



Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India

MAHATMA GANDHI

Volume III

(Parts - I to III Edited by Prof. N. R. Phatak)



GOVERNMENT OF MAHARASHTRA
MUMBAI

(Collected from the Maharashtra State and Government of India Records)

PREFACE

THIS is the third volume of the Maharashtra State publications in the series of the Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India and first in the series of Mahatma Gandhi as depicted in the Government records. The period covered by this volume is from 1915 to 1922 March. These volumes of Mahatma Gandhi would cover the period upto his demise and would probably be in four volumes. It is hoped that the publication of the remaining three volumes which comprise about 2000 pages may not take more than an year or about that time.

The office is aware of the short-comings of this publication including the inordinate delay and the other commissions and omissions of editing which are much regretted. We hope and also assure that the future volumes would be free from such inadequacies and would be found satisfactory. We may also make a mention of the compensatory features of this volume. The itinerary or the day-to-day diary of Gandhiji's tours and programmes, the exhaustive chronological index and titles etc. are elaborately prepared and given. They would be found useful by the students of this subject.

Voluminous publications on Gandhiji continue to appear in almost all the important languages of the world. And yet among all of them these volumes should find a special place of significance. The merit is that of the material itself. This material helps to understand in what way and to what extent Gandhiji's character and method of satyagraha influenced and affected the Rulers and his opponents.

The application of the satyagraha method on mass scale is Gandhiji's very great contribution to world's political thought. With the emergence of destructive weapons of infinite potential, human and national liberties have lost their context and significance. In spite of all the tall talk of human liberties and security, large sections of humanity are compelled to live a segregated or regimented life. Their lives are in the clutches of the States

which control the weapons of colossal destruction. What hopes can these suppressed people hold of securing their liberties ? The use and achievement of Gandhiji's satyagraha method has, at such a juncture, revived and encouraged hope in the hearts of these Pariahs in social and economic fields of the world. Today, the method of satyagraha is being usefully employed by the Negros in America and by other leaders in South Africa, S. Rhodesia and some parts of Europe. This subject has been included for social research by some universities both in America and in England. That indicates the value, magnitude and urgency of the understanding of the subject. The publications of this category would be of great help for the proper understanding of Gandhian philosophy and the satyagraha method.

N. R. PHATAK



Maharashtra State Gazetteers

PROLOGUE

I am very glad to bring out the e-Book Edition (CD version) of Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement. This e-book edition is facsimile reproduction of already published volumes.

So far twelve volumes are published under this series. They contain valuable data regarding India's struggle for freedom. These volumes form an important source for the scholars, historians who are interested in studying different phases and dimensions of the freedom movement. The material is collected from Government's secrete and confidential official records. Thus, these volumes have made available that information which was so far not easily accessible to the scholars.

Considering utility of these volumes, need was felt to preserve this treasure of knowledge. In this age of modernization, information and technology have become key words. To keep pace with the changing need of hour, I have decided to bring out a CD version of these volumes. I am sure, scholars and studious persons across the world will find these CDs immensely beneficial.

This CD consists of first three parts of Volume III, "Mahatma Gandhi" containing total seven parts. They were published in 1965, 1968 and 1969 respectively and were edited by Prof. N.R. Phatak.

I am thankful to the Honourable Minister, Shri. Ashokrao Chavan (Industries and Mines, Cultural Affairs and Protocol), and the Minister of State, Shri. Rana Jagjitsinh Patil (Agriculture, Industries and Cultural Affairs), Shri Bhushan Gagrani, (Secretary, Cultural Affairs) Department, Government of Maharashtra for being a constant source of inspiration.

Place: Mumbai

Dr. Arunchandra S. Pathak

Date: 30th March 2007

Executive Editor and Secretary

Maharashtra State Gazetteers

A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T S

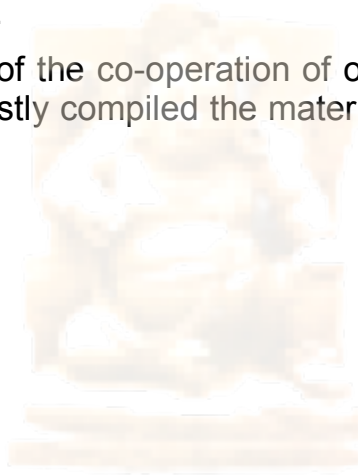
I express my deep gratitude to the Home Department, Commissioner of Police, Deputy Inspector General of Police, Director and staff of Archives and Historical Monuments and the Maharashtra State Government for giving all facilities to consult and use extracts from Confidential Official records. The Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India, and the National Archives of India have also been helpful in preparation of this Volume.

I am grateful to the Librarians and the staff of the Central Library, Sachivalaya, and the Libraries of Siddhartha College. Elphinstone College, Asiatic Society of Bombay and the University of Bombay.

I am grateful to the Management of the Government Central Press for their patient co-operation in bringing out this Volume.

I also record my appreciation of the co-operation of our staff, particularly of Shri H. M. Joshi and Shri B. N. Phatak. The latter mostly compiled the material, assisted by Smt. S. C. Kanekar and Smt. Damayanti Pratap.

N. R. PHATAK



Maharashtra State Gazetteers

INTRODUCTION

The origin and nature of the material

The material presented here is collected mainly from the Police-Records of the Maharashtra State. A few of the extracts are taken from the National Archives, New Delhi (P. 475). The State records are maintained in bound volume of printed reports made by police officials to their superiors. These are weekly reports and are titled as " Secret-Bombay-Presidency-Police Abstracts of Intelligence ". They are maintained in yearly bound volumes. These volumes have elaborate indices of persons, associations and agitations. They also report activities of unsocial elements like national and international smugglers, bandits and dacoits. These reports begin from the year 1887. The Government of India seems to have directed the provisions to collect information about existing conditions in the country side. This was probably conceived, in the wake of the famines then prevalent. Government, it appears, wanted to collect first-hand information about the rising discontent in the country. This system was introduced in all the provinces ; thus we get cross references and corroborations from different provinces.

Authenticity of the reports

These reports were intended purely for official information and use. The Home Department used to receive information from civil authorities like District Magistrates also. That speaks for their authenticity and reliability. However there are errors, inaccuracies and occasionally, coloured reporting. Officials often collected information from non-official agencies also ; their reports may not be so reliable ; but their own reports on the whole, appear to be quite faithful.

Nature of the mistakes and discrepancies

Strangely enough these reports begin with a funny mistake. The reception arranged for Gandhiji by the Bombay National Union (Page 1) is reported three times. The first item is dated 11th of January 1915. The function took place on the 13th and is reported on the 11th and 19th. It may be, that the report of the 11th might be that of the Executive Committee meeting which might have taken the decision of the reception etc. Such mistakes are harmless and are rare. But there are other kinds of mistakes which are not so harmless ; nor are they so rare. For instance, the report made by the District Magistrate, Ahmedabad (7th April 1918, P. 78) on the mill strike situation and Gandhiji's fast, presents a distinct sample and hence may be examined. The D. M. has stated that the fast was undertaken when the labour " nearly mobbed him and assailed him bitterly for being a friend of the mill owners When stung by these taunts he took the vow ". He also has vouched that that was Seth Ambalal's version which ' he believed to be correct'. Such reports make the reader more sceptic about their accuracy and even about the motives of the reporters. Gandhiji himself had

declared " that breach of an oath solemnly taken by workers was unbearable to me ". (A Righteous Struggle by Mahadeo Desai, P. 95). This was the real cause of his fast. He wrote about this fast as the 'biggest of my works so far rendered '. (8-4-18 Diaries by Mahadeo Desai, Pt. IV, Gujarati). How then, could the D. M. Mr. Chatfield, who also knew Gandhiji well, misunderstand him ? How could he use the street talks heard in the labour sections as against Gandhiji's own statement for the official report which helps only to malign him. Seth Ambalal knew Gandhiji and his satyagrahi methods too well to misunderstand them ! it would also be unfair to presume that the D. M. had made a garbled report. Could it be a case of genuine misunderstanding ? There are instances when officials like Mr. Pratt, Commissioner N. D. had expressed repentance for having failed to understand Gandhiji correctly (*Ibid* P. 48). Any way this report helps to point out the probable kinds of discrepancies in them.

Samples of reactions

These pages offer the reader an opportunity to see for himself the actual working of the mind of the combatants, Gandhiji, Government and the people. In the short period of seven years there are enough occasions where these reactions are seen in bold relief; a few samples are given here. These reports also reveal how the public statements issued by the Government about the failure of national movements and agitations were incorrect or even false. They used to declare emphatically that the movements had collapsed or that they had put them down. But these confidential reports disclose totally a different picture. Thus, the Bombay Police Commissioner's report of 7th April 1919 (P. 110) records, ' Satyagraha resulted in a Strategical Victory for Gandhi ', ' Spectacular success in paralysing activity', ' the proceedings were carried through without any real disturbance '.

The Ahmedabad Police reported (P. 364) about the prevailing conditions in 1921, " Government Servants find present situation very trying owing to the passively hostile attitude of the public The ignorant have begun to think that we are about, to leave the country ".

After the Jallianwala Bag massacre Gandhiji's mind was growing restless to find that no relief or legal help could be promptly despatched to the wailing Punjab. He was ordered not to go beyond Bombay Presidency limits. He wanted to break the vicious circle. He would think loudly and give out his ideas one after the other through private discussions and public meetings to get popular reactions ; that kept the police absorbed in collecting information for getting correct glimpse of his mind. Thus we see in the reports :—

" The reports are conflicting.....The is considerable uncertainty as to what Gandhiji's immediate intentions are(P. 139)..... When asked point blankabout his programme he refused to enlighten them..... (140) He is loosing influence..... (142)". And the officials are baffled whether or not to check him ? " It is still more difficult to determine the psychological moment at which to sterilise him ". (147).

These are police official's statements. But the conflict of opinions about assessing the situation, the unconscious evasions in taking decision to arrest Gandhiji, are glaringly seen in the despatches between Delhi, Bombay and London between October 1921 to February 1922. They show how this frail man had put the powerful imperial Rulers like George Lloyd, Lord Reading and Mr. Montagu in a quandary. A concealed desire to evade the responsibility of Gandhiji's unpleasant arrest and its repercussions is clearly discernible in them.

At first, Delhi seemed anxious and wanted Bombay to be watchful about Gandhiji's writings in the "Young India". Bombay Governor with the concurrence of his Council and Ministers, advised "postponement of any action". The ministers stated "he is pathetically inviting arrest" (P. 478). The Bombay Governor said (P. 499) "we were not called upon to be logical". The communications between the Legal Advisers, the Advocates General and the Law Member, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru show the vulnerable spots of the Government side, Sir Tej Bahadur wrote (P. 500) "the question was not so much a question of law as it was one of political expediency". In January 1922 Delhi again started enquiring whether Bombay Government was alert. Bombay Governor wired (P. 519) "prosecution to be undertaken with least delay". It was also imputed to Gandhi that he contemplated "embarking on a policy of violence". But the lawyer Viceroy was not ready to accept the charge and asked for definite information (P. 511). Their positions were now reversed and the Viceroy replied that they would choose their time and not allow the impression that Gandhi was prosecuted because he had made the conference impossible. But the imperialist Governor was anxious to assert. He wired (P. 509) "any attempt to parley (with Gandhi) would involve very serious dangers..... He wants time. That this conference will give him safelyand we shall find the ground cut from under us police and army seduced past recalling and merely serve to set a match to the bonfire he had prepared." Again the Governor wired, "Situation is still fluid" and requested for "retention of troops at Surat and Broach". But H. E. the Viceroy growled "we do not resile from views already expressed" (P. 513). Within three weeks comes a London cable from H. M.'s Government (P. 522) "struck by length of time in commission of offences and the prosecutions thereof". It warns about the seriousness of emergency and also enquires "Do you think this would be effective and could be justified?" Following this London hint Lord Reading changed his face and pace and wired Bombay (P. 524) "The time had arrived for his (Gandhiji's) immediate arrest and prosecution as approved". Bombay responds by saying "Action will be taken". H. E. the Viceroy decides and dictates the date and also the time of arrest as 14th February evening. Further the Government of India warned Bombay "They attach the greatest importance to his not being arrested before that time (Tuesday evening)..... and equal importance to his being arrested before Wednesday" (P. 538). But the previous evening the Congress Working Committee as advised by Gandhiji had withdrawn the C. D. resolution. And again H. E. the Viceroy hastened to wire H. E. the

Governor of Bombay, " postpone the arrest". What ' blood boiling' these differences had caused between Lord Lloyd and Lord Reading can be seen in their biographies. This shows who were the masters of the situation and who decided the course of action and events during this period. This also shows that the initiative had slipped out of the hands of the Government.

