a medicine that does not react upon a patient is necessarily stopped by the administering physician. The severest punishment is stopped as soon as it fails to produce the effect intended.

But the most shocking instance of madness comes from Sind. The *Alwahid*, published in Karachi in Sindhi and owned by a responsible merchant, has in its issue of the 13th instant a letter from the Secretary of the Khilafat Committee, Jacobabad, which, after relating that some respectable men connected with the Khilafat movement were sent to jail, proceeds that a respectable zemindar was whipped by the Deputy Commissioner within closed doors and that on his crying out, the police entered the room and administered further beating to him. In Mussoorie, at least, the decorum of law, such as it is, was observed. Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru was not physically molested. But in Sind, if the allegation of the Secretary of the Khilafat Committee is true, a respectable man has been whipped by a Deputy Commissioner, so far as the public are aware, without any cause whatsoever warranting such procedure. The Governor of Bombay[2] enjoys the reputation of being the sanest of Governors and one may trust that he will make the fullest enquiry into the incident and the other allegations made, and publish the result of that enquiry. *The Bombay Chronicle* supports the *Alwahid* statement by giving the version of the same incident received by Mr. Shaukat Ali. If the facts set forth are true the offending Deputy Commissioner must be removed. But whether he is removed or not, the duty before those who are guiding the Khilafat movement is absolutely clear. Are they prepared to go through the fieriest of ordeals ? An insolent treaty of peace, if it is in any way resisted by those who are affected by it, can only be supported by an equally insolent exhibition of force. And if Indian Mohammedans

[1] Lieutenant-Governor of the then United Provinces, known at present as Uttar Pradesh

[2] Sir George Lloyd

and Indians in general are more concerned with the revision of the treaty than with showing resentment and anger, they will submit to all the ill-treatment that may be meted out to them and yet pursue the policy of not submitting to the treaty. Any use of violence against Government violence must kill the Khilafat movement.

Young India, 26-5-1920

197. KHILAFAT : MR. CANDLER'S OPEN LETTER

Mr. Candler has favoured me with an open letter on this question of questions. The letter has already appeared in the Press. I can appreciate Mr. Candler's position as I would like him and other Englishmen to appreciate mine and that of hundreds of Hindus who feel as I do. Mr. Candler's letter is an attempt to show that Mr. Lloyd George's pledge[1] is not in any way broken by the peace terms. I quite agree with him that Mr. Lloyd George's words ought not to be torn from their context to support the Mohammedan claim. These are Mr. Lloyd George's words as quoted in the recent Viceregal message:

> Nor are we fighting to destroy Austria-Hungary or to deprive Turkey of its capital, or of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace which are predominantly Turkish in race.

Mr. Candler seems to read 'which' as if it meant 'if they,' whereas I give the pronoun its natural meaning, namely, that the Prime Minister knew in 1918 that the lands referred to by him were 'predominantly Turkish in race'. And if this is the meaning, I venture to suggest that the pledge has been broken in a most barefaced manner, for there is practically nothing left to the Turk of 'the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace'.

I have already given my view of the retention of the Sultan in Constantinople. It is an insult to the intelligence of man to suggest that 'the maintenance of the Turkish Empire in the homeland of the Turkish race with its capital at Constantinople' has been left unimpaired by the terms of the peace. This is the other passage from the speech which I presume Mr. Candler wants me to read together with the one already quoted :

> While we do not challenge the maintenance of the Turkish Empire in the homeland of the Turkish race with its capital at Constantinople,

[1] Made on January 5, 1918

the passage between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea being internationalized, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine are in our judgment entitled to a recognition of their separate national condition.

Did that mean entire removal of Turkish influence, extinction of Turkish suzerainty and the introduction of European-Christian influence under the guise of Mandates? Have the Moslems of Arabia, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine been committed, or is the new arrangement being superimposed upon them by Powers conscious of their own brute strength rather than of justice of their action? I for one would nurse by every legitimate means the spirit of independence in the brave Arabs, but I shudder to think what will happen to them under the schemes of exploitation of their country by the greedy capitalists protected as they will be by the mandatory Powers. If the pledge is to be fulfilled, let these places have full self-government with suzerainty to be retained with Turkey as has been suggested by *The Times of India*. Let there be all the necessary guarantees taken from Turkey about the internal independence of the Arabs. But to remove that suzerainty, to deprive the Khalif of the wardenship of the holy places is to render Khilafat a mockery which no Mohammedan can possibly look upon with equanimity. I am not alone in my interpretation of the pledge. The Right Hon'ble Ameer Ali[1], calls the peace terms a breach of faith. Mr. Charles Roberts reminds the British public that the Indian Mussulman sentiment regarding the Turkish Treaty is based upon the Prime Minister's pledge "regarding Thrace, Constantinople and Turkish lands in Asia Minor, repeated on February 26 last with deliberation by Mr. Lloyd George".[2] Mr. Roberts holds that the pledge must be treated as a whole, not as binding only regarding Constantinople but also binding as regards Thrace and Asia Minor. He describes the pledge as binding upon the nation as a whole and its breach in any part as a gross breach of faith on the part of the British Empire. He demands that if there is an unanswerable reply to the charge of breach of faith it ought to be given and adds the Prime Minister may regard his own word lightly if he chooses, but he has no right to break a pledge given on behalf of the nation. He concludes that

[1] Syed Ameer Ali (1849-1928); Judge of the Calcutta High Court, 1890-1904; member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council

[2] On February 26, 1920, Lloyd George declared in the House of Commons: "The pledge given in January, 1918, was given after full consultation with all parties. . . . It was specific, unqualified and deliberate. . . . The effect of the statement in India was that recruiting went up appreciably from that very moment."

it is incredible that such a pledge should not have been kept in the letter and in the spirit. He adds :

> I have reason to believe that these views are fully shared by prominent members of the Cabinet.

I wonder if Mr. Candler knows what is going on today in England. Mr. Pickthall[1] writing in *New Age* says :

> No impartial international enquiry into the whole question of the Armenian massacres has been instituted in the ample time which has elapsed since the conclusion of armistice with Turkey. The Turkish Government has asked for such enquiry. But the Armenian organizations and the Armenian partisans refuse to hear of such a thing, declaring that the Bryce and Lepssens reports are quite sufficient to condemn the Turks.[2] In other words the judgment should be given on the case for prosecution alone. The inter-Allied commission which investigated the unfortunate events in Smyrna last year,[3] made a report unfavourable to Greek claims.[4] Therefore, that report has not been published here in England, though in other countries it has long been public property.

He then goes on to show how money is being scattered by Armenian and Greek emissaries in order to popularize their cause and adds :

> This conjunction of dense ignorance and cunning falsehood is fraught with instant danger to the British realm,

and concludes :

> A Government and people which prefer propaganda to fact as the ground of policy—and foreign policy at that—is self-condemned.

I have reproduced the above extract in order to show that the present British policy has been affected by propaganda of an unscrupulous nature. Turkey, which was dominant over two million square miles of Asia, Africa and Europe in the 17th century, under the terms of the treaty, says the *London Chronicle*, has dwindled down to little more than 1,000 square miles. It says :

> All European Turkey could now be accommodated comfortably between the Lands End and the Tamar, Cornwall alone exceeding its total area,

[1] Marmaduke Pickthall; journalist and novelist; editor of *The Bombay Chronicle*; possessed close and intimate knowledge of the Near East

[2] Eventually Armenia, abandoned by the Allies, became a Soviet Republic on November 25, 1920

[3] On May 15, 1919, the Greek army was sent to Smyrna, and hundreds of Turkish civilians were massacred.

[4] The Report of the Allied Admirals, made in October, 1919, and suppressed by the Government, condemned the Smyrna landing *in toto* and declared the Greeks guilty of looting, arson and murder.

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> and but for its alliance with Germany, Turkey could have been assured of retaining at least sixty thousand square miles of the Eastern Balkans.

I do not know whether the *Chronicle* view is generally shared. Is it by way of punishment that Turkey is to undergo such shrinkage, or is it because justice demands it? If Turkey had not made the mistake of joining Germany, would the principle of nationality have been still applied to Armenia, Arabia, Mesopotamia and Palestine?

Let me now remind those who think with Mr. Candler that the promise was not made by Mr. Lloyd George to the people of India in anticipation of the supply of recruits continuing. In defending his own statement, Mr. Lloyd George is reported to have said :[1]

> The effect of the statement in India was that recruiting went up appreciably from that very moment. They were not all Mohammedans but there were many Mohammedans amongst them. Now we are told, that was an offer to Turkey. But they rejected it, and therefore we were absolutely free. It was not. It is too often forgotten that we are the greatest Mohammedan power in the world and that one-fourth of the population of the British Empire is Mohammedan. There have been no more loyal adherents to the throne and no more effective and loyal supporters of the Empire in its hour of trial. We gave a solemn pledge and they accepted it. They are disturbed by the prospect of our not abiding by it.

Who shall interpret that pledge and how? How did the Government of India itself interpret it? Did it or did it not energetically support the claim for the control of the Holy Places of Islam vesting in the Khalif? Did the Government of India suggest that the whole of Jazirat-ul-Arab could be taken away consistently with that pledge from the sphere of influence of the Khalif, and given over to the Allies as mandatory Powers? Why does the Government of India sympathize with the Indian Mussulmans if the terms are all they should be? So much for the pledge. I would like to guard myself against being understood that I stand or fall absolutely by Mr. Lloyd George's declaration. I have advisedly used the adverb 'practically' in connection with it. It is an important qualification.

Mr. Candler seems to suggest that my goal is something more than merely attaining justice on the Khilafat. If so, he is right. Attainment of justice is undoubtedly the corner-stone, and if I found that I was wrong in my conception of justice on this question, I hope I shall have the courage immediately to retrace my

[1] On February 26, 1920

steps. But by helping the Mohammedans of India at a critical moment in their history, I want to buy their friendship. Moreover, if I can carry the Mohammedans with me I hope to wean Great Britain from the downward path along which the Prime Minister seems to me to be taking her. I hope also to show to India and the Empire at large that given a certain amount of capacity for self-sacrifice, justice can be secured by the peacefullest and cleanest means without sowing or increasing bitterness between the English and Indians. For, whatever may be the temporary effect of my methods, I know enough of them to feel certain that they alone are immune from lasting bitterness. They are untainted with hatred, expedience or untruth.

Young India, 26-5-1920

198. SAVARKAR BROTHERS

> It is My earnest desire at this time that so far as possible any trace of bitterness between My people and those who are responsible for My Government should be obliterated. Let those who in their eagerness for political progress had broken the law in the past respect it in the future. Let it become possible for those who are charged with the maintenance of peaceful and orderly Government to forget the extravagances which they have had to curb. A new era is opening. Let it begin with a common determination among My people and officers to work together for a common purpose. I therefore direct My Viceroy to exercise in My name and on My behalf My Royal clemency to political offenders in the fullest measure which in his judgment is compatible with the public safety. I desire him to extend it on this condition to persons who for offenses against the State or under any special or emergency legislation, are suffering imprisonment or restrictions upon their liberty. I trust that this leniency will be justified by the future conduct of those whom it benefits and that all My subjects will so demean themselves as to render it unnecessary to force the laws for such offences hereafter. —The Royal Proclamation.

The Proclamation from which the above extract has been copied was published in December last. Thanks to the action of the Government of India and the Provincial Governments, many of those who were undergoing imprisonment at the time have received the benefit of the Royal clemency. But there are some notable "political offenders" who have not yet been discharged. Among these I count the Savarkar brothers. They are political offenders in the same sense as men, for instance, who have been

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discharged in the Punjab. And yet these two brothers have not received their liberty although five months have gone by after the publication of the Proclamation.

Mr. Ganesh Damodar Savarkar, the elder of the two, was born in 1879, and received an ordinary education. He took a prominent part in the swadeshi movement at Nasik in 1908. He was sentenced to transportation for life with confiscation of property under Sections 121, 121A, 124A and 153A on the 9th day of June, 1909, and is now serving his sentence in the Andamans. He has therefore had eleven years of imprisonment.

Section 121 is the famous section which was utilized during the Punjab trials and refers to 'waging war against the King'. The minimum penalty is transportation for life with forfeiture of property. 121A is a similar section. 124A relates to sedition. 153A relates to promotion of enmity between classes 'by words either spoken or written' or 'otherwise'. It is clear therefore that all the offences charged against Mr. Savarkar (senior) were of a public nature. He had done no violence. He was married, had two daughters who are dead, and his wife died about eighteen months ago.

The other brother[1] was born in 1884, and is better known for his career in London.[2] His sensational attempt to escape the custody of the police and his jumping through a porthole in French waters[3], are still fresh in the public mind. He was educated at the Fergusson College, finished off in London and became a barrister. He is the author of the proscribed history of the Sepoy Revolt of 1857. He was tried in 1910, and received the same sentence as his brother on 24th December, 1910. He was charged also in 1911 with abetment of murder[4]. No act of violence was proved against him either. He too is married, had a son in 1909. His wife is still alive.

Both these brothers have declared their political opinions and both have stated that they do not entertain any revolutionary ideas and that if they were set free they would like to work under

[1] Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, a leading revolutionary who later became the chief leader of All-India Hindu Mahasabha

[2] He carried on agitation for the freedom of India, which at one time reached the stage of his sending fire-arms to India from Paris.

[3] Off Marseilles, in July 1910, when he was being brought to India from England where he was arrested under the Fugitive Offenders Act of 1881

[4] Of A. M. T. Jackson, the Collector of Nasik in December 1909. It was alleged that the pistol with which Jackson was murdered was one of the many sent by Savarkar from London.

the Reforms Act[1], for they consider that the Reforms enable one to work thereunder so as to achieve political responsibility for India. They both state unequivocally that they do not desire independence from the British connection. On the contrary, they feel that India's destiny can be best worked out in association with the British. Nobody has questioned their honour or their honesty, and in my opinion the published expression of their views ought to be taken at its face value. What is more, I think, it may be safely stated that the cult of violence has, at the present moment, no following in India. Now the only reason for still further restricting the liberty of the two brothers can be 'danger to public safety', for the Viceroy has been charged by His Majesty to exercise the Royal clemency to political offenders in the fullest manner which in his judgment is compatible with public safety. I hold therefore that unless there is absolute proof that the discharge of the two brothers who have already suffered long enough terms of imprisonment, who have lost considerably in body-weight and who have declared their political opinions, can be proved to be a danger to the State, the Viceroy is bound to give them their liberty. The obligation to discharge them, on the one condition of public safety being fulfilled, is, in the Viceroy's political capacity, just as imperative as it was for the Judges in their judicial capacity to impose on the two brothers the minimum penalty allowed by law. If they are to be kept under detention any longer, a full statement justifying it is due to the public.

This case is no better and no worse than that of Bhai Parmanand who, thanks to the Punjab Government, has after a long term of imprisonment received his discharge. Nor need his case be distinguished from that of the Savarkar brothers in the sense that Bhai Parmanand pleaded absolute innocence. So far as the Government are concerned, all were alike guilty because all were convicted. And the Royal clemency is due not merely to doubtful cases but equally to all cases of offences proved up to the hilt. The conditions are that the offence must be political and the exercise of Royal clemency should not, in the opinion of the Viceroy, endanger public safety. There is no question about the brothers being political offenders. And so far the public are aware there is no danger to public safety. In answer to a question in the Viceregal Council in connection with such cases the reply given was that they were under consideration. But their brother has received from the Bombay Government a reply to the effect that no further memo-

[1] Government of India Act, 1919

rials regarding them will be received and Mr. Montagu has stated in the House of Commons that in the opinion of the Government of India they cannot be released. The case however cannot be so easily shelved. The public are entitled to know the precise grounds upon which the liberty of the brothers is being restrained in spite of the Royal Proclamation which to them is as good as a royal charter having the force of law.

Young India, 26-5-1920

199. A HARD CASE

I have received the following telegram from the families of Messrs Bugga and Ratanchand:

> Bugga and Ratto under orders transfer Andamans. Bugga, suffering hernia and piles since ten years. Was operated upon. Ratto aged over forty and therefore should not be sent Andamans under Jail Manual Rule 721.

The readers will remember that these were the accused on whose behalf appeals were made to the Privy Council in common with others and whose appeals were rejected on technical grounds.[1] The Hon'ble Pandit Motilal Nehru has analysed the cases and shown that they are no more guilty than the others who have been discharged. But several who were originally sentenced to death had their sentences commuted to imprisonment and are now set free. What is it that distinguishes these two cases from the others? Is it the fact of the appeal itself? If they had not appealed, or rather, if a philanthropic lawyer out of pity had not taken up their case, fought for them against tremendous odds, they would not have escaped the hangman's noose[2]. H. H. the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab has been showing a generous discretion in releasing many who suffered between April and June last year. Although he had the opportunity, after the dismissal of the appeal, to hang Messrs Bugga and Ratanchand, H. E. the Viceroy, it is equally true, has commuted the sentence of death to one of transportation. But I venture to submit that if the Royal Proclamation is to be given effect to in the fullest measure, Messrs Bugga and Ratanchand are entitled to their liberty. They are no more a danger to the State than Lala Harkishen Lal, Pandit Rambhuj Dutt Chowdhari and others of that distinguished company. But for the

[1] *Vide* "The Amritsar Appeals", 3-3-1920.
[2] The source has "horse" here.

time being, strong as the case is for their discharge, I am pleading not for a complete release but for keeping them in the Punjab and if they have been sent away already, for bringing them back, if for nothing else, out of consideration for the wives of these poor men. Let not the public think that the acts of the Government of the day are dictated only by fear and expedience, not by logic and high principles of justice.

Young India, 26-5-1920

200. LETTER TO MANGALDAS G. PAREKH

May 26, 1920

BHAISHRI MANGALDAS,

I was unhappy that we could not arrive at a decision[1] yesterday. I was quite hopeful that we would. I told you that I had already discussed the matter with Ambalalbhai. The final result was that the mills which go with him will pay warp-piecers Rs. 13 a week [fortnight?] and 8 annas a week as bonus. This rate is for 340 to 380 spindles. For spindles less than 340, the rate is Rs. 12-12-0 and for more than 380, Rs. 13-4-0. The rate for weft-piecers has been fixed at Rs. 13-8-0. For doffers, it is Rs. 9-4-0, with a bonus of 4 annas. For half-timers, the rate fixed is Rs. 5.

Hours of work are fixed at 10. The rates above are also on this basis. Besides, if [at least] 75 per cent of the mills do not join, the ten-hour scheme will not come into effect at present.

Caution money will not exceed ten days' [wages]. These are the main points. I still request you to accept, and persuade others to accept these terms. I think so much is perfectly reasonable.

SHRI MANGALDAS G. PAREKH
AHMEDABAD

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 7044

[1] In regard to the detailed working out of the terms of settlement of the dispute between mill-workers and mill-owners

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201. PREFACE TO "SWADESHI DHARMA"

BOMBAY,
Bhim Agiarash [*May 28, 1920*][1]

It is not for me to write a preface to this essay, for the author[2] is a friend of mine. I can say only this about it, that the views it expounds are a credit to swadeshi dharma. I should like India to profit to the utmost from this essay.

MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

[From Gujarati]
Swadeshi Dharma

202. INSANITY

I have said that in employing the extreme weapon of non-co-operation we must learn to exercise patience. If we get excited, we may invite serious harm. If the Government is seized by anger, we can do nothing but bear it. Every time those in authority make a mistake, they want people to get excited and commit acts of violence. If the people walk into this trap, public attention will be diverted from the original injustice to the disorders. The Government and the public join hands to suppress the mischief-makers and, by and by, the Government's injustice is forgotten. It may also happen that, when the people agitate against the injustice, the authorities make a powerful effort to repress the agitation and in their attempt to cover up the original injustice overstep reasonable limits. In the result, the authorities go to insane lengths in repressing the agitation.

I think our Government is possessed by some such insanity. Pandit Motilal Nehru is known to everyone in the United Provinces[3]. The Governor there has known him for thirty years. His only son, Jawaharlal, is a barrister and he, too, is well known among the people. He helps his father to the utmost in his professional and public work. Everyone in the United Provinces knows that

[1] The booklet was published by Swami Anand from the Satyagraha Ashram in 1920.

[2] Dattatreya Balkrishna Kalelkar (1885-); popularly known as Kaka Saheb; associated with Gandhiji since 1915

[3] Now Uttar Pradesh

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his mother keeps indifferent health. Of late Shri Jawaharlal Nehru's wife has been very ill. The Nehru family often goes in summer to Mussoorie for a change of climate. This year, it was all the more necessary for them to do so in view of the illnesses referred to above. When the decision to go there was made, they did not even know that members of the Afghan Delegation were to visit Mussoorie, nor that the latter would be staying in the same place as they. However, since accommodation in Mussoorie is none too plenty, the Nehru family and the Afghan delegates found themselves together. The officials could not bear their staying in the same building. It was not possible, however, to put restrictions on Shri Jawaharlal Nehru straightway and so the Superintendent of Police sent for him and told him that he would be permitted to stay on in Mussoorie provided he gave an undertaking that he would not even so much as speak with those delegates. How can a person who has any sense of self-respect give such an undertaking? Actually one may maintain no relations with the delegates; that is beside the point. In fact Shri Nehru remained in Mussoorie for 15 days and never had so much as a word with them. But it is one thing, of one's own free will, not to speak to a person without occasion and another to bind oneself under pressure from a third party not to do so. Hence Shri Jawaharlal refused to give such an undertaking. Thereupon he was immediately served with an order to leave Mussoorie. He had placed all the facts before the official and told him of his difficulties, too. But what are [people's] difficulties to an official?

If the king is mindful of the difficulties of the weakest section of his subjects, his rule would be *Ramarajya*[1], it would be people's rule. We cannot expect this of any government in modern times, be it British or Indian, Christian, Muslim or Hindu. Europe, which we are so impatient to imitate, also worships brute force, or, which is the same thing, majority opinion, and the majority, surely, does not always look after the interests of the minority. In ordinary matters, the principle of majority rule is, by and large, justice as the world understands justice, but the purest justice can consist only in the welfare of all. It is only a government that fully protects the weakest among its subjects, and safeguards all his rights, which may be described as perfectly democratic. Such a government does not mean the rule of the majority, but protection of the interests of even the smallest limb of the realm. We cannot at present expect

[1] Literally "the reign of Rama" here, however, it means an ideal political order.

from our Government such protection and such rule. But the step it has taken is plain insanity, for it is inconceivable that it has any strong reason for it.

This is but a symptom of insanity. If the report received from Sind is true, the Deputy Commissioner there seems to have reached the very height of midsummer madness. Not only does he place restrictions on respectable citizens with a view to arresting the Khilafat movement, but he is also said to have beaten up one such person.[1] Let us hope the Governor of Bombay will carefully inquire into this matter. At the moment, however, it is more necessary to consider our own duty. Non-co-operation cannot be said to have started yet; when it does, beyond doubt the Government will employ all its strength to suppress it. Who can say what degree of insanity will possess it then ? If at that time the people remain firm, refuse to be provoked and are guilty of no acts of violence, they will have risen high indeed and the Khilafat issue, I have no doubt, will be solved in our favour.

The Khilafat Committee is meeting very soon to pass the final resolutions about non-co-operation and related matters. The All-India Congress Committee is meeting[2] most probably on May 30, and the Khilafat Committee is likely to meet at about the same time in Kashi or Prayag.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 30-5-1920

203. WHY IS NON-CO-OPERATION BEING DELAYED?

A reader of *Navajivan* writes:[3]

I have dropped an adjective here and there in this extract. There are many more accusations, but I do not have the courage to reproduce them. The correspondent has given his name too; I do not wish to publish it either. It is possible that he himself may have intended his letter as private advice. Nevertheless, I have reproduced the portion which I thought was worth reproducing.

It is only so long as there are among the people men full of all this anger and suspicion, be they only a few isolated individuals, that difficulties will arise in employing a priceless weapon like non-

[1] *Vide* "Insanity", 26-5-1920.

[2] The Congress Committee met in Banaras on May 30 and resolved to hold a special session of the Congress in Calcutta later in the year to consider Gandhiji's programme of non-co-operation.

[3] The letter is not translated here.

co-operation. The writer of this letter has not at all understood the principle underlying the use of such a weapon. Nor has he the patience which Muslim friends show. I have not at all conceived non-co-operation as the weapon of the unarmed. The strong and the weak, all can employ it. I have often explained how on some occasions non-co-operation may be a sacred duty.

The grave charges made against British Ministers are unjustified. I believe that the Prime Minister has committed a breach of promise in this matter, but I do not believe the charge that the [entire] British Cabinet is faithless and treacherous or that all the officers in India are autocratic. I do not share the belief that the British people or the British Ministers are utterly worthless in comparison with us and that we abound in virtues. Personally, I am all love for the British people. They are a brave, unsuspecting and a fairly godfearing people; they are not totally irreligious. If they worship brute strength, they also recognize soul-force. This country has done many wrong things, but it has many good deeds to its credit. It has produced many a yogi who deserves to be adored. The organizing ability of the people, their patience and their skill are worth emulating. Because I see their faults, because they have done injustices to India, I cannot abandon or stifle my sense of justice. There will be hardly anyone who has fought against the injustice of the British as I have done. But, behind all this fighting, deep down in me, there is my regard for this nation or, if one prefers, my unthinking love for it. I believe that no other people, excepting Indians, recognize soul-force as quickly as the British do. This is the basis on which I have conducted my many campaigns. Should I, however, be mistaken in my estimation, I would not have to repent for that reason since I do not depend, in any movements which I lead, on external circumstances but only on the purity of the cause and of the means employed. Truth has nothing to fear from time. It can afford to be patient. One who follows truth will see no danger at all in waiting.

What charges against the Moderates, besides? If most of the people believe that the Moderates are nothing but traitors and flatterers, I would certainly be disappointed and grieved. I for one believe that both the parties[1] have the welfare of the country at heart. When we were all slumbering, the country resounded with Surendranath's[2] voice. There was a time when the word of Sir

[1] Nationalists and Moderates

[2] Surendranath Banerjea (1848-1925); President of the Congress in 1895 and 1902; later, one of the leaders of the Moderate party

Dinshaw Wacha[1] was respected all over the Bombay Presidency. I consider it a sin to describe such national leaders as traitors or flatterers. At present I do not approve of many of their views. My recent experience has certainly taught me new things. I cannot tolerate Surendranath Banerjea's blind attachment to the English language. I do not follow some of Sir Dinshaw Wacha's ideas on economics. But this certainly does not diminish in the slightest measure my reverence for either. I cannot forget the service they have rendered to the country and I would consider myself fortunate if, at their age, I have the same zeal for national service which they display. Tulsidas has said that everything, animate and inanimate, is a mixture of good and bad qualities. But our duty is to distinguish the good from the bad, and imbibe the former and ignore the latter just as the swan takes in only milk, leaving the water of evil behind. For, where would we be if our kinsfolk and our society saw only our faults?

I most emphatically wish to request the people of Gujarat to keep aloof from the poison which is in the air today. The foregoing letter is a sign of that poison and that is why I have reproduced it here. As my mother tongue is Gujarati and especially as Gujarat is the land of my birth, I believe that the best I have I can give to Gujarat first, knowing that through Gujarat, it can spread throughout India. It is my earnest desire that Gujarat and India remain unpolluted by the poisonous wind that is blowing at present, and I shall believe to the end of my life that they have it in them to remain so. This poisonous wind is the only cause for the delay in the spreading of the fragrant breeze of Truth. We cannot hope to see our country rise by getting angry with the British, by distrusting all mankind and by accusing and hating one another. Hatred, faultfinding, etc., are the symptoms of a disease, of weakness. The weak sees weakness everywhere; the wicked believes everyone to be wicked. The snake and the scorpion are afraid of every creature. Why do we forget the law of this world: "If we are good, the whole world is good"?

Let me say a few words about the Rowlatt Act too. I am confident that this Act will be repealed before its time and that too, I believe, without our having to offer satyagraha by way of

[1] Dinshaw Edulji Wacha (1844-1936); Joint-Secretary of the Congress, 1896-1900; President of the Congress in 1901 and later, one of the leaders of the Moderate party

civil disobedience. Should this not happen, I have no doubt that satyagraha will be launched again.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 30-5-1920

204. MISCELLANEOUS ISSUES

I received some letters while I was touring Saurashtra for swadeshi propaganda, and a few were also received directly in the *Navajivan* office. I could not reply to all of them in *Navajivan* then. I even sent brief notes to some of the correspondents to say that I would reply when I got the time. I have carefully preserved all of them and I got a chance this week to go through them. Some of them would be relevant at any time and I intend to use them as occasion arises. One such letter is from a well-known, religious-minded lady of Saurashtra. I quote a part of it below:[1]

This is what her letter says in effect. I was asked similar questions by others as well in the course of my tour and so I shall try to answer them.

First as regards swadeshi. I think of swadeshi in terms of swadeshi cloth only, for about fifty crores of rupees are lost annually by the country because of our use of foreign cloth, though all that money could be saved and spent so as to be distributed among our own craftsmen. In fact, formerly we did spend an equal or nearly equal amount in this manner. If starvation has increased terribly in our country, it is only because our craftsmen have not taken up any other profession in place of the one lost and because our countless young women have forgotten their mothers' holy occupation, by which they covered India's nakedness, of spinning some yarn every day in their homes. And, therefore, no matter what efforts are made in other directions, even if the cotton mills in India multiply to four times their present number, the miserable condition of the millions in India will never improve so long as these craftsmen and women do not take again to their old occupations. That is the reason why I have long believed, and still do, that swadeshi is our highest dharma. It is doubtless desirable that needles, penholders, etc., should be made in our country. We must certainly reach that stage finally. But there is no compa-

[1] Not translated here. The correspondent had asked Gandhiji whether he intended to extend the swadeshi movement to other items besides cloth, and why he seemed to show special concern for the untouchable communities.

rison between these industries and that of cloth. The former will be new industries introduced for the first time in our country. We shall not succeed in absorbing in them the crores of people who have been impoverished. The energy, moreover, which will enable us to produce cloth worth 60 crores of rupees with the co-operation of countless women and craftsmen, will profit us in future as well. In reviving an industry which will yield an annual income of 60 crores of rupees, we shall have to cultivate a great many sterling qualities, such as capacity for self-sacrifice, power of organization, intelligence, honesty, steadfastness, etc. Only then shall we succeed in putting my apparently limited idea of swadeshi on a firm basis.

Now as regards the depressed classes. This issue covers that of the decline in India's fortunes. The lady refers to it and asks whether, by merely removing the stigma of untouchability from these classes, we shall succeed in raising India's fortunes. I feel certain that we can bring about that happy result, for the strength which will enable us to shake off this sin will also help us to get rid of our other sins and it is my firm conviction that, so long as we remain submerged in some of these, India's fortunes will continue at a low ebb. I believe that by serving the depressed classes I serve the whole society. Though it is indeed a fact that, like the untouchables, other communities also suffer, the former are oppressed in the name of dharma. As an orthodox Hindu, therefore, I consider it my especial duty to free myself, and to persuade others to free themselves, from this notion of dharma. We cannot compare the sufferings of the untouchables with those of any other section in India. It passes my understanding how we consider it dharma to treat the depressed classes as untouchables; I shudder at the very thought of this. My conscience tells me that untouchability can never be a part of Hinduism. I do not think it too much to dedicate my whole life to removing the thick crust of sin with which Hindu society has covered itself for so long by stupidly regarding these people as untouchables. I am only sorry that I am unable to devote myself wholly to that work.

There is no question here of freedom of eating with or marrying any of them. The only question is whether physical contact with them should be avoided. When a member of this community becomes a Muslim, I do not avoid such contact with him; when he becomes a Christian, I salute him; I consider it no sin to allow myself to be touched by a Muslim or a Christian after he has touched such a person, but I object to physical contact with the man himself! The very idea seems to me unjust, devoid of reason and

contrary to dharma. That is why I consider myself sanctified when I touch any person of this class and have been continually beseeching the Hindus in all manner of ways, though remaining within limits of propriety, to free themselves from this stigma. I appeal to this lady, too, who has written her letter in all sincerity and frankness, that she should use her great powers and influence over the people to help Hindu society to throw off the burden of this sin: the practice of untouchability. She may also set a very worthy example to others by introducing the holy spinning-wheel in her own home, if only for a while and gifting a little of her time to the country.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 30-5-1920

205. NOTES

An Example to Follow

Contributions for the Orissa Famine Fund continue to pour in from all quarters without any effort for collection. This is a happy sign of increasing national consciousness and charity of heart. But the contribution received from a charity-box, at the Esplanade High School of Bombay, deserves special notice. The High School keeps a charity-box and teachers and students are encouraged to drop their contributions into it. The amount so collected is used for relieving distress at any place, without any distinction of caste or creed. Only the teachers, students and employees of the school are allowed to put sums of money into it. Suitable rules have been framed in order to prevent any misappropriation of money. The smallest amount to be dropped is 2 annas and inducements are given for larger contributions by offering various certificates and in other ways. It is unnecessary here to dwell on the rules; we only wish to point out to readers that this practice of keeping a charity-box is worth emulating. If students and teachers in every well-maintained school are thus encouraged to give something in charity and if the funds collected are utilized properly, a large amount could be raised, almost without effort, for relieving distress in our country and every school can spend its amount for some good cause of its own choice.