Use troops freely

These pages also reveal how the Government of India, headed by Britain's great Jurist was pressing for " more vigorous action on the part of police.....and that the troops to be more freely employed" (P. 494). The arguments such as " In a struggle with Gandhi the fight has always been a fight for position " (P. 515) reveal the complexes in their minds and how they were affected by Gandhiji's character and method.

Communal phobia

The disgraceful part of it is that even under such a crucial situation Government had not forgotten the Hindu Muslim aspect of their strategy and their desire to maintain a ratio while sending them to jails also. Thus we read a suggestion in a Punjab official's D. O. letter to Government of India, asking to give a hint to them (Punjab Government) about " the inadvisability of a prosecution against Hasarat Mohani at that juncture" (P. 526). The reason was that Mohani was opposing Gandhiji, their enemy No. 1 at that time. On this, Mr. Craik, Deputy Secretary (Home Department, Government of India), wrote (P. 528) " Secondly the fact that Hasarat Mohani is apparently aiming at detaching the extreme wing of Khilafat party from Gandhi.....does not seem to me justify Government in taking no action against Mohani." Mr. O. Donnell's (Secretary to the Government of India) comment on this point is (P. 528) " the real argument against immediate prosecution is that it might be regarded as..... selecting a prominent Muhammadan whilst the leader of the Hindus was still at large." In giving final touch to this communal strategy Lord Reading the jurist, states (P. 536) " Government of India see no *prima facie* possible reason for exemptingMohani from prosecution.....now that the orders regarding Gandhi have issued ". This shows that the Government have not even apparently attempted to conceal their ugly communal policy.

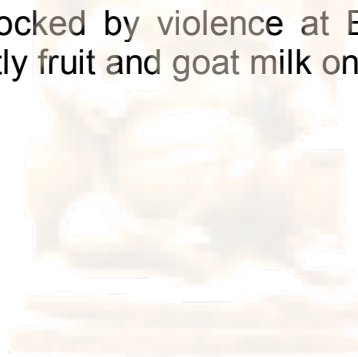
There had to be one more slip between the Imperial order and its execution. After the suspension of the first order of Gandhiji's arrest Government of India had left the matter with the Bombay Government. The Bombay Government fixed the arrest on the 9th of March evening at Bardoli (P. 550). Again, because of Gandhiji's movements they had to change the date and place for 10th of March and at Sabarmati. And the Imperial authorities must have felt that with the end of Gandhiji's trial their own trial would end. But that never happened. His jail life created new situations and new problems unheard of in the administration of Indian jails. That would appear in the next volume.

Old Secretariat,
Bombay-32, 16th June 1965.

H. M. JOSHI.
Research Officer.

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MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

BOMBAY SECRET ABSTRACT

1915.

Page 26, paragraph 41(a),(b)—

(a) *Bombay, January 11th.*—*The Bombay Chronicle*, dated the 11th instant has an account of the reception given to Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi and of an interview with him on his arrival from England by the mail of the 9th (January) idem.

Gandhi receives numerous letters, inviting him to private receptions, but I hear that he has declined them all with the exception of two public ones.

It is said that he intends paying Bal Gangadhar Tilak a visit.

(b) *Bombay, January 11th.*—A meeting of the Bombay National Union was held yesterday (10th January) * evening in honour of M. K. Gandhi. B. G. Tilak was invited by S. V. Lalit to attend, but he refused to do so unless Gandhi said he would not object to his doing so. Lalit went back and asked Gandhi who said Tilak would be welcome. Tilak accordingly attended. C. V. Vaidya presided, and amongst others present were Joseph Baptista, M. G. Deshmukh, D. D. Sathe, Y. V. Nene, S. V. Lalit and others, some 150 in all. The meeting was more or less spontaneous and only decided upon in the morning.

Page 40, paragraph 60 (a), (b), (c), (d)—

(a) *Bombay, January 19th.*—The Bombay National Union convened a meeting of its members to meet Mr. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi at the Hira Bag on the 13th instant (January). Chintaman Vinayak Vaidya presided. The following, amongst others, were noticed :—

Dr. Dinkar Dhondo Sathe, Sitaram Vishnu Lalit, Yeshwant Vishnu Nene, Joseph Baptista, Bar-at-Law, Ali Muhammad Bhimji, Tapidas Dulabhdas Sanghvi, Kashinath Waman Lele, G. N. Potdar, Dhondiraj Thengari, Dr. Moreshwar Gopal Deshmukh, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Dr. Shridhar Chintaman Jog.

Speeches in honour of Gandhi were delivered.

(b) *Secretary, S. D., January 20th.*—A correspondent writes:— " At a meeting convened by the Bombay National Union at Hira Bag on the 13th instant to welcome Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi, Mr. Tilak was

* Mr. B. G. Tilak came to Bombay on 12th. (*vide*—Police Abstract of 1915). A meeting of the Bombay National Union was held on 13th to honour Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Tilak attended the meeting. It is therefore not possible that a meeting took place on 10th as per Police report.

present, though no formal invitation was sent to him. The meeting was attended by about 250 persons. Mr. Tilak addressing the gathering said that they were only doing their duty in honouring Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi, as they had fought for the honour of India in a distant land. He said that India ought to produce more men and women of the self-sacrificing spirit of the honoured guests, and impressed upon the audience that this was the lesson they had to learn from the career of Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Gandhi's speech was colourless and formal; he expressed the gratefulness of the Indians in South Africa to the mother country which contributed lavishly to the fund for their relief during the late struggle. He said it was pleasure to meet Mr. Tilak in Bombay as he fully intended to pay his respects to him when he visited Poona. Mr. Baptista said that it did not matter whom Mr. Gandhi selected as his 'guru' (this refers to a remark made by Mr. Gandhi that Mr. Gokhale was his guru), so long as he always held before him the ideals of honour and self-respect, as he had done throughout his life. Both he and Mr. Ali Muhammad Bhimji referred to the gallant conduct of the Indian troops in support of the cause of right in the present war.

" It appears that the Extremist party will make a strong attempt to capture Mr. Gandhi to their side, as they think he would be a 'capital asset' to the party. "

(c) *Bombay, January 19th.*—I am informed that the friends and admirers of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi intend to perpetuate his memory by starting an institution on the lines of a Gurukul in Kathiawar under the direct supervision of Gandhi himself.

Gandhi is believed to have fallen in with the proposal.

(d) *S. B., Bombay, January 23rd.*—Government do not desire that Mr. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi should be shadowed by the police at present.

Page 62, paragraph 108—

Secretary, S. D., February 10th.—I have been informed that Mr. Gandhi on return from Poona will proceed to Calcutta and Rangoon and that after return from there he proposes to ask Government to assist him in acquiring about 200 acres of land near Ahmedabad where he proposes to open an Agricultural School.

Page 84-85, paragraph 152—

Poona, February 16th.—M. K. Gandhi was entertained by (1) the members of the Deccan Sabha in Phadke's wada on the evening of the 11th, (2) the members of the Extremist Circle at the Sarvajanic Sabha Hall on the evening of the 12th, only members of the Sarvajanic Sabha being present, B. G. Tilak was of course present. (3) the citizens of Poona City at the Kirloskar Theatre at 5 p.m. on

the 13th. Sirdar Naoroji Pudumji, Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar and Mr. H. N. Wadia spoke on the occasion. Mr. Gandhi in returning thanks hardly alluded to his past experiences and said nothing of his future intentions. About 8,000 were present, including students, male and female, and with the exception of the Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale, all the leading lights of Poona City. Tilak arrived a little later and was vociferously cheered for quite 2 or 3 minutes by the student portion of the audience.

Mrs. Gandhi was given a reception by the Poona ladies in Nana Wada buildings at 4 p.m. on the 13th.

I hear that Gandhi has resolved to join the Servants of India Society and to settle down wherever Mr. Gokhale wishes to post him.

Page 99, paragraph 169—

(a) *Secretary, S. D., March 3rd.*—A correspondent writes: " After spending some time at Bolpur on a visit to his sons, Mr. Gandhi was to go to Rangoon and put up with Dr. Mehta, the well-known extremist of that place. It is said that some members of the Servants of India Society do not view with favour Mr. Gandhi's probable admission into that body, partly through prejudice on account of the apprehension that he may incline towards extremism.

Note.—Mr. Gandhi has since abandoned his tour and returned to Poona, (Secretary, S. D.).

Page 116, paragraph 186—

Bombay, March 8th.—It is reported that M. K. Gandhi has already had a serious disagreement with the Committee of the Servants of India Society. It is not stated what the grounds were on which they have fallen out.

Note.—I understand that Mr. Gandhi and the Society are inspired by different ideals which they find to be irreconcilable at present at any rate. Mr. Gandhi is a whole-hearted admirer of Tolstoi and his ideal is to found an institution where the youth of India will be taught the dignity of manual labour. He would like to found a colony that would be self-supporting in all respects, growing its own food, making its own clothes and so on. The Society on the other hand is inspired with quite different ideals, since its object is to equip men to take part in every movement of modern life, educational, political and economic.

As I understand it, there has been no open rupture. The Society is content that Mr. Gandhi should study Indian problems on the spot for a year, when apparently the members hope that he will come into the fold. (Secretary, S. D.).

Page 199, paragraph 346—

S. B., Madras—From Abstract, dated April 24th, paragraph 330— Madras City, April 18th.— On the evening of the 17th instant, about 2,000 persons, most of them students, assembled at the Central Railway Station to receive Mr. Gandhi. On arrival Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi were taken in procession to G. A. Natesan's office in Georgetown by students who dragged the carriage.

Messrs. Ganesh & Co., Booksellers in Georgetown, distributed free copies of a short sketch of Mr. Gandhi's life in English, Tamil and Telugu in honour of his visit to Madras, and Dr. Lakshmipati showed much enthusiasm in urging the boys to shout Bande Mataram.

Page 222, paragraph 408—

*S. B., Delhi, From Abstract, dated May 1st.—*A public meeting was held in the Sangam Theatre on the 13th April. Mr. Gandhi spoke on "Unity and Perseverance". He was followed by Muhammad Ali who delivered a stirring speech eulogising Mr. Gandhi's modesty and self-sacrifice and calling upon all Indians to be prepared like him to suffer every hardship in the cause of their fellowmen and country. This speech had a great effect on the audience.

Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi were received with great applause and were garlanded by Hakim Ajmal Khan who occupied the chair.

Page 345, paragraph 577—

*Ahmedabad, June 9th.—*On the night of the 1st instant Professor Rama Murti gave a benefit performance with his company in Ahmedabad in aid of the Satyagraha Ashram recently opened by Mr. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. About 600 persons were present, including J. V. Desai and K. B. Pandya, two local suspects. The proceeds were apparently given to Mr. Gandhi privately. The Company left Ahmedabad the following morning.

*Note.—*Will the District Magistrate report on this Ashram ; Aim and Object, numbers attending, persons in charge, etc. (Secretary, S. D.).

Page 518, paragraph 774—

*S. B., Bombay, August 7th.—*Mr. M. K. Gandhi was present at the 15th Bombay Provincial Conference held in Poona on the 10th and 11th July 1915. He seconded the IVth resolution on Mr. Gokhale's death.

Page 640, paragraph 1058—

*Ahmedabad, September 29th.—*Mr. M. K. Gandhi, who had gone to Bombay, returned here on the 21st instant. With him came two

Europeans, Revd. Mr. C. F. Andrews and W. W. Pearson, of the Ashram of Rabindranath Tagore, Bolpur, Bengal. They came to see Mr. Gandhi's Satyagraha Ashram and were met at the station by a number of people. They went over the Ashram and returned to Bombay by the mail that night. The people who met them saw them off and garlanded them. It is reported that these two Europeans are leaving for the Fiji Islands to look into the question of the conditions of Indian indentured labour there.

Page 699, paragraph 1172—

Ahmedabad, October 20th.—The Satyagraha Ashram started by M. K. Gandhi with 30 students in May last, now has 25 male and 6 female students of various ages. Five of them are Madrassis, 10 come from Rajkot, 2 from Morvi, 1 from Jamnagar, 1 from Dharmaj, Kaira District, 8 from Johannesburg, South Africa, and 2 are Dheds from Bombay.

The teaching used to be carried on by Dr. Madhavprasad of Nava Jivanalaya, Ahmedabad, Girjashankar Harishankar Joshi of Raipura, Pandit Madhavji Khimji, Hindi Editor of the *Vidya Kulpatri*, and several students of the Gujarat College.

However, all these have dropped the institution since the admission of the Dhed students 3 or 4 weeks ago and even D. 13. Kamalkar (Kalelkar), B.A., who recently joined, has resigned and left Ahmedabad for Belgaum via. Hyderabad and Karachi on the 10th instant.

The teaching is now chiefly carried on by Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi.

The admission of the Dhed pupils without any regard to caste scruples has lowered the tone of the Ashram in the public esteem.

Page 718, paragraph 1223—

C. I. D., Bombay Presidency. November 6th.—Mr. M. K. Gandhi delivered a lecture on the "Indentured labour question" at a public meeting held on the 28th October 1915 at the Empire Theatre, Bombay, under the auspices of the District Congress Committees connected with the Girgaum and Bhuleshwar wards.

The Honourable Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola presided.

The lecturer said that the late Mr. Gokhale was the first to bring the Indentured labour question to the notice of the people of India, and some years ago in the Viceregal Council he moved a resolution recommending the total abolition of Indentured labour. This was, after their troubles in South Africa had come to ahead. Mr. Gokhale said it was a question which affected their national self-respect.

There was, however, now a serious difficulty in the way of the Viceroy, however, well-intentioned he might be. The report issued by Messrs. McNeill and Chimanlal. These gentlemen recommended

that the system should be continued just as it was after certain conditions had been fulfilled. The conditions were that unsuitable emigrants—male and female should be excluded, that the agreement should state clearly how the breaches of contract would be punished, that the proportions of females should be raised from 40 to 50 per cent., and that the present age-limit should be abolished.

He would explain to them the full significance of those conditions. The Commissioners' view was that this labour was not easy to obtain in India. Lord Sanderson's Committee * had somewhere stated that it was not the surplus nor the working people of India that became indentured labourers, but those who fell an easy prey to the blandishments of the recruiters. Several pages of the report were devoted to immorality. In the language of the report some of the women were prostitutes, and most of them were unmarried, though kept by men. To talk of suitable recruits under such conditions was absurd. It was also recommended that the unduly rigorous provisions of the Ordinances should be expunged. The indentured labourer was bound hand and foot for five years. There was not likely to be any change in that condition. Labour could not fight against Capital as long as Capital was propped up by legislation. Much was said in the report of the Protector of Immigrants; but the Protector, who accepted the Planter's hospitality, was not likely to work against them. He could not be expected to rise above his human limitations as regards the disciplinary measures designed to keep those men under control. He could not believe that justice would be done even if, as suggested in the report, the Protector were to adjudicate in cases of complaints made by the Immigrants. There would be no check on the Protector's work. The two Commissioners also recommended that the indentured labourer should be allowed to redeem his indenture by payment of a graduated redemption fee. The Commissioners made a double error in this. In the first place, they presumed that the indentured labourer had sufficient freedom

*MINUTE BY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF KREWE, K. G.

Secretary of State for the Colonies, appointing the Committee. Appoint Lord Sanderson, G.C.B., Lord Sandhurst, G.C.S.I., Sir George Scott Robertson, K.C.S.I., M.P., Sir James Digges La Touche, K.C.S.I., Hugh Bertram Cox, Esq., C. B., Wilfrid Ashley, Esq., M. P. ; Selwyn Howe Fremantle, Esq.; Walter Devonshire Ellis, Esq., to be a Committee to consider the following questions :—

- (a) The general question of emigration from India to the Crown Colonies.
- (b) The particular colonies in which Indian immigration may be most usefully encouraged.
- (c) The general advantages to be reaped in each case—

- (i) by India itself ;

- (ii) by each particular Colony. Reginald Herbert Griffin, Esq., to act as Secretary. 3rd March 1909.

CREWE.

The Committee's report was submitted on 26th April 1910.

to collect sufficient funds for the purpose, and, secondly, they presumed that the labourer had sufficient manliness left in him to leave his employer. This condition was an impossible one. In recommending that " Registered marriages should be facilitated " the Commissioners were guilty of a lamentable want of imagination. If he were living with a harlot, should he have to marry her if she were to go before the Registering Officer and ask to marry him. That was not the way to conduct affairs in a civilised world.

In Natal the finger of scorn was pointed at their indentured countrymen. They could not rise to any position higher than a labourer or a pettifogging miserable trader. For this reason they declined to associate themselves with this system of indenture, because it reduced them from the position of their national self-respect. He did not charge the employers with any special degree of inhumanity, but he objected to the system because, however, protected it might be, the labourers would remain in a State bordering on slavery, a state which stunted the national growth and deprived them of their national dignity.

The President proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Gandhi. The proposal was seconded by Mr. Jehangir B. Petit who said that they had started in Bombay, under the able advice and guidance of Mr. Gandhi, an association called :—

The Imperial Indian Citizenship Association, the object of which, was to obtain for the people of India the full rights and privileges of the citizens of the British Empire. They had appropriated for the work of the Association the balance in the fund collected for Mr. Gandhi's campaign in South Africa. The Association's first step was to send Messrs. Pearson and Andrews to Fiji with a view to obtaining the abolition of the pernicious system of Indentured Labour.

The vote of thanks to the lecturer was passed with applause.

Page 731, paragraph 1259—

Ahmedabad, October 30th.—The District Magistrate writes— "I have visited Mr. M. K. Gandhi's Satyagraha (Ashram), which does not appear to me to be in a very flourishing condition, most of the teachers and some of the pupils having left probably on account of the admission of Dheds. The pupils include Mr. Gandhi's own children and relations brought by him from South Africa and he has practically no new-comers gathered locally so that the thing may almost be regarded as a family concern. Mr. Gandhi was found by me teaching different subjects to about eight boys, and others

were engaged in carpentry and weaving ; Mrs. Gandhi and a female assistant were busy in the kitchen.

" The Institution evidently still excites interest. I saw half a dozen students from Bombay, waiting to be shown round, or perhaps to see the great man. But it has come to grief on the question of caste, and Mr. Gandhi prefers to have things as they are to giving in over what is to him a vital Principle. He is still considering whether to become a member of the Servants of India Society. "

Page 671, paragraph 1129—

Ahmedabad, October 13th.—The following three persons, Saraswat Brahmins, arrived from Belgaum, via Baroda on the 27th (September) ultimo :—(1) D. B. Kamalkar (Kalelkar), B.A., (2) N. V. Gunaji. (3) S. B. Naik.

Nos. 2 and 3 left for Bombay on the 28th ultimo. All these put up at Mr. Gandhi's Satyagraha Ashram, and No. 1 is staying on there as a teacher in that institution.

Their descriptions are as under :—

(1)*Dattatraya Balkrishna Kalelkar.*—Age 30 ; height five feet seven inches ; long thin moustache ; wears glasses ; says he is a school-master in Belgaum (camp).

(2)*Nageshwar Vasudev Gunaji.*—Age 25 ; pleader of Belgaum City.

(3)*Shankar B. Naik.*—Age 18; a student and resident of Belgaum City.

The movements of No. 1 are under observation.

Page 816, paragraph 1442—

B. B. and C. I. Railway, December 6th.—Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi arrived at Viramgaon on the 1st instant by 1 Down Mail from Ahmedabad. He was received on the station by about 25 men of Viramgaon. After about an hour's halt Gandhi went on to Rajkot by train. During the time he was on the station at Viramgaon he made a brief speech to the assembled people, explaining that he was going to Rajkot to collect subscriptions for a memorial to the late Mr. Gokhale. He requested the people of Viramgaon to contribute towards the memorial. Gandhi was accompanied by his wife and one Chintaman Sakharam Dhavle (Devle), a member of the "Servants of India Society".

Page 832, paragraph 1465—

(a) *Ahmedabad, December 13th.*—Chintaman Sakharam Dhavle (Devle) of Nagav, Kolaba District, a member of the " Servants of India Society", arrived from Poona, via Bombay, on the 30th (November) ultimo, and put up at M. K. Gandhi's " Satyagraha

Ashram" in Ahmedabad. He left on the 1st instant with M. K. Gandhi for Rajkot. It is alleged that this visit is in connection with Gandhi's " passive resistance " attitude towards the Viramgaon Customs.

(b) *Baroda, December 16th.*—The Commissioner of Police writes : "Mr. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi arrived in Amreli on the 10th instant from Bhavnagar and was received with great honour by the local Mahajans. While at Amreli he delivered a lecture on morality, on the free use of swadeshi cloth, etc., and the encouragement of Indian manufacturers. He also collected about Rs. 500 in Amreli for a statue of the late Mr. Gokhale. He was accompanied by his nephew. Mr. Jamnadas, one Devchandbhai Uttamchand, Barrister-at-Law of Jetpur, Mr. Devle of Bombay, a member of the Servants of India Society, and a Brahmin, name not reported. The party left for Bagasra on the 12th (December) idem. "

Page 15, paragraph 38—

(a) *Kathiawar Agency, December 20th, 1915.*—Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was in Bagasra on the 12th instant, coming via, Hadala from Amreli. He was accompanied by Darbar Shri Vajsurwala of Hadala, Devchand Uttamchand, Bar-at-Law of Jetpur, his son and a man from Rajkot. A meeting was held, in the Ginning and Weaving Factory of Ratilal Motichand which most of the inhabitants of Bagasra attended. The following are the names of the more influential men who attended :—

Darbar Ram Mulu, Darbar Ram Hassur, Matra Zodad, Mazmu Nyadish, Mr. Liladhar M. Mehta, Mr. Narsidas B. Vibhakar, Barrister-at-Law, Bombay.

Vakil Chhaganlal Gordhan, who gave an address of welcome to Gandhi in which he praised the sacrifices made by him in South Africa. Gandhi in reply said he would now try his best to get Government to abolish the Customs arrangements at Viramgaon. His ostensible reason for touring Kathiawar was to collect subscriptions for the Gokhale Memorial Fund. He collected some Rs. 250 at the meeting. On the 15th December, Gandhi visited Wadhwan City and Camp when he addressed meetings and asked for subscriptions towards the Fund. He went to Dhrangadhra by the 1-15 p.m. train the same day.