How Employees' Condition May Improve

Regular readers of *Navajivan* probably remember that, in the issue of September 21, a correspondent, signing himself

"Sarvodaya", suggested reduction of working hours for employees.[1] Another correspondent, an educated business man, who signs himself "Viragi", has now given his views on the subject. He writes:[2]

These views are admirable, no doubt. Once, however, in a meeting of mice one of them suggested that a bell be tied to the cat's neck, so that its sound could warn them of her approach and they could all run back into their holes. The question then arose who would bell the cat. In the same way, the question which arises here is, who, from the employees, will undertake this important task. It is not at all difficult if the large number of employees in Bombay come together and reach an agreement. There is no better way of propagating a good idea which may strike a man than its practice by the man himself. Why should not "Viragi" himself implement his idea?

Dacoities in Matar Taluka[3]

A correspondent, who does not give his name, says that dacoits are very active in Matar Taluka these days, and adds that there have been two raids since *Vaishakh Sud* 5[4]. Those who want steps to be taken in this matter should give more details. There is no need at all to be afraid of giving one's name and address. The people should now give up such fears. There is surely no danger in giving the information that there was a raid at a certain place, and even if there should be any danger in giving information, one should not be afraid of giving it so long as it is true. If any reader knows more about this matter and if the information is passed on to us, we hope to use it to secure relief for the people.

It is also necessary to add here that the people must now learn to defend themselves against such dangers. If all the residents of a village unite to take concerted measures, we believe the dacoits will generally not succeed in carrying out their raids.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 30-5-1920

[1] *Vide* Vol. XVI, pp. 157-8.

[2] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent agreed with the general contention of "Sarvodaya" but argued that the best way of removing employees' difficulties was to help them to organize co-operative activities.

[3] In Kheda District of Gujarat

[4] April 20, 1920

206. *KHILAFAT: FURTHER QUESTIONS ANSWERED*

I have been overwhelmed with public criticism and private advice and even anonymous letters telling me exactly what I should do. Some are impatient that I do not advise immediate and extensive non-co-operation; others tell me what harm I am doing the country by throwing it knowingly in a tempest of violence on either side. It is difficult for me to deal with the whole of the criticism, but I would summarize some of the objections and endeavour to answer them to the best of my ability. These are in addition to those I have already answered:[1]

1. The Turkish claim is immoral or unjust and how can I, a lover of truth and justice, support it?
2. Even if the claim be just in theory, the Turk is hopelessly incapable, weak and cruel. He does not deserve any assistance.
3. Even if Turkey deserves all that is claimed for her, why should I land India in an international struggle?
4. It is no part of the Indian Mohammedans' business to meddle in this affair. If they cherish any political ambition, they have tried, they have failed and they should now sit still. If it is a religious matter with them, it cannot appeal to the Hindu reason in the manner it is put and in any case Hindus ought not to identify themselves with Mohammedans in their religious quarrel with Christendom.
5. In no case should I advocate non-co-operation which in its extreme sense is nothing but a rebellion, no matter how peaceful it may be.
6. Moreover, my experience[2] of last year must show me that it is beyond the capacity of any single human being to control the forces of violence that are lying dormant in the land.
7. Non-co-operation is futile because people will never respond in right earnest, and reaction that might afterwards set in will be worse than the state of hopefulness we are now in.
8. Non-co-operation will bring about cessation of all other activities, even working of the Reforms, and thus set back the clock of progress.

[1] *Vide* "Some Questions Answered", 19-5-1920.

[2] In connection with the agitation against the Rowlatt Bills

9. However pure my motives may be, those of the Mussulmans are obviously revengeful.

I shall now answer the objections in the order in which they are stated:

1. In my opinion the Turkish claim is not only not immoral and unjust, but it is highly equitable, if only because Turkey wants to retain what is her own. And the Mohammedan manifesto has definitely declared that whatever guarantees may be necessary to be taken for the protection of non-Muslim and non-Turkish races, should be taken so as to give the Christians theirs and the Arabs their self-government under the Turkish suzerainty.

2. I do not believe the Turk to be weak, incapable or cruel. He is certainly disorganized and probably without good generalship. He has been obliged to fight against heavy odds. The argument of weakness, incapacity and cruelty one often hears quoted in connection with those from whom power is sought to be taken away. About the alleged massacres[1] a proper commission has been asked for, but never granted. And in any case security can be taken against oppression.

3. I have already stated that if I were not interested in the Indian Mohammedans, I would not interest myself in the welfare of the Turks any more than I do in that of the Austrians or the Poles. But I am bound as an Indian to share the sufferings and trials of fellow-Indians. If I deem the Mohammedan to be my brother, it is my duty to help him in his hour of peril to the best of my ability, if his cause commends itself to me as just.

4. The fourth refers to the extent Hindus should join hands with the Mohammedans. It is therefore a matter of feeling and opinion. It is expedient to suffer for my Mohammedan brother to the utmost in a just cause and I should therefore travel with him along the whole road so long as the means employed by him are as honourable as his end. I cannot regulate the Mohammedan feeling. I must accept his statement that the Khilafat is with him a religious question in the sense that it binds him to reach the goal even at the cost of his own life.

5. I do not consider non-co-operation to be a rebellion, because it is free from violence. In a larger sense all opposition to a Government measure is a rebellion. In that sense, rebellion in a just cause is a duty, the extent of opposition being determined by the measure of the injustice done and felt.

[1] In Armenia

6. My experience of last year shows me that in spite of aberrations in some parts of India, the country was entirely under control, that the influence of satyagraha was profoundly for its good and that where violence did break out there were local causes that directly contributed to it. At the same time I admit that even the violence that did take place on the part of the people and the spirit of lawlessness that was undoubtedly shown in some parts should have remained under check. I have made ample acknowledgment of the miscalculation I then made. But all the painful experience that I then gained did not in any way shake my belief in satyagraha or in the possibility of that matchless force being utilized in India. Ample provision is being made this time to avoid the mistakes of the past. But I must refuse to be deterred from a clear course, because it may be attended by violence totally unintended and in spite of extraordinary efforts that are being made to prevent it. At the same time I must make my position clear. Nothing can possibly prevent a satyagrahi from doing his duty because of the frown of the authorities. I would risk, if necessary, a million lives so long as they are voluntary sufferers and are innocent, spotless victims. It is the mistakes of the people that matter in a satyagraha campaign. Mistakes, even insanity, must be expected from the strong and the powerful, and the moment of victory has come when there is no resort to the mad fury of the powerful but a voluntary, dignified and quiet submission—but not submission to the will of the authority that has put itself in the wrong. The secret of success lies therefore in holding every English life and the life of every officer serving the Government as sacred as those of our own dear ones. All the wonderful experience I have gained now during nearly 40 years of conscious existence, has convinced me that there is no gift so precious as that of life. I make bold to say that the moment the Englishmen feel that, although they are in India in a hopeless minority, their lives are protected against harm not because of the matchless weapons of destruction which are at their disposal, but because Indians refuse to take the lives even of those whom they may consider to be utterly in the wrong, that moment will see a transformation in the English nature in its relation to India, and that moment will also be the moment when all the destructive cutlery that is to be had in India will begin to rust. I know that this is a far off vision. That cannot matter to me. It is enough for me to see the light and to act up to it, and it is more than enough when I gain companions in the onward march. I have claimed in private conversations with English friends that it is because of my incessant preaching of the

gospel of non-violence and my having successfully demonstrated its practical utility that so far the forces of violence, which are undoubtedly in existence in connection with the Khilafat movement, have remained under complete control.

7. From a religious standpoint, the seventh objection is hardly worth considering. If people do not respond to the movement of non-co-operation, it would be a pity, but that can be no reason for a reformer not to try. It would be to me a demonstration that the present position of hopefulness is not dependent on any inward strength or knowledge, but it is hope born of ignorance and superstition.

8. If non-co-operation is taken up in earnest, it must bring about a cessation of all other activities including the Reforms, but I decline to draw therefore the corollary that it will set back the clock of progress. On the contrary, I consider non-co-operation to be such a powerful and pure instrument, that if it is enforced in an earnest spirit, it will be like seeking first the Kingdom of God and everything else following as a matter of course. People will have then realized their true power. They would have learnt the value of discipline, self-control, joint action, non-violence, organization and everything else that goes to make a nation great and good, and not merely great.

9. I do not know that I have a right to arrogate greater purity for myself than for our Mussulman brethren. But I do admit that they do not believe in my doctrine of non-violence to the full extent. For them it is a weapon of the weak, an expedient. They consider non-co-operation without violence to be the only thing open to them in the war of direct action. I know that if some of them could offer successful violence, they would do today. But they are convinced that, humanly speaking, it is an impossibility. For them, therefore, non-co-operation is a matter not merely of duty but also of revenge. Whereas I take up non-co-operation against the Government as I have actually taken it up in practice against members of my own family. I entertain very high regard for the British constitution. I have not only no enmity against Englishmen but I regard much in English character as worthy of my emulation. I count many as my friends. It is against my religion to regard anyone as an enemy. I entertain similar sentiments with respect to Mohammedans. I find their cause to be just and pure. Although therefore their view-point is different from mine I do not hesitate to associate with them and invite them to give my method a trial, for I believe that the use of a pure weapon even from a mistaken motive does not fail to produce some good,

even as the telling of truth, if only because for the time being it is the best policy, is at least so much to the good.

Young India, 2-6-1920

207. *SPEECH AT KHILAFAT COMMITTEE MEETING, ALLAHABAD*

[*June 3, 1920*][1]

Mahatma Gandhi, in a solemn speech which was listened to in perfect silence, said he knew full well that Muslims realized that non-co-operation was the only remedy now left to India in four stages.[2] He whole-heartedly sympathized with them and was prepared to co-operate with them to get the peace terms revised. He was of opinion that the present was a warfare between false Christianity and Islam. On the one side was the strength of arms and on the other side moral force. We wanted to win the war with moral force. The course that the movement of non-co-operation should pursue would be graduated in four stages, and previously to working out the first of them His Excellency the Viceroy should be approached and given notice of one month to see that the Turkish peace terms were revised in conformity with Moslem demands, and, in case it was not done, to resign and join the movement of non-co-operation. After a month the first stage would be put into operation. He suggested that a committee consisting of members prepared to remain with him and invested with full powers be appointed to work out the scheme, whose decisions would be binding on all people. He disapproved of boycott as impracticable and suggested that swadeshi should be adopted instead. He urged upon the people to avoid violence in any shape or form.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 7-6-1920

[1] A joint Hindu-Muslim Conference was held at Allahabad on June 1 and 2, and the meeting of the All-India Central Khilafat Committee, at which this speech was delivered, took place on June 3, 1920 (*vide* "The Non-co-operation Committee", 23-6-1920). For the resolutions passed at this meeting, *vide* Appendix III.

[2] The All-India Khilafat Committee which had met in Bombay to deliberate upon Gandhiji's non-co-operation programme had adopted it on May 28 as the only means left to the Muslims.

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208. SPEECH ON SWADESHI, BOMBAY[1]

June 4, 1920

At the opening ceremony Mr. Gandhi was accompanied by Shrimati Saraladevi Chowdharani who was dressed in her *khaddar* sari and blouse.

Mr. Gandhi in his speech at the opening ceremony referred to the instance of the Duchess of Sutherland whose indefatigable industry had popularized the use of home-woven and homespun Scotch tweed furnishing as it did the honourable and lucrative occupation of the hundreds of Scotch women. She was able to show that there was more art in the rough-looking Scotch tweed made by the poor Highlander than in the woollen pieces turned out in huge factories. Mr. Gandhi said that he would not be satisfied until India recognized the true art in the homespun. When it became fashionable like the Scotch tweed it would, like the latter, fetch a higher price than the mill-made articles thus making it possible to double the rates he was now paying for homespun yarn.

Young India, 9-6-1920

209. SPEECH ON SWADESHI, NADIAD[2]

June 5, 1920

I have great expectations of Kheda district. The store which I am just going to declare open should not merely spread the use of swadeshi cloth. I shall be satisfied only if it regularly buys up all the cloth produced in the villages of Kheda district and becomes a centre for swadeshi cloth. Why should they have to go to Bombay to buy stocks for this store? I am confident that the women of Kheda district make sufficient cloth to meet the needs of the whole district, and that, too, in their spare time. I hope people with zeal will supply them spinning-wheels and cotton for spinning. For our cloth, we pay two rupees a head annually to foreign countries. On this reckoning, if we weave our own cloth we shall save fourteen lakhs of rupees on cloth for the seven lakh people of Kheda district, and this saving, moreover, will be shared, not

[1] Delivered when declaring open the Khadi Bhandar of Narandas Purshottamdas and Vithaldas Jerajani

[2] Delivered when declaring open a swadeshi store. Sarladevi Chowdhrani and C. Rajagopalachari were present at the function.

among the rich few, but entirely among the large numbers of our poor brethren. In this way, the swadeshi movement serves the purpose of an insurance company. Again, I should like to point out emphatically that, if we would further the cause of swadeshi, this store should pay attention to the production of indigenous cloth rather than compete in sales with other stores. I urge you for this purpose to send round volunteers from house to house to supply cotton to people and collect the prepared yarn and cloth from them. This is how the East India Company penetrated Indian markets. For rehabilitating our indigenous industries, we shall have to display even greater organizing power, perseverance, thrift and commercial shrewdness than were displayed by the East India Company. I hope that this new enterprise will ensure the success of swadeshi on which national revival depends.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 13-6-1920

210. POLITICAL FREEMASONRY

Freemasonry is a secret brotherhood which has, more by its secret and iron rules than by its service to humanity, obtained a hold upon some of the best minds. Similarly there seems to be some secret code of conduct governing the official class in India before which the flower of the great British nation fall prostrate and unconsciously become instruments of injustice which as private individuals they would be ashamed of perpetrating. In no other way is it possible for one to understand the majority report of the Hunter Committee, the despatch[1] of the Government of India and the reply[2] thereto of the Secretary of State for India. In spite of the energetic protests of a section of the Press to the personnel of the Committee, it might be said that on the whole the public were prepared to trust it especially as it contained three Indian members[3] who could fairly be claimed to be independent. The first rude shock to this confidence was delivered by the refusal of Lord Hunter's Committee to accept the very moderate and reasonable demand of the Congress Committee that

[1] Dated May 3, 1920. For the text of the despatch, which contains the substance of the Hunter Committee's report, *vide* Appendix IV.

[2] This followed on May 26, 1920; for the text, *vide* Appendix V.

[3] Pandit Jagat Narayan, Sir Chimanlal Setalwad and Sardar Sultan Ahmed Khan

the imprisoned Punjab leaders might be allowed to appear before it to instruct counsel. Any doubt that might have been left in the mind of any person has been dispelled by the report of the majority of that committee. The result has justified the attitude of the Congress Committee. The evidence collected by it shows what Lord Hunter's Committee purposely denied itself.

The minority report[1] stands out like an oasis in a desert. The Indian members deserve the congratulations of their countrymen for having dared to do their duty in the face of heavy odds. I wish that they had refused to associate themselves even in a modified manner with the condemnation of the civil disobedience form of satyagraha. The defiant spirit of the Delhi mob on the 30th March[2] can hardly be used for condemning a great spiritual movement which is admittedly and manifestly intended to restrain the violent tendencies of mobs and to replace criminal lawlessness by civil disobedience of authority, when it has forfeited all title to respect. On the 30th March civil disobedience had not even been started. Almost every great popular demonstration has been hitherto attended all the world over by a certain amount of lawlessness. The demonstrations of 30th March and 6th April could have been held under any other aegis as under that of satyagraha. I hold that without the advent of the spirit of civility and orderliness, the disobedience would have taken a much more violent form than it did even at Delhi. It was only the wonderfully quick acceptance by the people of the principle of satyagraha that effectively checked the spread of violence throughout the length and breadth of India. And even today it is not the memory of the black barbarity of General Dyer that is keeping the undoubted restlessness among the people from breaking forth into violence. The hold that satyagraha has gained on the people—it may be even against their will—is curbing the forces of disorder and violence. But I must not detain the reader on a defence of satyagraha against unjust attacks. If it has gained a foothold in India, it will survive much fiercer attacks than the one made by the majority of the Hunter Committee and somewhat supported by the minority. Had the majority report been defective only in this direction and correct in every other there would have been nothing but praise for it. After

[1] The Indian members of the Hunter Committee submitted a separate minority report the substance of which is found in the Government of India's despatch; *vide* Appendix IV.

[2] In 1919 the satyagrahis of Delhi had observed Sunday, March 30, as a day of humiliation and prayer, to demonstrate their protest against the Rowlatt Bills. The mob, however, had created some disturbances.

all satyagraha is a new experiment in the political field. And a hasty attributing to it of any popular disorder would have been pardonable.

The universally pronounced adverse judgment upon the report and the despatches rests upon far more painful revelations. Look at the manifestly laboured defence of every official act of inhumanity except where condemnation could not be avoided through the impudent admissions made by the actors themselves, look at the special pleading introduced to defend General Dyer even against himself, look at the vain glorification of Sir Michael O'Dwyer although it was his spirit that actuated every act of criminality on the part of the subordinates, look at the deliberate refusal to examine his wild career before the events of April[1]. His acts were an open book of which the Committee ought to have taken judicial notice. Instead of accepting everything that the officials had to say, the Committee's obvious duty was to tax itself to find out the real cause of the disorders. It ought to have gone out of its way to search out the inwardness of the events. Instead of patiently going behind the hard crust of official documents, the Committee allowed itself to be guided with criminal laziness by mere official evidence. The report and the despatches, in my humble opinion, constitute an attempt to condone official lawlessness. The cautions and half-hearted condemnation pronounced upon General Dyer's massacre and the notorious crawling order only deepens the disappointment of the reader as he goes through page after page of thinly disguised official whitewash. I need, however, scarcely attempt any elaborate examination of the report or the despatches which have been so justly censured by the whole national Press whether of the moderate or the extremist hue. The point to consider is how to break down this secret—be the secrecy ever so unconscious—conspiracy to uphold official iniquity. A scandal of this magnitude cannot be tolerated by the nation, if it is to preserve its self-respect and become a free partner in the Empire. The All-India Congress Committee has resolved upon convening a special session[2] of the Congress for the purpose of considering, among other things, the situation arising from the report. In my opinion the time has arrived when we must cease to rely upon mere petitions to Parliament for effective action. Petitions will have value, when the nation has behind it the power to enforce its will. What power then have we? When we are

[1] 1919

[2] At Calcutta, in September 1920

firmly of opinion that grave wrong has been done us and when after an appeal to the highest authority we fail to secure redress, there must be some power available to us for undoing the wrong. It is true that in the vast majority of cases, it is the duty of a subject to submit to wrongs on failure of the usual procedure, so long as they do not affect his vital being. But every nation and every individual has the right, and it is their duty, to rise against an intolerable wrong. I do not believe in armed risings. They are a remedy worse than the disease sought to be cured. They are a token of the spirit of revenge and impatience and anger. The method of violence cannot do good in the long run. Witness the effect of the armed rising of the Allied Powers against Germany. Have they not become even like the Germans, as the latter have been depicted to us by them?

We have a better method. Unlike that of violence it certainly involves the exercise of restraint and patience; but it requires also resoluteness of will. This method is to refuse to be party to the wrong. No tyrant has ever yet succeeded in his purpose without carrying the victim with him, it may be, as it often is, by force. Most people choose rather to yield to the will of the tyrant than to suffer for the consequence of resistance. Hence does terrorism form part of the stock-in-trade of the tyrant. But we have instances in history where terrorism has failed to impose the terrorist's will upon his victim. India has the choice before her now. If then the acts of the Punjab Government be an insufferable wrong, if the report of Lord Hunter's Committee and the two despatches be a greater wrong by reason of their grievous condonation of these acts, it is clear that we must refuse to submit to this official violence. Appeal to the Parliament by all means if necessary, but if the Parliament fails us and if we are worthy to call ourselves a nation, we must refuse to uphold the Government by withdrawing co-operation from it.

Young India, 9-6-1920

211. THE MOHAMMEDAN DECISION

The Khilafat meeting[1] at Allahabad has unanimously reaffirmed the principle of non-co-operation and appointed an executive committee to lay down and enforce a detailed programme. This meeting was preceded by a joint Hindu-Mohammedan meeting at which Hindu leaders were invited to give their views.[2] Mrs. Besant, the Hon'ble Pandit Malaviyaji, the Hon'ble Dr. Sapru[3], Motilal Nehru, Chintamani[4] and others were present at the meeting. It was a wise step on the part of the Khilafat Committee to invite Hindus representing all shades of thought to give them the benefit of their advice. Mrs. Besant and Dr. Sapru strongly dissuaded the Mohammedans present from the policy of non-co-operation. The other Hindu speakers made non-committal speeches. Whilst the other Hindu speakers approved of the principle of non-co-operation in theory, they saw many practical difficulties and they feared also complications arising from Mohammedans welcoming an Afghan invasion of India.[5] The Mohammedan speakers gave the fullest and frankest assurances that they would fight to a man any invader who wanted to conquer India, but they were equally frank in asserting that any invasion from without undertaken with a view to uphold the prestige of Islam and to vindicate justice would have their full sympathy if not their actual support. It is easy enough to understand and justify the Hindu caution. It is difficult to resist the Mohammedan position. In my opinion, the best way to prevent India from becoming the battle ground between the forces of Islam and those of the English

[1] Held by the Khilafat Committee on June 9, 1920

[2] *Vide* footnote 1 to "Speech at Khilafat Committee Meeting, Allahabad", June 3, 1920.

[3] Sir Tejbahadur Ambikaprasad Sapru (1875-1949); eminent lawyer, constitutionalist and politician; Law Member in Viceroy's Council 1920-22; president of the Liberal Federation in 1923 and 1927

[4] Sir C. Y. Chintamani (1880-1941); journalist, author and politician; president of the Liberal Federation in 1920 and 1931; associated with *The Leader* of Allahabad for 32 years

[5] Even after the treaty of peace was signed in August, 1919, at the end of the third Afghan war, the relations between the Governments of India and Afghanistan remained very uncertain. In April, 1920, the negotiations at Mussoorie between their representatives had to be suspended for more than a month due to a succession of unpleasant frontier incidents.

is for Hindus to make non-co-operation a complete and immediate success, and I have little doubt that if the Mohammedans remain true to their declared intention and are able to exercise self-restraint and make sacrifices, the Hindus will "play the game" and join them in the campaign of non-co-operation. I feel equally certain that the Hindus will not assist Mohammedans in promoting or bringing about an armed conflict between the British Government and their allies, and Afghanistan. British forces are too well organized to admit of any successful invasion of the Indian frontier. The only way, therefore, the Mohammedans can carry on an effective struggle on behalf of the honour of Islam is to take up non-co-operation in real earnest. It will not only be completely effective if it is adopted by the people on an extensive scale, but it will also provide full scope for individual conscience. If I cannot bear an injustice done by an individual or a corporation, and if I am directly or indirectly instrumental in upholding that individual or corporation, I must answer for it before my Maker; but I have done all it is humanly possible for me to do consistently with the moral code that refuses to injure even the wrongdoer, if I cease to support the injustice in the manner described above. In applying, therefore, such a great force there should be no haste, there should be no temper shown. Non-co-operation must be and remain absolutely a voluntary effort. The whole thing, then, depends upon Mohammedans themselves. If they will but help themselves, Hindu help will come and the Government, great and mighty though it is, will have to bend before this irresistible force. No Government can possibly withstand the bloodless opposition of a whole nation.

Young India, 9-6-1920

212. *PRESS STATEMENT ON REPATRIATION SCHEME*[1]

June 13, 1920

With reference to the approval that seems to have been accorded to the scheme of repatriation, said to have been recommended by the South African Commission[2] and accepted by the Union Government, I would respectfully caution the public against accepting the proposed scheme[3].

The public have not the interim report of the Commission. We do not know the conditions of repatriation. It seems to me therefore that it is most hazardous to venture any opinion at all on a scheme of which we have a most imperfect knowledge. Generally, it must be stated that any scheme of State repatriation must be looked upon with the gravest suspicion, especially when the scheme is fathered by those who are uncompromisingly hostile to Indian aspirations. The Indians of South Africa are able to remain in that country because of their domicile. I very much fear that the proposed scheme will be found to involve forfeiture of domicile against acceptance of repatriation money, that is, passage back to India and possibly a trifling sum as pocket-money. I am inclined to think that apart from everything else such considerations will be wholly insufficient for giving away a valuable right. I would hardly call any such repatriation as purely voluntary.

This, however, is one of the many objections that may be advanced against the proposed repatriation. I have no doubt that the best thing is to suspend judgment till we have the full scheme before us for examination. It is to be hoped that the Government of India will take the public fully into its confidence before pronouncing upon the scheme.

The Hindu, 14-6-1920

[1] Released from Bombay, in regard to the scheme recommended by the Enquiry Commission in South Africa whose sittings had commenced from March, 1920

[2] In its interim report

[3] *India in 1920* says : "The interim report recommended that with a view to encourage the return to India of those Indians who are desirous of repatriation, the Union Government should afford all facilities, including the provision of shipping and the relaxation of restrictions on the export of gold in the form of savings and jewelry."

213. LETTER TO N. C. KELKAR AND OTHERS[1]

[About *June 15, 1920*][2]

DEAR MR. KELKAR,

I am s[orry I] ha[ve] not been able . . . attend . . . tic Congress constitution. I now send you my draft[3]. You will see that I have aimed at simplicity, intensity and representation of all parties an[d all] shades of opinion ensuring the predominance of that view which is most acceptable to the country. You will notice too that the Congress under the s. . . a. . . tly wieldy . . . body reta[ining] all the spectacular effect. Please go through the whole draft critically and suggest your dissent [un]hesitatingly wherever [you d]isagree.

Having taken all this time myself, I have no right to hurry you, but I know you will give it as early attention as you can. If there is . . . content . . . matter [we] must meet. I am at the present moment usually resident in Bombay and if we can meet in Bombay it will save . . . much time. [A]ny date will suit me.

Yours sincerely,

N. C. KELKAR, POONA
R[ANGA S]WAMI IYENGAR
H[IND]U OFFICE, MADRAS
I. B. SE[N, ES]Q.
C/O C. R. DAS, ESQ.
CALCUTTA

From a copy : S.N. 7420

[1] The draft in pencil in Gandhiji's hand, the source for this item, has been badly damaged by termites. Evidently, copies of the letter were sent to the other addressees also.

[2] At the Congress session in December, 1919, Gandhiji was asked to revise the constitution of the Congress. The revised draft was circulated during the Congress session in September, 1920, at Calcutta. In his letter to Kelkar of July 2, 1920, Gandhiji acknowledges Kelkar's criticism of his draft. This letter forwarding the draft to Kelkar must, therefore, have been written about a fortnight earlier. Moreover, for the greater part of June, 1920, Gandhiji was in Bombay as he mentions in the second paragraph. It would seem therefore that this letter was written about the middle of June, 1920.

[3] Not available

214. THE LAW OF SUFFERING

No country has ever risen without being purified through the fire of suffering. Mother suffers so that her child may live. The condition of wheat-growing is that the seed grain should perish. Life comes out of Death. Will India rise out of her slavery without fulfilling this eternal law of purification through suffering?

If my advisers are right, evidently India will realize her destiny without travail. For their chief concern is that the events of April, 1919, should not be repeated. They fear non-co-operation because it would involve the sufferings of many. If Hampden had argued thus he would not have withheld payment of ship-money, nor would Wat Tyler have raised the standard of revolt. English and French histories are replete with instances of men continuing their pursuit of the right irrespective of the amount of suffering involved. The actors did not stop to think whether ignorant people would not have involuntarily to suffer. Why should we expect to write our history differently? It is possible for us, if we would, to learn from the mistakes of our predecessors to do better, but it is impossible to do away with the law of suffering which is the one indispensable condition of our being. The way to do better is to avoid, if we can, violence from our side and thus quicken the rate of progress and to introduce greater purity in the methods of suffering. We can, if we will, refrain, in our impatience, from bending the wrongdoer to our will by physical force as Sinn Feiners are doing today, or from coercing our neighbours to follow our methods as was done last year by some of us in bringing about hartal. Progress is to be measured by the amount of suffering undergone by the sufferer. The purer the suffering, the greater is the progress. Hence did the sacrifice of Jesus suffice to free a sorrowing world. In his onward march he did not count the cost of suffering entailed upon his neighbours, whether it was undergone by them voluntarily or otherwise. Thus did the sufferings of a Harishchandra[1] suffice to re-establish the kingdom of truth. He must have known that his subjects would suffer involuntarily by his abdication. He did not mind because he could not do otherwise than follow truth.

[1] Legendary King of Ayodhya who held his loyalty to truth above his wife, son, kingdom and wealth. Finally, after undergoing countless sufferings, he, his family and his subjects were raised to heavenly bliss.

I have already stated that I do not deplore the massacre of Jallianwala Bagh so much as I deplore the murders of Englishmen and destruction of property by ourselves.[1] The frightfulness at Amritsar drew away public attention from the greater though slower frightfulness at Lahore where attempt was made to emasculate the inhabitants by slow processes. But before we rise higher we shall have to undergo such processes many more times till they teach us to take up suffering voluntarily and to find joy in it. I am convinced that the Lahorians never deserved the cruel insults that they were subjected to;[2] they never hurt a single Englishman; they never destroyed any property. But a wilful ruler was determined to crush the spirit of a people just trying to throw off his chafing yoke. And if I am told that all this was due to my preaching satyagraha, my answer is that I would preach satyagraha all the more forcibly for that, so long as I have breath left in me, and tell the people that next time they would answer O'Dwyerean insolence not by opening shops by reason of threats of forcible sales but by allowing the tyrant to do his worst and let him sell their all but their unconquerable souls. Sages of old mortified the flesh so that the spirit within might be set free, so that their trained bodies might be proof against any injury that might be inflicted on them by tyrants seeking to impose their will on them. And if India wishes to revive her ancient wisdom and to avoid the errors of Europe, if India wishes to see the Kingdom of God established on earth instead of that of Satan which has enveloped Europe, then I would urge her sons and daughters not to be deceived by fine phrases, the terrible subtleties that hedge us in, the fears of suffering that India may have to undergo, but to see what is happening today in Europe and from it understand that we *must* go through the suffering even as Europe has gone through, but not the process of making others suffer. Germany wanted to dominate Europe and the Allies wanted to do likewise by crushing Germany. Europe is no better for Germany's fall. The Allies have proved themselves to be just as deceitful, cruel, greedy and selfish as Germany was or would have been. Germany would have avoided the sanctimonious humbug that one sees associated with the many dealings of the Allies.

The miscalculation that I deplored last year was not in connection with the sufferings imposed upon the people, but about the mistakes made by them and violence done by them owing to their not having sufficiently understood the message of satyagraha. What then is the meaning of non-co-operation in terms of the Law

[1] & [2] *Vide* "Congress Report on the Punjab Disorders", 25-3-1920.

of Suffering? We must voluntarily put up with the losses and inconveniences that arise from having to withdraw our support from a Government that is ruling against our will. Possession of power and riches is a crime under an unjust government; poverty in that case is a virtue, says Thoreau. It may be that in the transition state we may make mistakes; there may be avoidable suffering. These things are preferable to national emasculation.

We must refuse to wait for the wrong to be righted till the wrongdoer has been roused to a sense of his inequity. We must not, for fear of ourselves or others having to suffer, remain participators in it. But we must combat the wrong by ceasing to assist the wrongdoer directly or indirectly.

If a father does an injustice, it is the duty of his children to leave the parental roof. If the head master of a school conducts his institution on an immoral basis, the pupils must leave the school. If the chairman of a corporation is corrupt, the members thereof must wash their hands clean of his corruption by withdrawing from it; even so, if a government does a grave injustice, the subject must withdraw co-operation wholly or partially, sufficiently to wean the ruler from his wickedness. In each case conceived by me there is an element of suffering whether mental or physical. Without such suffering it is not possible to attain freedom.

Young India, 16-6-1920

215. HINDI IN MADRAS

I have the greatest faith in the Dravidians some day taking up Hindi study seriously. If an eighth of the industry that they put in in mastering English were to be devoted to learning Hindi, instead of the rest of India remaining a sealed book to them, they will be one with us as never before. I know that some would say the argument cuts both ways. The Dravidians being in a minority, national economy suggests that they should learn the common language of the rest of India than that the rest should learn Tamil, Telugu, Canarese and Malayalam in order to be able to converse with Dravidian India. It is for that reason that Hindi-propaganda work of an intense type has been going on in the Madras Presidency for the past eighteen months under the aegis of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan of Allahabad. In response to an appeal by me to the Agraval Marwadi Sammelan held in Bombay last week, the wealthy Marwadis of Bombay and Calcutta present

there subscribed on the spot Rs. 50,000 for five years' Hindi propaganda in Madras Presidency. They have once more demonstrated that Hindi work is a speciality of this princely merchant class of India. This generous response increases the responsibility of the Sammelan of Allahabad and of those Dravidians who share with me the belief that Madras must take up Hindi for the sake of full national expansion. Let no Dravidian think that learning Hindi is at all difficult. A little time taken from the recreation hour daily and in a systematic manner will enable an average man to learn Hindi in one year. I would venture to suggest, too, that large municipalities might now introduce Hindi as an optional language to be learnt in the municipal schools. I can say from experience that Dravidian children take to Hindi in a remarkably easy manner. Little does anyone know that almost all the Tamils and the Telugus living in South Africa can carry on an intelligent conversation in Hindi. I venture to hope therefore that the young men of Madras will show their appreciation of Marwadi generosity by availing themselves of the facility afforded to them of learning Hindi without payment.

Young India, 16-6-1920

216. LETTER TO KHAMBATTA

BOMBAY,
June 18, 1920

DEAR MR. KHAMBATTA,

I thank you for your kind note sending Rs. 100 for the Orissa distress fund. I shall respect your wish not to publish your name.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat : G.N. 7533

CWMG XVII

217. LETTER TO SAKARLAL

LABURNUM ROAD,
GAMDEVI,
BOMBAY,
Friday [*June 18, 1920*][1]

BHAI SHRI SAKARLAL,

I have just received a telegram about Vrajlal.[2] It is not that you alone have lost a jewel-like brother; we, too, have lost a co-worker no less precious than a brother. His hallowed soul is now resting in an exalted place. Bhai Vrajlal gave an excellent demonstration of what the higher life can be. I know you cannot but grieve; but lighten the burden of your grief with the thought that his life was sublime and that all of us share your grief.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a copy of the Gujarati : C.W. 843

218. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

[*June 18, 1920*][3]

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I have your telegram. I am shocked by the telegram about Bhai Vrajlal. I just can't believe that he died as a result of a mishap. He passed away while he was yet happy in every way. He did not have to be looked after by anyone. These days we are being visited with fierce wrath. Write a letter to his brother, signed by all, and send the accompanying letter[4] with it. I can write no more just now. I expect a detailed letter from you.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : C.W. 842

[1] The Friday following the death of Vrajlal was June 18, 1920.

[2] For the circumstances in which Vrajlal died, *vide* "*In Memoriam*", 26-6-1920.

[3] Judging from the contents, this letter was evidently written just after the preceding item.

[4] *Vide* the preceding item.

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219. DUTY OF SELF-SACRIFICE

They who live on the *amrit*[1] of what remains after a *yajna*[2], attain to eternal *Brahma*[3]; O Arjuna, those who do no *yajna*, even this world is not for them, not to speak of the next.[4]

Narada gave his considered opinion that Parvati[5] should go and do *tapasya*. Her parents liked the idea, for *tapasya* brings happiness and destroys sin and suffering. *Tapasya* is the basis of all creation. They, therefore, desired that Parvati, taking this to heart, should go and do *tapasya*.[6]

The term *yajna* can be interpreted in a number of ways but there is only one meaning acceptable to men of all faiths, and that is, to be ready even to lay down one's life for true welfare. Parvati wanted such a one as Siva as her consort and so was advised to do penance. If anyone wants to know what was the penance she did, he should go to the incomparable work of Tulsidas. A woman gives birth to children in suffering and sacrifices herself in bringing them up. Life comes out of death. A seed must disintegrate under earth and perish before it can grow into grain. Harishchandra went through endless suffering to honour his word as a man of truth, Jesus put on a crown of thorns to win salvation for his people, allowed his hands and feet to be nailed and suffered agonies before he gave up the ghost. This has been the law of *yagna* from immemorial times. Without *yajna* this earth cannot exist even for a moment. Before the Turks could conquer Constantinople,[7] they sacrificed innumerable troops and used the corpses as a bridge. I cannot help feeling that we want to advance our country without fulfilling this immutable law of suffering which has prevailed in India.

[1] Drink of the gods, conferring immortality
[2] Sacrifice
[3] The Absolute
[4] *Bhagavad Gita*, IV, 31 :
यज्ञशिष्टामृतभुज यान्ति ब्रह्म सनातनम् ।
नायं लोकोऽस्त्ययज्ञस्य कुतोऽन्यः कुरुसत्तम ॥
[5] Daughter of Himalaya
[6] Tulsidas in *Ramacharitamanasa :*
करहिं जाइ तप शैलकुमारी । नारद कहा सो सत्य विचारी ।
मातुपितहिं पुनि यह मत भावा । तपसुखप्रद दुखदोष नसावा ।
तप अधार सब सृष्टि भवानी । करहि जाइ तप अस जिय जानी ।
[7] In 1487

We want full independence without the sacrifice of a single life. We would be happy if we could do without sacrifice of money either. A great many people have got frightened of non-co-operation. What must be the reasons? I can think of only two : first, that people may have to starve if they give up their jobs and, second, if anyone makes a mistake and the Government resorts to firing, thousands may lose their lives. This means that we want a solution of the difficult and important problems of the Khilafat without the least suffering on our part. Non-co-operation is some sort of very easy *yajna*, it is penance in a small way, requiring a little self-sacrifice. I would certainly not think of it as any suffering if 20 or 25 thousand, or may be a 100 or 150 thousand, gave up service to secure justice or in order, at any rate, not to be a party to injustice; nay, where the institution in question is well run I would look upon such suffering [by employees] as natural; instead of running away from it, they should welcome it. I would not in the least be pained if thousands of men are ruined in the attempt to seek a just solution of a problem like the Khilafat. I would look upon it as a test of people's devotion to dharma. I believe that there can be no victory except through such suffering, and also that thousands of men suffering in that way cannot but win.

No measure of repression by the Government in consequence of non-co-operation can move or frighten me. I am convinced that the severer the repression the sooner will the problem be solved.

There is only one fear : lest people make a mistake, put themselves in the wrong and invite punishment, lest any individual yield to anger and assault or kill an official. If this happens, the pure law of self-sacrifice will be tarnished and to that extent the desired end will be delayed. Only the purest things can be offered in sacrifice. If Harishchandra had the least little evil in him and he had renounced a kingdom, we would not be singing his glory today. Christians, in regarding Jesus as the Saviour, attribute total perfection to him. Looking at the matter in this light, [we see] that we could start non-co-operation in full force immediately if we knew that there was not the slightest possibility of our being guilty of anything wrong in our agitation regarding the Khilafat or any other issue. If the movement has been divided into stages, it is because of doubts whether we would remain blameless. Considering all this, and considering that self-sacrifice is an inescapable duty if we are to ensure India's regeneration, we should entertain no fears at all about non-co-operation; on the contrary, we should realize that without some kind of *yajna* or *tapas* by way of

non-co-operation, we shall succeed neither in solving the Khilafat problem, nor in securing justice for the Punjab nor in winning and retaining swaraj.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 20-6-1920

220. "*WHAT SHOULD I DO?*"

Mrs. Polak has sent me a picture which shows one Mr. Glading, an Englishman of eighty years, spinning wool on a wheel. He has taken up this work in his old age by way of recreation. The old man cannot spend the whole day talking or reading the Bible; at this age, again, how can he join the games others play at home? Moreover, he must have a partner in the game and not everyone can get one. So, the old man must have thought of cultivating a useful hobby and chosen the spinning-wheel.

Before I got this picture, a gentleman who had retired from a high post had been to see me. He did not know how to spend his time. He could not spend the whole day telling his beads. He wished to have some philanthropic work. He came to me for advice since I have the reputation of being a man engaged in a good many activities. I could not think of any better work for him, considering his health, than plying the spinning-wheel. I politely put it to him that he could spin. I am afraid that I failed to make an impression on him. Perhaps I lowered myself in his esteem.

Some believe that spinning is just an activity reserved for women. To mention the spinning-wheel before men is to make them feel that they are being insulted. Not only do I not think this way but I believe, on the contrary, that all work beneficial to society is for both, men and women.

It is natural, of course, that since women cannot work as hard physically as men and do not as readily go out for work, spinning is regarded as especially their job.

But cooking is done by men in many families, though ordinarily it is women's work. Similarly, though the spinning-wheel may be ordinarily for women, occasionally men also can work on it. Many men are trying, at present, to effect improvements in the spinning-wheel. I would, therefore, certainly advise people in the same position as the friend above to start plying the spinning-wheel.

Lawyers and doctors go to clubs and play cards or billiards, but I doubt if they refresh their minds thereby. If, on the other

hand, they were to stay at home and, sitting in a clean room, work at the spinning-wheel, I am sure they would get more innocent pleasure from this work than they ever could from cards. Sir John Lubbock[1] found his rest in turning from one type of useful work to another and his recreation in watching ants at work. Lord Salisbury amused himself with experiments in chemistry. Gladstone sought relief from his work in the House of Commons by employing himself in splitting logs of wood. We stand in need of such recreation more than the British do.

The country lacks food and clothing, or whatever there is is very dear. As for milk and ghee, large numbers have to go without them. At a time such as this, dharma consists wholly in producing and supplying these two things in enough quantities. Not to eat and not to clothe ourselves till we have fed the hungry and clothed the naked is the whole of *dayadharma*[2]. I would, therefore, humbly suggest to all persons in the position of this friend that, if it is not possible for them to do body labour in their spare time by working on farms or in such other ways, they should most certainly get hold of a spinning-wheel and spend their time spinning. This will safeguard both dharma and material interests.

No effort on this path is ever wasted
And no obstacle undoes the progress made;
Even a little of this dharma
Saves one from great danger.[3]

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 20-6-1920

221. LIVING ON THE PAST

Editors often have something or other ready at hand to fill space in newspapers. In English this is called 'evergreen' that is, always fresh. You can publish the matter any time. I unexpectedly came across something like this in *The* [*Bombay*] *Chronicle*. It contains the following information.

[1] Sir John William Lubbock (1803-1865); English astronomer and mathematician

[2] The way of compassion

[3] *Bhagavad Gita*, II, 40 :

नेहाभिक्रमनाशोऽस्ति प्रत्यवायो न विद्यते ।
स्वल्पमप्यस्य धर्मस्य त्रायते महतो भयात ॥

> The Hindus invented the decimal system. Geometry and Algebra were first developed in India, and so too Trigonometry. The first five hospitals to be built were in India. The physicians of ancient Europe used Indian drugs. Hindus investigated the anatomy of the human body in the sixth century B.C. and about the same time acquired the art of surgery. People in ancient India knew the art of casting iron pillars of the same kind which they make now. India specialized in carving caves. Alexander, when he invaded India, found republican states in the Punjab and in Sind. In ancient India, women enjoyed all those rights for which women of Europe are fighting hard at present. Municipalities were in existence in the times of Chandragupta. It was the Hindus who perfected the science of grammar. The *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* still remain unrivalled.

I do not know how far these statements are true, but this I know, that, if the late Justice Ranade were alive today and heard such talk of India's past glory, he would certainly have asked, 'So what?' He used to say that no people could progress by merely dwelling on its past glory. If at all we do so, it should be only in order that we may be able to add to it. Where is the man who can write the *Ramayana* today? Where are the morals of ancient times? Where is the ability of those days? And devotion to duty? We have added nothing to the drugs discovered thousands of years ago, nor do we even have adequate knowledge about those mentioned in the ancient books. We witness the same poverty in respect of all the other gifts mentioned above, borrowing as we do everything from Europe. I, at any rate, feel that so long as we have not revived in the present the glory which was ours in the past, wisdom lies in not speaking about it. That wealth which has no exchange value, which the world does not recognize as such, brings not credit, but only humiliation and is in the nature of a burden. If, as we believe, we had these gifts in ancient times, we ought to be able to give evidence of them again. We are indeed heirs of a brave people, but by confessing at the same time our inability to be worthy of that heritage we shall achieve nothing. We shall see hereafter how we can become so worthy.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 20-6-1920

222. NOTES

Writing about Orissa, Shri Amritlal Thakkar says that he has toured more villages and found that starvation is more widespread than was thought.[1] This is so, it seems, because, the means of transport being inadequate and the people comparatively poor, no complaints would be heard from them. They live in the conditions they find themselves in, so that these would come to light only if somebody went among them and felt pity for them. How shall we ever know the places in which such conditions prevail? A newspaper from that place points out that the area being low lying, floods from Central India are always pouring into it. Some dams have been built to check these floods, but they are giving way. New ones need to be built at some of the places. Unless this is done, damage from floods will continue every year. To devise measures against this, the newspaper suggests that the Government should call a conference of engineers to obtain their opinion and take the necessary steps. We hope that Shri Amritlal Thakkar will, when he has time, inquire also into the question of what should be done to prevent famines and will investigate the causes of the chronic poverty of these unfortunate people.

The reader will be glad to know that, thanks to the efforts of Amritlal Thakkar and the co-operation of Shri Karsandas, the well-known Gujarati merchant of Calcutta, a sum of Rs. 18,000 has been collected for famine relief.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 20-6-1920

223. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

June 20, 1920

You have been pouring out your heart to me on the Khilafat and other matters[2] whereas I have been unable to reciprocate because of the great strain I have been undergoing just now. All the same you know that you are ever in my mind. I know what spiritual struggles mean for you. I hope you are keeping better

[1] *Vide* "Distress in Orissa", 12-5-1920.

[2] *Vide* Addenda, "Letter to C. F. Andrews", 25-5-1920.

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health. You wrote to me that you were very bad after your return from Calcutta.

I wish you will not concern yourself about my position on the Turkish question, i.e., you will depend upon it that I shall do nothing blindly. I am committed to nothing on the Turkish question so that upon proof of the immorality of a position being found I could not retrace my steps. The unfortunate position in which I find myself is that I thoroughly distrust Lloyd George. Somehow or other I distrust the Armenian case as I distrust the Arabian case and I am so prejudiced against the present British diplomacy that I scent the foul hand of the deceitful diplomat in Armenia, Arabia, Mesopotamia, Palestine and Syria. The position therefore I take up is that as soon as I can remove my prejudice I shall retire from the untenable position I may find myself in. I do ask for suzerainty[1] over Armenia, Mesopotamia, Palestine, Syria with proper safeguards. You say the safeguards are nothing. I do not agree with you. If the Allied Powers are themselves insincere and jealous of one another they may mean nothing. But if they are sincere, the safeguards can certainly be effective. Britain claims suzerainty over the Transvaal, but the Transvaal had no interference with its internal affairs. Why should Armenia have to complain if it has full autonomy with a Turkish Resident there? If Britain only meant well by Turkey everything could be satisfactorily arranged. If Turkey had joined the Allies, could Britain have dispossessed Turkey of Armenia, Arabia or Mesopotamia? Would Britain then not have brought about reforms in Turkey by friendly pressure instead of a victor's dictation? The insolence and hypocrisy of the Ministry bolstered up by equal insolence and hypocrisy in the Viceroy's *communique* are really insufferable.

You consider Mahomed Ali's representation to be as unclean as the Treaty. I do not agree with you so far as the condemnation of the Treaty is concerned—I do think that practically the whole of India is with Mahomed Ali. If you say that the condemnation is not intelligent, is not based on knowledge, but is due to utter distrust of Britain, I should agree with you, but the condemnation is there. I do not read newspapers as a rule, but look at the enclosed in *The Leader*. Mahomed Ali certainly believes that the whole of India is at his back in the condemnation. Nor is his claim for suzerainty unclean, because he implicitly believes in the correctness of his demand. He has broken no pledge, for his claim was much higher than it is made today, whereas the Peace

[1] Of the Khalif

Treaty is an abomination, a sin against God and man. Remember, too, that the Allied Powers, which simply mean England writ large, speak from a consciousness of their brute strength. Poor Mahomed Ali represents, as he considers, a weak nation and supports the cause of a Power that has been already sufficiently humbled and humiliated. I am prepared to excuse some exaggeration in him. I am totally unprepared to tolerate the shameless exhibition of brute force. If only I could infect India with my belief in the weapons of unadulterated suffering, i.e., self-suffering, I would bring down this insolence from its pedestal in a moment and reduce to nothingness the whole of the powder magazine of Europe.

Shaken as I was by this Peace Treaty, the Hunter Report has taken away all my faith even in the good intentions of the Ministry and the Viceregal Council. Nor has Mr. Montagu come well out of the ordeal. He has tried to serve both God and Mammon and has failed hopelessly. If the British Constitution survives this shock it will be due to some inherent vitality in it. Those who are at the helm at the present moment have certainly left no stone unturned to smash that constitution to pieces. Mahadeo just now reminds me that you have cancelled by your wire the letter I am replying to. That however does not alter the situation. I would like you to realize with me the enormity of the double crime of the present British administration or make me see my folly and correct myself!

I need not worry you about my views on caste. There, too, my moral position need not cause you anxiety. You have mistaken my standpoint. Not to dine with a fellow-being out of repugnance is a sin. Not to dine with him by way of self-restraint is a virtue. Do you know that Indian mothers impose the restraint upon themselves of not sharing even the family meals? I believe Narottam's mother does not dine at the common kitchen. I consider that her self-restraint is unnecessary. It is possible that it has some merit in it. It is certainly not sinful. I hold it to be a virtue to restrict the area of my choice of a wife even as it is a virtue to restrict myself to one wife rather than many. Surely you must grant the necessity and the virtue of limiting one's indulgences. The sin comes in when I limit the area of service, the area of sacrifice. I have often thought that you have not yet realized the full grandeur of the perfect theory of Hinduism, however debased it may be today in practice.

My health is fair, but I am longing for perfect peace, rest and solitude. I have just heard that the Turkish Peace Terms are to be completely revised. There may be then some hope of my stealing away for a few days.

Sir G. Barnes[1] has invited me also to go to British Guiana. I have told him I could not go whilst the Khilafat agitation is going on. Are you going?

I read your letter to the Imperial Citizenship Association on East Africa.[2] Evidently you wrote it under great stress. They criticized it adversely. I remained silent but I could not help sympathizing with the criticism. Your letter was scrappy and gave hardly any information. They complained bitterly, too, that you have not yet sent in any report on S. Africa.[3] I do think as you went as their accredited agent you owed them a full report. Indeed your very first writing if only as a matter of courtesy was due to them. I wish you would still mend the error in so far as it is mendable.

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary

224. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO VICEROY

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
June 22, 1920

DEAR MR. HIGNELL,

I enclose herewith a representation[4] signed by Mussulman representatives and another[5] by me for submission to His Excellency. The Mussulman representation does not bear original signatures, as it was circulated in the different parts of India and signatures authorized by wires. Some of the signatures are on soiled paper but authority in every case is in the possession of the Central Khilafat Committee.

I do not wish to say anything about the representations but shall only express the hope that they will receive due weight from His Excellency. I propose to hand the copies to the Press on Thursday evening.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

N.A.I. : Home, Political (A), November 1920, Nos. 19-31

[1] Sir George Stapylton Barnes; member of Viceroy's Executive Council, 1916-21

[2] Gandhiji attended the meeting of the Association held at Bombay on June 11, 1920.

[3] Andrews was in Africa from December 1919 to March 1920.

[4] *Vide* Appendix VI.

[5] *Vide* the following item.

225. LETTER TO VICEROY[1]

June 22, 1920

TO
HIS EXCELLENCY THE RIGHT HON'BLE BARON CHELMSFORD
P.C., G.M.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.M.I.F.
VICEROY AND GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA
SIMLA

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

As one who has enjoyed a certain measure of Your Excellency's confidence and as one who claims to be a devoted well-wisher of the British Empire, I owe it to Your Excellency and, through Your Excellency, to His Majesty's Ministers, to explain my connection with and my conduct in the Khilafat question.

At the very earliest stage of the War, even whilst I was in London organizing the Indian Volunteer Ambulance Corps,[2] I began to interest myself in the Khilafat question. I perceived how deeply moved the little Mussulman world in London was when Turkey decided to throw in her lot with Germany.[3] On my arrival in India in the January of 1915 I found the same anxiousness and earnestness among the Mussulmans with whom I came in contact. Their anxiety became intense when the information about the secret treaties[4] leaked out. Distrust of British intentions filled their minds and despair took possession of them. Even at that moment I advised my Mussulman friends not to give way to despair but to express their fears and their hopes in a disciplined manner. It will be admitted that the whole of Mussulman India has behaved in a singularly restrained manner during the past five years, and that the leaders have been able to keep the turbulent sections of their community under complete control.

The Peace Terms[5] and Your Excellency's defence of them[6] have given the Mussulmans of India a shock from which it will

[1] The Turkish Peace Treaty was handed over to the Ottoman Delegation at Paris on May 11, 1920. These terms were published in India on May 14, 1920, along with a message from the Viceroy to the Muslims of India. This letter was written consequent upon this message.

[2] In August 1914

[3] In November 1914

[4] *Vide* footnote 2 on p. 411.

[5] *Vide* Appendix I.

[6] *Vide* Appendix II.

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be difficult for them to recover. The terms violate Ministerial pledges and utterly disregard Mussulman sentiment. I consider that as a staunch Hindu wishing to live on terms of the closest friendship with my Mussulman countrymen, I should be an unworthy son of India if I did not stand by them in their hour of trial. In my humble opinion their cause is just. They claim that Turkey must not be punished if their sentiment is to be respected. Muslim soldiers did not fight to inflict punishment on their own Khalifa or to deprive him of his territories. The Mussulman attitude has been consistent throughout these five years.

My duty to the Empire to which I owe my loyalty requires me to resist the cruel violence that has been done to the Mussulman sentiment.

So far as I am aware Mussulmans and Hindus have as a whole lost faith in British justice and honour. The Report of the Majority of the Hunter Committee, Your Excellency's Despatch[1] thereon, and Mr. Montagu's reply[2] have only aggravated the distrust.

In these circumstances, the only course open to one like me is either in despair to sever all connection with British rule, or if I still retained faith in the inherent superiority of the British Constitution to all others at present in vogue, to adopt such means as will rectify the wrong done and thus restore confidence. I have not lost faith in such superiority and I am not without hope that somehow or other justice will yet be rendered if we show the requisite capacity for suffering. Indeed my conception of that Constitution is that it helps only those who are ready to help themselves. I do not believe that it protects the weak. It gives free scope to the strong to maintain their strength and develop it. The weak under it go to the wall.

It is, then, because I believe in the British Constitution that I have advised my Mussulman friends to withdraw their support from Your Excellency's Government, and the Hindus to join them, should the Peace Terms not be revised in accordance with solemn pledges of Ministers and the Muslim sentiment.

Three courses were open to the Mussulmans in order to make their emphatic disapproval of the utter injustice to which His Majesty's Ministers have become party, if they have not actually been the prime perpetrators of it. They are :

1. To resort to violence.
2. To advise emigration on a wholesale scale.

[1] *Vide* Appendix IV.
[2] *Vide* Appendix V.

3. Not to be party to the injustice by ceasing to co-operate with the Government.

Your Excellency must be aware that there was a time when the boldest though also the most thoughtless among the Mussulmans favoured violence and that *hijrat* (emigration) has not yet ceased to be the battle-cry.[1] I venture to claim that I have succeeded by patient reasoning in weaning the party of violence from its ways. I confess that I did not—I did not attempt to—succeed in weaning them from violence on moral grounds, but purely on utilitarian grounds. The result for the time being at any rate has however been to stop violence. The school of *hijrat* has received a check if it has not stopped its activities entirely. I hold that no repression could have prevented a violent eruption, if the people had not had presented to them a form of direct action involving considerable sacrifice and ensuring success, if such a direct action was largely taken up by the public. Non-co-operation was the only dignified and constitutional form of such direct action, for it is the right recognized from times immemorial of the subject to refuse to assist a ruler who misrules.

At the same time I admit that non-co-operation practised by the mass of people is attended with grave risks. But in a crisis such as has overtaken the Mussulmans of India no step that is unattended with large risks can possibly bring about the desired change. Not to run some risks now will be to court much greater risks, if not virtual destruction of law and order.

But there is yet an escape from non-co-operation. The Mussulman representation has requested Your Excellency to lead the agitation yourself as did your distinguished predecessor[2] at the time of the South African trouble. But if you cannot see your way to do so, and non-co-operation becomes a dire necessity, I hope that Your Excellency will give those who have accepted my advice and myself the credit for being actuated by nothing less than a stern sense of duty.

I have etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

LABURNUM ROAD
GAMDEVI
BOMBAY

N.A.I. : Home, Political (A), November, 1920, Nos. 19-31

[1] *Vide* footnote 1 to "Letter to Swami Shraddhanand", 2-5-1920.
[2] Lord Hardinge

226. THE NON-CO-OPERATION COMMITTEE

There seems to be a great deal of misunderstanding and misconception about the non-co-operation committee appointed by the Khilafat Committee at Allahabad on the 3rd instant. A friend who was present at the meeting writes to say that the committee was formed for the purpose of giving full effect to non-co-operation and to act in all matters in connection with it as if it was representative of the whole Mussulman population of India even in the matter of making representations to the authorities. That this was not the committee's scope is the purpose of this writing to show.

As I stated its objects when I invited the formation of the committee,[1] they were to ascertain and enforce the wish of the nation on non-co-operation. Whilst it is a representative body with full powers to act, it cannot be said—it is not intended—to represent all the best and the most influential Mohammedan opinion. It does not for instance represent the titled nobility in Islam. It is no fault in the committee. It has been purposely restricted to those who are able to give their whole time and attention to the work of organized non-co-operation and in the process of ensuring obedience to instructions, other discipline and non-violence. It is therefore a committee of workers. It is not expected that the whole of the Mussulman India will be equally strong in non-co-operation. Some doubt its efficacy, others consider it to be a milk-and-water remedy. Some dread it as being too strong for India in her present stage; they say she has not developed the measure of sacrifice at present to ensure success. The committee does not represent or contain such doubting elements though they may otherwise be much more influential than many Mussulmans who are on the committee. It contains those only who have the largest faith in non-co-operation and who, although they swear by it, yet will not force the pace to the breaking point but will endeavour to carry the nation with its programme, in so far as it is practicable, and who whilst doing so will not themselves be deterred from taking the boldest steps and will seek out those who are prepared to do likewise. This committee, therefore, starting without any, has to build its reputation upon its work and upon results it may achieve. It will cease to exist if it shows no work or in spite of work shows no results. For outsiders it has the least representative capacity. Shaukat Ali

[1] *Vide* "Speech at Khilafat Committee Meeting, Allahabad", June 3, 1920.

is an amiable man but a rabid fanatic, carrying no weight with anybody; Hasrat Mohani a useless man who thinks of nothing but swadeshi; Dr. Kitchlew a man of yesterday with no experience of the world outside Amritsar. Much the same may be said against the others; I am no doubt a superior person but after all a crank and an interloper at that. Any representation signed by it will carry little weight with the outside world in so far as it depends upon the influence of the signatories. It does not therefore mean that it will never make representations. It certainly will, when swiftness is of the essence or when others for reasons of expediency or otherwise are not prepared to sign representations. Indeed, canvassing of signatures to weighty representations will be one of the means of gauging public opinion and testing the spirit of sacrifice among the elite of the land. For the masses and for internal work, however, the committee is the most representative. It is difficult perhaps to find two men more representative of Mussulman opinion than Shaukat Ali and Hasrat Mohani. The others though less known have been chosen for the qualities of strength, perseverance, patience, calmness, truthfulness, courage under difficulty and sacrifice believed to be possessed by them.

It has been suggested that I am to lead the movement. The statement is only partially true. I say this not out of humility merely but it is a literal fact. If the belief gains ground that I am leading the movement it may prove fatal to it. I am leading the movement in the sense that I am the adviser whose advice is most acceptable today and who has the determination not surpassed by anybody to carry out the programme of non-co-operation. But I do not pretend to represent Mussulman opinion. I can only try to interpret it. I could not stand alone and expect to carry the Mussulman masses with me. I should be very properly hooted out by a mixed Mussulman audience if I tried to make a point against the best Mussulman opinion in matters of religion. But if I were a Mussulman, I would not mind contesting issues before a Mussulman meeting in the face of heavy odds against me. I consider myself to be a sagacious worker and my sagacity means no more and no less than a fine perception of my limitations. I hope I never travel beyond my limits. Certainly I have never done so consciously. It is necessary for every intelligent Mussulman to bear in mind my limitations and the scope of my function. Ignorance is likely to prove fatal to the success of the movement. My connection with it must not stupefy workers into indolence or indifference. My connection should mean, if it is to be productive of good results, greater watchfulness, greater sense of responsibility, greater

capacity and willingness for work and greater efficiency. I can think out plans but execution must ever rest with Mussulman workers. The movement must be worked and led by them with the assistance of friends like me but also without if need be. I must not be expected to make non-co-operators; Mussulman leaders alone can make them. No amount of sacrifice on my part will produce in the Mussulman world the spirit of non-co-operation, i.e., sacrifice in a matter of religion. The Mussulman leaders will have to show it in their own persons before the masses evolve it.

And now the question why there are no Hindu leaders on the committee is easily answered. The supreme committee can only be purely Mussulman. My presence, too, I consider as an evil but it is a necessary evil because of my qualifications. I have specialized in non-co-operation. I have successfully experimented with it. The resolution about non-co-operation was conceived by me at the conference at Delhi.[1] I am on the committee therefore as a specialist and not because I am a Hindu. My function is therefore of an adviser merely. That I happen to be a staunch Hindu with the conviction that every Hindu should consider it to be his duty to go with the Mussulmans the full length in non-co-operation, is no doubt an advantage to the committee. But that advantage was at its disposal whether I was on it or not.

Whilst I am considering the Hindu connection with the Khilafat movement, even at the risk of repetition I would like to clear up my own position. As I consider the Muslim claim to be intrinsically (as distinguished from religiously) just, I propose to go with them to the extent of fullest non-co-operation. And I consider it to be perfectly consistent with my loyalty to the British connection. But I would not go with the Mussulmans in any campaign of violence. I could not help them in promoting, for instance, an invasion of India through Afghanistan or otherwise for the purpose of forcing better peace terms.[2] It is, I hold, the duty of every Hindu to resist any inroad on India even for the

[1] In the third week of January 1920, it being the conference of the members of the Indian Khilafat deputation which waited upon the Viceroy on January 19. For the text of the resolution, *vide* Appendix III.

[2] At the joint Hindu-Muslim Conference held at Allahabad on June 1 and 2, 1920, the Hindu representatives had expressed their fear that complications might arise from the Indian Muslims welcoming an Afghan invasion of India. The Muslim speakers gave an assurance that they would resist any foreign invasion undertaken purely for conquest, but added that any invasion undertaken to uphold the prestige of Islam and to vindicate justice would have their full sympathy, if not their actual support.

purpose specified as it is his duty to help his Mussulman brethren to satisfy their just demands by means of non-co-operation or other form of suffering, no matter how great, so long as it does not involve loss of India's liberty or inflicting of violence on any person. And I have thrown myself whole-heartedly into the non-co-operation movement, if only because I want to prevent any such armed conflict.

Young India, 23-6-1920

227. *THE DUTY OF THE PUNJABI*

The Allahabad *Leader* deserves to be congratulated for publishing the correspondence on Mr. Bosworth Smith who was one of the Martial Law officers against whom the complaints about persistent and continuous ill-treatment[1] were among the bitterest. It appears from the correspondence that Mr. Bosworth Smith has received promotion instead of dismissal. Some time before Martial Law, Mr. Smith appears to have been degraded. The *Leader* correspondent says:

> He has since been restored to his position of a Deputy Commissioner of the second grade from which he was degraded and also been invested with powers under Sect. 30 of the Criminal Procedure Code. Since his arrival, the poor Indian population of the town of Ambala Cantonment has been living under a regime of horror and tyranny.

The correspondent adds:

> I use both these words deliberately for conveying precisely what they mean.

I cull a few passages from this illuminating letter to illustrate the meaning of horror and tyranny:

> In private complaints he never takes the statement of the complainant. It is taken down by the reader when the court rises and got signed by the magistrate the following day. Whether the report (received upon such complaints) is favourable to the complainant or unfavourable to him it is never read by the magistrate, and complaints are dismissed without proper trial. This is the fate of private complaints. Now, as regards police *challans*, pleaders for the accused are not allowed to interview under-trial prisoners in police custody. They are not allowed to cross-examine prosecution witnesses. . . . Prosecution witnesses are examined with leading questions . . . Thus a whole prosecution story is put into the

[1] *Vide* "Congress Report on the Punjab Disorders", 25-3-1920.

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> mouth of police witnesses. Witnesses for the defence, though called in, are not allowed to be examined by the defence counsel. . . . The accused is silenced if he picks up courage to say anything in defence. . . Any Cantonment servant can write down the name of any citizen of the Cantonment on a chit of paper and ask him to appear the next day in court. This is a summons . . . If anyone does not appear in court, who is thus ordered, criminal warrants of arrest are issued against him.

There is much more of this style in the letter which is worth producing, but I have given enough to illustrate the writer's meaning. Let me turn for a while to this official's record during Martial Law. He is the official who tried people in batches and convicted them after a farcical trial. Witnesses have deposed to his having assembled people, having asked them to give false evidence, having removed women's veils, called them "flies, bitches, she-asses" and having spat upon them. He it was who subjected the innocent pleaders of Sheikhupura to indescribable persecution. Mr. Andrews[1] personally investigated complaints against this official and came to the conclusion that no official had behaved worse than Mr. Smith. He gathered the people of Sheikhupura, humiliated them in a variety of ways, called them "*suvarlog*"[2], "*gandi makkhi*". His evidence before the Hunter Commission betrays his total disregard for truth and this is the officer who, if the correspondent in question has given correct facts, has been promoted. The question however is why he is at all in Government service and why he has not been tried for assaulting and abusing innocent men and women.