(b) *Ahmedabad, December 21st, 1915.*—C. S. Dhavle (Devle) returned to Ahmedabad with M. K. Gandhi from Rajkot on the 16th instant. They stopped for a few hours at Viramgam on their way back, and Gandhi gave a short lecture there with the object of getting money for the Gokhale Memorial Fund. Dhavle (Devle) left for Bombay on the 17th idem. From Rajkot the two above named, were accompanied by Dr. P. J. Mehta. Mehta is staying at Mr. Gandhi's Satyagraha Ashram.

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Page 63, paragraph 101—

Baroda, January 12th.—The Commissioner of Police writes: ' On the 4th instant Mr. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi arrived at Kathor, Navsari District, in response to an invitation from the Kathor people. A large meeting was held under the presidentship of the First Class Magistrate, Kathor, Mr. Muzumdar, and several speeches were made, but nothing objectionable was said. The same evening he went on to Navsari and stopped in the dharamshala near the railway station. The next day he was taken in procession to the public park, Navsari, where a meeting without a president was held. Mr. Gandhi spoke and received addresses. Nothing objectionable was reported in the proceedings."

Page 73, paragraph 125—

(a) *C. I. D., Bombay Presidency, January 29th.*—The District Superintendent of Police ; Ahmedabad, reported that the following persons residing in M. K. Gandhi's Satyagraha Ashram left Ahmedabad, on the 20th December 1915 to attend the National Congress, etc., at Bombay :—

(1) M. K. Gandhi, (2) Krishna Ayyar, (3) Hari Har Subramaniam, (4) Dr. P. J. Mehta.

Nos. 1, 2 and 4 returned to the Ashram on the 5th instant, but No. 3 is said to have gone to Madras.

Sundaram Anna Swami Ayyar, one of the Madrasis in the Ashram, left for Bombay on the 6th idem and Kappu Swami Munnuswami Mudliar, Madrasi, who came to the Ashram from Johannesburg, S. A., left for Madras via Raichur on the 12th.

Page 98, paragraph 192—

(a) *Kaira, February 2nd.*—Mr. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi visited Nadiad on the 23rd January, arriving there by the morning train from Ahmedabad. He had a great reception at the station, and subsequently visited the Nadiad Anath Ashram, where he distributed the prizes. He visited other places in the Town, and returned to Ahmedabad the same day.

(b) *C. I. D., Bombay Presidency, February 12th.*—The following is an extract from *New India*, dated the 10th February 1916 :—

THE BENARES INCIDENT.

Mr. Gandhi's Version.

Bombay, February 10th.—Mr. Gandhi, who arrived here yesterday afternoon from Benares, was interviewed by an Associated Press representative, regarding the incident at Benares, which ended in the interruption of his address to the students on Sunday last. Questioned as to what particular remarks of his were taken objection

to by Mrs. Besant when she rose to a point of order, Mr. Gandhi said that he did not know what it was, nor did Mrs. Besant point out any such remarks. She only appealed to the Chairman to stop him from speaking : " My speech that evening was practically a repetition on so far as it related to anarchism, of what I had said at a meeting held in Calcutta last year, presided over by the Honourable Mr. Lyon." At this point, the audience wanted Mr. Gandhi to continue his speech, but he declined to do so without the Chairman's permission. I requested the audience not to resent Mrs. Besant's interruption since, if she was aggrieved, she had a right to ask for the Chairman's ruling. Continuing, Mr. Gandhi said : " The Maharaja of Darbhanga, after some consideration, allowed me to proceed and cautioned as to explain matters briefly. I proceeded, but still I noticed a stir on the platform. Mrs. Besant was whispering to the princes, who were sitting near her, that I was still neither withdrawing nor explaining, and they ought not to stay. The next thing I observed was that the princes rose one after another, and the chairman also left the chair. I, therefore, could not finish my speech. "

Every Word Well Weighed

Questioned whether he would like to withdraw any of his remarks, he made at the meeting, Mr. Gandhi emphatically declared that every word was well considered and well weighed, and said: "That I could ever endorse methods of violence was unthinkable. I was not eager to speak at all. I did so under great pressure from friends as I was credited with having some influence over the student population of the country. I was asked to speak about, violence, which has unfortunately been the creed of some impulsive youths, with the result that we had to witness the humiliating spectacle of extraordinary precautions having to be taken for the protection of the life of our honoured guest from ourselves. Throughout my remarks there was not a word of endorsement of violent deeds. I did give the misguided youth credit for patriotic motives, but I showed that their action was all the worthier of condemnation in that it did irreparable harm. In fact, the whole of my speech was intended to direct a searchlight towards ourselves, and to show that for many of our difficulties we were alone responsible. It is my firm belief, he said, that but for Mrs. Besant's hasty interruption nothing would have happened, and my speech, in its completed state, would have left no room for doubt as to my meaning."

Regarding Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's speech, Mr. Gandhi said that he could trace no apology in it: " He merely said that I had spoken at his special request, and my sole intention was to show how suicidal the methods of violence were." (A. P. I.)

Annie Besant's Explanation

As Mr. Gandhi has made the statement which appears by wire in our columns, I think it well to say that my interruption was due to the fact that an Englishman behind me, whom I concluded was a C. I. D. officer, made the remark : " Everything he says is being taken down, and will be sent to the Commissioner. " As several things said were capable of a construction that I knew Mr. Gandhi could certainly not mean to convey, I thought it better to suggest to the Chairman that politics were out of place in that meeting. I did not suggest to the princes to leave, nor do I know who did. I am well aware that Mr. Gandhi would rather be killed than kill, but I do think that his remarks were capable of misconstruction, and I feared for his personal safety under the conditions existing in Benares. How far from any wish of his is any disturbance of the public peace was shown by his view, that we ought not to embarrass the Government even by holding the Congress.

Page 109-111. paragraph 217—

C. I. D., Bombay Presidency, February 19th.—The following is an extract from the *New India*, dated the 16th February 1916 :—

Address at the Y. M. C. A.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi delivered an address to the students at the Y. M. C. A. auditorium this morning with the Hon. Rev. G. Pittendrigh in the chair.

The Chairman, without any words of introduction, requested Mr. Gandhi to address the meeting.

The lecturer opened with the remark that he was never fond of hearing his own voice, but that, out of his love and respect for students who, he considered, were the future hope of India, he accepted the invitation to speak to them that morning. He then said :

The Benares Incident.

I did not know what subject to choose. A friend has handed me a slip here, asking me whether I would not enlighten the students on the Benares incident. I fear that I shall have to disappoint that friend and those of you who associate yourselves with that view. I do not think you need lay any stress upon that incident. Those are the passing waves which will always come and go. I would rather this morning, if I can possibly do so, pour my soul out to you with reference to something which I treasure so much above everything else. To many students who came to me last year, I said I was about to establish an Ashram somewhere in India, and it is about that place that I am going to talk to you today.

I have felt during the whole of my public life that what we need, what any Nation needs, but we perhaps of all the other Nations of the world need just now, is nothing else and nothing less than character-building. You know that Mr. Gokhale used so often to say that our average was less than the average of so many European Nations. I do not know whether that statement of him, whom with pride I consider to be my political Guru, has really foundation in fact. But I do believe that there is much to say to justify that statement in so far as the educated India is concerned, not because the educated portion of the community blundered, but because we have been creatures of circumstances. Be that as it may ; this is the maxim of life which I have accepted, namely, that no work done by any man, no matter how great he is, will really prosper unless it has a religious backing. By religion, I do not mean the religion which you will get after reading all the scriptures of the world, it is not really a grasp by the brain, but it is the heart-grasp. It is a thing which is not evident to us, but it is a thing which is evolved out of us ; it is always within us, with some, consciously so, with the others quite unconsciously, but it is there, and whether we wake up this religious instinct in us through outside assistance or by inward growth, no matter how it is done, it has got to be done if we want to do anything in the right manner and anything that is going to persist. Our scriptures have laid down certain rules as maxims of life, which we have to take for granted, and believing in these maxims implicitly for all these long years and having actually endeavoured to reduce to practice those injunctions of the shastras, I have deemed it necessary to seek the association of those who think with me in founding this institution. I shall place before you this morning the rules that have been drawn up and that have to be observed by everyone who seeks to be a member of that Ashram.

There are five rules known as Yamas, and the first is the vow of truth, not truth as we ordinarily understand it, but truth which means that we have to rule our life by the law of truth at any cost and in order to satisfy the definition I have drawn upon the celebrated illustration of the life of Prahalada, who for the sake of truth, dared to oppose his own father. In this Ashram we make it a rule that we must say no when we mean no, regardless of consequences.

The next rule is the vow of the *Ahimsa*, which means non-killing. To me, it is a word of meaning, and takes me into realms much higher than the realms to which I would go if I merely understood *Ahimsa* to mean non-killing. *Ahimsa* really means that you may not offend anybody, you may not harbour an uncharitable thought even in connection with one who may consider himself

to be your enemy. For one who follows the doctrine of *Ahimsa*, there is no room for the enemy. Under this rule, there is no room for organised assassination, and there is no room for murders even openly committed, and there is no room for violence even for the sake of your country and even for guarding the honour of precious ones that may be under your charge. This doctrine of *Ahimsa* tells us that we may guard the honour of those who are under our charge by delivering ourselves into the hands of the men who would commit the sacrilege, and that requires far greater physical and mental courage than delivering blows. You may have some degree of physical power—I do not say courage and you may use that power, but after it is expended, what happens ? The man is wild with wrath and indignation, and you have made him wilder by matching your violence against his, and when he has done you to death, the rest of his violence is delivered on to your charge ; but if you do not retaliate but simply stand your ground to receive all the blows and stand between your charge and the opponent, what happens ? I give you my promise that the whole violence will be expended on you, and your charge will be left sacred.

Those who want to perform National Service or those who want to have the glimpse of real religious life must lead a celibate life, whether married or unmarried. Marriage brings a woman close together with a man, and they become friends in a special sense, never to be parted either in this life or in the lives that are to come ; but I do not think that into that plane of life our lusts should necessarily enter.

Then there is the vow of the control of the palates. A man who wants to control his animal passion easily does so without even noticing that he does so. Without being a slave to his palate, he will master his palate. This is one of the most difficult vows to follow. I am just now coming from having inspected the Victoria Hostel, and I saw to my dismay that there are so many kitchens, not kitchens that are established in order to serve caste restrictions, but kitchens that have become necessary in order that we can have condiments and the exact weight of condiments, to which we were used in the respective countries or the places or Provinces from which we have come. For the Brahmanas themselves there are different compartments and different kitchens catering after the delicate tastes of those different groups. I suggest to you that this is simply slavery to the palate, rather than mastery of the palate. Unless we are satisfied with foods that are necessary for the proper maintenance of our physical health and unless we are prepared to rid ourselves of those stimulating and heating and exciting condiments that we mix with our food, we will certainly not be able to control the over-abundant unnecessary exciting energy

that we may have. Eating and drinking and indulging in passion, we share in common with the animals, but have you seen a horse, a cow indulging in palate to the excess that we do ? Do you suppose that it is a sign of civilisation, a sign of actual life that we should multiply our eatables so far that we do not know where we are ?

Vow of Non-Thieving.

The next rule is the vow of non-thieving. We are thieves in a way if we take anything that we do not need for immediate use, and keep it from somebody else who needs it. It is a fundamental law of Nature, that Nature produces enough for our wants from day to day, and if only everybody took only enough for him and no more, there will be no poverty in the world, and there will be no man dying of starvation in this world. And so long as we have got this inequality, so long I shall have to say we are thieves. I am no socialist, and I do not want to dispossess those who have got possessions, but I do say that personally those of us who want to see darkness out of light have to follow this doctrine. In India, we have three millions of people having to be satisfied with only one meal consisting of chapati containing no fat in it and a pinch of salt.

Vow of Swadeshi.

The vow of *Swadeshi* is a necessary vow. I suggest to you that we are departing from one of the sacred laws of our being when we leave our neighbour and go somewhere else to satisfy our wants. If a man comes from Bombay here and offers you wares, you are not justified in supporting the Bombay merchant or trader so long as you have got a merchant at your very door born and bred in Madras. That is my view of *Swadeshi*. In your village, so long as you have a village barber, you are bound to support the village barber to the exclusion of the finished barber that may come to you from Madras. Train your village barber by all means to reach the attainment of the barber from the Madras, but until he does so, you are not justified in going to the Madras barber. When we find that there are many things we cannot get, we try to do without them. We may have to do without so many things which today we consider necessary, and believe me when you have that frame of mind, you will find a great burden taken off your shoulders even as the pilgrim did in that inimitable book 'Pilgrim's Progress'.

Vow of Fearlessness.

I found through my wanderings in India that all educated India is seized with a paralysing fear. We may not open our lips in public. We may not declare our confirmed opinions in public.

We may hold those opinions, and we may talk about them secretly, and we may do anything within the four walls of a house, but those opinions are not for public consumption. If we took a vow of silence, I would have nothing to say, but when we open our lips in public we say things which we really do not believe. I do not know whether this is not the experience of almost every one who speaks in public. I then suggest to you that there is only one Being, if Being is the proper term to be applied, whom we have to fear, and that is God. If you want to follow the vow of truth in any shape or form, fearlessness is the necessary consequence.

Untouchables.

We have also a vow in connection with the untouchable. There is an ineffacable blot which Hinduism carries with it today. I have declined to believe that it has been handed to us from immemorial times. I think that these miserable, wretched, enslaving spirits of untouchables must have come to us when we were in a cycle of our lives at our lowest ebb, and that evil has stuck to us, and it remains with us. It is to my mind a curse that has come to us, and as long as it remains with us, we are bound to consider that every affliction that we labour under in this sacred land is a fit and proper punishment for the great crime that we are committing. That any person should be considered untouchable because of his calling passes one's comprehension, and you, the student world, who receive all this modern education, if you become a party to this crime, it were better that you receive no education whatsoever. We are labouring under a heavy handicap. You, although you may realise that there cannot be a single human being on this earth who should be considered to be untouchable, you cannot react upon your families and upon your surroundings, because all your thought is conceived in a foreign tongue. So we have introduced a rule in the Ashrama that we shall receive our education through the vernaculars. In order to solve the problem of languages in India, we in the Ashrama make a point of learning as many Indian vernaculars as we possibly can, and I assure you that the trouble of learning these languages is nothing compared to the trouble that we have to take in mastering the English language. Even after all that trouble, it is not possible for us to express ourselves in the English language as clearly as in our own mother-tongue. Education has enabled us to see the horrible crime in connection with the so-called untouchables, but we are seized with fear, and we have got our superstitious veneration for our family traditions and for the members of our families.

Politics.

Last of all when you have conformed to these rules, I think then. and not till then, you may come to politics and dabble in them to your heart's content. Politics divorced from religions, have absolutely

no meaning, and if the student world crowd the political platforms of the country, to my mind, it is not necessarily a healthy sign of national growth; but that does not mean that we in student-life ought not to learn politics. Politics are also a part of our being. We want to understand our national institutions, we ought to understand our national growth. So, in the Ashrama, every child is taught to understand political institutions, and know how the country is vibrating with new emotions, with new aspirations, with new life : but we want also the infallible light of religious faith, not faith which merely appeals to the intelligence, but faith which is indelibly inscribed in the heart. Today what happens is that immediately young men cease to be students they sink into oblivion, and they seek miserable employments, carrying miserable emoluments, knowing nothing of God, knowing nothing of fresh air and fresh light, and knowing nothing of that real vigorous independence that comes out of obedience to those laws that I have placed before you.

I am not here asking you to crowd into the Ashrama, there is no room there. But I say that every one of you may enact that Ashrama life individually and collectively; I shall be satisfied with anything that you may choose from the rules I have ventured to place before you and act up to it. But if you think that these are the outpourings of a mad man, you will not hesitate to tell me that it is so, and I shall take that judgment from you undismayed (Loud cheers.)

Page 112-14, paragraph 218—

C. I. D., Bombay Presidency, February, 19th.—The following is an extract from the *New India*, dated the 17th February 1916: —

THE BENARES INCIDENT.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes to us—

Mrs. Besant's reference in *New India* and certain other references to the Benares incident perhaps render it necessary for me to return to the subject, however disinclined I may be to do so. Mrs. Besant denies my statement with reference to her whispering to the Prince. I can only say that if I can trust my eyes and my ears. I must adhere to the statement I have made. She occupied a seat on the left of the semi-circle on either side of the Maharaja of Darbhanga, who occupied the chair, and there was at least one prince, perhaps, there were two, who were sitting on her side. Whilst I was speaking, Mrs. Besant was almost behind me. When the Maharaja rose, Mrs. Besant had also risen. I had ceased speaking before the Rajas actually left the platform. She was discussing the incident with a group round her on the platform. I gently suggested to her that she might have refrained from interrupting, but that if she disapproved of the speech after it was

finished, she could have then dissociated herself from my sentiments. But she, with some degree of warmth, said: "How could we sit still when you were compromising everyone of us on the platform ? You ought not to have made the remarks you did." This answer of Mrs. Besant does not quite tally with that solicitude for me which alone, according to her version of the incident, prompted her to interrupt the speech. I suggest that if she merely meant to protect me she could have passed a note round or whispered into my ears her advice. And, again if it was for my protection, why was it necessary for her to rise with the princes and to leave the hall as I hold she did along with them.

So far as my remarks are concerned, I am yet unable to know what it was in my speech that seems to her to be open to such exception as to warrant her interruption. After referring to the Viceregal visit and the necessary precautions that were taken for the Viceroy's safety, I showed that an assassin's death was anything but an honourable death, and said that anarchism was opposed to our Shastras and had no room in India. I said then where there was honourable death it would go down to history as men who died for their conviction. But when a bomb-thrower died, secretly plotting all sorts of things, what could he gain ? I then went on to state and deal with the fallacy that, had not bomb-throwers thrown bombs, we should never have gained what we did with reference to the partition movement. It was at about this stage that Mrs. Besant appealed to the chair to stop me. Personally, I will desire a publication of the whole of my speech whose trend was a sufficient warrant for showing that I could not possibly incite the students to deeds of violence. Indeed, it was conceived in order to carry on a rigorous self-examination.

I began by saying that it was a humiliation for the audience and myself that I should have to speak in English. I said that English having been the medium of instruction, it had done a tremendous injury to the country, and as I conceive, I showed successfully that had we received training during the past 50 years in higher thought in our own vernaculars, we would be to-day within reach of goal. I then referred to the Self-Government resolution passed at the Congress, and showed that whilst the All-India Congress Committee and the All-India Muslim League would be drawing up on their paper about the future constitution, their duty was to fit themselves by their own action for Self-Government. And in order to show how short we fell of our duty, I drew attention to the dirty condition of the labyrinth of lanes surrounding the great temple of Kashi Vishwanath and the recently erected palatial buildings without any conception as to the straightness or the width of the streets. I then took the audience to the gorgeous scene that was enacted on the

dais of the laying of the foundation, and suggested that if a stranger, not knowing anything about Indian life, had visited the scene, he would have gone away under the false impression that India was one of the richest countries in the world—such was the display of jewellery worn by our noblemen. And turning to the Maharajas and the Rajas, I humourously suggested that it was necessary for them to hold those treasures in trust for the nation before we could realise our ideals, and I cited the action of the Japanese nobleman who considered it a glorious privilege, even though there was no necessity for them, to dispossess themselves of treasures and lands which were handed to them from generation to generation. I then asked the audience to consider the humiliating spectacle of the Viceroy's person having to be protected from ourselves when he was our honoured guest. And I was endeavouring to show that the blame for these precautions was also on ourselves, in that they were rendered necessary because of the introduction of organised assassination in India. Thus I was endeavouring to show on the one hand, how the students could usefully occupy themselves in assisting to rid the society of its proved defects, on the other, to wean themselves even in thought from methods of violence.

I claim that, with 20 years experience of public life, in the course of which I had to address on scores of occasions turbulent audiences, I have some experience of feeling the pulse of my audience. I was following closely how the speech was being taken, and I certainly did not notice that the student world was being adversely affected. Indeed, some of them came to me the following morning, and told me that they perfectly understood my remarks which had gone home. One of them, a keen debator, even subjected me to cross-examination, and seemed to feel convinced by a further development of the argument such as I had advanced in the course of my speech. Indeed, I have spoken now to thousands of students and others of my countrymen throughout South Africa, England and India ; and by precisely the arguments that I used that evening I claim to have weaned many from their approval of anarchical methods.

Finally, I observe that Mr. S. S. Setlur, of Bombay, who has written on the incident to the Hindu in no friendly mood towards me, and who, I think in some respects totally unfair, has endeavoured to tear me to pieces and who was an eye-witness to the proceedings gives a version different from Mrs. Besant's. He thinks that the general impression, was not that I was encouraging the anarchists, but that I was playing the role of an apologist for the Civilian Bureaucraft. The whole of Mr. Setlur's attack upon me shows that if he is right I was certainly not guilty of any incitement to violence and that the offence consisted in my reference to Jewellery, etc.

In order that the fullest justice might be done both to Mrs. Besant and myself, I would make the following suggestion. She says that she does not propose to defend herself by quoting the sentence which drove the princes away that that would be playing into the enemies' hands. According to her previous statement my speech is already in the hands of detectives so that so far as my safety is concerned, her forbearance is not going to be of the slightest use. Would it not, therefore, be better that she should either publish a verbatim report if she has it, or reproduce such sentiments in my speech as in her opinion necessitated her interruption and the princes' withdrawal.

I will, therefore, conclude this statement by repeating what I have said before ; that but for Mrs. Besant's interruption I would have concluded my speech within a few minutes, and no possible misconception about my views on anarchism would have arisen.

Mrs. Besant's Reply.

The above came to us from the Madras Mail. Mr. Gandhi telephoned to ask if I would put in a statement from him, and I answered yes. I presume that the above from the Madras Mail is the statement.

I regret that I must traverse the first paragraph of the statement. I do not see how, if " Mrs. Besant was almost behind me," he could have seen me " whispering" to princes on the far side of the Maharaja of Darbhanga, nor how they could have heard my whispers ; there was one prince on my side, who did not move till after all the rest had gone. I did not leave with the princes, but remained with my friends round me, and in fact Mr. Gandhi says. I was discussing with them, while he also says that I left along with princes. I did not leave till some minutes after the meeting was over, and then not even by the way they went, but by a path which led towards my house from the platform.

I have no report of Mr. Gandhi's speech, but he desires me to mention the statements which I thought necessitated the interruption, I answer that I thought that in a non-political meeting, with princes and many others present who would suffer from Government displeasure, he should not have twice spoken of the possibility of the English being driven bag and baggage out of the country and of his being ready, if he thought Indians fit for Self-Government which he did not—to march with thousands of his countrymen to the muzzle of English guns and die gloriously ; that it was unwise to say bluntly " I am an anarchist, " without explaining what he meant, and to speak, of bombs bringing about the annulment of the partition of Bengal, with praise of the heroism of those who threw them. I knew very well how such statements would appear in a C. I. D. report, as

I have suffered from such reports, and I appealed to the Chairman. If the meeting had been called by Mr. Gandhi, it would have been no one's business but his own what he chose to say ; as it was, the University Committee, to which I belong, was responsible to those we had invited. It may be that I ought to have left Mr. Gandhi to go his own way, despite the uneasiness and the complaints all around me. I meant to do him a kindness and prevent the more violent interruption which would have probably taken place, had I remained silent. I am glad that Mr. Gandhi has explained what he meant to say, though I regret his mis-statements about myself.