I notice a desire for the impeachment of General Dyer and Sir Michael O'Dwyer. I will not stop to examine whether the course is feasible. I was sorry to find Mr. Shastriar[3] joining this cry for the prosecution of General Dyer. If the English people will willingly do so, I would welcome such prosecutions as a sign of their strong disapproval of the Jallianwala Bagh atrocity, but I would certainly not spend a single farthing in a vain pursuit after the conviction of these men. Surely the public has received sufficient experience of the English mind. Practically the whole English Press has joined the conspiracy to screen these offenders against

[1] C.F. Andrews, who visited a number of places in the Punjab between July and November, 1919

[2] Swine

[3] V. S. Srinivasa Sastri. The Bombay Provincial Conference held on April 3, 1920, had demanded impeachment of O'Dwyer and others and their trial and punishment by judicial tribunal.

humanity. I would not be party to make heroes of them[1] by joining the cry for prosecution, private or public. If I can only persuade India to insist upon their complete dismissal, I should be satisfied. But more than the dismissal of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer is necessary the peremptory dismissal, if not a trial, of Colonel O'Brien, Mr. Bosworth Smith, Rai [Sahib] Shri Ram and others mentioned in the Congress Sub-committee's Report. Bad as General Dyer is I consider Mr. Smith to be infinitely worse and his crimes to be far more serious than the massacre of Jallianwalla Bagh. General Dyer sincerely believed that it was a soldierly act to terrorize people by shooting them. But Mr. Smith was wantonly cruel, vulgar and debased. If all the facts that have been deposed to against him are true, there is not a spark of humanity about him. Unlike General Dyer he lacks the courage to confirm what he has done and he wriggles when challenged. This officer remains free to inflict himself upon people who have done no wrong to him, and who is permitted to disgrace the rule he represents for the time being.

What is the Punjab doing? Is it not the clear duty of the Punjabis not to rest until they have secured the dismissal of Mr. Smith and the like ? The Punjab leaders[2] have been discharged in vain if they will not utilize the liberty they have received, in order to purge the administration of Messrs Bosworth Smith and company. I am sure that if they will only begin a determined agitation they will have the whole of India by their side. I venture to suggest to them that the best way to qualify for sending General Dyer to the gallows is to perform the easier and the more urgent duty of arresting the mischief still continued by the officials against whom they have assisted in collecting overwhelming evidence.

Young India, 23-6-1920

[1] In England Dyer received a friendly reception in some quarters and a public fund was started in his support.

[2] Who were arrested under the Martial Law and subsequently released under the amnesty announced in the Royal Proclamation of December 23, 1919

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228. SPEECH AT BOMBAY ON BANARAS HINDU UNIVERSITY

June 23, 1920

A public meeting was held at the Madhav Bagh, Bombay, yesterday, when the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya delivered a lecture on the Banaras Hindu University. H. H. the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior presided, and there was a very large attendance, among those present being H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner, Mr. M. K. Gandhi, Maulana Shaukat Ali. . . .

Mr. M. K. Gandhi said no man had worked more zealously and arduously in the cause of the University than their friend, Pandit Malaviya.[1] Whenever he had had occasion to speak to the Pandit on the subject he had told him that he should make the furtherance of the cause of the University the principal work of his life. More than that he had told him that he should, if he could, leave the field of politics altogether and devote himself entirely to the cause of the University.[2] Bombay had always been famous for the ready manner in which it came to the help of a deserving cause and he had no doubt that Bombay would extend its support to the University with her wonted generosity. Not only Pandit Malaviya, but two Maharajas had come to them that afternoon like humble petitioners. It was their duty therefore to contribute as much as they could to the funds of the University and they should do it promptly and on the spot. He concluded by proposing a hearty vote of thanks to H. H. the Maharaja Scindia for presiding at the meeting.

The Bombay Chronicle, 24-6-1920

229. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING

BOMBAY,
June 25, 1920

MY DEAR CHILD,

I have not been regular in writing to you as I had intended to. I have been too busy with the Khilafat question. I did

[1] Malaviya founded the University in 1916, worked on the scheme for a number of years and collected a fund of a crore of rupees to get the University going.

[2] Malaviya joined Congress in 1886 and remained in it till his death in 1946. He did not miss a single session of the Congress and was always in demand to speak on one or more resolutions.

however ask Mahadev to write to you on my behalf. You must also be receiving *Young India* regularly.

I had expected to hear from you from on board. But as yet there is nothing from you. I wrote to you a letter[1] to reach you on your steamer and another[2] to London care of Thomas Cook. I do hope you received both these letters.

I am now fixed up for the time being in Bombay. I enclose herewith the letters to the Viceroy.[3] They will give you an idea of my activity. Devdas is with me.

I am anxious to hear about your meeting with your father and your health. Of course I expect to hear from you regularly.

With love,

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat of the original in N.A.I.; also *My Dear Child*, p. 72

230. "IN MEMORIAM"

Ashad Sud 11, 1976 [*June 26, 1920*]

It is difficult for me to write about Bhai Vrajlal's death. I still cannot forget his figure. Not being free from *moha* yet, I do not find it easy to write objectively. I envy his death. I look upon him as a fortunate man indeed. What better death can we imagine than that of a man who had to receive service from no one, who actually died while serving others? When one dies a serene death, with God's name on his lips, we regard him as one hallowed by good deeds. Bhai Vrajlal died doing God's work.[4] I am aware that there is some exaggeration in saying this, but I know him so well that I am sure if he had been asked to choose he would have elected to die at the very hour when he did.

He was ever devoted to dharma. He had let me into the depths of his heart. So far as I remember, he asked to be alone with me only once. He had on that occasion acquainted me with his deepest feelings and told me of his moral dilemmas as well.

[1] Presumably the 'note' referred to in "Letter to Esther Faering", 21-5-20

[2] Not available

[3] Presumably Gandhiji here refers to his letter of June 22, 1920, and the Muslims' representation accompanying it.

[4] Vrajlal had descended into a well to bring up someone's water pot which had fallen in. While climbing up he fainted and fell back into the well.

The Ashram was very dear to him, as he showed through his actions. I thought of him as a *muni*[1]. He rarely felt inclined to talk but his face was ever radiant. He never looked upon any work as low and used to take the utmost service from his body.

It is difficult, it would even be a sin, to forget his serene image. How should we cherish his memory? There is, I think, only one way for us, namely, to emulate his many fine qualities. He saw dharma in keeping silent and occupying himself in cheerful service. Let us keep him ever living by accepting this dharma and following it ever more firmly and filling our life with his.

[From Gujarati]

Madhapudo, Vol. I, Special Number

231. SPEECH ON HUNTER COMMITTEE REPORT[2]

BOMBAY,
June 26, 1920

The demands in this resolution go beyond those in the Congress Committee Report. The resolution calls for the impeachment of O'Dwyer and his fellow officers. The Congress Sub-committee did not go so far, though the All-India Congress Committee has made this demand. My personal view still favours the Sub-committee report, but I move this resolution in deference to the wishes of the majority. I believe the Hunter Report is a plain, deliberate shielding of the officials in the Punjab. If I could have my way, I would bring in a resolution advising non-co-operation and satyagraha against this, for that is the only way to succeed in our aim. I have not come here to make a speech; I speak from the depth of my heart. I have not come here to persuade you merely to pass resolutions, but to do many more things. If you can get Lord Chelmsford recalled to England, you will have done a far more important thing than hanging O'Dwyer or Dyer. The man who is most guilty of slighting public opinion should be the first to be removed. The hero of Martial Law, Bosworth Smith, still holds

[1] Spiritual aspirant observing silence

[2] The meeting was held under the auspices of the Bombay Home Rule League and the National Union to protest against the Hunter Committee Report, with M. A. Jinnah presiding. The chief resolution of the meeting, moved by Gandhiji, protested against the majority report of the Hunter Committee and its acceptance by the Government of India and the Secretary of State for India, and urged them to implement the recommendations of the Congress report on the Punjab disorders.

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his post. The people should aim at having Dyer, O'Dwyer and Lord Chelmsford debarred from holding any post. In this resolution, we also ask for the return of fines to the people and compensation for their losses. You probably do not know the horror of these fines. There is no sense in asking for the dismissal of the officials while these huge fines remain unreturned. So long as the Rowlatt Act remains on the Statute-book, satyagraha is bound to go on. If only the people learn how to use this weapon, all sufferings would end. My own faith in satyagraha is unshakable. The Punjab injustices still remain unredressed. For these injustices, we are as much responsible as the officials. Our minimum demands are three : Lord Chelmsford's recall, return of the fines and the Rowlatt Act to be buried for ever.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 4-7-1920

232. KHILAFAT

We have taken one step forward on this question, and not an ordinary one at that. The Viceroy was served with a notice[1] that he should take our side or else we would not be able to co-operate with him in carrying on the government. Let us hope that the Viceroy will have wisdom enough to take up the people's fight. The British Empire, however, is not so fortunate as to see such a glorious day. Hence, we have no choice but to prepare for non-co-operation from August 1. The non-co-operation about which there has been so much talking and which has consumed so much paper and ink is near at hand.

We must be ready for it in a month's time. The Muslims and Hindus will be put to the test. But, at the moment, I wish to say a few words to the Hindus alone. Before the Muslims act about the Khilafat, the Hindus need not do anything. When, however, the Muslims start non-co-operation, what should the Hindus do? A prominent Hindu gentleman in Allahabad said that for one Muslim resigning his position as Justice of the Peace or throwing up a job, three Hindus will be ready to follow suit. They will not have done much thereby. Muslims number more than seven crores and Hindus more than twenty-two crores; that means there are more than three times as many Hindus as Muslims. If there are three Hindus to stand by the side of every single Muslim, both

[1] By the Khilafat Committee which met in Allahabad on June 9

Hindus and Muslims will have made equal sacrifices and to have done this will be evidence of friendship. In fact, friendship admits of no arithmetical calculation. But this does not mean that a friend may contribute less than his share. Friendship means or should mean that, even though paying very much more than one's share, one should feel that nothing has been paid. We have, then, to ask ourselves whether the Hindus will stand by the Muslims; nay, the eyes of the whole world will be fixed on the Hindus for whether the Muslims win or not will depend largely on the attitude of the Hindus. If they support the Muslims, there is no doubt that the latter's sufferings will end the sooner.

Hindus can avail themselves [of the opportunity] in two ways; one, by making sacrifices in proportion to those of Muslims and, two, by refusing to jump into the positions given up by Muslims. The first means that for every Muslim giving up his job there will be from one to three Hindus doing so. If Hindus act in this way, they will have done a great thing. The second means that no Hindu will fill the place left vacant by a Muslim and this too will be something great. Any Hindu taking up a job given up by a Muslim will have acted as an enemy of the latter and non-co-operation will become, if not impossible, extremely difficult. Thus, the Hindu who cannot do more may at any rate attend their meetings to show his sympathy and refrain from putting obstacles in their way and thus prove that he is not hostile to them.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 27-6-1920

233. LIVING ON THE PAST

As a son cannot live on his father's reputation for long, so the people of India cannot maintain their prosperity only on the strength of the glory of ancient India. We saw last week that at present there is poverty, not prosperity, in India.

We have to think over the causes and remedies for this state of affairs.

Akbar's successors lost the splendour of the Mogul Empire of his time, because they lost, one by one, Akbar's qualities of character. Jehangir lost one, Shahjehan one more, Aurangzeb more still and his successors lost almost all. The result was that they lost the Empire to the British. The Indian people in modern times have behaved like Akbar's successors.

Not wanting to admit this, we blame the British for everything; we fell because of their cunning, they robbed us of our wealth

and left us beggars, we cannot even breathe without their permission; how are we to blame then [we ask]?

Though there is much exaggeration in this charge, there is also some truth in it. What is the cause of the control the British have acquired over us? May it not be our own fault? Who were the people tempted by the rupees of the East India Company? If that Company did business according to its own fashion, does the fault lie with it? If a wine merchant sells wine, can the consumer throw the responsibility on him? If I pay to the usurer interest equal to the principal, how is that the usurer's fault? I, at any rate, cannot speak ill of him. A writer has said that as long as there are persons who can be deceived, so long will deceivers exist.

We shall not advance by finding fault with and hating the British. As long as we have not got rid of the shortcomings which enabled the British to get a hold here, we shall remain slaves.

And yet we are always pointing out their faults to the British and will continue to do so. This is what the Congress has mainly done. Speakers who do this are as numerous as leaves on a tree. I believe, therefore, that it will be more fruitful to try and see our own faults than to dwell on those of the British. The saying "If we are good, the entire world is good" is not to be lightly brushed aside. There is much force in it. If we remain upright, nobody will be able to corrupt us. It is a principle of medical science that so long as one's blood is free from impurity, the poisonous air outside can have no effect on it. That is why, during an epidemic, some people are attacked while others are not. Likewise, had we been incorruptible, the East India Company could have done nothing and at the present time, too, officers like Michael O'Dwyer would have lost their jobs.

What are our failings, then, because of which we are helpless and cannot stop the profuse flow of wealth from our country, and in virtue of which our children get no milk, three crores of our people get only one meal a day, raids occur in broad daylight in Kheda district,[1] and epidemics like the plague and cholera cannot be eradicated in our country while they can in others? How is it that the haughty Sir Michael O'Dwyer and the insolent General Dyer can crush us like so many bugs and the priest in Simla can write unworthy things about us; how is it that an intolerable injustice has been done to us in the Punjab? On the Khilafat issue, the British Prime Minister has gone back on his word. In both these matters, we seem to feel helpless.

[1] *Vide* "Notes", 30-5-1920.

The reason is our inveterate selfishness, our inability to make sacrifices for the country, our dishonesty, our timidity, our hypocrisy and our ignorance. Everybody is selfish, more or less, but we seem to be more selfish than others. We make some self-sacrifice in family matters, but very little of it for national work. Just look at our streets, our cities and our trains. In all these, we can see the condition of the country. How little attention is paid to the convenience of others in streets, in the town as a whole and in trains? We do not hesitate to throw refuse out of our courtyard on to the street; standing in the balcony, we throw out refuse or spit, without pausing to consider whether we are not inconveniencing the passers-by. When we are building a house, we take little thought of the inconvenience that may be caused to our neighbours. In cities, we keep the tap open and, thinking that it is not our water which flows away, we allow it to run waste. The same thing is seen in the trains. We secure a seat for ourselves by hook or by crook and, if possible, prevent others from getting in. No matter if others are inconvenienced, we start smoking. We do not hesitate to throw banana skins and sugar-cane peelings right in front of our neighbours. When we go to draw water from a tap, we take little thought for others. Many such instances of our selfishness can be listed.

Where so much selfishness exists, how can one expect self-sacrifice? Does the business man cleanse his business of dishonesty for the sake of his country? Does he forgo his profit? Does he stop speculation in cotton for his country's sake? Is any effort made to keep down milk prices by giving up the profit from its export? How many give up a job when necessary, for the sake of the country? Where are the men who will reduce their luxuries and adopt simplicity and use the money so saved for the country? If it is necessary for the country's sake to go to jail, how many will come forward?

Our dishonesty is there for all to see. We believe that business can never be carried on honestly. Those who have the chance never refuse a bribe. We have the worst experience of corruption in the railways. We can get our work done only if we bribe the railway police, the ticket master and the guard. Even for securing a railway ticket, we have to use dishonest means or shut one's eyes to them. The contents of railway parcels which can be opened ever so slightly, if not of those which are well-packed, are sure to be pilfered.

Our hypocrisy is only a little less than that of the British. We have experience of this every moment. In our meetings and in

all other activities of ours, we try to show ourselves other than what we are.

We have made cowardice especially our own. Nobody wants bloodshed in connection with non-co-operation, and yet it is out of this fear of bloodshed that we do not want to do anything. We are so possessed by the fear of the Government's armed might that we dare not take any step. And so we submit to force in every matter and allow dacoits to plunder us in broad daylight.

What shall I say about our hypocrisy? It has increased in every field. Weakness is always accompanied by hypocrisy. Moreover, where the people want to be upright but cannot be so, hypocrisy will naturally increase; for, if we are not upright, we are anxious to seem so and thus we add another moral weakness to the one which we already possess. Hypocrisy has entered our religion as well, and that so fully that the marks which we put on our forehead, the rosary and things of that kind have ceased to be tokens of piety and become signs of impiety.

The origin of all is ignorance, to be sure. It is because we are ignorant of our strength that other weaknesses grow. We doubt the very existence of the *atman* in us, have no faith in its powers. This ignorance will not disappear merely with education. It can go only with a change in our ways of thinking. Literacy is necessary only to the extent that it develops our thinking power and teaches us to distinguish between good and evil.

Hence, so long as we have not given up our selfishness and learnt to be mindful of the interests of others, have not learnt self-sacrifice, have not taken refuge in truth, eschewed fear and become brave, shed hypocrisy and banished ignorance, the country will not prosper in any real sense.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 27-6-1920

234. NOTES

EDUCATED "ANTYAJAS"

The report of the second Kathiawar Antyaj Conference, which appeared in last week's issue, contained some criticism of the educated *Antyajas* of Bombay. Apart from that criticism, we also hear that often, in conversation, they make such remarks as : 'This is your Hinduism', 'This is what your shastras say', 'There were some Hindus in the train'. This is the strain in which they talk. *Antyajas* should never permit in their mind the thought that they

are not Hindus. Is it right for them to despise Hinduism because those who claim to be Hindus oppress them? A person does not leave his family because he is harassed by the other members, but tries, rather, to reform them; educated *Antyajas* should act in the same way. Those who have had schooling in Bombay and claim to be the leaders of their community are to be looked upon as educated men. Besides, it is not dharma to run down one's own work. No occupation which it is not immoral to follow should be regarded as low. *Antyajas* are generally engaged in weaving, agriculture and sanitary duties. The first two provide clothing and food to the people and the last preserves public health. No society can live without all these three occupations. To call any of them low or base is evidence of sheer ignorance. It should not be our desire, when educated, to leave our occupation; our effort should be to ennoble it. In other words, we should all, despite the occupation we follow, be and live as virtuous and educated men and keep ourselves clean.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 27-6-1920

235. THE MUSSULMAN REPRESENTATION[1]

Slowly but surely the Mussulmans are preparing for the battle before them. They have to fight against odds that are undoubtedly heavy but not half as heavy as the Prophet had against him. How often did he not put his life in danger? But his faith in God was unquenchable. He went forward with a light heart, for God was on his side, for he represented truth. If his followers have half the Prophet's faith and half his spirit of sacrifice, the odds will be presently even and will in a little while turn against the despoilers of Turkey. Already the rapacity of the Allies is telling against themselves. France finds her task difficult.[2] Greece cannot stomach her ill-gotten gains.[3] And England finds Mesopotamia a tough job.[4] The oil of Mosul may feed the fire she has so wantonly lighted and burn her fingers badly. The newspapers say the Arabs do not like the presence of the Indian soldiery in their midst.[5]

[1] Sent by Sunni Mohammedans to the Viceroy on June 22, 1920. For the text of the representation, *vide* Appendix VI.

[2], [3] & [4] The reference is to the mandated territories under the Turkish Peace Treaty; *vide* Appendix I.

[5] In Mesopotamia, which became a British mandated territory under the Turkish peace terms

I do not wonder. They are a fierce and a brave people and do not understand why Indian soldiers should find themselves in Mesopotamia. Whatever the fate of non-co-operation, I wish that not a single Indian will offer his services for Mesopotamia, whether for the civil or the military department. We must learn to think for ourselves and before entering upon any employment find out whether thereby we may not make ourselves instruments of injustice. Apart from the question of Khilafat and from the point of abstract justice, the English have no right to hold Mesopotamia. It is no part of our loyalty to help the Imperial Government in what is in plain language daylight robbery. If therefore we seek civil or military employment in Mesopotamia we do so for the sake of earning a livelihood. It is our duty to see that the source is not tainted.

It surprises me to find so many people shirking over [*sic*] the very mention of non-co-operation. There is no instrument so clean, so harmless and yet so effective as non-co-operation. Judiciously handled[1] it need not produce any evil consequences. And its intensity will depend purely on the capacity of the people for sacrifice.

The chief thing is to prepare the atmosphere of non-co-operation. 'We are not going to co-operate with you in your injustice', is surely the right and the duty of every intelligent subject to say. Were it not for our utter servility, helplessness and want of confidence in ourselves, we would certainly grasp this clean weapon and make the most effective use of it. Even the most despotic government cannot stand except for the consent of the governed which consent is often forcibly procured by the despot. Immediately the subject ceases to fear the despotic force his power is gone. But the British Government is never and nowhere entirely or even chiefly laid upon force. It does make an honest attempt to secure the goodwill of the governed. But it does not hesitate to adopt unscrupulous means to compel the consent of the governed. It has not gone beyond the 'Honesty is the best policy' idea. It therefore bribes you into consenting to its will by awarding titles, medals and ribbons, by giving you employment, by its superior financial ability to open for its employees avenues for enriching themselves and finally, when these fail, it resorts to force. That is what Sir Michael O'Dwyer did and that is what almost every British administrator would certainly do if he thought it necessary. If then we would not be greedy, if we would not run after titles and medals and honorary posts which do the country no good half the battle is won.

[1] The source here has "hauled".

My advisers are never tired of telling me that even if the Turkish peace terms are revised[1] it will not be due to non-co-operation. I venture to suggest to them that non-co-operation has a higher purpose than mere revision of the terms. If I cannot compel revision, I must at least cease to support a Government that becomes party to the usurpation. And if I succeed in pushing non-co-operation to the extreme limit, I do compel the Government to choose between India and the usurpation. I have faith enough in England to know that at that moment England will expel her present jaded ministers and put in others who will make a clean sweep of the terms in consultation with an awakened India, draft terms that will be honourable to her, to Turkey and acceptable to India.

But I hear my critics say : 'India has not the strength of purpose and the capacity for the sacrifice to achieve such a noble end.' They are partly right. India has not these qualities now; because we have not—shall we not evolve them and infect the nation with them? Is not the attempt worth making? Is any sacrifice too great to gain such a great purpose?

Young India, 30-6-1920

236. PRESS STATEMENT ON BOYCOTT OF REFORMED COUNCILS

Needless to say that I am in entire accord with Lala Lajpat Rai on the question of the boycott of the reformed Councils[2]. For me it is is but one step in the campaign of non-co-operation and as I feel equally keenly on the Punjab question as on the Khilafat, Lala Lajpat Rai's suggestion is doubly welcome. I have seen the suggestion made in more quarters than one that non-co-operation on the Reforms should commence after the process of election has been gone through. I cannot help saying that it is a mistake to go through the election farce and the expense of it when we clearly do not intend to take part in the proceedings of these Legislative Councils. Moreover, a great deal of educative work has to be done among the people. And if I could I would not have the best attention of the country frittered away in electioneering. The populace will not understand the beauty of non-co-operation if we

[1] On June 27, 1920, Turkey submitted counter-proposals to the Treaty.

[2] Legislative Councils under the Reforms Act of 1919. Candidature for election to these new Councils had to be announced by October 1920. Lajpat Rai had declared in his Urdu newspaper, *Bande Mataram*, that he would not stand for election.

seek election and then resign. But it would be a fine education for them if the electors are taught not to elect anybody and unanimously to tell whosoever may seek their suffrage, that he would not represent them if he sought election so long as the Punjab and Khilafat questions were not satisfactorily settled.[1] I hope, however, that Lala Lajpat Rai does not mean to end with the boycott of the Reform Councils.[2] We must take, if necessary, every one of the four stages of non-co-operation if we are to be regarded as a self-respecting nation. The issue is clear. Both the Khilafat terms and the Punjab affairs show that Indian opinion counts for little in the councils of the Empire. It is a humiliating position. We shall make nothing of the Reforms if we quietly swallow the humiliation. In my humble opinion, therefore, the first condition of real progress is the removal of these two difficulties in our path. And unless some better course of action is devised *nolens volens* non-co-operation must hold the field.

The Bombay Chronicle, 30-6-1920

[1] When elections were held in November 1920, in six cases out of 637 election was impossible owing to the absence of a candidate.

[2] Lajpat Rai was not originally in favour of Gandhiji's non-co-operation programme, but at the Nagpur Congress session of December 1920 he threw in his lot completely with Gandhiji like so many others.

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ADDENDA

237. LETTER TO NARAHARI PARIKH

[About *February 1, 1920*][1]

BHAISHRI NARAHARI[2],

Esther has made a big mistake in leaving. I have repeatedly written to her and Maganlal. If she, of her own accord, shows my letters, you will find all of them worth reading. I am studying you all from this distance and, in the process, learning some things myself.

You are right in what you write about Kaka[3]. If his health improves further, he will rise higher still. I have never ceased to think of him ever since I met him. But he needs a congenial atmosphere. In an unfriendly atmosphere, it is not unlikely that his spirit will wither. For some time past, he has been making himself very useful. For 'forceful' we may use the word *jabardust* [in Gujarati] but it does not convey the right shade of meaning. I shall think of another word. At the moment, I have some visitors.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11886

238. LETTER TO NARAHARI PARIKH

Sunday [*February 9, 1920*][4]

BHAISHRI NARAHARI,

Your letter received today has given me a fright. Jivraj Mehta believes, though, that your telegram received the day before

[1] The reference to letters written to Esther Faering and Maganlal Gandhi on February 1, 1920, suggests this date.

[2] Narahari Dwarkadas Parikh

[3] Dattatreya Balkrishna Kalelkar

[4] Dr. Jivraj Mehta was with Gandhiji for some time during this month (*vide* "Punjab Letter", 29-2-1920). On February 16, 1920, which was a Sunday, both arrived in Banaras. It is likely that Gandhiji wrote this letter from Lahore, where he spent most of the time from January 23, 1920, to February 15, 1920, after his letter to Narahari Parikh, written about January 31, 1920

yesterday must have been of a later date. That, and the absence of any subsequent telegram, reassures me. If I didn't have on hand the Punjab work, I would not remain here a moment longer but would hasten there and embrace Mahadev. For the present, however, I can only embrace him through you all. Many such clouds have cleared from over my head and I cling to the hope that this, too, will clear.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 11884

239. LETTER TO NARAHARI PARIKH

LAHORE,
Thursday [*February 12, 1920*][1]

BHAISHRI NARAHARI,

I get your letters regularly and they give me much peace. You may show my letter to Mahadev, but only if you wish to. You may destroy it if you like.

I hope to arrive there on the 23rd. I may arrive even on the 22nd. You did well in forwarding the Doctor's[2] letters.

Does Dipak[3] take dal and vegetables in addition to *rotli* and jaggery? Did he again go to his uncle's? He has a standing invitation to go every Sunday. It will be better if you yourself take him there on foot next Sunday.

Esther's condition is miserable indeed.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11887

(*vide* Vol. XVI), in which he mentions Mahadev Desai's illness. The following Sunday, February 2, is obviously too early a date for this letter.

[1] Gandhiji arrived in Ahmedabad on February 22, 1920, after his three weeks' tour of the Punjab. His last Thursday in Lahore fell on this date.

[2] Presumably Dr. Jivraj Mehta

[3] Son of Saraladevi Chowdharani who had joined the Ashram school in January 1920

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240. LETTER TO NARAHARI PARIKH

[*February 13, 1920*][1]

BHAISHRI NARAHARI,

Two points in your letters have been left unanswered. It is true that by taking Dipak there I have added to your work. It is also true that the thing will make your task hard. However, I see difficulties in the way of adhering to the rule that no non-Gujarati should be admitted. I do not understand how we can refuse admission to anyone who agrees to join on the same conditions as Dipak has joined. All the same, I shall abide by any rule you wan to be followed. After all, it is for you to carry out the thing and, therefore, your word will be law to me. I shall make what suggestions I feel inclined to. I unreservedly accept the principle that any boy whom we admit will have to have his education through Gujarati. In regard to Dipak's Bengali, I did not mean that he should be taught through that language. I merely meant that it would be good if we could make some arrangements for his Bengali. I want this only in his case. There is no other boy in the country, in the same circumstances as Dipak, who is likely to join us. Sarladevi is the only Bengali woman who, married to a Punjabi, is keen on her son keeping up his mother's tongue. This principle deserves support. All of you, that is you, Kaka and others, know Bengali and, moreover, Manindra is there at present. I, therefore, felt that Dipak should keep up the use of Bengali.

The second point, concerning fixed times for Dipak for writing letters. About this, I am sure you have been hasty in expressing the view you have done. Writing letters as a matter of rule should no doubt be mechanical. Anything which becomes natural, instinctive, is of course mechanical. When you give fruit juice to Mahadev at 2, you may be so absorbed in the work that it becomes mechanical for you. "Mechanical" has two meanings. One, anything done unintelligently, in the manner of a machine, or occurring in that way. Two, anything done or occurring according to rule, like the functioning of a machine. The first is to be avoided, and the second to be welcomed. If Dipak's love for his mother burns bright in him, he should, once he has realized that

[1] As stated in the text, Gandhiji wrote this letter from Sargodha, which he visited on this date in the course of his Punjab tour.

it is good on his part to write to her, set apart a fixed time for the purpose and adhere to it. Reciting *Gayatri*, daily or occasionally, without a fixed rule can never bring the same reward as reciting it with a devout heart at a fixed hour every day. Progress in life is possible only if one regulates one's life according to rules. I think you will have no further doubts in this matter. If you have any, put them to me when we meet or write about them to me at Kashi.[1]

We are in Sargodha today. Tomorrow we shall be in Lahore and the day after in the train on our way to Kashi. I wrote to Mahadev yesterday apologizing to him. My intention was absolutely pure. When writing that letter, I had repeated to myself the verse: "I desire to see the suffering of all suffering creatures ended."[2] I had no idea that all of them suffered in the same way, but I suffered because they were suffering and had been applying remedies to end their sufferings. The pain felt by Mahadev showed me how complex one's feelings are and how inadequate our *tapascharya* was. That he smiled away his pain was his goodness indeed.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 11889

241. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

[About *February 29, 1920*][3]

BHAI MAHADEV,

Do what I will, I cannot find time for a long letter to you. Dr. Mehta[4] casually told me about your health. I came here in connection with Khilafat work and am returning to Ahmedabad.

[1] Gandhiji was in Banaras from February 16 to February 21, 1920.

[2] The Sanskrit couplet of which this is the second line runs :

नत्वहं कामये राज्यं न स्वर्गं नापुनर्भवम् ।
कामये दुःखतप्तानां प्राणिनामार्तिनाशनम् ॥

[3] The letter seems to have been written from Calcutta, where Gandhiji attended the Khilafat Conference on February 29, 1920. He was back in Ahmedabad on March 2.

[4] Jivraj Mehta

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God alone knows when I shall join you in Sinhgadh.[1] I believe Anandanand[2] writes to you frequently.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 11410

242. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

Wednesday [*March 10, 1920*][3]

BHAI MAHADEV,

It seems you have adopted a rule in Matheran that, if I do not write, you also may not. I simply outdid myself today. I started work at two in the morning. I got fatigued in consequence but had complete peace. When the revision of the report[4] is over, I would, if my heart were not broken, dance [with joy] as a schoolboy does on the closing of his school for holidays.

You are bound to keep good health there. Durga left for Navasari yesterday. Did you read my manifesto?[5] If not, see yesterday's *Times* [*of India*].

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 11411

[1] Gandhiji reached Sinhgadh on March 26, 1920.

[2] Swami Anandanand; manager of the Navajivan Press during the decade after the publication of *Navajivan* was commenced from Ahmedabad in September 1919

[3] The references in the letter to the 'report' and the 'manifesto' suggest this date.

[4] Presumably the Congress report on the Punjab disorders, which was published on March 25, 1920

[5] Presumably the Press statement on Khilafat; *vide* "Letter to the Press", 7-3-1920.

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243. TELEGRAM TO GOKARAN NATH[1]

AHMEDABAD,
March 12, 1920

HELD UP HERE FIRST WEEK APRIL.[2]

GANDHI

From the original as delivered : C.W. 5990

244. TELEGRAM TO GOKARAN NATH

AHMEDABAD,
March 15, 1920

GOKARAN NATH
LUCKNOW

SIR RABINDRANATH EXPECTED AHMEDABAD THAT TIME[3] CAN MEETING BE HELD AHMEDABAD IF IMPOSSIBLE HOLD BOMBAY.

GANDHI

From the original as delivered : C.W. 5989

245. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

Monday [*April 19, 1920*][4]

BHAISHRI MAHADEV,

I read your postcard to Chhaganlal[5]. I understand now the absence of any letters from you. It seems you have decided to get

[1] The telegram was sent to the addressee at Lucknow. He was then the General Secretary of the Indian National Congress.

[2] Presumably because of Tagore's visit in connection with the Gujarat Literary Conference which was to be held at Ahmedabad in the first week of April.

[3] Tagore was to arrive on April 1 and stay on till April 5. In the second week of April, both Gandhiji and Tagore were to be in Bombay.

[4] The references in the letter to Malaviya and the mill workers' dispute at Ahmedabad suggest this date.

[5] Gandhiji's nephew who worked with him in South Africa and later in the Sabarmati Ashram

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ill at regular intervals. How is Durga? It appears you will have to stay on where you are. Be careful about your health.

Malaviyaji is still here. We have now taken in hand the mill workers' dispute and he, therefore, changed his mind at the last minute when about to leave for the station. I have had no discussion with him worth writing about. Be sure you accompany me to Delhi. Do join me at Delhi at any rate.

Weaving and other activities are going on satisfactorily here.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 9829

246. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

[Before *April 20, 1920*][1]

BHAISHRI MAHADEV,

I got your letter. Whether or no I get time, just as eating gives me pleasure so do some letters and, therefore, as I find time for eating, so do I for such letters.

I shall arrive in Bombay on the 20th. You may stay on there up to the 21st if absolutely necessary and come to Bombay on the 22nd. I hope that even if we have to go[2], it will not be before the 1st of May. We shall decide about the clothes when we are in Bombay. Fatima's wedding is fixed for the 26th and I must be back at . . .[3] for the occasion. At that time, you may stay here if you wish to, or in Bombay if you prefer, or, if we do not go to England, in Sinhgadh—Balkrishna and Prabhudas feel restless in Sinhgadh.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 11407

[1] Fatima's wedding, mentioned in the text, took place on April 26, 1920 (*vide* "Invitation to Wedding", 20-4-1920). In 1920, Gandhiji arrived in Bombay on April 20, as he says in the letter he would.