Mr. S. S. Setlur's letter, which I subjoin from the *Hindu*, gives accurately what occurred.

The Setlur's Version.

THE EDITOR OF THE HINDU.

Sir,

With reference to what has been published in *Bombay Chronicle* of the 10th and 11th instant, as I happened to be present at the meeting and was sitting close to the dais, I may be allowed to say a few words.

At the outset, I may at once say that the general impression was not that Mr. Gandhi was encouraging the anarchist, but was, from the beginning to the end, playing the role of an apologist for the Civilian Bureaucrat and to use his own words " putting in a Word " for that splendid service, because a noble, broadminded member of it had requested him to do so. The incompatibility of this new role assumed by him with that of the hero of South Africa was so apparent that he naturally seemed to have felt consciously or unconsciously the awkwardness of the situation. The result was that he started with a long preface expatiating on the misguided so-called virtues of the anarchist boys before coming to his point, and this, coming after the suicidal and untenable position he took up at the beginning with regard to the demand for Self-Government formulated by the Indian National Congress and the Moslem League last December and the inexcusably ungracious and indecent attack he made on the Ruling Princes—whose princely munificence had made the celebration of the foundation ceremony possible so as to give him an occasion to air his Kaiser-I-Hind Medalist views that evening for what he considered to be their great crime of attending the foundation ceremony, wearing their ancestral jewels which have descended to them as heir-looms from ancient times, was too much for the thinking portion of the audience. It was a mere accident that Mrs. Annie Besant intervened, because if she had not done so, somebody else would have. It was his great personality that saved

him from earlier interruption. No doubt the student portion of the audience urged him to go on and that was due to their enthusiasm for the hero of the African struggle and their not realising the trend of his speech. It was precisely because there was the danger of the students being mistaken to have taken his prefatory appreciation of the misguided virtues of the anarchists seriously that the princes on the dais and the elders down below felt the position awkward and irksome. With all this, in deference to his personality, the Chairman allowed him to proceed and finish shortly. But Mr. Gandhi went on in his own way, neither caring for time nor for the feelings of his audience, and when it was five minutes to eight, which was the usual hour for closing the meeting. His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar, who was too far from Mrs. Annie Besant to be persuaded by her to leave, rose and other princes followed. Last of all, the Maharaja of Durbhanga, who was the Chairman, rose. When this stampede of the princes took place, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, to save the situation, with an adroitness which reminded me of our beloved departed Bombay Leader Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, requested the Chairman to wait for a few minutes, and himself gave the audience in one sentence the advice which Mr. Gandhi wanted to give, condemning anarchism as cowardly, and announced his arrangements for the next day and closed the meeting.

This is in short what took place and it is for you readers to say who was responsible for that unfortunate incident and what was the relevancy of self-government, jewellery of the princes and anarchism to the University Foundation ceremony.

S. S. Setlur.

Bombay, February 14.

(Mr. S. S. Setlur was well known as a former Judge of the Chief Court of Mysore and afterwards practising as an Advocate in Bombay—ED.)

Page 29, paragraph 258—

Ahmedabad, January 26th.—The Revd. C. F. Andrews who went to the Fiji Islands in connection with the Indian Indentured Labour Question, arrived from Bombay on the 17th instant, and put up at M. K. Gandhi's Satyagraha Ashram. In the afternoon of the 17th Mr. Andrews, accompanied by M. K. Gandhi, went to Baola. There they were met by a number of people at the station and taken round Baola in a procession. A certain number of people gave some money to M. K. Gandhi about Rs. 150 in all which the latter said he would use for his Satyagraha Ashram.

An address was given to Mr. Gandhi in a silver easket with Rs. 50. The visit to Baola was apparently for the purpose of attending a meeting which was being held there on the 15th, 16th and 17th to collect funds for a local free dispensary at Baola. About Rs. 5,000 were collected for this purpose ; the president of the meeting being Mr. Karsanbhai Jesinghbhai, Sub-Judge of Dholka.

Messrs. Andrews and Gandhi returned to Ahmedabad the same evening, and the former left for Bombay the same night (17th).

Page 130, paragraph 259—

C. I. D., Bombay Presidency, February 25th.—A meeting to celebrate the anniversary of the late Mr. Gokhale's death was held in the Kirloskar Theatre, Poona City, on the 19th instant.

There were about 2,000 persons present.

Mr. H. A. Wadia, Bar-at-Law, presided.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi was the principal speaker. He said that it would be a matter of the greatest satisfaction to the Deccan Sabha, under whose auspices the meeting took place, and to all lovers of India, if some of them were to take on themselves for the next year a resumption of the activities of the deceased statesman. Gokhale's memory was worthy of such an effort. A narration of his manifold services to his country would fill many volumes. Gokhale's efforts on the South African question alone cost him ten years of life. He established his Servants of India Society for the purpose of spiritualizing India. For the sake of his countrymen he was prepared to undergo the severest hardships. The speaker said that he had toured the country during the past year in accordance with the wishes of Mr. Gokhale, and now without his advice to guide him he was at a loss to know whether he was drifting in the right or the wrong direction. In the course of his travels he found that the country was vibrating with a passionate spirit of patriotism, but the bugbear of " Fear " loomed large on the horizon. Social endeavour was impeded by the overawing power of spiritual authority; and in the path of political activity lay the barrier of political authority. They were the slaves of circumstances, but they were themselves to blame. It had become impossible for them to voice in public the opinions uttered in their homes. The spiritual liberty of the people was usurped by the priests ; in politics they were afraid to give expression to their views. This was a regrettable state of affairs and showed that they were lacking in backbone. Until they had driven out this craven spirit from their hearts, they were unworthy of undertaking the great charge bequeathed to them. The heroes of the past were still with them in spirit. Faith in the lives of the great departed, sincerity, humanity and patriotism would

enable them to weather the storm and establish their country in its destined place among the nations of the world.

The president in thanking Mr. Gandhi for his address said that he was not prepared to say anything about the apprehensions and hopes which Mr. Gandhi had spoken of, but would merely mention that he did not agree with him. He had considerable experience of politics and entertained the brightest hopes for India's future. He assured them that Mr. Gandhi's apprehensions were misplaced. They would advance, not by leaps and bounds, but by slow and steady progress. The late Mr. Gokhale's rise to fame from a humble beginning was due to his indefatigable industry. He dedicated himself to the service of his country at the age of 18. For 20 years he devoted his life to the cause of education. In his consideration his country always stood first. His selflessness, spirituality and self sacrifice enabled him to rise to the pinnacle of greatness. It was a mistake to suppose that he was at times weak and compromising ; in reality, he always stood by his guns. He fought not for the love of fighting, but because he considered it his duty. The object of celebrating his anniversary was to instruct the young in the many virtues that distinguished him.

The Honourable Mr. R. P. Paranjpe proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Gandhi and the Chairman.

Page 148-50, paragraph 301—

(a) *Sind, C. I. D., Karachi, March 3rd.*—On the 1st instant the Cable Censor, Karachi, sent for orders the following wire which was addressed to eleven Indian newspapers : —

" On Monday last Mr. M. K. Gandhi was not allowed to see the Hyderabad (Sind) Central Jail. High Officials and other respectable persons tried repeatedly but failed to receive sanction. The Superintendent is an Indian gentleman."

" Mr. M. K. Gandhi delivered a lecture against vaccination on Monday at the Holmstead Hall in Hyderabad (Sind). The following is the gist of his speech. Vaccination is against religion and to allow the injection of calf serum in the blood is as good as eating calf flesh. Vaccination produces many diseases and does not give freedom from small-pox. Compulsory vaccination is therefore highly tyrannical. Such a thing is against God and must be protested against. "

The sender of this wire was Jethmal Persaram. The interception and detention of the telegram was ordered by the Commissioner in Sind under section 5 of the Telegraphic Act.

The Sind Journal of the 1st March contains the following account of the incidents referred to in the telegram : —

"During the course of the day Mr. Gandhi visited the Narishala, Navalrai Hiranand Academy, Nava Vidyalaya High School, and Kundanmal Girls' School. In the afternoon Mr. Gandhi was the guest of the Gujrati and Deccani residents of Hyderabad, who had assembled in the house of Mr. P. C. Mankad in Hirabad. Mr. Gandhi was given an address and garlanded. After that he drove to the Central Jail accompanied by Diwan Wadhumal Belaram and his brothers, and strange to say that the request made to the Superintendent to allow Mr. Gandhi to see the inside of the Jail was ungraciously refused by him for reasons best known to him. Mr. Gandhi then went to the Holmstead Hall where he gave a short discourse on vaccination and as no one came out to discuss the matter, the meeting, which was rather thinly attended, did not last long.

" Mr. Gandhi's views about vaccination : He said that he had not given special attention to the subject but had bestowed some thought on it. He thought as the Vaccine Serum was obtained by a process which spelt torture to the cow, vaccination contravened the fundamental principle of Hinduism which is *Ahimsa*. He said that orthodox Hindus objected to vaccination, since injection through the arm was tantamount to taking through the mouth. He then said that vaccination with human lymph was open to objection not only on the same grounds, but also because it involved the risk of contracting infectious diseases. He said that it was not a fact that all those who were not vaccinated were attacked with small-pox, nor that those who were so attacked succumbed to it. He further stated that it was left to the choice of every individual to go in for a vaccination or not. But if the law of compulsory vaccination was in force in a place and if some person objected to vaccination on religious grounds, every Indian should stand by him, for compulsion in one form might lead to compulsion in other directions also."

(b) *Sind, C. I. D., Karachi, March 6th.*—Mr. Gandhi arrived at Badin about noon on the 3rd instant, where he was met by the Mukhtiarkar, the P. W. D. surveyor, the Tapedar, the Sub-Assistant Surgeon and other lesser officials. Mir Jan Muhammad made a speech and welcomed the visitor on behalf of the citizens and zamindars of Badin. In course of his reply Mr. Gandhi quoted Sir Syed Ahmed to the effect that India must see with both eyes, that is to say, both through the Muhammadan eye and the Hindu eye, otherwise she is partly blind.

After the reception at the station, Mr. Gandhi was conveyed a distance of about a mile through the bazar in a bullock-cart drawn by a number of enthusiastic persons, including some of the lesser Government officials. About 2 p.m., accompanied by two of his relations and by two Amils, he started for Luwari.

At Luwari, Mr. Gandhi was received by the Pir's uncle, Khwaja Abdul Qadir, at a bungalow outside the fort. Mr. Gandhi said that he had heard of the Pir through certain Memon murids, who were clients of his in South Africa, and recently followers of the Pir at Porebunder had given him to understand that the Pir invited him to his place. Khwaja Abdul Qadir replied that they had heard so much praise of Mr. Gandhi on the lips of the Pir's murids that an invitation had been conveyed through them to come to Luwari whenever he happened to be in Sind. The Khwaja went on to describe the Pir's great sanctity and the tradition which forbids him to leave the Kot, or to be seen by daylight. The Pir would see Mr. Gandhi after dark.

Mr. Gandhi asked for information about the Pir's family, and the Khwaja told him that their forefathers had come from Arabia and settled first in Thatta. It may be noted in passing that this is the same story as that told to the Director of Criminal Intelligence's agent and that it is at variance with the account which derives the line of Pirs from a Raheja or Rathor fakir. It is calculated, however, to enable the Pir to sustain a claim to be the Madhi of the Prophecies. The Khwaja went on to say that in the Pir's library there are ancient Arabic and Persian records which give the history of the family.

Mr. Gandhi was invited to stay at Luwari for some days, but he declined saying he would do so another time. He partook of fruit brought to him by the Pir's followers. In the evening the interview with the Pir took place in an inner chamber. The only other person allowed to be present was an aged body servant of the Pir— possibly Khalifa Haji Mehmud. The interview lasted for about 20 minutes. A detective reports that he succeeded afterwards in gaining the confidence of the old Khalifa and heard from him that Mr. Gandhi is really a Mahommadan (?); further that he asked the Pir to instruct all his followers not to have any dealings with the English, nor to buy English goods.