[2] To England, in connection with the Khilafat Deputation

[3] Illegible

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247. LETTER TO SYED FAZLUR RAHMAN

THE ASHRAM,
May 11, 1920

DEAR SYED FAZLUR RAHMAN,

Technically it is the Government which is perpetrating the injustice against Turkey and thus violating Indian sentiment and therefore I cannot withdraw my support of its injustice by boycotting British goods. Indeed I expect to gain British sympathy and by it compel the British Government to do the right thing. I do not say that a successful boycott cannot achieve the end. But it will be by way of punishment and not by way of duty [.] We are ourselves not to be party to an injustice. My plan of non-co-operation today does not involve the withdrawal of servants from benevolent institutions but if a Government were wholly corrupt I would not hesitate to stop its activity by complete withdrawal of co-operation. I would refuse to have even useful service through a corrupt agency and when the activity of a completely unjust Government is brought to a standstill it is simultaneously replaced by another agency that will perform the useful services such as you mention. But as yet I do not take that view of the British Government. It suffers temporary aberrations less often perhaps than any other institution of similar type. And it is possible to compel it to retrace its steps by taking up a modified form of non-co-operation. I hope you are now able to see that non-co-operation is both just and necessary when an intolerable injustice is being perpetrated as in the case of Khilafat. I hope you will also see that my position is not so very spiritual as it is logical.[1]

Yours faithfully,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat : S. N. 7187

[1] On May 12, Gandhiji attended the meeting of the All-India Khilafat Committee at Bombay and moved the resolution on civil disobedience passed there.

248. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

ASHRAM,
May 13, 1920

BHAISHRI MAHADEV,

Your letter of the 5th I got only today. You should now shake off your despondency, the sense of emptiness in your heart. Buoyancy will return when it will, it cannot be forced. You will not have it by going away from me. It will come only by your remaining with me and doing what work you can.

Is there any place where peace of mind may be had for money? A king in his palace may be all restlessness and a sufferer like Job may have peace. Did not Bunyan have complete peace in jail? And you had it, didn't you, lying ill in bed? One can have peace if one does not hanker after things. As for hankering, is it not that what Mangaldas does while so many workers live in peace? Do you think it would make much of a difference if your body could give good service, and what harm if it does not? It should be enough that you do not obstruct its working and take all possible measures to keep it fit. Who knows what strength is to be found in [the text]: "The mind itself is [the cause of] men's [bondage and freedom]?"[1] Does it lose its truth because we hear it every day? If you accept its truth, revolve it over and over again in your mind and rise above your grief, your melancholy, your despondency and your fancies.

Here is the Viceroy's letter[2]. I think I should now go. 'I' means 'we'. I have written to Shaukat Ali to tell him this. He is in Bombay at present. I have asked him to come here. We shall know after he comes—do not worry at all—be perfectly calm and await events. Things will take care of themselves. After all, it is my job, isn't it, to worry over arrangements on your account, to attend to getting clothes ready for you and so on? And so start when I tell you. I am not impatient, since I am at home and quite comfortable.

[1] The Sanskrit original reads :
मन एव मनुष्याणां [कारणं बंधमोक्षयो :]

[2] Evidently sent by Gandhiji to the addressee as an enclosure, this letter presumably dealt with Gandhiji's proposed visit to England in connection with the Khilafat question.

Make Esther happy[1], and be happy yourself. Build very sound health; you will then be able to attend to other things well enough.

The Khilafat meeting yesterday went off very well. I was satisfied. Everyone took a strong line.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S. N. 11408

249. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

May 13, 1920

Read the accompanying letter[2] and hand it over to Shaukat Ali in an unsealed cover.

[From Gujarati]
Bapuni Prasadi

250. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

[*Vaishakh*] *Vad 12* [*May 15, 1920*][3]

BHAISHRI MAHADEV,

I got your two letters today. I like your reproaches because they show your love for me.

I have been inquiring daily about you. Every day I got Anandanand to write to you and complained about absence of letters from you. I started getting them only three days ago.

I must, however, admit one weakness of mine. It was very clearly observed by Kallenbach and he gave me a good scolding for that. I give the impression of forgetting those who have been tried and tested.[4] What particular need to write to him or say

[1] Esther Faering was then at Sinhgadh before leaving for Denmark on May 19, 1920.

[2] This letter to Shaukat Ali, who was then in Bombay, is not available. It was sent through the addressee, at Bombay, as Gandhiji's letters to Shaukat Ali did not reach him in time, perhaps because they were censored by the Government.

[3] The date is suggested by the reference to Shaukat Ali's arrival. Gandhiji had asked him to go to Ahmedabad from Bombay; *vide* "Letter to Mahadev Desai", 13-5-1920.

[4] The source is not clear at this place.

good night to him? Is that love which needs to be supplemented with ceremony? Would he misunderstand me if I did not write to him? Would anyone water an oak tree? But plant a mango sapling and see what happens if you fail to water it for two or three days or to make a hedge around it. I have imagined Esther as a mango sapling and you as the Kabirvad[1]. You may behave as an alfonso[2] sapling, if you wish. But it seems you wish to remain a sapling for ever. Should I satisfy that wish too? And if I do not, would you deny me the virtues you have attributed to me? If you want to hang a dog, give it a bad name. An admirable way of bringing about a man's fall is to invest him with fine virtues. But I shall not let myself fall. I am where I am. So be careful. Whenever you are hungry for letters from me, you will get them but, then, who would be the oak tree and the Kabirvad? A small pot needs constant filling. Does the sea ever need that?

What you say is quite right. Since you are still weak, the only thing to do is to leave everything to me. I used to tell Polak that he had two wives, Mrs. Polak and I, for he would pour himself out only before us two and likewise be angry only with us. You also seem to have got into the same habit. But what would Durga say?

Shaukat Ali has come down here today. His courage leaves nothing to be desired. Besides, the trio from Dutch Guiana is also here, so that today I don't have time even to breathe. In the morning, Lallubhai[3] and Brelvi[4] were here. We had a useful and pleasant discussion about the national language. They have sent Rs. 200 for Orissa[5]. Even if it is decided that we should go to England, we shall be starting after a month.

I am glad you helped yourself to the fruit. Surely, it was not meant for me alone? It was meant for me and mine. Your sending some of it to Haribhau[6] was evidence of your being a Kabirvad. Saving money on a telegram was another instance, and not going to Belgaum was a third, though, you had my permission to go.

[1] A huge banyan tree in Gujarat

[2] A variety of mango

[3] Sir Lallubhai Samaldas Mehta, a prominent citizen of Bombay, associated with Liberal politics

[4] S.A. Brelvi; nationalist Muslim journalist then on the editorial staff of *The Bombay Chronicle*

[5] Orissa Relief Fund

[6] Haribhau Upadhyaya, editor, *Hindi Navajivan*

Now that Anandanand is going there, there is little need for you to go. I must be in Kashi on the 30th.[1]

Maganlal and Radha have left today on a tour. I believe they will go to Sinhgadh. I have advised them to do so.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 11409

251. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

ASHRAM,
May 25, 1920

You have asked me [a] very searching question. I have always recognized that there are fundamental differences between you and me on the marriage and the caste question. I do not consider marriage to be a necessity in every case. From the highest standpoint it is a status lower than that of celibacy but I recognize it to be an absolute necessity in most cases. At the same time I would put disciplinary restraints upon the choice of man and woman and just as it would be considered improper for a brother to marry his sister I would make it improper for a person to marry outside his or her group which may be called a caste. I would thereby make the other men or women free from the attentions of that person. And if a person cannot get a suitable match within the limits prescribed for him or her he or she should be satisfied to remain unmarried. In other words I do not believe in unbridled licence. The vast majority of unions are due merely to physical attraction. I would narrow down this circle of attraction. So you see that I would be averse to a Brahmin going outside his circle for the choice of a wife; there is no question here of untouchability. Caste I consider a useful institution if properly regulated. Untouchability is a crime against God and humanity. I would purify the former, I would destroy the latter. If Manilal fell in love with a pariah girl, I would not quarrel with his choice but I would certainly consider that he had failed to imbibe my teaching. I would like him to be satisfied with his own caste division not because he would have any repugnance against the others but because I would like him to exercise self-restraint. Similarly for the institution of caste. In the Ashram we do not observe any

[1] Gandhiji arrived in Banaras on May 29, 1920, to attend the All-India Congress Committee meeting on May 30.

caste restrictions, because we are making a new experiment but I would not like a Brahmin to go beyond his pale, and indulge in dining here, there and everywhere. Again, therefore, non-dining with me does not proceed from a sense of . . .[1] but it proceeds from a sense of discipline. Rob the caste of its impurities, and you will find it to be a bulwark of Hinduism and an institution whose roots are embedded deep down in human nature. Now for the Khilafat question. I have said nothing about Armenia because I know nothing about it and because I do not want the Sultan[2] or any other power to rob Armenia of its independent existence. It can have autonomy as well under the Turk as any other power[3]. I have said always that absolute guarantees may be taken from the Sultan about non-interference with the internal administration of Armenia; similarly for Arabia. The position created by the peace treaty is simply intolerable.[4] The Arabians have lost what independence they had under the Sultan because they were more than a match for him. And now if the king of Hejaz and Amir Feisal can help it, Arabia and Mesopotamia will be drained dry for both these men will be puppets in the hands of British officers whose one aim would be to make as much money as possible for the European capitalists.

From a photostat : S.N. 7194

252. SPEECH TO STUDENTS OF SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, AHMEDABAD

[Before *July 1920*][5]

We want to conduct a novel experiment here. The experiment is so delicate that the teachers of the National School would not have the courage to undertake it on their own if I did not associate myself with it.

We wish to introduce co-education here. The teachers once told me : "The number of girls in the school is rising now, and

[1] Illegible

[2] The Sultan of Turkey

[3] In 1920 Armenia was occupied jointly by Russian and Turkish troops.

[4] The Turkish peace treaty was handed in Paris to the Turkish delegates on May 11, 1920; Gandhiji called for its revision in a press statement dated May 18, 1920.

[5] The speech, as stated in a prefatory note in the source, was first reported in, presumably, the July 1920 issue of *Madhapudo*, a manuscript magazine of the Ashram School.

there are grown-up girls, too, amongst them. Should we set up a separate class for girls after some time?" Immediately I replied in the negative and remarked that it was not at all necessary to have a separate class for girls.

Soon after, however, I realized the seriousness of the matter and I thought of the magnitude of the risk involved. I felt that it would be better if I explained to you all, students as well as teachers, the women and the other inmates of the Ashram, certain rules of conduct. Do not think that everything I say now is absolute law. I shall merely express my views. The teachers may discuss them afterwards and make necessary changes.

Boys and girls may sit in the same class, but they should maintain some discipline in doing so. Boys should sit in a separate row. Adolescent boys and girls should not sit together, because that may involve the danger of chance contacts. Many of these girls are already come of age and many others will be so in a short time. Thus the girls are growing up and some of the boys studying with us are already grown up. These boys and girls should not touch one another. Physical contact disturbs *brahmacharya*. Outside the class-room, the boys may mix, converse, cut jokes and play among themselves; the girls may do the same among themselves. But the boys and girls may not do this together; they should neither converse nor joke with one another. And they certainly may not carry on private correspondence with one another. Children at any rate should have nothing private. For a man who adheres to truth, what secrets can he have to keep? Even for elders it is a sign of weakness to have any private correspondence. You should not imitate this weakness of theirs, but should overcome your weakness as they may advise you. Ordinarily, parents do not confess their weaknesses to their children and, in such matters, they do not utter a single word. This, however, is a grave mistake on their part. By acting in this way they push their children down into the deep pit of disaster. If all parents take care that their children do not repeat their mistakes, the extent to which the boys will benefit cannot even be imagined. When I say that nobody should keep anything secret, it does not mean that you should pry into the secrets of others; these are not your concern. If we elders are sitting somewhere and talking among ourselves and if we ask you to leave us alone, you ought to walk away. You cannot cure us of our weakness by listening to our talk. But you should have no letter or other matter of interest which you cannot lay fearlessly before your elders. The best thing is that there should be no exchanges between boys and girls,

whether inside or outside the class-room, in the absence of elders. No girl should go to the room reserved for boys and converse, discuss or study there like any other boy. There can be no objection to girls serving water or talking to boys in the presence of some elders, for example, on the prayer ground. It is their duty, in fact, to serve water to everybody there. Even here, however, propriety should be observed. They should take care that there is no physical contact. There is every danger of physical desire being awakened when grown-up boys touch grown-up girls. It is therefore essential that they guard against any possibility of such physical contact.

As days pass I realize with increasing clearness that preservation of the vital fluid is imperative if one has determined to serve the country. Which service can I get out of you with these your lean and lanky bodies? None of you seems to have any flesh on his body. Bodies like yours are the result of failure to conserve the vital fluid. All of you should conserve this fluid and build up your bodies. As long as the body is weak, it is not possible even to acquire knowledge, let alone putting it to any use. A hot-tempered person can acquire knowledge, and so can a dishonest person, but one who does not observe *brahmacharya* can never acquire knowledge. We can gather from our Puranas that big demons, who subsequently became embodiments of sheer lust, had to observe *brahmacharya* for acquiring knowledge.

That a healthy body is essential for acquisition of knowledge needs no proof. I wish, therefore, to train you to have bodies as strong as demons'. In spite of my best efforts to improve them, I shall never see you with bodies like Shaukat Ali's. For this, we, your progenitors, are to blame. However, if even now preservation of the vital fluid is ensured India can once again give birth to a Hanuman.[1] How can a person, whose body is as thin as a stick, cultivate the virtue of forgiveness? Such a person will submit through sheer terror. If Shaukat Ali were to slap me in the face here, how can I pretend to pardon him? If I do not react in any way, it will mean that I have been cowed down. I can, of course, pardon Rasik here. I tell you, therefore, if you wish to become forgiving and truthful heroes you must resolutely conserve your vital fluid. If I display so much vigour at this age of 51 it is only because I have conserved it. If I had done so from

[1] Monkey-hero in the *Ramayana*, celebrated for his superhuman strength which enabled him to fly across the sea to Lanka and which is traditionally attributed to his perfect *brahmacharya*.

the beginning, I cannot imagine to what heights I should have soared by now. I appeal to all parents and guardians present here to help their boys in every way to conserve the vital fluid. If they cannot restrain themselves any longer and come and tell you so, requesting you to get them married, then only should you arrange their marriage. It is not as if men could remain unmarried only in the old days. Lord Kitchener was a bachelor —he did not marry. I do not believe that he must have been seeking satisfaction elsewhere. He had decided that only bachelors and unmarried men—that is to say, only persons of strong physique—should join the army; they should be unmarried and not given to dissolute ways either. I would therefore request all the elders not to marry off their sons and daughters in a hurry for fear that they may not get suitable partners afterwards. Please wait till they themselves come and express their desire. I am sure God will be there at that time and will see that the boy or the girl gets a suitable match.

I wish to mention another matter to the boys, namely, that boys and girls who have chosen and are studying under the same person as their teacher are as brothers and sisters to one another and must live as such. There can be no other relationship or bond between them. All of you staying in this Ashram and studying in this school are like brothers and sisters. The day this relationship is violated, I shall not have a moment's hesitation in winding up this Ashram or the school. At that time I shall not think of what people might say. You should assure me that you will preserve your relation of brothers and sisters; then alone will I go ahead with this experiment fearlessly and also invite other girls here. There is a gentleman who has expressed a desire to come and stay here. He has a 12-year-old daughter. Among us a girl of this age is considered to have grown up and is married off. Hence you must reassure me so that I may in turn reassure the gentleman that his daughter's virtue will remain unblemished here and that he will be able to mould her character as he wishes to. This experiment is so delicate that only if the rules I have laid down are obeyed in every particular can parents and guardians of the girls be free from anxiety and the teachers and other elderly members of the Ashram conduct this experiment without any apprehensions. For these people to have suspicions and to spy upon the girls will harm both parties.

Whoever feels that it is not possible for him to restrain himself any longer, that his physical urge has grown so strong that it is impossible for him to curb it, should immediately quit this

place rather than bring shame to the Ashram and break up this holy experiment. The Bible has gone to the length of enjoining that, if one's eyes are not under one's control, one should thrust a needle into them. I do not think that I shall be in such a plight; but should I ever be, you can trust me and this river Sabarmati.

Whether or no sex desire has awakened in you, all of you should meditate on what I have said and act upon it. We cannot ignore the difference created by God. Only by respecting this difference will anyone in whom sex desire has become active be able to control it—for one in whom it has not become active this control will be quite easy. I have often said, and I repeat here once again, that I had to make great efforts to adhere to *brahmacharya*. I have not come across till this day any man who has struggled to practise *brahmacharya* with such effort. For him who has indulged in carnal pleasure even once, it becomes very difficult to conserve his vital fluid thereafter. You would, therefore, do well not to taste the pleasure at all. Those who feel that their desires have been roused should suppress them at that stage, while those whose desires are yet dormant will not need to put in any particular effort. They have merely to be careful that their desires are not roused. Only those who conserve their vital fluid will be able to serve the nation. Similarly, the girls can become worthiest housewives only by practising *brahmacharya*. She who serves not one person, her husband, but the whole country, the poor and the afflicted—who will not call her the worthiest housewife ?

I wish to draw your attention to one more thing. Plain clothes help in keeping *brahmacharya*, though it must be admitted that this help is negligible. It is possible that a man donning khadi may be a veritable sinner, and also that a man dressing himself up in grand attire may be the purest among pure *brahmacharis*. I would worship such a man; but a sinner dressed in khadi, should he come near me, I would immediately show him out. All the same, we certainly cannot don gaudy dresses and try to look handsome. If a *brahmachari* need display his body to anybody, it is only to God and to no one else, and God sees us in all our nakedness. Why then should we decorate ourselves in fine garments ? Real beauty shines through one's virtues. We should impress others by our virtues, not by our looks. Clothes are intended only for covering the body; and this can be covered by coarse khadi in the best possible manner. If older people themselves find it difficult to wear khadi clothes, even then they should accustom their children to wear khadi. The mother who decks her child in rich garments,

pleased with the thought that the child looks lovely thereby, is foolish. How do rich garments confer beauty? And even if they do, what is the good of it? If somebody wished to marry my daughter only for her good looks, I would turn him out with contempt. I would give her in marriage only to a person who wanted her as a wife for the sake of her virtues. If you wish to appear handsome, do not put on gaudy garments but cultivate virtues. If you become virtuous, you will positively appear handsome and you will be honoured wherever you go.

I do not think that I have anything more to say. I have told you everything I wanted to. What I have said is of priceless worth. If you have not understood it have it explained to you by your elders or your teachers, because even small boys ought to understand and bear in mind what I have said. You should all reflect upon it and, after digesting it, act upon it to the utmost you can and thus make it possible for me to try this experiment in co-education fearlessly and make a success of it.

[From Gujarati]

Sabarmati, Autumn Issue, 1922 : S.N. 7195

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

TURKISH PEACE TERMS[1]

1. The frontiers of Turkey will be as already demarcated, and where necessary revised by a Boundary Commission to be created. According to this delimitation Turkey will include the Constantinople sector of Thrace and all the predominantly Turkish areas of Asia Minor.

2. The rights and titles of the Turkish Government in Constantinople will not be affected, but the right to modify this provision is reserved in the event of the failure of Turkey faithfully to fulfil the treaty.

3. A Commission of the Straits will have authority over all waters between the Mediterranean mouth of the Dardanelles, the Black Sea mouth of the Bosphorous, and of the waters within three miles of each of these mouths; also on the shores to such extent as may be necessary. The duty of the Commission will be to ensure freedom of navigation in these waters in peace and war.

4. A scheme of local self-government will be drafted for Kurdistan, including provision for the protection of the Assyro-Chaldeans and other minorities. The League of Nations will decide later whether Kurdistan should be granted independence of Turkey, if it be proved that separation is desired by the majority of the Kurdish people.

5. Certain portions of Smyrna are formed into a separate unit to be administered by Greece, the suzerainty of Turkey being continued for a period of years till the autonomous State of Smyrna decides its own destiny.

6. With the exception of the Constantinople sector, Eastern Thrace is ceded to Greece, provision being made for the local self-government of the town of Adrianople.

7. Certain portions of the Armenian districts of Turkey are added to the existing Armenian Republic, the boundary between Turkey and Armenia in certain districts being referred to the arbitration of the President of the United States, whose decision will be final thereon and on any stipulation regarding the Armenian access to the sea.

8. Syria, Mesopotamia and Palestine are provisionally recognized as independent States, subject to administrative advice and assistance from a Mandatory Power until such time as they are able to stand alone. The mandate for Syria has been entrusted to France and those for Mesopotamia and

[1] Communicated by the Allies to Turkey and published in India in *Gazette of India Extraordinary*, dated May 14, 1920

Palestine to Britain. The mandate for Palestine will include the provision for giving effect to the declaration of November 8, 1918, regarding the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people.

9. The Hedjaz is recognized as a free and independent State. The King of the Hedjaz undertakes to assure free and easy access to Mecca and Medina to Muslim pilgrims of all countries.

10. Turkey relinquishes all rights and titles over Egypt and the Sudan and Cyprus.

11. Turkey recognizes the French protectorate over Morocco and Tunisia.

12. Turkey relinquishes her claims to certain islands in the Aegean.

13. The military, naval, and air forces at the disposal of Turkey will consist of the following: (1) the Sultan's bodyguard at Constantinople; (2) a troop of *gendarmerie* for the maintenance of internal order and security and the protection of minorities; (3) special elements for reinforcements of the *gendarmerie* and eventual control of the frontiers. The bodyguard is limited to 700 and the *gendarmerie* with special elements to 50,000. All warships interned in Turkish ports are declared to be finally surrendered. The Turkish fleet is limited to six torpedo boats and seven sloops.

No military or naval air forces or dirigibles are to be maintained.

14. Control will be maintained over the finances of Turkey until the discharge of her international obligations has been assured.

15. Freedom of navigation and transit is secured.

The following ports are declared international ports, provision to be made for free zones in each: Alexandretta, Busrah, Constantinople, Dedeagatch, Haief, Hailad Pasha, Smyrna and Trebizond.

16. In addition to the above are numerous provisions regarding (a) League of Nations, (b) protection of minorities, (c) restoration of abandoned property rights, (d) prisoners of war, (e) graves of Allied soldiers, (f) punishment of war criminals, (g) economic questions and concessions, (h) labour conventions and (i) antiquities. But it is not necessary to detail these in the present statement.

All About the Khilafat, pp. 326-329

APPENDIX II

VICEROY'S MESSAGE TO MUSLIMS OF INDIA[1]

The decisions of the Supreme Council of the Allies in respect of the peace settlement with Turkey have been made known to the world. They have been reached after the most careful and anxious consideration of representations from the Muslims of all countries, and you have my assurance that before coming to its present decision the Supreme Council has had all possible regard to those

[1] This was published in *Gazette of India Extraordinary*, dated May 14, 1920.

representations which have proceeded from the Mohammedan subjects of His Majesty in India. My Government are issuing along with a summary of the peace terms a statement which explains the principal decisions and the reasons for them. These decisions are in full accordance with the high principles which have been applied in the peace settlement with all other Powers lately at war with Britain and her Allies. Nevertheless they include terms which I fear must be painful to all Muslims. The long delays which have protracted your anxiety for over a year although they have been unavoidable, have filled me with regret for your sakes, and now in your hour of trial I desire to send you a message of encouragement and sympathy, which I trust will uphold you. In the day of the Empire's need you made a splendid response to the call of your King and country, and by so doing you contributed much to the triumph of those ideals of justice and humanity for which the Allies fought. The Empire of which you form a part is now firmly established on these ideals and a great future of political progress and material prosperity is within the grasp of the Muslims of India, who have ever enjoyed under British rule the fullest religious freedom. Before the late disastrous War Great Britain had always maintained the closest ties of friendship with Turkey and I am confident with the conclusion of this new treaty that friendship will quickly take life again and a Turkey regenerate, full of hope and strength, will stand forth in the future as in the past, a pillar of the Islamic faith. This thought will, I trust, strengthen you to accept the peace terms with resignation, courage and fortitude, and to keep your loyalty towards the Crown bright and untarnished as it has been for so many generations.

God save the King Emperor!

(Sd.) CHELMSFORD

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APPENDIX III

RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT KHILAFAT COMMITTEE MEETING

ALLAHABAD,
June 3, 1920

RESOLUTION I

This meeting reaffirms the movement of non-co-operation in accordance with the four stages already approved by the Central Khilafat Committee, and appoints a sub-committee consisting of the following gentlemen with power to add to their number, to give practical effect to the movement without delay: Mahatma Gandhi, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Maulvi Mohamad Ali, Mr. Ahmad, Haji Siddick Khatri, Maulana Shaukat Ali, Dr. Kitchlew and Maulana Hasrat Mohani.

RESOLUTION II

This meeting resolves that the swadeshi movement should be undertaken in right earnest and a sub-committee consisting of the following gentlemen be appointed to work out a scheme for carrying out the movement: Mr. Chhotani, Mahatma Gandhi, Maulana Hasrat Mohani, Dr. Kitchlew, Maulvi Zafar Ali Khan, Messrs Agha Safdar, Syed Abdur Rauf, Mohammed Yusuf, Sharif, Tajuddin Mushin-ul-Mulk, Lala Shankar Lal, Maulana Shah Suleman, Maulana Shaukat Ali, Messrs Umar Sobhani, Abdul Wahood, Ahmed, Haji Siddick Khatri, Zahoor Ahmed, Noor Mohamad Sheikh, Abul Kalam Azad, Maulvi Akram Khan, Maulvi Muniruzzaman, Mr. Yakub Hussain.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 7-6-1920

APPENDIX IV

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA DESPATCH ON HUNTER COMMITTEE REPORT

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
HOME DEPARTMENT
Political

TO
THE RIGHT HON'BLE EDWIN MONTAGU
HIS MAJESTY'S SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA
SIMLA

May 3, 1920

SIR,

We submit for your information and for any orders His Majesty's Government may desire to issue the report which was presented on the 8th March, 1920, by the Disorders Committee, together with our review of the report and our conclusions thereon. In the ordinary course the report would have been published with a resolution of the Government of India in the Home Department, but we consider the subject so important that after discussion with you we have decided that it is best to communicate to you our views and findings on the report for the information of His Majesty's Government. We desire to add that our views and conclusions are unanimous, except on those points where the dissent of our Hon'ble Colleague, Mr. Shafi, has been expressly indicated. We may also state that our Hon'ble Colleague, Sir George Lowndes, now on leave, concurred in all the conclusions we had reached up to the time of his departure.

2. In Resolution No. 2168, dated the 14th October 1919, the Governor-General-in-Council with the approval of the Secretary of State appointed a Committee to investigate the disturbances in Bombay, Delhi and the Punjab, their

causes, and the measures taken to cope with them. The Hon'ble Lord Hunter, lately Solicitor-General for Scotland and now Senator of the College of Justice in Scotland, was appointed President of the Committee, which consisted of the following Members:

(1) The Hon'ble Mr. Justice G. C. Rankin, Judge of the High Court, Calcutta.

(2) The Hon'ble Mr. W. F. Rice, C.S.I., I.C.S., Additional Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

(3) Major-General Sir George Barrow, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., I.A., Commanding the Peshawar Division.

(4) The Hon'ble Pandit Jagat Narayan, B.A., Member of the Legislative Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces.

(5) The Hon'ble Mr. Thomas Smith, Member of the Legislative Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces.

(6) Sir Chimanlal Harilal Setalvad, Kt., Advocate of the High Court, Bombay.

(7) Sardar Sahibzada Sultan Ahmed Khan, Muntazim-ud-Doula, M.A., LL.M., (Cantab.), Bar-at-Law, Member for Appeals, Gwalior State.

The Committee began its sittings on the 29th October, 1919, and after hearing evidence at Delhi, Lahore, Ahmedabad, and Bombay finished its labours in the first week of March 1920, when its report was presented to the Government of India.

Before reviewing the findings of the Committee we desire to make some preliminary observations regarding the scope of the enquiry, the procedure followed by the Committee in recording evidence, and the general character of its conclusions.

3. In order to obtain a general view of the character of the disturbances and of the scope of the enquiry it will be useful to explain briefly the relative geographical position of the chief centres of disorder and to refer to a few salient dates which indicate the sequence of events in point of time. It was at Delhi—the Capital of India and from its historical and commercial importance a determining factor of considerable weight in the attitude of the rest of Northern India—that disturbances first occurred on the 30th March. They were of such a character as required the use of the military to restore order and before this was achieved it became necessary to fire twice on the mob. On the 10th April violent rioting took place at Amritsar and Lahore in the Punjab, and at Ahmedabad in the Presidency of Bombay, and distinct unrest manifested itself in a minor degree at places as far distant as Calcutta and Bombay. Lahore is a city of 230,000 inhabitants and the capital of the Punjab. Amritsar, which is 20 miles east of Lahore, is a town of more than 150,000 inhabitants and of great commercial importance. Ahmedabad has a population of roughly 280,000 and is

an industrial town where 78 mills are located. The distances respectively of Lahore, Amritsar and Ahmedabad from Delhi are roughly 300, 280 and 540 miles. The situation in the Punjab after the 10th April rapidly deteriorated and Martial Law was proclaimed on the 15th April in the districts of Lahore and Amritsar, and shortly after in three other districts. About two weeks later a thundercloud on the frontier burst and the mobilization of troops for the Afghan war began on the 4th May. This seriously affected the general situation in the Punjab and it was not found possible to withdraw Martial Law from all the districts concerned before the 12th June nor from railway lands till a later date. These were briefly the events which with their causes and consequences formed the subject matter of the Committee's enquiry.

4. The next point to which the Government of India wish to advert is the decision of the All-India Congress Committee to abstain from presenting evidence before the Committee of Enquiry. As explained by Lord Hunter in his letter of the 8th March forwarding the Report of the Committee, all persons desirous of giving evidence were invited to submit their names and addresses, together with a brief memorandum of the points on which they desired to give evidence, and it was left to the Committee to decide what evidence they would hear. Lord Hunter has described the circumstances in which the Congress Committee declined after the 12th November further to assist the Committee of Enquiry by appearing before it and tendering evidence, the offer which the same body made on the 30th December to produce their evidence and reopen the enquiry, and the reasons which led Lord Hunter to reject that offer. We believe that Lord Hunter's account of the matter will convince all reasonable people that his decision was fully justified. The point, however, which we wish to emphasize—and it is one which was present to Lord Hunter's mind also—is this, that the material placed at the disposal of the Committee and the evidence laid before it covered the whole field of enquiry. The official witnesses fully disclosed all they knew regarding the events in which they had participated and placed before the Committee all correspondence and other documentary evidence which had any bearing on the nature of the outbreak, the suppression of the disturbances, or the administration of Martial Law. It is a matter of regret to Government that this was not supplemented by the additional evidence which the Congress Committee had collected and that the evidence which has since been published by that body has not therefore been subjected to examination by an impartial tribunal. They are doubtful, however, whether it would have made any substantial difference to the general picture placed before the Committee, although it might have thrown further light on particular incidents. With regard to the firing at Jallianwala Bagh, on which the attention of the public both at home and in India has been so largely concentrated since December last, the Committee had the most ample materials for judgment and further evidence would have contributed nothing to their knowledge of the facts.

5. The Committee have now submitted their recommendations in the form of a majority and minority report. The majority report is signed by the President and four members of the Committee, Mr. Justice Rankin, General Barrow, and Messrs Rice and Smith. The minority report is signed by Sir C. H. Setalvad, Pandit Jagat Narayan and Sahibzada Sultan Ahmad Khan. While two reports have been submitted, it is a matter of satisfaction to the Government of India that most of the findings of fact are unanimous and that in spite of differences of opinion as to the conclusions to be deduced therefrom there is considerable common ground in this respect also. That common ground covers the whole of the events in Delhi and the Bombay Presidency. It also covers much of the narrative of events and the causes of the disturbances in the Punjab. Nor is the divergence in the Punjab findings altogether basic. It is partly one of degree, partly one of essential difference. Certain measures adopted in the suppression of the disturbances and the administration of Martial Law are condemned in both reports but with varying degrees of severity. This remark applies in particular to the joint condemnation of the firing at Jallianwala Bagh. The most important point on which there is an essential difference of opinion relates to the introduction of Martial Law in the Punjab. While the majority find that a state of rebellion existed, necessitating or justifying the adoption of that measure, the minority consider that the disorders did not amount to rebellion and that the disturbances might have been suppressed and order restored without abrogating the control of the civil authorities or calling in military force save as auxiliary to the civil power.

6. It will be convenient to explain at this stage the arrangement which has been followed in the reports. The first seven chapters of the majority report are devoted to accounts of the disturbances in Delhi, the Bombay Presidency, and the Punjab districts of Amritsar, Lahore, Gujranwala, Gujrat and Lyallpur. In each case the majority briefly review the disturbances and record their findings on the propriety of the measures adopted to check them and to restore order. In Chapter VIII they describe the widespread attacks on communications which have an important bearing on the general nature of the disorders. In Chapter IX they discuss the causes of the disturbances with more particular reference to the Punjab. Chapter X contains a brief description of the stages in the introduction of Martial Law. In Chapter XI the reasons for the introduction and continuance of Martial Law are considered, while Chapter XII is devoted to a criticism of the administration of Martial Law.

The minority report follows a somewhat different plan of arrangement. Chapter I sets forth the general extent of the minority's agreement or disagreement with the findings of the majority. The nature and causes of the disorders are discussed in Chapter II. The justification for the introduction and the continuance of Martial Law in the Punjab is examined in Chapter III. Chapter IV is devoted to the firing at Jallianwala Bagh. The administration of Martial Law is discussed in Chapter V, the use of armoured trains and aero-

planes in Chapter VI and the working of the Martial Law courts in Chapter VII.

Although it might have been more convenient to review at the outset the findings of the Committee regarding the causes and nature of the disturbances, we are reluctant to depart from the general plan of the majority report, as any such departure would increase the difficulty of comparing its findings with those of the minority. We accordingly propose to examine the report chapter by chapter, to state our conclusions on the findings of the majority and minority, more particularly where these differ, and finally to explain the action which in our judgment should be taken on the report.

7. Chapter I deals with the disturbances at Delhi. The Committee are unanimous in finding that the authorities handled the situation in an adequate and reasonable manner, that there was no provocative or unnecessary display of military force, and that the firing was justified on the three occasions on which it was found necessary to resort to this extreme measure. The actual collisions between the police and mobs are found to be the bye-products of the satyagraha movement. The majority recognize that Mr. Gandhi's visit to Delhi after the first outbreak, if not prevented, would have been a serious embarrassment to the executive authorities there and might well have proved a source of great danger. The minority, while doubtful of the expediency of his exclusion and, while thinking that his presence might have had a beneficial result, do not deny the possibility of developments endangering the public peace. The only criticism passed by the Committee on the measures adopted by the local authorities is that the Deputy Commissioner made a mistake in enrolling a number of leading citizens as special constables, though, as they point out, these persons were not called on to render any services.

We accept these conclusions and have perused with satisfaction the commendation which has been bestowed by the Committee on the handling of the situation by the local officers. We do not consider that any blame attaches to the Deputy Commissioner for his appointment of special constables, as he acted in accordance with the established practice. We have, however, decided to address local Governments on the question whether the orders now obtaining on the subject in the various provinces require modification or revision. This is the more necessary as it appears that leading citizens were enrolled as special constables at other disturbed centres besides Delhi.

The Government of India consider that the events described in this chapter have an important bearing on the rest of the report, for they were the first fruits of the satyagraha movement, the first collision between the forces of order and the adherents of the passive resistance or civil disobedience movement. The behaviour of the crowd on the 30th March, which rendered it necessary for the military and police to fire on two occasions, cannot be ascribed to any action taken against Mr. Gandhi or local politicians. Such action has been pleaded in excuse of later mob excesses, but the internment order

against Mr. Gandhi was not passed till ten days after the first outbreak of disorder at Delhi.

8. Chapter II gives an account of the disturbances in the Bombay Presidency. They were confined to Ahmedabad City and Viramgam in the Ahmedabad district, to Nadiad in the Kaira district, and to Bombay City. Viramgam is a town of 20,000 inhabitants 40 miles distant from Ahmedabad, and Nadiad, which has a population of 30,000, is 29 miles from the same city. By far the most serious outbreak of disorder occurred in Ahmedabad which is the home of Mr. Gandhi and may be described as the birth-place of the satyagraha movement. The disturbances began on the 10th April as soon as the people of Ahmedabad heard of the action taken against Mr. Gandhi, and were not finally checked till the 14th, although military assistance was called in from the afternoon of the 10th. It is not necessary to follow the report of the Committee into the details of the disturbances and the measures taken to quell them but it is important to notice that for two days mob law reigned in the city and the excesses committed included two atrocious murders, brutal assaults on Europeans and Government officers, and the total destruction of the courts and other Government buildings. The efforts of the police and the military to protect the city and restore order were not successful till the military commander, with the concurrence of the District Magistrate, issued a proclamation on the 12th April warning all people that any gathering of over ten individuals collected at one spot would be fired at, and that any single individual seen outside any house between 7 p.m. and 6 a.m. who did not stop when challenged would be shot. The last occasion on which the troops fired was midday of the 13th April and the Committee find that there was not in fact any firing without warning nor was any person fired on, who was not either rioting or encouraging rioters. The outbreak came to an end abruptly on the 14th April and its cessation is ascribed partly to the effects of this proclamation and partly to the return of Mr. Gandhi who, be it said to his credit, used his influence with the people to assist the authorities in restoring order. During the disturbances telegraph wires were cut at eight places in Ahmedabad and at fourteen places outside, and property to the value of nine lakhs of rupees was destroyed. The number of rounds fired by the armed police and the troops was 748, and the number of ascertained casualties amongst the rioters was 28 killed and 123 wounded. The majority report comments thus on the measures taken to suppress the outbreak: "We are of opinion that the measures taken by the authorities to deal with the disturbances were appropriate. The use of military force was unavoidable and the rioters alone were responsible for the casualties which ensued. The control of the city was in the hands of the military for less than two days and this has been referred to as a period of Martial Law. But beyond maintaining order and issuing the proclamation on the 12th April, the military authorities did not interfere with matters of administration. The so-called Martial Law orders were drastic; but the

situation was most serious. The belief that all groups of more than ten men would be fired on without warning did much to restore order, and it appears that this instruction was not in fact literally carried out. We think that the troops behaved with praiseworthy restraint in most trying circumstances, and that the military action taken was not excessive. The Bombay Government have informed us that the behaviour of the military during the period that they were stationed in the city was exemplary. Our investigation leads to the same conclusion."

9. The outbreak at Viramgam was marked by the same ferocity as in Ahmedabad, by arson, murder, the destruction of Government property, and attacks on railway and telegraph communications. The fury of the mob culminated in the savage murder of Mr. Madhavlal, a magisterial officer, who after a relentless pursuit was dragged from a house, where he had taken refuge, to the public road, soaked in kerosene oil and burnt alive beneath piles of public records, his body being completely incinerated. The outbreak began on the morning of the 12th April and was not finally suppressed till troops arrived from Ahmedabad late on the evening of that day. The Committee find that the total ascertained casualties amongst the rioters were six killed and eleven wounded and that the value of the property destroyed by the mob exceeded two lakhs of rupees. They commend the conduct of the armed police who behaved with spirit and kept off the mob from the public offices for six hours. They consider that the force used against the rioters by the armed police and by the armed peons of the Salt Department under Mr. Caldecott was certainly not excessive, and say indeed that if greater force could have been applied at an earlier stage, an atrocious murder and much destruction of property might have been prevented. They express regret that the murderers of Mr. Madhavlal could not be brought to justice for want of adequate identification.

10. In Nadiad the chief incident was an attempt to wreck a train which was conveying British troops to Ahmedabad. The train was derailed but had a miraculous escape, as it was brought to a stand before running down a steep embankment. Several attacks were made on railway and telegraph communications, but no collision occurred between the people and the troops who were sent there as a precautionary measure.

11. In Bombay City attempts were made to create disturbances when news came of the exclusion of Mr. Gandhi from the Punjab and Delhi, but the situation was well handled by the police and the military, and with the arrival of Mr. Gandhi the disorder subsided. As the Committee were informed by the Bombay Government, "The disturbances were attended by no fatal casualties or extensive destruction of public or private property. There was no suspension of the normal course of administration or of civil control over law and order. Offences committed in the course of the disturbances were dealt with by the permanent magisterial courts. There was no serious dislocation for any considerable time of the normal life of the city."

12. The minority accept the majority report in respect of all the disturbances in the Bombay Presidency, although they consider it almost certain that the unfortunate events at Ahmedabad and elsewhere would not have taken place but for the orders passed against Mr. Gandhi, and add that according to the official evidence his influence on arrival was fully thrown on the side of law and order. They acknowledge the discretion and judgment displayed by Mr. Chatfield, the Collector of Ahmedabad, in dealing with a sudden and grave outburst of mob fury, and compliment the local Government in the following terms: "The manner in which the Bombay Government, while firmly taking adequate steps for the maintenance of peace and order in the cities of Bombay and Ahmedabad and other places, avoided taking measures likely to cause public irritation and leave bitterness behind, displayed to our mind creditable statesmanship."

13. We accept the unanimous findings of the Committee regarding the disorders in the Bombay Presidency. We also endorse the opinions which have been expressed regarding the valuable services of the local officers and the admirable behaviour of the troops engaged in the suppression of the disturbances. In this despatch it is impossible to review in detail the various outrages recorded in the report. A perusal of that document is necessary to appreciate correctly the cruelty of the mob, which was immediately directed against Europeans and Government servants. We desire to place on record our deep sympathy with all those who suffered at the hands of the mob and in particular with the relations of the magistrate and two police officers who were done to death in so dastardly a manner. Steps have already been taken to make provision for the dependents of these persons and to ensure adequate recognition of the services of those officers and others who rendered valuable assistance in this serious outbreak.

14. In Chapter III the Committee turn to the Punjab and deal first with the disturbances in the Amritsar district. They begin by describing the unrest and ferment which prevailed in Amritsar city prior to the 10th of April, on which date the first outbreak of disorder occurred. On the 9th the Deputy Commissioner received the orders of the local Government for the deportation of Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal to Dharmsala. The action of the Deputy Commissioner in carrying out these orders quickly and quietly is approved and the precaution of concentrating seventy-five armed police at the *kotwali* (police station) is commended as wise. The subsequent breakdown of this arrangement is not held to be due to any want of foresight on the part of the local officers. The Committee comment, however, on the failure to warn the European residents in the city of the danger of their position, observing that this omission seems inconsistent with the precautions taken for the evacuation of the women and children. At the same time they recognize the impossibility of predicting such an outburst of murderous antipathy against Europeans as actually occurred.

When the news of the deportation of Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal became known, an excited and angry crowd attempted to make their way to the

civil lines. The Committee find that the Deputy Commissioner was right in preventing the crowd from proceeding further in this direction, and that the firing which was ordered to secure this object was completely justified and in no way exceeded the requirements of the occasion. Similarly on the second occasion on which firing was ordered at the Hall Bridge they justify the action taken and agree that the necessity of the occasion was not exceeded.

15. The Committee then describe the violent excesses which were committed by the mob in the city. At the National Bank the manager and assistant manager were brutally beaten to death, their bodies were burnt under piles of furniture, and the building itself was sacked, set on fire, and completely gutted, while the bank godowns were looted of their contents. The Alliance Bank was next attacked and its manager was cruelly murdered, being flung from the balcony on to the street where his body was burnt under a stack of furniture soaked in kerosene oil. The building itself was spared, presumably because it was Indian-owned. The Committee condemn the police at the *kotwali* for failing to take steps to prevent these outrages, holding that the officer in charge might have prevented them but failed either to grasp, or to attempt to cope with, their responsibility. The Chartered Bank, which was also attacked, escaped through police intervention. The Town Hall and post office were burnt and the telegraph office attacked but saved by the jemadar of the station guard who fired on the mob. The Committee hold the firing at the telegraph office to be justifiable. They proceed to describe the looting of the goods station, the murders of Guard Robinson and Sergeant Rowlands, the murderous attacks on Mr. Bennett and Miss Sherwood, the determined search for Mrs. Easdon, the burning of various buildings including the Indian Christian Church, and the persistent efforts to injure communications and isolate Amritsar. The mob violence is described as anti-Government and anti-European and the gravity of the situation is made abundantly clear. In the course of a single day property to the value of seventeen lakhs of rupees was destroyed.

16. Later that day reinforcements in the shape of troops arrived and in the evening the Commissioner of the Division gave verbal instructions to the commanding officer that as the situation was beyond civil control, he, as senior military officer, should take such steps as the military situation demanded. On the evening of the 11th the Commissioner left for Lahore and General Dyer arrived at Amritsar where he took over charge of the troops. The Deputy Commissioner made over formal charge to him at midnight of that day. Generally speaking the Committee find no serious ground for criticism in regard to the action taken before the 13th April. The general conclusion of the Committee is that between the 10th and the 12th the civil authorities had become powerless, and that the state of affairs on the 11th was inevitably leading to a state of *de facto* Martial Law, that the authorities were justified in the measures which they took to suppress disorder, including the cutting off of light and water supplies

and that they acted wisely in not attempting to take sterner and more resolute action to regain control within the city on the 11th and 12th.

17. The minority say that they are in general agreement with the statement of facts set out in Chapter III of the majority report, except where they specifically differ. They agree that all the firing which took place on the 10th April was justified and they differ on one point only. While the majority say that the firing at the bridge was in no sense the cause of the mob excesses of the 10th, the minority hold that, although the excesses were altogether inexcusable and without justification, the mob had not any previous fixed intention of committing excesses, but after the firing lost their heads and were seized by a mad frenzy to commit nefarious deeds.

18. We desire at this point to review the situation and the measures taken at Amritsar up to and including the 12th April. We endorse the finding of the Committee that the situation was one of great difficulty and consider that the action taken by the authorities was generally justified. We think, however, it is to be regretted that the civil authorities considered it incumbent upon them, before the proclamation of Martial Law, to hand over control to the military in such terms as to suggest that they did not intend to exercise supervision or guidance over the action of the military commander. The result was to place the latter in a position of great difficulty and to impose upon him a grave responsibility which, in the opinion of the Government of India, should have continued to be shared by the civil authorities up to a later stage. It is not clear who was actually responsible for the complete abdication of civil authority, but the Government of India propose to make further enquiry into this matter and to pass such orders as may be necessary.

19. The Committee next deal with the events at Jallianwala Bagh on the 13th. They describe the place and give a full account of all the facts and circumstances of the firing, stating the number of rounds fired—1,650, and the extent of the casualties, the dead being estimated at 379 and the wounded at three times that number. They criticize General Dyer adversely on two grounds: (1) that he opened fire without warning; and (2) that he went on firing after the crowd had begun to disperse. On the first point, they say that the only person who can judge whether notice should properly be given on such an occasion is the military officer concerned. The Committee point out however that General Dyer does not suggest the existence of an emergency justifying his decision to fire on the crowd without warning. He stated before the Committee that his mind was made up as he came along that if his orders were disobeyed he was going to fire at once. They think it distinctly improbable that the crowd would have dispersed without being fired on, as most of those present had assembled in direct defiance of a proclamation. Nevertheless they say that notice would have afforded those who had assembled in ignorance of the proclamation and others an opportunity to leave the assembly. In continuing to fire as long as he did, even after the crowd had begun to disperse, General Dyer, in the opi-

nion of the Committee, committed a grave error, though they consider that he honestly believed on the information then before him and his appreciation of the existing military situation that he was called upon to take this step in the discharge of his duty. They find further that it was his intention to create a moral effect throughout the Punjab and they condemn this as mistaken conception of his duty. As regards General Dyer's failure to attend to the wounded, they say that he had a very small force with him and, as he explained, the hospitals were open and no application was made to him for help. In conclusion, they do not accept the view that General Dyer's action saved the situation in the Punjab and averted a rebellion on a scale similar to the Mutiny.

20. In dealing with the events of Jallianwala Bagh, the minority find that the notice prohibiting the meeting was not adequately published and they criticize General Dyer severely: (1) for suggesting that he would have made use of machine-guns if they could have been brought into action; (2) for opening fire without warning and continuing after the crowd had begun to disperse until his ammunition was spent; (3) for firing not merely to disperse the crowd but to punish it and to produce a moral effect in the Punjab; and (4) for assuming that the crowd before him consisted of the persons guilty of the outrages of the 10th. They maintain that it is immaterial whether General Dyer thought he was doing right or not and that the plea of military necessity will not avail him, as this plea is always used in justification of Prussian atrocities. They do not agree with the majority that it was probable that the crowd could not have been dispersed without firing, citing General Dyer himself in support of their opinion, and they describe his action as inhuman and un-British and as having caused great disservice to British rule in India. They attribute his conduct to a fixed idea that India must be ruled by force and they condemn his action in not taking steps for the removal of the dead and the care of the wounded. Finally, they criticize the failure of the Punjab Government to ascertain without delay the number of casualties. It should be here stated that the result of official enquiries which included a careful scrutiny of the information gathered by the Sewa Samiti (a Social Service Society) places the figures at 379 killed and 192 wounded. It is almost certain that the latter figure omits many who were only slightly wounded, but as an estimate of the more serious casualties the combined figure is probably nearer the truth than any estimate based only on a rule of proportion, such as that stated by General Dyer in his evidence before the Committee to be not beyond the bounds of possibility.

21. The difference in the measure of condemnation of General Dyer by the majority and the minority and the attention which has been directed to the events at Jallianwala Bagh both in England and in India, necessitate a careful examination by Government of the extent to which General Dyer should be held to be blameworthy. Looking to the specific findings on which the con-

demnation of his action is based, we consider that the orders prohibiting assemblies should have been promulgated more widely and in particular that notices might have been posted up at Jallianwala Bagh, which has become a favourite assembly ground for political meetings. We think also that notice might have been given at the *Baisakhi* fair where many people from villages in the vicinity had collected. At the same time it is the case that the proclamation was made by beat of drum in the presence of General Dyer himself, and notices were published at nineteen places in the city; it cannot therefore be doubted that most of the residents of Amritsar present at the meeting were aware of the orders and collected in defiance of them.

The Government of India agree with the Committee that General Dyer should have given warning to the crowd before opening fire. It is true that he had only a small force with him and that in view of this circumstance and the previous successes of the forces of disorder it is most improbable that an excited and defiant mob would have dispersed on a mere warning, but those ignorant of the order, including the villagers who had come to visit the *Baisakhi* fair, and indeed others would have had an opportunity of leaving the assembly if reasonable notice had been given to them. The Government of India agree that there was not such an emergency existing as to render this precaution impossible.

General Dyer's action in continuing to fire on the crowd after it had begun to disperse was, in the opinion of the Government of India, indefensible. He fired continuously for ten minutes during which time 1,650 rounds were expended. It is probable that General Dyer's action so intimidated the lawless elements in the population of Amritsar and neighbouring districts of the Central Punjab as to prevent further manifestations of disorder. The Government of India cannot however accept this as justification of the continued firing which greatly exceeded the necessity of the occasion. The dispersal of the crowd was indeed a matter of vital importance in view of the situation which then existed in Amritsar and stern measures to effect this end were certainly required. In our opinion however much more restricted military force would have sufficed to produce this effect and General Dyer's action has undoubtedly left behind bitterness of feeling which will take long to pass away. He was no doubt faced with a position of great difficulty : he was apprehensive of Amritsar being isolated and he had before him the danger of allowing mob rule to continue after the terrible events of the 10th. Giving all due weight to these considerations, the deliberate conclusion at which we have arrived is that General Dyer exceeded the reasonable requirements of the case and showed a misconception of his duty which resulted in a lamentable and unnecessary loss of life. Although we are constrained to this decision we are convinced that General Dyer acted honestly in the belief that he was doing what was right and we think that in the result his action at the time checked the spread of the disturbances to an extent which it is difficult now to estimate. This was the opinion of many intelligent observers in the Punjab.

There remains the question of the failure to arrange for medical aid after the firing at Jallianwala Bagh. Here too we must express our great regret that no action was taken either by the civil or the military authorities to remove the dead or give aid to the wounded. The minority criticize Sir Michael O'Dwyer for expressing approval of the action taken at Jallianwala Bagh. On this point the Government of India have little to add to the account given by the late Lieutenant-Governor of the circumstances in which his approval was conveyed, but making every allowance for the difficult position in which Sir Michael O'Dwyer was placed, the Government of India think that he would have acted more wisely, if, before expressing any approval of General Dyer's action on this occasion, he had taken steps to ascertain the facts and circumstances of the firing more fully.

We desire to add here that our Hon'ble colleague Mr. Shafi agrees generally with the minority in their findings of fact as regards Amritsar and the inferences deduced therefrom, where these differ from the findings and conclusions of the majority. He rejects the theory that General Dyer's action at Jallianwala Bagh saved the situation in the Punjab and averted a rebellion on a scale similar to that of the Mutiny. In his opinion the disturbances on and after the 14th of April in the districts of Gujranwala, Gujrat and Lyallpur were the results of the commotion caused by the Jallianwala Bagh affair.

22. We cannot leave this tragic occurrence without adverting to the charge that a veil of secrecy was deliberately thrown around it, the public being left to infer that the sinister policy of concealment has only been foiled by the revelations made before the Committee of Enquiry in December last. The insinuation is devoid of foundation. When the outbreak of disorder occurred, the immediate necessity was to quell them and restore order. At a very early stage His Excellency the Viceroy decided that it was incumbent upon Government to hold an inquiry into the disturbances and the administration of Martial Law. In this opinion you concurred and in the third week of May in a speech in the House of Commons you made the following announcement :

> As regards these troubles which I have been describing, as questions have been asked from time to time and resolutions have been moved demanding an enquiry, the Viceroy has always contemplated an enquiry. You cannot have disturbances of this magnitude without an enquiry into the causes and the measures taken to cope with these disturbances, but no announcement has been made of enquiry up to this moment for this reason: let us talk of an enquiry when we have put the fire out.

This announcement is entirely incompatible with the suggestion of a conspiracy on the part of either the Government of India or the Secretary of State to suppress or conceal the details of the occurrence.

As a result of further communications between us the present Committee was appointed. The question of the composition of the Committee received the most careful consideration, as Government were determined that it should be

a body of commanding weight and high judicial experience in which perfect confidence could be reposed by the public, both at home and in India. An announcement of the impending appointment of the Committee was made in the Imperial Legislative Council during its autumn session of September last. Apart from a general enquiry of this character the question whether the investigation of particular incidents should be deferred till the Committee assembled or should form the subject of preliminary proceedings had been carefully considered. Finally, however, we decided with your concurrence that such preliminary enquiries were inadvisable.

In considering whether preliminary enquiries should be held, the case of Jallianwala Bagh had received prominent notice, and after the decision the collection of information continued. The first report of the firing on the crowd at Jallianwala Bagh received by the Government of India on the 14th April placed the casualties at 200. This was supplemented two days later by a report that 200 was the number of killed. These reports were at once repeated to the Secretary of State. Fuller reports were not received till a later date. In the second half of April, General Dyer was fully occupied in marching troops throughout the disturbed area. Very early in May, owing to the outbreak of the Afghan war, he was selected for the command of the Kohat Brigade. From that date till the end of July he was continuously engaged in field operations, and his detailed report on the administration of Martial Law in Amritsar, including the firing at Jallianwala Bagh was not received till the month of August. Meanwhile the local Government had been pursuing enquiries to obtain accurate statistics regarding the extent of the casualties. The information elicited up to the end of August, which was confirmed by a scrutiny of the results of private enquiries made by the Sewa Samiti, showed that the ascertained death roll was then 291 and this was the figure stated at the meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council held in Simla on the 11th September. During this same session of the Council full accounts were given of the happenings in the Punjab and the story of Jallianwala Bagh was discussed in great detail. The proceedings of the debate were fully reported and published in the usual manner and indeed attracted great attention in India. The official enquiries, however, continued, and when the Chief Secretary to the Punjab Government gave evidence before the Committee four months later he stated that the total number of death casualties as then ascertained was 379, while a more recent report of the local Government, based on a scrutiny of the Sewa Samiti's information, places the number of wounded at 192.

From the time that it was decided to appoint the Committee, Government thought it proper to avoid as far as possible making any public comments on the transactions which it was the duty of the Committee to examine and to refrain from passing any judgment on the conduct of individual officers until they received the report of that body. There is no justification for the allegation that from the date of these occurrences until the publication of General

Dyer's evidence before the Committee, the Government of India had been guilty of following a policy of deliberate suppression of the truth. The facts stated above clearly refute this libel.

It is no doubt a matter for regret that without resort to a formal enquiry full knowledge of what actually occurred should not have become general earlier. But the chapter is closed, and as Government and the public both in India and the United Kingdom are now in complete possession of the facts, recriminations and regrets serve no useful purpose.

23. Chapter IV deals with the disorders in the Lahore district. In the capital itself the agitation against the Rowlatt Bills and the complete hartal of the 6th April had worked the people up to a state of intense excitement, which the news of Mr. Gandhi's arrest and of the disturbances at Amritsar brought to a head on the afternoon of the 10th. Crowds assembled in the city and endeavoured to overpower the police when the latter opposed their advance towards the civil lines. The Committee have carefully considered the circumstances under which fire was opened on this mob under the orders of the District Magistrate, Mr. Fyson, and the Superintendent of Police, Mr. Broadway, on three occasions in the course of that afternoon, and they fully approve the action taken by these two officers. The Government of India are unable to think that any other conclusion is possible. The outrages at Amritsar were known at the time to the mob when it was proceeding to the civil lines and it would have been suicidal to allow it to succeed in its endeavour. The position in Lahore, after these attempts of the crowd to enter the civil lines had been repelled, is thus described by the Committee :

> On the night of 10th April and for some days following, the city of Lahore was in a dangerously disturbed condition. Military measures were taken on that night to protect the civil station and its surroundings. No European could safely enter the city, from which the police were temporarily withdrawn. For about two days the city was controlled by the mob.

The Committee then describe the events of the 11th, the inflammatory speeches delivered at the Badshahi Mosque to excited crowds of Hindus and Mohammedans, the organization of the *Danda Fauj*[1], a band of hooligans, who marched through the city armed with sticks (lathis) and destroyed pictures of Their Majesties, shouting that King George was dead. Attempts were made on the morning of the 11th to pull down the railings at the Fort, where some of the rioters spat at the British soldiers on guard and called them "white pigs". On the same day the railway workshop was attacked and determined efforts were made to bring about a strike amongst the workers. On the 12th another meeting was held at the Badshahi Mosque, when an officer of the Criminal Investigation Department was severely beaten by the mob. On the same day a mixed

[1] Literally "Bludgeon Army"

column of police and military was marched through the city in an effort to regain control of the situation. The march was hindered by large crowds, assembled at the Hira Mandi, who refused to disperse when so directed by the District Magistrate and began to stone the small advance force of police which was with him. Mr. Fyson was obliged to open fire with the result that one man was killed and twenty wounded. The Committee consider that it was essential on this day to disperse the crowd and that it would have been the end of all chance of restoring order in Lahore if the police and troops had left without dispersing it. All the firing was done by the police. The fact that the police, armed with buckshot, were made to take the brunt of the collision with the crowd instead of the troops with service ammunition, the small number of shots fired by the police, and the warnings given to the crowd, showed, in the opinion of the Committee, that the greatest care was taken and the least possible degree of force was used.

Special attention is invited by the Committee to the use of inflammatory and seditious posters in Lahore, which in the name of Mahatma Gandhi called upon the brave people of the Punjab to enlist in the *Danda Fauj* and kill the English who were described as pigs, monkeys and kafirs. On the 13th April the district was proclaimed under the Seditious Meetings Act. On the same date the station of Wagah, about 14 miles off, was burnt and sacked, telegraph lines cut and an armoured train derailed, fortunately without loss of life. On the 14th the Punjab Government deported the local leaders, Rambhuj Dutt, Harkishan Lal and Duni Chand, who had been actively associated with the agitation and the still-continuing hartal; all these men were convicted later of the offence of waging war. On the 15th April Martial Law was proclaimed in Lahore.

24. The second portion of Chapter IV describes the very serious disturbances which occurred on the 12th April at Kasur, a sub-divisional town, 37 miles south-east of Lahore. On the morning of that day a violent mob attacked the railway station, and after destroying and burning a considerable quantity of valuable property, turned their attention to three trains which were held up near the station. Murderous attacks were made on a number of Europeans, including a lady and three children, who were travelling by these trains; some of them had miraculous escapes, but three persons were severely injured and two unfortunate warrant officers were beaten to death. Elated by their success, the mob next burnt down the post office and a civil court, and attacked the sub-divisional offices where the police were obliged to fire in defence of Government property with the result that four men were killed and several wounded. The Committee uphold the decision to fire upon the mob and think indeed that it should have been fired on at an earlier stage. Troops arrived from Ferozepore on the afternoon of the 12th and averted further trouble. Outbursts of disorder occurred at two other places in Lahore district, at Khem Karan on the 12th, when the railway station was attacked with some resultant

damage, and at Patti, where telegraph wires were cut on the night of the 11th and the post office and railway station were attacked on the 12th.

We accept all the findings of the majority, in which the minority concur, with regard to the disturbances in Lahore district and the measures taken to suppress them. We consider that praise is due to Messrs Fyson and Broadway for their handling of the difficult situation in Lahore city.

25. Chapter V deals with the very serious outbreak at Gujranwala which is a town of 30,000 inhabitants about 36 miles north of Lahore. There had been here as elsewhere the usual agitation against the Rowlatt Bill and a complete hartal was observed on the 6th April but no violence had occurred or was anticipated till the 13th, when the news of the happenings at Amritsar and Lahore on the 10th gave rise to local excitement. That evening the authorities learnt that further demonstrations were intended next day and the acting Deputy Commissioner took such police precautions as seemed to him necessary. The Committee describe in detail the outrages which were committed in the town on the 14th including the attack on a train, the setting fire to the Gurukul bridge, the burning of many buildings, and numerous injuries to railway and telegraph communications. The mob had obtained complete mastery and the police were unable to stop the senseless destruction of property which occurred or to secure the safety of the European and loyal population. The post office, the revenue office, the church, and the district court were all burnt down. The jail and the police lines were attacked but were saved by the police firing. The mob then returned to the railway station, set the buildings and goods sheds on fire, and looted their contents. Those European families which had not been sent away as a precautionary measure on the previous evening were collected for safety in the Treasury, which was protected by a small police guard. Communications meanwhile had been interrupted on every side; by the end of the day practically all the wires along the railway in front of the city were cut for a distance of some miles. On account of this interruption of communications, it was impossible to send ordinary military aid to Gujranwala and it was in these circumstances that the use of aeroplanes for the relief of the town was sanctioned. The police were nearly exhausted when about three o'clock in the afternoon three aeroplanes from Lahore arrived over the town. It was not till nine o'clock that night that the first troops arrived.

The important findings of the majority regarding events at Gujranwala are : (1) that Mr. Heron's action in firing on the mob is entirely approved; (2) that the conduct of the acting Deputy Commissioner in refusing to allow firing when the mob attacked the post office is open to criticism; (3) that the mob was seeking to imitate what had been done at Amritsar; (4) that the decision to use bomb-carrying aeroplanes was justified in the circumstances, though recourse to the use of aeroplanes in civil disorders cannot be defended save in cases of the utmost urgency; and (5) that generally speaking, the action of the aeroplane officer, Major Carberry, was justified but that his instructions

were defective. On all these points the Government of India are in entire agreement with the Committee and desire to commend Mr. Heron who behaved well in circumstances of great difficulty. The Committee find that the dropping of bombs on two outlying villages and on the Khalsa High School cannot be defended but the fault lay chiefly with the instructions given to Major Carberry and they impute no blame to him for a decision taken in the air and at the moment. They observe that the dropping of bombs on the riotous crowds within Gujranwala city was not only justified but, in their view, invaluable, and the fact that the disorders were ended long before troops arrived is in a large measure attributable to this act. They say that no sufficient explanation has been given to justify the use of an aeroplane on the 15th of April for purposes of offensive action, and they conclude by recommending that the instructions to be issued to Air Force officers regarding the procedure to be followed by them on such occasions should form the subject of careful enquiry by the Air Force Headquarters.

The minority discuss the employment of aeroplanes in Chapter IV which is entitled "Armoured Trains and Aeroplanes". They agree with the majority in saying that the use of aeroplanes to quell civil disorders should as far as possible be deprecated. They condemn Major Carberry for dropping bombs on the Khalsa High School and two outlying villages, and say that though the orders he received were not worded with sufficient care, he did not exercise his discretion wisely in carrying them out. They find also that his action in firing with a machine-gun on the crowd was excessive.

26. So far as the general question of the use of aeroplanes at Gujranwala is concerned, the Government of India accept the finding of the majority which is aptly expressed as follows : "We are not prepared to lay down as a charter for rioters that when they succeed in preventing the ordinary resources of Government from being utilized to suppress them, they are to be exempt from having to reckon with such resources as remain." We do not consider that it would be right to censure the officers who have been mentioned in connection with individual incidents, as their acts, where condemned, are more to be ascribed to want of clearness in their instructions than to errors of judgment. We think that the despatch of aeroplanes on the 15th under instructions which admitted of their being used for offensive action was not justified but we do not consider that the officer who carried out the instructions was seriously to blame. We note, however, with satisfaction that, so far as known, no casualties resulted from the action taken on this date. Finally, we propose to take steps to give effect to the recommendations of the majority that the instructions to be issued to Air Force officers on such occasions should be carefully prescribed.

27. There were outbreaks of disorder at fourteen other places in the Gujranwala district, but the Committee discuss those only which occurred at Wazirabad, a town of 20,000 inhabitants 20 miles north of Gujranwala, at Akalgarh, and Hafizabad, and in the Sheikhupura sub-division. At Wazirabad

a riotous mob was repelled from the railway buildings, but did extensive damage to the telegraph system. It also set fire to railway bridges, sacked and burnt the bungalow of a Scotch missionary, and made an unsuccessful attempt to wreck the mail train. At Akalgarh and Hafizabad extensive damage was done to the telegraph wires, and at the latter place an officer of the Military Farms Department had a fortunate escape from the murderous intentions of a threatening crowd. In the Sheikhupura sub-division persistent and determined attacks on the telegraph and railway systems were made at Chuharkhana, Sheikhupura, Sangla and other places, at least three railway stations being destroyed, while savage assaults were made on certain railway employees and Government servants. An armoured train was sent to the rescue from Lahore, and fire was opened from this at Chuharkhana under the orders of Rai Sahib Lala Sri Ram Sud, Extra Assistant Commissioner of Sharakpur. The Committee find that this officer acted in a difficult situation with promptitude and decision. The minority take a different view and condemn him on the ground that his intention was punishment and that the firing was therefore not justified. The Government of India accept the opinions of the majority in all matters arising out of the disturbances at these places and agree with them that Lala Sri Ram Sud displayed promptitude and decision in the discharge of his duties.