After the interview, Mr. Gandhi was introduced by the Khalifa Muhammad Araf (or Muhammad Azaf) to the Pir's younger brother Khwaja Muhammad Ashraf. The conversation was as follows :—

Muhammad Ashraf.—" You should repeat in Sind what you had done in South Africa."

Mr. Gandhi.—" I am the slave of the people of India."

Muhammad Ashraf.—" We want a man like you here."

On returning to Badin (about 9 p.m.), Mr. Gandhi visited the house of Pir Bhawanshah, son of Muhammad Shah, known as the Pir of Badin. Some 75 persons were assembled, and a nephew of the Pir gave a narration of Mr. Gandhi's exploits in South Africa. Mr. Gandhi said very little in reply. He, however, accepted a piece of " *ajrak* " (cloth) presented to him. He was informed that if he wore this all his desires would be fulfilled and he would be safe from all his enemies. All these proceedings were conducted by the Pir's nephew, without the Pir himself coming forward. About 10 p.m. Mr. Gandhi retired to the P. W. D. surveyor's bungalow and next morning he left for Hyderabad. The Pir of Badin sent a parting gift of fruit to the station.

Page 208, paragraph 419—

C. I. D., Bombay Presidency, March 30th.—The District Superintendent of Police, Hyderabad, in reply to a reference from this office reports as follows regarding Mr. M. K. Gandhi's visit to the Hyderabad Central Jail : " On the 28th February when Mr. Gandhi signified his wish to see the Jail, his request was refused by the Superintendent, presumably as he considered that the gentleman's visit was undesirable ; however, on the 4th instant, having consulted the District Magistrate in the meanwhile, the Superintendent, Mr. K. S. Clubwala, permitted Mr. Gandhi to inspect the working of the Factory only. The Superintendent himself accompanied Mr. Gandhi who did not converse with any of the prisoners. Mr. Gandhi remarked that there were very few persons in irons in this Jail, whereas in the Kathiawar Jails almost all were in chains, and enquired whether they were only imposed on refractory prisoners. The other question he put to the Superintendent was about diet, i.e., whether persons got rice or wheat and ghee or oil. He remarked that the carpet industry was dying out, as the outside public were leaving it off and that it was only the jails who were keeping it up. He further remarked that nowadays only a few low caste Hindu Mahars did cloth weaving : in reference to this he also remarked that cloth weaving on raised seats as in the Jails was an improvement over that in pits outside the jail. Dr. Waliram Chetsing, who had accompanied Mr. Gandhi and his son on their visit to the jail gave him a present of a stripped carpet and some dusters, one of which he first selected as a remembrance of his visit to the prison."

Page 171-72, paragraph 332(a)—

(a) *Hyderabad, March 7th.*—Mr. M. K. Gandhi's visit to Hyderabad : This gentleman arrived in Hyderabad on the 26th instant from Ahmedabad by the mail train. He was met at the station by Hindu and Mahommadan gentlemen of the town, amongst whom were the Honourable Messrs. Ghulam Muhammad Bhurghri and Gulam Hussein, pleader, Members of Council, Rao Bahadur Bulchand, ex-President, Hyderabad Municipality, Messrs. Motiram, Bulchand, Ghanshamdas, Gopaldas, Thakurdas and other pleaders, also Seth Bandali, Kassam, Khoja merchant. There was a grand reception and Mr. Gandhi was garlanded. He then drove in a carriage in a procession through the Main Bazar to the Hirabad Quarter and back by another route to the residence of Mr. Premsing Tiloksing, where he put up. At 5-30 p.m. the same day Mr. Gandhi was given an address of welcome at the Holmstead Hall. The Honourable Mr. Ghulam Muhammad Bhurghri was voted to the chair and in his address referred to Mr. Gandhi's work on behalf of all creeds. An address of welcome was read by Mr. Gopaldas, pleader, in which he referred to Mr. Gandhi's work in Africa. The Honourable Mr. Ghulam Hussein seconded the adoption of the address, which was carried unanimously. Mr. Gandhi replied in Urdu and thanked all present for their welcome and spoke on the subject of self-government and advised the use of *Swadeshi* clothes. The meeting closed at 7-30 p.m. On the 27th Mr. Gandhi performed the unveiling ceremony of a portrait of the late Mr. Gokhale. Mr. Mathurdas, pleader, was voted to the chair and in speaking he gave a brief outline of Mr. Gokhale's life and then asked Mr. Gandhi to unveil the portrait. Mr. Gandhi then gave an address in Urdu and exhorted those present to try and imitate the life of the deceased and work for the good of their country. He further touched upon his own work in South Africa in connection with the uneducated Indians, and finally asked for subscriptions to the Servants of India Society started by Mr. Gokhale. Mr. Thakurdas, contractor, then rose and eulogized Mr. Gandhi's life and work and was seconded by Mr. Abdul Wahad, Manager of the Musafir Press. Songs were sung during the proceedings in praise of Mr. Gokhale. On the 28th ultimo a garden party was given in honour of Mr. Gandhi and on the 29th he left for Karachi. On the 3rd instant Mr. Gandhi passed through Hyderabad again on his way -to Luwari, some eight miles from Badin, with a view to paying a visit to the Pir of Luwari, Pir Ahmed Zaman Mahdi Akhir Zaman. On arrival at Badin Mr. Gandhi is reported to have been met by Pir Bhawanalishah of Badin, who had had a tent erected for his

reception. The Pir of Luwari's Khalifa, Muhammad Aral', was also present with a letter from the Pir of Luwari. After a short stay at Badin Mr. Gandhi proceeded by camel to Luwari and on arrival entered the ' Kote ' of the Pir where he was received by the Pir who conversed with him. The ostensible reason for this visit to Luwari was to fulfil a promise made by Mr. Gandhi when in South Africa to the Pir's murids there that if he visited Sind on his return to India he would inform their spiritual guide, the Pir of Luwari, about them. Mr. Gandhi then returned to Badin and stayed the night in the Sub-Divisional Officer, Public Works Department's bungalow, returning the next morning to Hyderabad (4th instant). On the evening of the 4th instant Mr. Gandhi delivered a private address in the bungalow of Mr. Premsing, zamindar, in which he exhorted his hearers to combine together in the same manner as the English people did in order to get self-government. On the 4th evening Mr. Gandhi left for Sukkur.

(b) *Karachi, March 9th.*—M. K. Gandhi arrived here from Hyderabad (Sind) on the 29th February. Those who went to the station to meet him were rather disappointed to see their " great man ' turn out of a third class carriage dressed " like a cooly." One of them was heard to remark that if he had no regard for himself Mr. Gandhi might consider those who had taken the trouble to accord him a reception. He left for Badin on the 2nd instant.

Page 184-85, paragraph 355—

Sukkur, March 13th.—Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi arrived in Sukkur at 8 p.m. on the 5th instant. He was met at the station by Verhomal Begraj of the Sind Advocate, Mulchand Pesumal, Chairman of the Municipality, Kishandas Tamrai, Pleader, Parsaram Kanai, Pleader, Aimal Dengomal, Manager of the Commercial Committee, and Jhamnadas Shewram, Assistant Master of the High School, and several others.

A procession was formed and went through the town to the Sudhar Sabha where Gandhi was accommodated. Later in the day he visited Sadhu Bela, Motiram's temple and the Acharya Kul. At 6 p.m., a meeting was held at the Sudhar Sabha. Bhojsing Gurdinomal being in the chair. An address of welcome was read by Kishandas Tamrai after which Bhojsing rose to introduce Mr. Gandhi. Gandhi then addressed the audience in Hindi after which the meeting dispersed.

Next morning (6th March) he left for Shikarpur where he was met by a large crowd of Hindus. Mahommadans were conspicuous by their absence. He was escorted round the town, visiting various schools and temples and the Shri Sat Narain Weaving

Mills. At 4 p.m. a meeting was held in the Municipal Hall, where he unveiled a portrait of the late Mr. Gokhale. After this the meeting was adjourned to the compound where speeches were made by Dr. Mohanlal, Sonpar, Lurindaram, Pleader, Udhavdas, Pleader and Gandhi.

Gandhi confined himself to an appeal for money to perpetuate the memory of Gokhale and to help the Servants of India Society and Rs. 1,540 were collected.

Gandhi left for Larkana the same evening. His visits do not appear to have created any impression beyond a passing excitement and interest.

Page 226-27, paragraph 469—

S. B., United Provinces, March 27th.—An officer of this Department reports as follows : —" Mr. Gandhi came to Hardwar on the night of the 16th March to attend the gurukul anniversary meeting at Kangri. Lala Munshi Ram, governor of the gurukul, and a few students received him at the railway station and brought him to Kangri. He was conducted to the pandal, amid loud cheers and flowers were thrown on him. A book in Hindi describing his work in South Africa was presented to him.

After several of the delegates had spoken, Mr. Gandhi made a speech. He explained that he was not an Arya Samajist, but as Munshi Ram invited him he thought it his duty to attend the gurukul meeting. He sympathised with his brother Arya Samajists and explained that when he was in South Africa he used to mix with Samajists. When he came to India he did the same. He was of opinion that the Arya Samaj could do much good. In reality he found no difference between Arya Samajists, Sanatan Dharmists and Brahmo Samajists or other forms of Hinduism, because all had sprung from the common religion of ancient India.

Similarly, Mahommadans and Christians were his brothers because they were residents of India. He would explain to his audience what he explained to Sindhis and Madrasis the other day. Today, he said, *Dharam* was sleeping in India. It had gone down to the ground because they were afraid of their Mahommadan and Christian brothers. He said he could not express himself properly in Hindi, but that his conscience permitted him to say he meant from the bottom of his heart. If people believed in God. he was sure to help them. He was omnipotent, as all Indians knew. They said that their sarkar was most powerful and could do what it liked. There is something more powerful, he continued, than their sarkar. the *Shastras* say so, the *Kuran* says the same thing,

that their sarkar as well as all of them would die one day. They had grass around them which had to be removed, what they were searching for, they would surely attain. In his country he found that the *Swadeshi* movement was in a most degenerated condition. It was compulsory to revive it. He himself did not want anything that was foreign. He had all kinds of necessities around him. What was westernized would have to be given up. Power would come and compel Indians to do it. If they wanted any civilization or reform they must give up fashions and thoughts which were western. They must revive their own ancient civilization because India was their deity, and western civilization was of very recent origin. To accept that form of civilization was uncongenial. Home had gone, Greece was no more. Hindu civilization was the most ancient of all. According to great western scholars Hindu civilization had survived a great many years. They should drive out from their minds what was foreign or western. They must have fixity of purpose. He did not ask for self-government or Home Rule, but he urged his listeners to regenerate themselves. They would have to give up the slaughter of animals, and the eating of meat, respect *brahmacharis*, keep *brahmacharia* themselves, and respect females. When they did these things they would conquer the world and would give it to their sarkar as a gift. Swami Dayanand was born to reform and preach. People must insist on *Swadeshi* work and compel others to do the same. Two things were required (1) fearlessness, (2) swadeshim. This was not the time for fashion or competition. Those ideas should be given up. Western civilization was nothing but a false mark. Indians should never compete with Europeans in their mode of life or living, and wherever such defects existed they should be renounced. In that way Hindustan would be freed from existing nuisances.