28. Chapters VI and VII describe the events which occurred in the Gujrat and Lyallpur districts respectively. The chief features of the disturbances in these areas were attacks on railway communications and telegraph wires. At Gujrat on the 15th April fire had to be opened on a riotous mob which was dispersed without casualties. At Malakwal a train was derailed on the 17th April and two lives were lost. In Lyallpur a very disquieting and prominent feature was the continued exhibition of posters of an inflammatory and criminal character. Indians were called upon, in the blessed name of Mahatma Gandhi, to fight to the death against English cheats and to dishonour English women. Great tension existed for several days and the situation at Lyallpur was an anxiety to Government on account of the memories of the previous troubles of 1907. The position was so serious that the Europeans in the station were collected for safety in two houses in the civil lines, but no actual violence occurred except the cutting of telegraph wires at a few places in the district. The arrival of troops on the 17th April prevented any further disorder.

The Committee have not described in detail the acts of violence and disorder which occurred in many other towns and places in the Punjab, but these are set forth in the chronological statement annexed to the report and it is necessary to bear them in mind in considering the position as it appeared to the local Government when the proclamation of Martial Law was recommended.

29. Chapter VIII describes the persistent and widespread attacks on the railway and telegraph systems, which continued from the 10th April till about the end of the month. According to a report of the Telegraph Department, the wires were cut or tampered with on 55 occasions, but there were besides

numerous attacks on railway telegraphs and the total number of outrages of this class cited by the Home Member at a Council meeting in September last according to a statement of the Punjab Government was 132. The Committee ascribe the attacks on communications partly to anti-Government feeling and partly to the desire to prevent the movement of troops. They also refer to the persistent attempts which were made to incite the railway staff to strike. The unrest prevailing amongst certain sections of the staff was a cause of great anxiety to Government at this critical time.

The importance of this chapter lies in the close bearing it has on the question of the justification for the introduction and continuance of Martial Law. The significance of the statistics of railway and telegraph interruptions is brought forcibly home by the maps attached to the report. These indicate the extended area over which this class of offence was committed, giving rise to a suspicion of preconcerted action.

30. In Chapter IX the Committee discuss the causes of the disturbances and say that an adequate explanation of the general and widespread outbreaks in the Punjab must be sought in the causes of a general state of unrest and discontent amongst the people, particularly the inhabitants of the larger towns. The increased interest in political agitation caused in recent years by the Home Rule movement received a great impetus from the new doctrine of self-determination. Meanwhile, however, the restrictions imposed under the Defence of India Act were becoming more essential, as the War drew to its climax. These restrictions affected the daily life of the ordinary citizen much more lightly in India than in Europe; nevertheless, particularly when imposed on political agitation, they were, however necessary, the more galling to the educated classes, in view of the fact that the political future of India was under consideration. The Punjab was meanwhile doing more than its share to respond to the call of the Empire for recruits for the army, and the strain was falling mainly on the country districts, which the local Government considered it necessary to protect from any anti-Government agitation likely to hamper the work of recruitment. After the conclusion of the Armistice in November 1918 hopes ran high amongst the educated classes that the services rendered by India in the War would receive immediate recognition. But these hopes were not at once fulfilled and disappointment was caused by a combination of circumstances, such as high prices, scarcity, food-stuff restrictions, and the anxieties of the peace settlement, especially as it affected Turkey.

The Committee next consider the agitation against the Rowlatt Bills. They find that this was largely, if not mainly, responsible for creating the feeling against Government which provoked such serious disorders and they cite various false rumours as to the provisions of the Bills which inflamed popular feeling. They next examine the history and progress of the satyagraha movement inaugurated by Mr. Gandhi on the 24th February. After a careful review of this movement in all its aspects, the Committee find that a familiarity and sympathy with

disobedience to laws was engendered by it amongst large numbers of people and that the law-abiding instincts which stand between society and outbreaks of violence were undermined at a time when their full strength was required. From its first inception the satyagraha movement was condemned by prominent leaders of moderate opinion in India as likely to promote disorder and breach of the peace, and the organizer himself recognized later that in embarking on a mass movement he had underrated the forces of evil. The Committee expressly find that the recruiting campaign and the action taken in the Punjab to raise subscriptions to the war loans were not responsible for the unrest. They conclude by saying that there is no evidence that the outbreaks in the Punjab were the result of a pre-arranged conspiracy to overthrow the British Government in India by force, but that it was difficult and probably unsafe for Government not to assume that the outbreak was the result of a definite organization. Apart from the existence of any deeply laid scheme to overthrow the British, a movement which has started in rioting and become a rebellion might have rapidly developed into a revolution.

31. In the introductory chapter of their report the minority state that they are in substantial agreement with the findings of the majority as regards the causes of the disturbances, with this reservation that they do not concur in the opinion that the Punjab authorities were justified in assuming that the outbreak was the result of a definite organization. They are unable to agree that the riots were in the nature of a rebellion and they say that it is an unjustifiable exaggeration to suggest that the events might have developed into a revolution. They entirely agree with the majority in their estimate of the satyagraha movement and its offshoot, civil disobedience of laws. They develop their views on the real character of the disorders, including their causes, more fully in Chapter II of their report. Here they refer to the general conditions existing in the beginning of 1919, the strain placed on India by her War efforts, the hardship of high prices, the inconveniences and restraints imposed by War measures, the hope of alleviation excited by the Armistice, and the subsequent disappointment caused by famine, epidemic and a more stringent Income-tax Act, the belief that the proposals of the Government of India as regards the Reform scheme were illiberal and intended to whittle it down, and the delay of the Turkish settlement. They argue that many of the foregoing causes affected the Punjab more than other provinces and they instance other special factors such as war-weariness, food-stuffs and traffic restrictions, Sir Michael O'Dwyer's speeches, press restrictions, the orders prohibiting the entry into the province of outside politicians, all tending to cause general irritation amongst the educated classes. While refraining from any discussion of the merits of the Rowlatt Act they hold that its introduction and enactment in the face of Indian opinion was a fertile source of discontent which was fostered by misrepresentations in the Punjab. They assert that Indian leaders were not responsible for these misrepresentations, and they condemn Government for failing to explain the

Act to the masses until after the hartal of April the 6th, although misrepresentations were current before that date. They accept the estimate of the satyagraha movement formed by the majority, but they disclaim the view that the disorders in the Punjab can be attributed to any active presentation of the satyagraha doctrine by organizations working within the province. They find that there was no organization to bring about disturbances and they quote the evidence of various official witnesses in support of this conclusion. The anti-British and anti-Government outbursts which occurred were in their opinion purely the result of sudden mob frenzy. The minority conclude that although there was thus no evidence of organized conspiracy in the Punjab, the civil and military authorities persuaded themselves that open rebellion existed and took action accordingly.

32. The Government of India accept the finding of the Committee regarding the causes of the disturbances. The minority, as stated above, are in substantial agreement with the majority on this subject. Of the causes specially mentioned by the minority they agree that epidemics and a new Income-tax Act were factors in the unrest, and this latter cause may have accounted in part for the extent to which the movement enlisted the sympathy of the trading classes. The despatches containing the views of the Government of India on the Reform proposals were not published till long after the disturbances, and if, as is suggested by the minority, the supposed attitude of the Government was a cause of unrest this must have been due to deliberate misrepresentation. Moreover, so far as is known, no such allegations were made either in the Press or on the public platform before the disorders actually broke out. The minority assign as one of the causes of the unrest which preceded the outbreak in the Punjab the attitude of Sir Michael O'Dwyer towards the educated classes and the resentment which they allege was produced thereby. The efforts made by the larger landowners and men of leading [*sic*] in rural areas to promote recruiting during the War had brought these classes into prominence and had secured a generous recognition from the local Government. For this and other reasons a tendency had sprung up towards cleavage between the rural classes and the trading and professional classes from which the intelligentsia is mainly drawn. This may have created amongst the latter an impression that their political influence was being curtailed. The Government of India agree with the Committee that misrepresentations of the Rowlatt Act were an important cause of the outbreak. Such misrepresentations were freely circulated and their harmful effects were incalculable. Government were unaware of the dissemination of these malicious falsehoods until the beginning of April when they at once took action to contradict them. It is unfortunate that neither in the Press nor on the public platform did those who attacked the Act endeavour to remove the effects of these misrepresentations. Whether it is correct or not to say, as the minority do, that the disorders in the Punjab were not due to any active presentation of the satyagraha doctrine within the province, we must

place on record our belief that many of those who joined the satyagraha movement did so with the intention of using it for the purpose of promoting disorder. Finally we desire to observe that the opinion of the minority regarding the nature of the disorders is discounted by their findings of fact, while the conclusion of the majority that a movement which started in rioting became a rebellion is supported by the conviction before various tribunals of a large number of persons for the offence of waging war against the King. These convictions, in the opinion of the Government of India, are of great importance in reaching a decision as to the true character of the disorders.

But whatever the truth may be as to the causes which produced these disorders and grave as the outbreak was in its nature and effects, it must not be forgotten that the loyalty of India as a whole remained unshaken and that even in the Punjab the bulk of the population maintained its reputation and did not fall a victim to the infection which so disastrously affected a portion of it.

33. There is one point in the discussion of causes to which the Government of India desire to advert at greater length. It has been represented that the action taken by Government against prominent politicians, such as Mr. Gandhi and Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal, was the cause and not merely the occasion of the disturbances. This is sufficiently disproved by the fact already pointed out that the satyagraha movement had led to grave disorders in Delhi long before any such action was taken. But the circumstances in which Mr. Gandhi was excluded from Delhi and the Punjab deserve fuller examination.

The situation about the end of March has already been described. The acute state of tension which continued in Delhi for some days after the outbreak of the 30th March greatly increased the potentialities of danger of the satyagraha movement in other parts of India, where the news of the Delhi rioting caused great excitement. The events of that date might indeed well have conveyed to the promoters of the movement a warning of the dangers which were attendant on their propaganda, but actually they were far from doing so. The agitation accompanied by increasing excitement continued unchecked all over the country.

It was at this critical juncture that we received information that Mr. Gandhi had vigorously renewed his campaign of civil disobedience to the laws, and on the 9th we heard that he had left Bombay for Delhi on the previous evening. Immediately on receiving this news, we consulted the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab and the Chief Commissioner of Delhi. Both these officers considered that the situation had become serious and that it would be most dangerous to allow Mr. Gandhi to enter their jurisdictions. His avowed intention was to break the law of the land and to secure adherents to the satyagraha movement. His arrest and prosecution in the Punjab would in all probability have been the signal for an outbreak, and the enlistment of any large number of supporters to his movement in that province would almost certainly have led to an immediate campaign of active resistance and outrage. The Chief Commissioner

considered that an order merely prohibiting Mr. Gandhi from entering Delhi would be very dangerous, as the only method of enforcing it would be to arrest, detain and prosecute him in that city. On the other hand, if he were allowed to enter Delhi, it was most probable that he would break the law there and would have to be arrested and tried for an offence, with the result that there would almost certainly be a recurrence of the recent serious rioting. In these circumstances the Government of India authorized the local Governments of the Punjab and Delhi to issue orders under rule 3(b) of the Defence of India Rules, directing Mr. Gandhi to remain in the Bombay Presidency. The Government of India then considered, and still consider, that this course was amply justified in view of the fact that Mr. Gandhi was the leading spirit of a movement intended to paralyse Government.

34. In the same way it has been suggested that the action of the Punjab Government in ordering the deportation of Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal on the 10th April was a provocative act leading directly to the subsequent outrages. Previous orders had been passed prohibiting them from speaking in public, and it is true that they had not taken an open part in the meetings immediately preceding the hartal of the 6th April. But as the evidence subsequently taken before the Martial Law commission showed, they held secret meetings after that date and continued to direct an agitation which was found to be of the nature of a criminal conspiracy. It was in these circumstances that the local Government decided to remove them from Amritsar to Dharmsala. That outrages followed as soon as the news of the deportation became known is of course the case. But it is always a question of the greatest difficulty to judge whether preventive steps such as those taken will, in a time of great popular excitement, quiet the general atmosphere or precipitate disorder. The probability seemed to be that they would achieve the former result.

35. Chapter X of the report contains a statement of the facts regarding the successive stages in the application of Martial Law. Chapter XI discusses the propriety of its introduction and continuance. The majority of the Committee, as already mentioned, definitely find that a state of rebellion against Government existed. They review the various occurrences, indicate the broad features of the disorders and their significance, point out the danger of criticizing isolated events and examine the whole position as it presented itself to the Punjab Government and the Government of India. Finally they conclude that the situation in the Punjab was one of extreme gravity and that the authorities were justified in declaring Martial Law in those areas where it was proclaimed.

The wisdom of continuing Martial Law is discussed at some length, and the prolongation of it on the railway is examined with special reference to the Afghan war. The conclusion of the majority is that those responsible for the continuance of Martial Law gave careful and considerate judgment to the question and did not prolong it beyond the time during which to the best of

their judgment it was necessary for the maintenance and restoration of order in the province. Looking to the problem with which Government was faced, the Committee do not think they would be justified in adversely criticizing the decision. On the question of the enforcement and continuance or Martial Law the minority differ widely from the majority. They find that the introduction of Martial Law was not necessary, because in their opinion order had been restored everywhere and the authority of Government vindicated before Martial Law was applied. They think that order could have been restored by the civil power with the aid of the military, and that the Punjab Government persuaded themselves rather easily that Martial Law was necessary. The reasons for the continuance of Martial Law are also examined and rejected. Assuming that the introduction of Martial Law was necessary, they say that it ought not to have been continued beyond a few days. The Punjab Government, they think, approached the question from a wrong point of view and the Government of India were guided by the local Government.

36. In considering the necessity for the declaration of Martial Law it is difficult for the Government of India to take an entirely detached view. We were necessarily guided by the information forwarded by the local Government; we had already received reports of grave disorders occurring in various places; and we maintain the view that with this information before us, we could not have taken any other course than we actually adopted, when we received from Lahore on the afternoon of the 13th April the wireless message which ran as follows:

> Railway stations between Kasur and Amritsar looted. British soldier killed and two British officers injured at Kasur. Bands of rebels reported on move—Kasur and Tarn Taran treasuries attacked. State of open rebellion exists in parts of districts of Lahore and Amritsar. Lieutenant-Governor with concurrence of General Officer Commanding, 16th Division, and Chief Justice of the High Court, requests Governor-General-in-Council to suspend functions of ordinary criminal courts in Amritsar and Lahore districts, to establish Martial Law therein, and to direct trials of offenders under Section 22, Regulation X of 1804. Section 4 will be borne in mind. Situation is critical. Movable column starts on march from Ferozepore to Amritsar through worst tract with guns tomorrow.

The action of the Government of India has now been justified by the findings of the majority of the Committee, who also exonerate the local Government from all blame. The minority accept the findings of fact as to the number of outrages committed, the animus of those engaged in the riots, the violence used and the number of times on which it was necessary to resort to firing; they also observe that the acts of some of those who took part in the disorders may have amounted in law to waging war against the King, although it was not rebellion in the sense in which that term is ordinarily used. These findings, in the opinion of the Government of India, detract largely from the force

of their conclusion that the introduction of Martial Law was not necessary. In regard to the continuance of Martial Law the Government of India have nothing to add to the findings of the majority beyond stating that although Martial Law was maintained on the railways for a prolonged period owing to the outbreak of the Afghan war it was only employed there after it had been withdrawn from the districts, for the purpose of controlling traffic and protecting the lines.

There is, moreover, one factor in the situation as it presented itself in April 1919 which cannot in the opinion of the Government of India be neglected without prejudice to sound judgment. At that time the British Empire was at war with Germany. Even at the present moment we are not yet at peace with all our enemies; and certainly a year ago when the treaty of peace with Germany had not yet been signed, the existence of a state of war was not a mere technicality. Allusion has already been made to the additional preoccupation which intervened in the shape of war with Afghanistan, and the difficulties thus created were enhanced by the attitude of the frontier tribes. But at the back of and accentuating these more local difficulties was the paramount necessity of maintaining at the call of the Empire, whose needs were abated but not extinguished by the Armistice, the resources of the Indian Dominions of His Majesty. In the face of this necessity it was impossible to contemplate any policy which involved an appreciable risk of delay in the restoration of normal conditions or of the recrudescence of the disorders which appeared to have been suppressed.

We desire to add here that our Hon'ble colleague, Mr. Shafi, dissents from the finding of the majority of the Committee, accepted by us, that the declaration of Martial Law was necessary. In his opinion, there being no organized or preconceived conspiracy to subvert British rule behind these disturbances, the vast rural tract in the five districts concerned having remained tranquil and loyal, there having been disturbances only in a few places in the urban areas, and even in these few places the majority of the residents not having taken any part in the disturbances, there was no open rebellion as alleged, and no justification in consequence for the proclamation of Martial Law. Besides, before the date on which Martial Law in these districts was actually enforced, the disturbances had been quelled with the assistance rendered by the military and, in consequence, there was no justification for enforcement or maintenance of Martial Law on these days and after. This being the case, Mr. Shafi is of opinion that the continuance of Martial Law over such a long period was uncalled for.

37. Chapter XII deals with the administration of Martial Law, including the working and procedure of the summary courts. The majority of the Committee find that the trials were correctly described as lengthy, detailed and careful, and commend the substitution for courts martial of tribunals similar to those under the Defence of India Act. They find, however, that although arrests were made in the ordinary way, there may have been cases in which individual police officers subjected those arrested to unnecessary severity. They

observe that while the number of persons arrested and not brought to trial was regrettably large and the period of detention unusually long, on the whole this difficult work was not done badly or oppressively. The disorder was so widespread and serious that its inevitable result was to strain any improvised system. In regard to the sentences passed by the Martial Law courts, the Committee find that there was a general feeling that they were unnecessarily severe but that this was remedied by commutations effected by the local Government. They suggest that charges for serious offences need not have been pressed in the case of minor offenders. Extensive reductions in the sentences would not then have been necessary. The Committee also find that in certain cases, e.g., those of Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal, it is a matter for regret that the accused were not tried by the ordinary courts. These views are accepted by the Government of India. The military order prohibiting the employment of counsel from outside the Punjab is criticized as unwise and the action of the Government of India in disapproving it is commended.

38. The Committee examine at considerable length the nature of the Martial Law orders which were promulgated by military commanders in the Punjab. The majority find that some of the orders passed were injudicious and served no useful purpose. They criticize severely the "crawling" order passed by General Dyer (which was disapproved by the Lieutenant-Governor as soon as it came to his notice), the "salaaming" order of General Campbell, and the "roll call" imposed by Colonel Johnson on the students of Lahore. The Government of India agree that in the instances which the Committee cite with disapproval the action of the officers mentioned was unjustifiable and in some cases inflicted unnecessary humiliation, resulting in ill-feeling which has been a serious embarrassment to the administration. The flogging of six persons, the suspected assailants of Miss Sherwood, for a breach of fort discipline on the spot where that lady was assaulted is severely criticized and the Government of India agree that the action taken in this case was highly improper. In dealing with sentences of public flogging the Committee say that under Martial Law administration no flogging should take place in public. They find further that the number of flogging sentences was excessive, and though it was regarded as probably the most efficacious and convenient method of dealing summarily with minor breaches of Martial Law regulations, restrictions ought to be placed on the discretion of area officers in awarding sentences of this kind. They say, however, that there is no foundation for the allegation that whipping was inflicted in a cruel fashion and that several persons practically succumbed to it. These findings the Government of India entirely accept. The Committee then refer to the infliction by summary courts of certain punishments not warranted by the law. Though these punishments were unsuitable, they were not generally of a serious nature and were often awarded in place of more severe legal punishments. The Government of India, however, disapprove of such fantastic penalties and have taken steps to prevent their being imposed in future.

39. The minority are more severe in their condemnation of the Martial Law administration. In addition to the criticisms already dealt with, they contend that many of the orders were issued for purely punitive purposes. They cite in particular the orders directing representatives of each ward in Lahore to appear daily before the commanding officer to ascertain his orders for the day. The curfew order, the regulation of prices, and the commandeering of motor-cars, electric lights and fans from Indians are also criticized. We are not prepared to say that all these orders were without justification, but we consider that the administration of Martial Law in Lahore was in some respects unduly severe and exceeded its legitimate limits, that is to say, the requirements of the military situation and the maintenance of law and order. The minority condemn the order imposing on property-owners responsibility for the safety of Martial Law notices pasted on their houses. The Government of India are not prepared to say that in the circumstances this order was improper. The minority express their strong disapproval of the confinement of the professors and students of the Sanatan Dharma College because certain Martial Law notices had been destroyed. The Government of India agree that this order exceeded the necessity of the case. The minority further criticize and condemn the conduct of certain officers, notably Colonel O'Brien, Mr. Bosworth Smith and Mr. Jacob, for various orders passed by them in the administration of Martial Law. The Government of India agree that in the instances cited the officers mentioned acted injudiciously and in some cases improperly. While the findings of the minority report in regard to all these points are very cogent and in some cases fully justified, it must be remembered that officers charged with the administration of Martial Law cannot be expected to act in abnormal conditions with that care and circumspection which are possible in normal times, nor can such a standard be rigorously applied for the subsequent examination of their actions in the calm atmosphere of safety after order has been restored.

40. The minority in a separate chapter discuss the working of the courts under Martial Law. The flogging of some members of a marriage party in Lahore by an extra assistant commissioner is rightly condemned. The Punjab Government at once took action against the officer responsible for this abuse of power. The procedure of the summary courts is attacked as unsatisfactory. The Government of India do not think that when Martial Law is enforced summary courts can be required to observe the formalities of procedure which normally obtain. The minority comment more severely than the majority on the large number of persons arrested and discharged without trial. In the opinion of the Government of India arrest and detention for short periods are justifiable during a period of Martial Law as preventive measures to preserve the peace; further, many of those arrested were not prosecuted subsequently because, though evidence was available, the necessary deterrent effect had already been secured by the conviction of a large number of persons for similar

offences. Nevertheless, the Government of India consider that the arrest and detention for long periods of so many persons, and particularly of Dr. Kedar Nath, Mr. Gurdial Singh, Dr. Manohar Lal and six lawyers of Gurdaspur, were a serious error and while they do not overlook the difficulties of the situation, they are constrained to express their disapproval of the action taken in these cases.

In this connection we cannot pass over in silence the allegations of corruption and ill-treatment of prisoners and witnesses on the part of subordinate officers of the police and other services to which wide currency has been given. We recognize the difficulty of sifting charges made so long after the event, but we will direct the local Government to undertake enquiries and take appropriate action in cases where specific complaints are made and action has not already been taken.

41. We accept the view that the administration of Martial Law in the Punjab was marred in particular instances by a misuse of power, by irregularities, and by injudicious and irresponsible acts. We further agree with the Committee that while the principle of the ultimate supremacy of the military authorities must be kept in view, still, in practice, executive instructions should be given to all officers who may be called upon to administer Martial Law, which will guide them in the discharge of this duty. In our opinion it was the absence of such instructions which was responsible for many of the defects which have been noticed in the administration of Martial Law in the Punjab. It is to inexperience, ignorance of local conditions, and lack of guidance when confronted with an abnormal situation rather than to deliberate misuse of power that most of the mistakes committed must be ascribed. The Government of India consider that in any area in which in future it may be necessary to enforce Martial Law, senior civil officers should be appointed to act as advisers to the various military authorities. The military officer would not be bound in the last resort to follow the advice of his civil adviser but if he decided contrary to that advice, he would do so on his own responsibility. We regard the prevention of any future repetition of mistakes and irregularities as the most important lesson to be learnt from this portion of the report and we have accordingly decided to issue instructions which will secure this object, and will in particular discourage interference by the military authorities with the ordinary administration in excess of the necessities of the case.

42. Before leaving the subject of the working of the courts under Martial Law, the Government of India desire to refer to the action which was taken by the local Government, after order was restored and Martial Law withdrawn, to mitigate the effects of the sentences passed by these courts. Between the months of June and November sentences were reduced in 634 cases, 45 death sentences were commuted and 43 persons were released. In November two High Court Judges were appointed to review all unexpired sentences passed by summary courts and such other cases tried by Martial Law commissions

as might be referred to them by Government. In December, as a result of the reviewing Judges' recommendations, 92 persons convicted by summary courts were released, and further action of the same kind would have been taken, but on the 23rd of that month the Royal Proclamation with its message of amnesty was published, and under it clemency was extended to 657 prisoners who were released. By February, out of a total of 1,779 persons convicted in connection with the disturbances, only 96 worst offenders who had taken part in serious crimes of violence, remained in jail and this number has since been reduced to 88. The extension of clemency to political prisoners in the Punjab has been guided throughout by the generous and sympathetic recommendations of the Lieutenant-Governor, whose efforts to restore a peaceful atmosphere within the province are gratefully acknowledged by the Government of India.

43. It now remains for the Government of India to endeavour to arrive at a just appreciation of the conduct of the officers of the Crown, whether civil or military, who were employed in the areas affected by these disorders and to make certain general remarks which appear to be essential before finally disposing of the Committee's report. The task of rightly estimating in a calm atmosphere, when order and peace have been restored, the behaviour of those faced with a grave emergency and compelled to arrive promptly at decisions of the greatest moment is one of unusual difficulty. The very qualities of courage and initiative, which are of incalculable value during the early stages of an outbreak, may in its later stages be a source of injury, if not tempered by discretion. Moreover, any such estimate, if it is to be just, must not neglect the difficulty of deciding when to act and when to refrain from action, and must endeavour to view the whole position in a right perspective.

It was fortunate that, when the disturbances broke out in April 1919, the Punjab was in charge of a Lieutenant-Governor of great experience and courage. The Government of India consider that Sir Michael O'Dwyer acted with decision and vigour in a time of great danger and that he was largely responsible for quelling a dangerous rising which might have had widespread and disastrous effects on the rest of India.

Reviewing the situation as a whole, we desire to express our great appreciation of the admirable conduct of the troops who were employed in the suppression of the outbreak. Leaving aside individual instances, which have already been noticed, both officers and men acted with admirable restraint under most trying circumstances and the Government of India have nothing but praise and gratitude for the services which they rendered in suppressing disorder and restoring the peace of the country.

The officers of the civil administration of all classes and ranks in the affected areas generally maintained that high standard of conduct and devotion to duty which the Government of India would have expected of them. Thanks are due not only to those who were immediately concerned in the restoration

of order but also to those who by carrying on their ordinary duties with calmness and fortitude in a time of turmoil did much to restore the confidence of the people. The names of some of those officers who have been specially commended have already been referred to but if local Governments consider that there are other officers whose conduct merits special commendation, their names should be brought to notice at an early date.

To those non-officials who either did their best to stay the agitation which had so sinister a connection with the outbreak, or who by their influence and assistance helped the authorities to restore order, the grateful acknowledgments of the Government of India are due in full measure and local Governments will be asked to see that individual assistance of this kind does not go unacknowledged or unrewarded.

It is a great satisfaction to the Government of India to notice that there were many of all classes and creeds who, in the face of frenzied mobs, and even at the risk of their lives, afforded assistance or showed compassion to the innocent victims of the outrages. Here again it is desired that all such actions shall be marked with a very definite acknowledgment or, in cases where such a course is suitable, be recompensed with a pecuniary reward.

44. The names of officers whose actions have been rightly criticized or condemned have been mentioned in the body of this despatch and local Governments will be requested to take such action as may be necessary to mark in these cases the disapprobation of the Government of India.

The case of General Dyer calls for separate mention. We have given most anxious consideration to the action of this officer at Jallianwala Bagh. We are satisfied that it was *bona fide* and dictated by a stern though misconceived sense of duty. The facts are abundantly clear. General Dyer has made no attempt to minimize his responsibility for the tragedy or even to put a favourable complexion on his action or purpose. The only justification that could be pleaded for his conduct would be military necessity arising out of the situation before him and in the area under his jurisdiction. In circumstances such as General Dyer was confronted with, an officer must act honestly and vigorously but with as much humanity as the case will permit. We recognize that in the face of a great crisis an officer may be thrown temporarily off the balance of his judgment and that much allowance must be made on this account. We recognize further that, however injurious in its ultimate effect General Dyer's action may have been, it resulted in an immediate discouragement of the forces of disorder. Nor have we overlooked our Resolution in which we promised full countenance and support to officers engaged in the onerous duty of suppressing disorder. Nevertheless, after carefully weighing all these factors, we can arrive at no other conclusion than that at Jallianwala Bagh General Dyer acted beyond the necessity of the case, beyond what any reasonable man could have thought to be necessary, and that he did not act with as much humanity as the case permitted. It is with pain that we arrive at this conclusion, for we

are not forgetful of General Dyer's distinguished record as a soldier or of his gallant relief of the garrison at Thal during the recent Afghan war. We must however direct that the judgment above pronounced be communicated to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief with the request that he will take appropriate action.

45. We have on several occasions expressed our very great regret for the loss of life, European and Indian, which occurred in the disturbances and our sympathy with those who are left to mourn the victims of these unhappy events. We desire once again to convey regret and sympathy to all who have thus suffered. Compensation, so far as this can be any reparation, has been awarded to those to whom compensation was due under the law, and adequate provision has been or will be made for the dependents of Government servants who have lost their lives in the disturbances. The Punjab Government will also be enjoined to consider the cases of persons who have been left in want through the death or permanent injury of their supporters at Jallianwala Bagh, and to supplement, if necessary, any assistance that may have been rendered to such persons by local charity organizations.

46. We have now surveyed all the conclusions of the Committee. There remains, in our opinion, one lesson of supreme importance to be drawn from the events of April 1919. It will be impossible to dissociate memories of these disorders from the civil disobedience movement which was their chief immediate cause. When this movement was initiated, it was apparently not obvious to its promoters, as it was to all thoughtful persons, that in India in its present state of development (whatever may be the case in other countries) the unsettling effect of advice to the public in general to break selected laws was likely to lead to a situation which might involve the overthrow of all law and order. The bitter experience of last year removes this question from the category of doubt, and those who henceforth inaugurate such movements from whatever motives cannot feel uncertain as to the consequences of invoking forces which they can neither direct nor control. We can only hope that this lesson has been learnt once for all, and that in the future all right-thinking persons will set their faces firmly against the deliberate playing with fire which is involved in the promotion of such movements.

Finally, we desire to express here our earnest hope that the lesson to be learnt from these events is not of a merely negative character. Since the period which has formed the subject of this enquiry a new era has been inaugurated in India and the change has given occasion to a gracious proclamation by the King Emperor, which has appealed to the hearts of all his subjects in India. We venture to recall at this time the salient features in this gracious message; we feel confident that the earnest desire expressed by the King Emperor, that any trace of bitterness between his people and those responsible for his Government should be obliterated, will not pass unheeded.

47. In conclusion, we desire to express our thanks to Lord Hunter and the members of his Committee for the great ability and painstaking labour they have bestowed on an enquiry which from its very inception must have been a most difficult and seemingly thankless task, and for their report which has cleared up much that was in doubt and dispute and which has been of the utmost service to us in arriving at just conclusions on the many questions that called for decision.

We have, etc.,
(Sd.) CHELMSFORD
C. C. MONRO
G. S. BARNES
W. H. VINCENT
M. SHAFI
W. M. HALLEY
T. H. HOLLAND
A. P. MUDDIMAN

APPENDIX V

MONTAGU'S REPLY TO GOVERNMENT OF INDIA DESPATCH

INDIA OFFICE,
LONDON,
May 26, 1920

No. 188 Public

TO
HIS EXCELLENCY THE RIGHT HON'BLE
GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA IN COUNCIL

MY LORD,

His Majesty's Government have considered the report of Lord Hunter's Committee upon the disturbances which occurred in the Punjab and other parts of India in the early part of last year. They have further been informed by me of the conclusions at which Your Excellency's Government had arrived in your own review of the report as expressed in your letter dated the 3rd May, the text of which you have telegraphed to me. The report and your letter naturally cover ground which His Majesty's Government did not feel called upon to survey in detail, but their consideration of the matter has led them to definite decisions upon certain of the more important questions arising out of the report, and they have desired me to communicate to you in my reply to your letter their considered statement of these decisions. The paragraphs numbered 2 to 8 of this despatch contain accordingly this statement.

2. *General*—The report of Lord Hunter's Committee presents the results of a prolonged and patient investigation. Their labours would be of little value

if their very complete and careful findings are not put to a practical use. The conclusions here recorded have been inspired in the main by the belief that the chief duty which lies upon His Majesty's Government and the Government of India in utilizing the report is not primarily to apportion blame to individuals for what has been done amiss or to visit penalties upon them, but rather to prevent the recurrence in the future of occasion for blame or regret should unfortunate circumstances ever produce again a situation such as that which occurred in India in the spring of 1919.

3. *The conduct of Brigadier-General Dyer at Amritsar on April the 13th*—The main features of the occurrence at Jallianwala Bagh in Amritsar City on the afternoon of April the 13th, 1919, are well known. They are set out at length in Lord Hunter's report and appear in minute detail in the evidence, both written and oral, given before the Committee by Brigadier-General Dyer himself, the full and authorized text of which is not available to the public. As to the facts, there is no doubt and no dispute, and it is only necessary here to recapitulate them very briefly in their baldest form. On the morning of April the 13th Brigadier-General Dyer, who had arrived at Amritsar on the night of the 11th, issued a proclamation forbidding *inter alia* processions to parade in or outside the city and declaring that "any such procession or gathering of four men will be looked upon and treated as unlawful assembly and dispersed by force of arms if necessary." This proclamation was read out at various places in the city, in the course of the progress through the streets of a column of troops led by Brigadier-General Dyer personally, who left his quarters about 9 a.m. for this purpose and returned to them about 1-30 p.m. About an hour before his return to his quarters in Ram Bagh Brigadier-General Dyer had heard that despite his proclamation it was intended to hold a large meeting at Jallianwala Bagh at 4-30 that afternoon, and at 4 p.m. he received a message that a crowd of about 1,000 had already assembled there. Shortly after 4 p.m. Brigadier-General Dyer marched from Ram Bagh with picketing parties (as he had previously determined to picket the main gates of the city) and with a special party consisting of 50 Indian Infantry armed with rifles, 40 Indian Infantry armed with only "*kukris*" (type of sword), and two armoured cars. He proceeded straight to Jallianwala Bagh dropping his picket parties *en route* and on arrival marched his infantry through a narrow lane into the Bagh and deployed them immediately right and left of the entrance. The armoured cars he left outside, as the lane was too narrow to admit them. Having deployed his troops Brigadier-General Dyer at once gave orders to open fire and continued a controlled fire on the dense crowd facing him in the enclosure (which he estimated at about 5,000 persons) for some 10 minutes until his ammunition supply was at the point of exhaustion. 1,650 rounds of .303 mark VI ammunition were fired. The fatal casualties as the result of this action are believed to be 379; the number wounded has not been exactly ascertained, but is estimated by Lord Hunter's Committee at possibly

three times the number of deaths. Immediately after giving orders to cease fire, Brigadier-General Dyer marched his troops back to Ram Bagh. The reasons given by General Dyer for the severity and duration of his fire are stated as follows in his written statement furnished to the General Staff (16th Indian Division) and subsequently laid before Lord Hunter's Committee: "We cannot be very brave unless we be possessed of a greater fear. I had considered the matter from every point of view. My duty and my military instincts told me to fire. My conscience was also clear on that point. What faced me was what on the morrow would be the 'Danda Fauj' (—this, which may be translated as bludgeon army, was the name given to themselves by the rioters in Lahore). I fired and continued to fire until the crowd dispersed, and I consider this is the least amount of firing which would produce the necessary moral and widespread effect it was my duty to produce if I was to justify my action. If more troops had been at hand, the casualties would have been greater in proportion. *It was no longer a question of merely dispersing the crowd*, but one of producing a sufficient moral effect, from a military point of view, not only on those who were present, but more especially throughout the Punjab. There could be no question of undue severity."

The principle which has consistently governed the policy of His Majesty's Government in directing the methods to be employed, when military action in support of the civil authority is required, may be broadly stated as using the minimum force necessary. His Majesty's Government are determined that this principle shall remain the primary factor of policy whenever circumstances unfortunately necessitate the suppression of civil disorder by military force within the British Empire.

It must be regretfully but without possibility of doubt be concluded that Brigadier-General Dyer's action at Jallianwala Bagh was in complete violation of this principle. The task which confronted him was to disperse by force if necessary a large but apparently unarmed assembly which had gathered in defiance of his orders. It is possible that considering the strength of the military force at his disposal, the size of the crowd, and the general temper and attitude of the inhabitants of the city, he would have found it impossible to achieve this task effectively and completely without some firing and without causing some loss of life. But it is certain that he made no attempt to ascertain the minimum amount of force which he was compelled to employ, that the force which he actually employed was greatly in excess of that required to achieve the dispersal of the crowd, and that it resulted in lamentable and unnecessary loss of life and suffering. But this is not a full statement of Brigadier-General Dyer's error. There can be no doubt that large numbers of people in the assembly, many of whom were visitors to the city from surrounding villages, were ignorant of the existence of his proclamation and the danger which they ran by attending the gathering. The proclamation was published in only a portion of the city, that portion being some distance from the scene of the

meeting, and no warning of any kind was given before fire was opened. It would be unfair, considering the state of the city, the heat of the weather and the strain to which the troops under General Dyer's command had been subjected since their arrival in the city, to lay too great stress upon the first point, but the omission to give warning before fire was opened is inexcusable. Further, that Brigadier-General Dyer should have taken no steps to see that some attempt was made to give medical assistance to the dying and the wounded was an omission from his obvious duty. But the gravest feature of the case against Brigadier-General Dyer is his avowed conception of his duty in the circumstances which confronted him.

His Majesty's Government repudiate emphatically the doctrine upon which Brigadier-General Dyer based his action—action which, to judge from his own statement, might have taken an even more drastic form had he had a larger force at his disposal and had a physical accident not prevented him from using his armoured cars. They have not overlooked the extreme gravity of the situation as it presented itself to the authorities in India generally and to Brigadier-General Dyer in particular on April the 13th, nor have they failed to appreciate the immensity of the responsibility which Brigadier-General Dyer felt and rightly felt to be imposed upon him by that situation. They think it is possible that the danger to the lives of Europeans and to the safety of the British and Indian troops was greater than appears from the Committee's report. In Amritsar itself violent murder and arson of the most savage description had occurred three days previously and the city was still practically in possession of the mob. From the surrounding country-side reports were hourly being received of similar violent outbreaks and attacks upon communications, and the deficiencies in these reports (due to the success of the attacks on communications) were supplemented by rumours which there was little means of verifying and as little ground for disbelieving. In discharging this responsibility with the small force at his disposal Brigadier-General Dyer naturally could not dismiss from his mind the conditions in the Punjab generally and he was entitled to lay his plans with reference to those conditions. But he was not entitled to select for condign punishment an unarmed crowd which, when he inflicted that punishment, had committed no act of violence, had made no attempt to oppose him by force, and many members of which must have been unaware that they were disobeying his commands.

In passing judgment upon Brigadier-General Dyer for his action on April the 13th, it is impossible to disregard an order which he passed some six days later, and which has become generally known as the "crawling order". It is unnecessary here to repeat the nature of this order or the circumstances out of which it arose. Had the order been carried out as a punishment upon the persons actually guilty of the crime, which it was designed to stigmatize, it would have been difficult to defend; inflicted as it was upon persons who had no connection with that crime, with the object of impressing upon the

public of Amritsar through the humiliation of those persons the enormity of the crime committed by certain individuals of that public, the order offended against every canon of civilized government.

Upon a military commander administering Martial Law in a hostile country there lies a grave responsibility; when he is compelled to exercise this responsibility over a population which owes allegiance and looks for protection to the Government which he himself is serving this burden is immeasurably enhanced. It would prejudice the public safety, with the preservation of which he is charged, to fetter his free judgment or action either by the prescription of rigid rules before the event or by over-censorious criticism when the crisis is past. A situation which is essentially military must be dealt with in the light of military considerations, which postulate breadth of view and due appreciation of all the possible contingencies. There are certain standards of conduct which no civilized government can with impunity neglect, and which His Majesty's Government are determined to uphold. Subject to the due observance of those standards, an officer administering Martial Law must, and will, remain free to carry out the task imposed upon him in the manner which his judgment dictates to him as best and most effective, and may rely upon the unqualified support of his superiors when his task has been accomplished.

That Brigadier-General Dyer displayed honesty of purpose and unflinching adherence to his conception of his duty cannot for a moment be questioned. But his conception of his duty in the circumstances in which he was placed was so fundamentally at variance with that which His Majesty's Government have a right to expect from and a duty to enforce upon officers who hold His Majesty's commission, that it is impossible to regard him as fitted to remain entrusted with the responsibilities which his rank and position impose upon him. You have reported to me that the Commander-in-Chief has directed Brigadier-General Dyer to resign his appointment as Brigade Commander and has informed him that he would receive no further employment in India, and that you have concurred. I approve this decision and the circumstances of the case have been referred to the Army Council.

4. *The justification for the declaration and continuance of Martial Law*—There are no grounds for questioning the decision of the majority of Lord Hunter's Committee that the declaration of Martial Law and the partial supersession of the ordinary tribunals in the districts of the Punjab in which Martial Law was applied were justified (Chapter XI, paragraph 17). As regards the dates to which it was prolonged, it is obvious that the institution of Martial Law involves the responsibility of deciding when it is to be revoked. The general principle is clear that Martial Law should remain in force no longer than the public safety demands, but beyond this there are no hard and fast criteria which can govern this decision, and a retrospective judgment in the light of after-events is not permissible. The fact that open disorder had ceased some time before Martial Law was revoked may have been due to the existence of

Martial Law and its earlier abrogation might have been followed by a recrudescence. Looking back in the light of events, it is permissible to argue that an earlier abrogation was possible, though His Majesty's Government can feel little doubt that this argument would have been less pressed than it has been, had there been no grounds for complaint of the manner in which in some cases Martial Law was administered. But it is not permissible to condemn the authorities responsible for the decisions taken, who had to rely only on their anticipation of the future.

5. *The justification for Ordinance IV of 1919 giving the Martial Law Commissions jurisdiction to try any offence committed on or after March the 30th*—The legality of this ordinance is not a point at issue; that question has been recently determined by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Nor is there any valid reason to question the propriety, when (as was the case here) it can legally be done, of ante-dating the effect of an enactment setting up special Martial Law tribunals and procedure, so as to bring within their jurisdiction persons charged with overt acts of violence, which were the immediate cause of and justification for the declaration of Martial Law. The original ordinance setting up Martial Law Commissions in the Lahore and Amritsar districts gave the Commissions jurisdiction to try offences committed on or after April the 13th. Had this date remained unamended, it would have been impossible to try by Commission persons charged with actual participation in the murders, incendiarism and destruction of property which occurred on April the 10th at Amritsar, or persons charged with participation in the riots at Lahore on April the 10th, 11th and 12th, and in the murders at Kasur on the 12th; and if the Government of India with the legal power at their disposal, had neglected to correct the anomaly to this extent, they would have omitted an obvious and necessary step towards the rapid restoration of normal conditions. But the use of the power which the ordinance gave in order to apply the special Martial Law method of trial to persons whose offence consisted in newspaper articles and speeches which were not demonstrably and immediately the cause of the outbreak of open disorder, stands on an entirely different footing and the terms "unfortunate" and "imprudent" which the majority of Lord Hunter's Committee applied to this policy are at all events not exaggerated criticism.

Taking into consideration the acts committed under Ordinance IV of 1919, which it is impossible not to disavow, His Majesty's Government can feel little doubt that the terms of the ordinance itself were too wide, and that the drafting of any future ordinance of a similar kind should ensure due limits to its application.

6. *Administration of Martial Law*—There is one question with regard to which it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the majority of Lord Hunter's Committee have failed to express themselves in terms which, unfortunately, the facts not only justify but necessitate. In paragraphs 16 to 25 of Chapter XII of their report the majority have dealt with the "intensive" form generally

which Martial Law assumed, and with certain specified instances of undue severity and of improper punishments or orders. It is unnecessary to recapitulate the instances which the Committee have enumerated in detail in both their reports, nor would any useful purpose be served by attempting to assess, with a view to penalties, the culpability of individual officers who were responsible for these orders, but whose conduct in other respects may have been free from blame or actually commendable. But His Majesty's Government must express strong disapproval of these orders and punishments, and ask me to leave to you the duty of seeing that this disapproval shall be unmistakably marked by censure or other action which seems to you necessary upon those who were responsible for them. The instances cited by the Committee gave justifiable ground for the assertion that the administration of Martial Law in the Punjab was marred by a spirit which promoted—not generally, but unfortunately not uncommonly—the enforcement of punishments and orders calculated if not intended, to humiliate Indians as a race, to cause unwarranted inconvenience amounting on occasions to injustice, and to flout the standards of propriety and humanity, which the inhabitants not only of India in particular but of the civilized world in general have a right to demand of those set in authority over them. It is a matter for regret that, notwithstanding the conduct of the majority, there should have been some officers in the Punjab who appear to have overlooked the fact that they were administering Martial Law, not in order to subdue the population of a hostile country temporarily occupied as an act of war, but in order to deal promptly with those who had disturbed the peace of a population owing allegiance to the King Emperor, and in the main profoundly loyal to that allegiance. It is difficult to believe that this would have occurred had the civil authority been able to retain a larger measure of contact with the administration of Martial Law, and it is of paramount importance, if in the future it should unfortunately be necessary to have recourse to Martial Law, that some system should be devised which will secure such contact effectively.

A review of the methods and results of the trials by the summary procedure of Martial Law tribunals would be uncalled for. It is not, however, improper to observe that marked attention has been directed to its disadvantages, and to the extreme divergence between the sentences required by the charges as presented to those courts and by the dictates of justice as they presented themselves to the reviewing authorities. It is to be hoped that, as a result of the experience thus gained, means will be devised whereby Martial Law tribunals can be improved if they have again to be employed.

7. *The use of bombing aeroplanes at Gujranwala*—With regard to the use of bombing aeroplanes at Gujranwala on April the 14th, the majority of Lord Hunter's Committee expressed their views as follows : "As to the use of bombs from aeroplanes we do not think that this would be defended by anyone save in cases of urgent need, in the absence of other means, and under the

strictest limitations even then. In our opinion the first two of these conditions were present in full force" . . . . "We are not prepared to lay down as a charter for rioters that when they succeed in preventing the ordinary recourses of Government from being utilized to suppress them, they are to be exempt from having to reckon with such recourses as remain." They then proceed to state that no blame can be imputed to the flying officers concerned for carrying out the instructions given to them, but that the action taken under the instructions given illustrates their defectiveness and they conclude by a recommendation that the formulation of instructions to be given to flying officers in future in similar circumstances should form the subject of careful investigation.

In formulating these conclusions, His Majesty's Government desire to state clearly that reconnaissance, communications, propaganda-dropping and moral effect summarize the normal and correct use of aircraft under conditions of unrest in normally peaceful countries. But emergencies may occur when, owing to distances, or damage to communications, or both, and the progress of murderous mob violence and arson which there is no other means of checking, exceptions from this general position are not only justified but necessary. It is impossible to guarantee by general or special instructions that machine-guns or bombs will affect only the crowd which would be justifiably fired upon if troops were available on the ground. But in future explicit orders must be required for the employment of armed aircraft in such emergencies; these orders should be issued in writing by a civil authority, and should authorize only a limited amount of bombing and machine-gun fire to be employed to overawe mobs which are, so far as the airman can judge, actually engaged in crimes of violence. The Government will see to it that instructions on these lines are issued as soon as possible. They regretfully agree with Lord Hunter's Committee that the instructions issued to the airmen who visited Gujranwala on this occasion left much to be desired in precision.

8. *Sir Michael O'Dwyer*—It follows from what has been said in earlier paragraphs that on certain points arising out of this enquiry His Majesty's Government do not regard Sir Michael O'Dwyer as immune from criticism. Thus they cannot endorse the unqualified approval which he accorded on insufficient information to the action of Brigadier-General Dyer at Jallianwala Bagh and they think it unfortunate that he did not adhere at the time to his first impulse to withhold both praise and blame on a matter with which as a civil officer he was not in the circumstances directly concerned. The motives which evidently prompted him to adopt another attitude and to maintain that attitude subsequently and in the light of fuller knowledge are less open to criticism.

Secondly, the opinion already expressed on the application of Martial Law procedure to certain trails must be taken as applying to Sir Michael O'Dwyer in so far as he was personally responsible for the action in question. As regards the administration of Martial Law generally Sir Michael O'Dwyer had evidently contemplated arrangements by which civil officers would be accord-

ed a recognized position to advise on military administration, and the Martial Law manual which your Government have under consideration should ensure that in future this plan is brought into operation.

With the general question of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's administration of the Punjab His Majesty's Government are not now immediately concerned. They recognized that it has formed the subject of much controversy in India and that a widespread impression has been engineered that the Punjab Government under his direction was hostile to the educated classes and was determined to suppress not only illegitimate but also legitimate and constitutional political agitation. While they sincerely trust that this atmosphere may be dispelled, they are fully conscious of the difficulties of the solution with which he was faced. Conspiracy, the activity of enemy agents, the rise in the cost of living and the necessity of furnishing the bulk of the vast number of recruits for the Indian Army which the needs of the Empire required, though fortunately powerless to disturb the loyalty of the province as a whole, caused constant anxiety throughout his term of office. That term is now closed, a long and honoured connection with India is ended, and His Majesty's Government desire here to pay a tribute to the great energy, decision and courage which Sir Michael O'Dwyer brought to his task through a period of exceptional difficulty and to express their appreciation of his services.

9. As to the conclusions which Your Excellency's Government have recorded on other matters arising out of this report, I am glad to find that I am in general accord with your views, save in so far as otherwise appears from the foregoing paragraphs and I have little further to add at the present moment. Your Excellency's Government will, however, understand that the publication of documents in which the public, both in India and in this country, is vitally interested is not necessarily a final settlement of all the large questions involved. In particular I shall expect you to submit for my early approval the draft of the Martial Law manual which you have under consideration. To this matter I attach the utmost importance. I need hardly say that I most earnestly trust that occasion may never arise for the enforcement of such rules. But this enquiry will have served a valuable purpose if it results in the enactment of a code of regulations calculated to ensure, so far as human foresight can serve, a system of administration which is at once adequate to repress disorder, to secure the speedy, just and fitting punishment of its promoters, and which yet subverts no more than the fulfilment of these requirements necessitates the ordinary rights and course of life of the people at large, and adheres to the processes of civil justice and government. For in view of conditions which threaten the existence of the State, Martial Law is a necessary remedy, but it is a remedy which unless applied with wisdom and good judgment loses its value. It is therefore incumbent upon us to do all in our power to prevent the depreciation of its value by misuse. The same observations apply in my judgment to deportation, an expedient which in its present form it is so notoriously

difficult to employ and the effects of which are so incapable of exact estimation.

10. His Majesty's Government found it necessary to criticize in strong terms the conduct of certain officers charged with the administration of Martial Law and Your Excellency's Government have indicated that all proved cases of abuse of their powers on the part of the subordinate officers of the police and other services will receive due notice. But these exceptions apart His Majesty's Government desire me to express to you in no uncertain terms their warm endorsement of your appreciation of the conduct of officers and men, both civil and military, both British and Indian, upon whom fell the heavy task of assisting the people of India to recover their fair name for loyalty and orderliness. The burden thus imposed upon officers and men of His Majesty's British and Indian armies, of his police force and of his civil services who had already borne with fortitude but not without fatigue the trials and strain arising from a long-drawn war, was a heavy one. In setting themselves to their task these men proved true to the great traditions of their services.

His Majesty's Government wish further to express the profound regret which they, equally with Your Excellency's Government, feel for the loss of life which these disturbances occasioned, and their deep sympathy with those to whom the events have brought personal bereavement.

11. In conclusion I am glad to have this opportunity of assuring Your Excellency of the sense of obligation which His Majesty's Government feel to you personally for the manner in which you have fulfilled your high trust. Great as is always the burden borne by the Governor-General of India, world-wide circumstances have combined to lay upon you a degree of anxiety such as has only at long intervals fallen upon any of your illustrious predecessors. His Majesty's Government desire that you should be fortified by the knowledge that they continue to repose the fullest confidence in Your Excellency's discretion, inspired as they feel certain it has constantly been by the single aim of the good of the people whose Government is committed to your charge.

I have, etc.,

(Sd.) Edwin S. Montagu

APPENDIX VI

MUSLIM LEADERS' REPRESENTATION TO VICEROY[1]

BOMBAY,
June 22, 1920

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

We the undersigned claim to represent the largest body of Sunni Muslim opinion. We have most carefully read the Turkish peace terms and we consider them to be in direct violation of the religious sentiments of Mussulmans. They violate obligations imposed upon the Sunnis and wound the susceptibilities of all Mussulmans. They are contrary to pledges of British Ministers on the strength of which it has been admitted it was possible to draw upon India for Muslim recruits during the War. We hold that the British Empire, which is the greatest Mohammedan Power in the world, cannot treat the Turkish Empire which represents the Khilafat in the same manner that it may treat a defeated enemy. Indeed we contend that in certain respects Turkey has been treated worse than other Powers. We respectfully submit that in the treatment of Turkey the British Government are bound to respect Indian Muslim sentiment in so far as it is neither unjust nor unreasonable. In our opinion the position taken up by the Indian Mussulmans is simple. They cannot bear the thought of the temporal power of the Sultan being adversely affected by way of punishment for his having joined Germany under circumstances which need not be examined here, but we have no desire to ask for anything that would interfere with the principle of self-determination. We have no desire to uphold any misrule such as has been attributed to Turkey. Our delegates in Europe have asked for an independent commission of enquiry to investigate the charge of wanton cruelty said to have been practised by Turkish soldiers in Armenia. We cannot look with indifference upon the partition of Turkey and her empire for the sake of punishment for humiliating her. We would, therefore, request Your Excellency and Your Government to ask His Majesty's Ministers to secure a revision of the peace terms and to tell them that on their failure to do so Your Excellency will make common cause with the people of India. We make this suggestion as Your Excellency has repeatedly declared that Your Government has consistently and often pressed upon the attention of His Majesty's Ministers the case of Indian Mussulmans in this matter of vital concern to the vast

[1] Sent in pursuance of the decision regarding non-co-operation taken at the meeting of the Central Khilafat Committee held at Allahabad on June 3, 1920, this letter was signed by ninety Sunni Muslims from all over India, including Yaqub Hassan, Mazhar-ul-Haq, Maulana Abdul Bari, Hasrat Mohani, Shaukat Ali, Dr. Kitchlew and Mia Mohammed Chhotani.

majority of them. We feel, therefore, that we have a right to ask Your Excellency to reassure the Mussulmans of India that they still retain your active co-operation and powerful advocacy in the prosecution of their claims, ever to the point of resignation of your high office should His Majesty's Ministers fail to secure a revision of the terms consistently with the pledges and sentiment mentioned above. We venture respectfully to suggest that had India been a Dominion enjoying full self-government her responsible Ministers would have as a matter of course resigned as a protest against such a serious breach of pledges and flouting of religious opinion as are involved in the peace terms. If unfortunately Your Excellency will not adopt our humble suggestion we shall be obliged as from the 1st of August next to withdraw co-operation from the Government and ask our co-religionists and Hindu brethren to do likewise. We ask Your Excellency not to regard our statement as a threat or in any way as a mark of disrespect. We claim to be as loyal subjects of the Crown as any in India, but we consider our loyalty to an earthly sovereign to be subservient to our loyalty to Islam. The latter enjoins upon every Mussulman to consider those who want only to injure the status of the Khilafat to be enemies of Islam and to resist them. We recognize that even if we had the power we must not resort to arms so long as any other measures are at our disposal. We feel that the least a Mussulman can do in these circumstances is not to assist those who are guilty of trying to reduce the Khilafat practically to nothingness. It would, therefore, become our painful duty to refuse to co-operate with the Government which accepts the peace terms and advises acceptance thereof by us. We shall hope that such a serious step as non-co-operation will not become necessary, but should it unfortunately happen to be otherwise we assure Your Excellency that we shall strive our utmost to avoid violence. We fully recognize our responsibility. We know that any eruption of violence must check and injure the peaceful demonstration contemplated by us, and, what is more, the sacred cause which is dear to us as life. We shall, therefore, take up non-co-operation in progressive stages so as to cause the least necessary dislocation or embarrassment to the Government and so as to enable us to control and discipline popular feeling.

All About the Khilafat, pp. 331-4

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CHRONOLOGY

(*February-June, 1920*)

February 1 : At Lahore, Gandhiji met Dr. Joseph Nunan, Leader of British Guiana deputation visiting India to recruit settlers.

February 3 : Gandhiji wrote to Chief Secretary, Punjab Government, regarding discharge of political and Martial-Law prisoners.

February 9 : At Lahore, Gandhiji gave interview to Press on South African Commission.

In Imperial Legislative Council, British Guiana deputation presented their report.

February 13 : At Sargodha, Gandhiji gave a speech on Punjab atrocities and Hindu-Muslim unity.

February 14 : Issued appeal for Jallianwala Bagh Memorial Fund.

February 15 : Wrote to Chief Secretary, Punjab Government, asking for inquiry into atrocities perpetrated by Government officials during recruiting campaign in Sargodha.

Completed his tour of the Punjab, commenced on January 23 in connection with the work of Congress Inquiry Committee on the Punjab disorders.

February 18 : In Imperial Legislative Council, debate was held on change of capital.

February 20 : Draft of the Congress Report on the Punjab disorders submitted to Motilal Nehru, President of the Congress.

February 21 : In Banaras, Gandhiji addressed students of Banaras Hindu University.

February 25 : In Ahmedabad, Gandhiji addressed meeting of mill-hands held to consider formation of Labour Union.

Montagu, in interview to *Evening Standard*, strongly urged retention of Constantinople by Turkey.

Strike reported at Tata Iron Works, Jamshedpur.

February 26 : In Ahmedabad, Gandhiji presided at opening ceremony of Night High School under auspices of Marwari Yuvak Mandal.

In House of Commons, debate was held on future of Turkey.

First Indian Khilafat Deputation arrived in London.

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February 27 : Gandhiji forwarded to Bombay High Court his statement and that of Mahadev Desai in regard to contempt of court case.

February 28 : Bengal Provincial Khilafat Conference was held at Calcutta.

February 29 : Gandhiji attended the Khilafat Conference.

March 2 : In London, Fisher, on behalf of Montagu, received Indian Khilafat Deputation.

March 3 : At Bombay, Gandhiji appared in High Court regarding contempt of court case against him; judgment was reserved.

Spoke at Khilafat meeting.

March 5 : In Bombay, spoke at a public meeting on abolition of Press Act.

March 6 : Council of League of Nations passed resolution in favour of Constantinople and Straits coming under control of League of Nations.

March 7 : *Daily Telegraph* reported decision of British Government to occupy Constantinople.

Gandhiji issued Press statement on Khilafat.

March 12 : Gandhiji and Mahadev Desai were reprimanded by Bombay High Court in contempt of court case.

March 14 : Police raided offices of Bengal Provincial Khilafat Committee.

March 15 : At Jamshedpur strikers at Tata Iron Works were fired upon by police and troops.

March 17 : In London, Lloyd George gave interview to Indian Khilafat Deputation.

March 19 : Khilafat Day. In Bombay, Gandhiji addressed Khilafat Day meeting.

March 21 : Labourers in the Sholapur Mills struck work.

March 25 : Congress Sub-committee Report on the Punjab disorders published.

In House of Commons, Asquith opposed retention of Constantinople by Turkey and recommended vaticanization of Sultan in Constantinople.

March 29 : Government of India affirmed that holy places of Hedjaj would remain under independent Moslem control.

March 31 : Allied Supreme Council offered Mandate for Armenia to League of Nations.

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In Ahmedabad, Gandhiji attended competition held for spinning-wheel prize.

April 2 : At Ahmedabad, Gandhiji and Rabindranath Tagore attended sixth Gujarati Literary Conference; address by Tagore.

Gandhiji, in evening, spoke at a meeting on "Literature from Society's Point of View".

Bombay Provincial Conference commenced sittings at Sholapur under presidentship of N. C. Kelkar.

Rabindranath Tagore stayed at Sabarmati Ashram with Gandhiji.

April 3 : Bombay Provincial Conference demanded impeachment of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and others and their trial and punishment by judicial tribunal.

In Ahmedabad, Gandhiji addressed Gujarati Literary Conference on "Gujarati Literature from People's Point of View". In evening, Rabindranath Tagore addressed public meeting in English; Gandhiji translated speech.

April 4 : Debate in Bombay and Bengal Provincial Conferences on Reforms resolution, with Tilak on one side and Annie Besant taking up a moderate position.

April 6 : Hostilities commenced between the Japanese and the Russians at Nikolsk and Haberovsk.

Gandhiji addressed National Week Meeting in Bombay. Issued another appeal for Jallianwala Bagh Memorial Fund.

April 7 : New Cabinet formed in Turkey with Damad Ferid, Grand Vizir, Resohib Bey, Minister of Interior, and Mohamed Vid, Minister of Marine and War.

Travancore Reformed Council held its first meeting.

April 9 : In Bombay, Gandhiji spoke at public meeting organized by Central Khilafat Committee in connection with National Week.

April 11 : Gandhiji, in letter to *The Bombay Chronicle*, again appealed for contributions to Jallianwala Bagh Memorial Fund.

April 13 : In Bombay, Gandhiji addressed meeting organized by Home Rule League and National Union in connection with National Week. Rabindranath Tagore sent a message to the meeting.

Gandhiji wired to Private Secretary to Viceroy seeking Viceroy's permission to go to England to acquaint Ministers there with Muslim sentiment over Khilafat.

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After *April 13* : Gandhiji cabled to Secretary of State for India seeking Government's approval for his visit to England in connection with Khilafat question.

April 15 : Reforms Committee held its sitting at Simla.

April 17 : Madras Khilafat Conference commenced its sittings under presidentship of Shaukat Ali.

April 18 : In Ahmedabad, Gandhiji presided over the second annual meeting of mill workers.

April 22 : In London, public meeting was held on question of Khilafat with George Lansbury in the chair.

April 24 : The United States formally recognized independence of Republic of Armenia.

April 25 : San Remo Conference of Allies entrusted Britain with Mandate for Mesopotamia and Palestine, and France with Mandate for Syria.

April 26 : Home Rule League meeting held at Ahmedabad to protest against deportation of B. G. Horniman; Gandhiji presided.

April 28 : Gandhiji joined Home Rule League and became its president.

In a statement, advocated non-co-operation to express Indian feeling against San Remo decisions regarding Turkey.

May 1 : Madras Liberal League held its first annual meeting.

May 2 : Enver Pasha reported to have placed himself at head of Turkish national movement.

May 6 : In House of Commons, Montagu made statement on General Dyer's forced resignation.

May 7 : In Ahmedabad, Gandhiji held discussions about having system of arbitration for solving disputes between mill workers and mill-owners.

May 9 : Gandhiji, writing in *Navajivan*, appealed for funds for famine relief in Orissa.

May 11 : In Paris, Turkish treaty was handed to Turkish delegates.

May 12 : Gandhiji, writing in *Young India*, again appealed for funds for famine relief in Orissa.

At Bombay, Gandhiji attended Khilafat Committee meeting.

May 14 : Turkish Peace Terms published in India along with Viceroy's message to Indian Muslims.

May 15 : In Turkey, an extraordinary court martial sentenced Mustafa Kamal and his associates to death.

May 16 : In Ahmedabad, Gandhiji held further discussions about having system of arbitration for settling disputes between mill workers and mill-owners.

May 17 : Above discussions continued.

May 18 : Above discussions continued.

Gandhiji, in a Press statement, called for revision of peace terms presented to Turkey by Allies.

May 19 : In Ahmedabad, Gandhiji continued discussions on system of arbitration.

May 20 : Yakub Hasan resigned his membership of Madras Legislative Council and other official organizations in protest against terms of Turkish Treaty.

May 21 : Nizam of Hyderabad issued firman prohibiting participation in Khilafat agitation.

May 23 : In Ahmedabad, Gandhiji addressed meeting of mill-hands on settlement of their strike.

Tewfik Nessim Pasha formed new Cabinet in Turkey.

May 28 : Report of Hunter Committee, Government of India Despatch and Montagu's reply published.

May 30 : All-India Congress Committee met at Banaras to consider non-co-operation programme; Gandhiji was present.

June 1 : Joint Hindu-Muslim Conference commenced at Allahabad; Gandhiji attended.

June 2 : Revised draft rules for Provincial Councils, Indian Legislative Assembly and Council of State published in a *Gazette of India Extraordinary*.

Joint Hindu-Muslim Conference continued at Allahabad.

June 3 : Meeting of All-India Central Khilafat Committee held at Allahabad; Gandhiji spoke on non-co-operation.

June 4 : In Bombay, Gandhiji performed opening ceremony of Shuddha Khadi Bhandar.

June 5 : In Nadiad, Gandhiji performed opening ceremony of Swadeshi Bhandar.

June 11 : In Bombay, Gandhiji attended meeting of Imperial Indian Citizenship Association.

June 13 : Gandhiji, in a Press statement, opposed scheme of repatriation recommended by South African Enquiry Commission.

June 19 : The order of externment from Mussoorie passed on Jawaharlal Nehru was withdrawn.

June 21 : Madras Provincial Conference met at Tinnevelly with S. Srinivasa Iyengar in chair.

June 22 : In House of Commons, questions asked on the Punjab disorders; Montagu heckled.

Gandhiji, in letter to Viceroy, gave notice of non-co-operation with Government in protest against unjust peace terms presented to Turkey by Allies and forwarded Muslim representation on the subject to Viceroy.

June 25 : In Bombay, Gandhiji attended meeting of Khilafat Committee.

June 26 : In Bombay, Gandhiji spoke at public meeting held to protest against Hunter Committee Report.

June 27 : Turkey submitted counter-proposals to Treaty terms presented by Allies.

June 28 : Nizam of Hyderabad renounced title of *Mohi-ul-Millat Wad Din.*

June 30 : Gandhiji, in a Press statement, called upon people not to seek election to Legislative Councils under Reforms Act of 1919.

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