Page 243-44, paragraph 501—

Dehra Dun, No. 13 of March 25th.—Mr. Gandhi visited Dehra Dun on the 22nd March. He left for Hardwar on the 23rd March. Pandit Raghubans Lad and Lala Anirudh Kumar arranged for his reception. The Dayanand Anglo-Vedic School boys were taken to the Arya Samaj hall in the evening and Mr. Gandhi addressed them for a short time only as he was feeling unwell. He exhorted the audience to have the courage of their convictions, and in copying or imitating those who direct or rule not to be guided by outward show, such as style dress, or by customs, such as meat-eating. He exhorted them to be true to themselves and then they would be true to India.

Mr. Gandhi spoke in a curious dialect hard for even Indians to follow. He visited the girls' school and orphanage in which Babu Joti Sarup takes an interest and was visited by most of the leading Indian gentry while here.

Page 300, paragraph 610 (d)—

C. I. D., Bombay Presidency, May 13th.—A large gathering of people (about 1,000) assembled in Khotib's Wada in Raviwar Peth, Belgaum, on the night of the 30th of April to hear Mr. M. K. Gandhi speak on the subject of 'The Depressed Classes'. The audience was mainly composed of Lingayats and "Untouchables". R. S. Shivmurte Swami, Kanabargi presided.

Mr. Gandhi then rose and said that as he was ill, he would only speak to them for a minute. He deprecated their opposition to the holding of the Provincial Conference in Belgaum. The principal object for the holding of the Conference was to effect a reconciliation between the two political parties. Home Rule must be granted to India and all classes should present a united front in demanding it. If Home Rule should be granted, no particular class would dominate, otherwise it would not be Home Rule. He for one would oppose any party or class that wanted to set itself above the others. He made no distinction between the higher and the lower classes and did not look with disdain upon a man simply because he was a sweeper or a barber, nor did he look up to anyone merely because he was a Brahmin. His religion taught him to consider all men alike, without distinction of class or creed. Home Rule would not be granted so long as there were differences between them. He promised to do all in his power to remove their disabilities.

Page 369, paragraph 757—

C.I.D., Bombay, June 10th.—The following is a note on THE PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE OF THE NATIONALISTS : —

The Conference of the Nationalists held at Belgaum on the 29th and 30th of April and the 1st of May attracted very considerable attention in political circles owing to the fact that the problem of a 'rapprochement' between the Nationalists and the Moderates was to be finally decided. The Nationalists had for a long time been demanding that their own associations should have the right of (1) the election of delegates to the Congress and (2) automatic affiliation on conforming to any fixed and general rules which the Congress had passed in this respect, without any scope being left for the exercise of arbitrary discretion on the part of any recognized Congress Committee. This could only be done by a suitable amendment of Article XX of the Congress Constitution.

At the National Congress held at Bombay in December last Rule XX was partially amended in this direction, and though the

amendment conceded neither of these two demands in full, the Nationalist leaders were of opinion that there was a sufficient basis for further action. The non-conventionist leaders of the other provinces were consulted and the majority were in favour of accepting the amendment as a working basis for a compromise. The matter was referred for final decision to the Belgaum Conference, and, therefore, not only the politicians of this Presidency but those of the whole of India were interested in the deliberations at Belgaum.

From the Nationalists' point of view the conference was a great success : the number of delegates was very large, about 1,600, the local arrangements made by the Reception Committee, of which the Honourable Mr. Dattatraya Venkatesh Belvi was chairman, were very good, and the presence of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Ganesh Shrikrishna Khaparde, Joseph Baptista and Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi ensured enthusiasm throughout the proceedings.

Mr. Gandhi's primary object in attending was to induce the Nationalists to accept the compromise. From the tone of his speech in supporting the " Compromise " Resolution, however, one is led to believe that he had some misgivings with regard to the spirit in which the Nationalists accepted the compromise. The Conference met with considerable opposition at the hand of the Lingayats and Backward classes of Belgaum, who stated that Home Rule would ' mean Brahmin Rule and the perpetual servitude of the backward classes.

UNITED CONGRESS.

Page 374-75, (from Resolution No. XI)—

That this Conference adopts the report of Messrs. Baptista, Belvi, and Tilak, as in the interest of our motherland under the present circumstances it is desirable to unite, resolves and accepts the constitution of the Congress as amended at its last session, though the amendment is highly unsatisfactory, and appoints a committee composed of the following gentlemen to do further work from within:—Messrs. Khaparde, Baptista, Belvi, Tilak, Narsinh Chintaman Kelkar."

Proposed by Mr. B. G. Tilak.

Seconded by Honourable D. V. Belvi.

Supported by Messrs. M. K. Gandhi, S. M. Paranjpe, Raghunath Pandurang Karandikar, Hiremath Annapurnamath Kargudri, Dr. B. S. Moonje and Mr. M. S. Aney.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi in supporting the resolution said that he was an outsider and did not belong to any party. He came there as it was his duty to serve his country. There were some clauses in the resolution which, if he had the power, he would have removed, but that was their business. It would be bad for the Congress if they

went to it with the object of defeating their opponents, and the country would suffer. They should not act like lawyers; they should remember that they had a stake in the country. If they worked in a spirit of mutual co-operation, he was sure that God would be with them and would guide their footsteps.

If God were with him, he did not care a pin if the whole world were against him.

After several others had spoken in support, the resolution was put to the Conference and carried unanimously amidst cries of Vande Mataram.

Page 435, paragraph 816—

Ahmedabad, June 12th.—The Swadeshi Mitra Mandal has been showing some activity of late. On the 22nd April an Anglo-vernacular school was opened under its auspices at Naroda, close to Ahmedabad, financed by the Samarth Gujarat Paisa Fund. Earlier in April some members of the Gujarat Sabha, most of them also members of the Swadeshi Mitra Mandal, had met and decided to institute a series of lectures to spread among the people a better knowledge of public affairs. Jiwanlal Varalrai Desai later suggested that the lectures should deal with technical, scientific and labour questions. On the 3rd and 4th instant lectures were delivered at the Premabhai Hall to an audience of about 200 people on the subject of Reform of Hindu caste customs and the attainment of intercaste unity. The meetings were in the nature of a local Social Reform Conference to which the public were admitted on payment of 2 annas for each session. Most of the local politicians were in evidence. Among the speakers were M. K. Gandhi and Maharani Shankar Sharma. None but social topics were touched upon, except when Maganbhai Chaturbhai Patel exhorted Indians to acquire strength, saying that in the present war Indian troops had not exhibited the same strength that the Germans had.

Page 506, paragraph 888(a)—

(a) *Bombay, June 26th.*—A public meeting of the citizens of Bombay was held in the Empire Theatre on the evening of Saturday, the 24th June 1916, 'to uphold the Liberty of the Press and protest against the Press Act of 1910', under the auspices of the 'Indian Press Association'. Mr. B. G. Horniman, Editor of the *Bombay Chronicle*, presided.

It was a very largely attended meeting. There were quite a few Hindu-Deccani and Gujarati ladies among the audience principal among them was the wife of the Honourable Mr. Chimanlal Setalwad with her daughters and daughters-in-law.

Messrs. Gandhi, Horniman and Jamnadas D. Dharamsey were received on arrival with loud cheers. In the case of Mr. Gandhi

cheers were called for 'once more' by an occupant of one of the upper galleries.

Mr. Gandhi delivered his address in Gujarati, urging that that was the true way of being faithful, to his motherland. There was no opposition to his predilection for his mother tongue raised at the time.

Page 510-11—

Mr. M. K. Gandhi said :

Mr. President, dear sisters and brethren, I see that in this hall there are several persons laughing, because I have commenced to speak in Gujarati (laughter). You see we want to have *Swaraj* ; and when we get it, I am sure you will agree with me that we ought to carry on our business in the Gujarati tongue (laughter). Crores and crores of our people, for whom the swaraj will have to be carried on, it is impossible to deal with in English to which they are quite foreign. It is undoubtedly the fact that in this assembly we have to speak to a majority of English-speaking people, and to them I beg to tender an apology for venturing to address the meeting in my own native tongue (laughter). It may be said that besides those who know English in this hall there are not a few who speak Marathi. I know that there are those who speak that language, but to them I would respectfully say that hereafter they should learn the Gujarati language, so that when they have occasion to hear my Gujarati speech they will be able to follow me somehow or other (laughter). The resolution that is placed in my hands runs thus : —

That this meeting of loyal and law-abiding Indian subjects of His Majesty the King-Emperor, believing the existence of a free public press to be one of the first essentials of a healthy and progressive state and necessary to the proper development, political and moral, of civilized peoples ; and further that the extension and maintenance of freedom in all departments of public life is the surest guarantee of popular progress and contentment and of mutual trust between the Government and the people, asks that the press in this country should enjoy the utmost liberty of expression, subject to the legal restraints of the ordinary law and of penalties inflicted only after proper trial and conviction (cheers). Mr. Gandhi explained the resolution in Gujarathi. Up to now this Press Act was considered to be innocent and innocuous so far as the high class journalists were concerned ; in fact, that was the promise given by the Government at the time when this law was passed to the elected members of the Legislative Council of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General. Those members accepted the enactment under that promise. They were assured that the law would be made

operative against only offending journalists. But from what has now happened in the case of New India, it may be said that the promise was illusory. We are disillusioned now as to the real character, of this law on account of the attack made by the Government against Mrs. Annie Besant (cheers). That circumstance has awakened us to the true nature of the law. Where is the security from this law when *zulum* is practised under it on respectable journalists ? Remember that it is said that at this moment our Government is in a troublous condition. Remember also that we the people of this country, say that what is a troublous condition of the Government is a troublous condition to us (hear, hear). And yet in the midst of this condition if Government are prepared to drag us into the clutches of these severe laws, what would be our fate after the war is over ? What will then happen to us is on the knees of the Gods (laughter). What can we do now but to bear our fate with resignation ? That is our only duty. We must take heart that our present fate will change for the better in the future. It must. I have no faith in these meetings and in these resolutions (laughter). It is simply a waste of time to hold these meetings and carry these resolutions. But what else can we do ? There is no alternative for us—the subject people—to do but place on record our view on a given subject. And, therefore, I have come here in response to an invitation. I feel that something should be done in this matter—something done so that our complaint may reach the ears of the Government (hear, hear). Whatever we may say here with a view to expressing our feelings on the subject, it is an undoubted fact that we cannot express a hundredth part of what we actually feel in our minds on account of this outrageous enactment. We read newspapers. Yes, we do. But are you sure that you read the real thoughts of the editor ? I think not. Independent views of writers are not published. What is published is otherwise and, therefore, one can say that it is advisable to read the opposite into the words that appear in the newspapers (laughter). I am not at all exaggerating. I have myself been editor of a newspaper for seven years and can explain from personal experience the difficulties which the editor has to undergo in the true discharge of his duties. I am not disputing the fact that some restraint is necessary to be exercised on newspapers, but there is this to be remembered that in the exercise of such a restraint discretion and limit should not be lost sight of. It is only with unwarranted restraint that I quarrel. For flimsy reasons Government Officials ought not to exercise restraint on the people's right to express their views (cheers). Restraint means inducement to indulge in fallacious or misleading thoughts. That leads me to become the enemy of my Government (laughter). My genuine feelings are suppressed ; I cannot give free

vent to them ; I write the reverse of what I feel. By reason of such enactments there cannot be an unalloyed affection for our rulers among the 30 crores of our countrymen. There should be pure justice administered in India (cheers). The Government are like our trustees or protectors. To speak the truth I do not like the word ' trustees'. India is no longer in a state of childhood, and therefore, she does not require a trustee or a protector. India is one of the most ancient countries ; she is one of the most experienced countries ; can her subjects be said with propriety to be inexperienced or in a state of childhood ? No ; we Indians stand in no need of a protector. All that he need do for us is to dispense pure justice. We, the people of India, are as liberal in our views as we are innocent of any mischievous tendencies : all that we are is that we are despondent. But we will never be guilty of anything disloyal. Under these circumstances, I beg to appeal to the Government to do everything that is just and righteous; if that is done there would be no necessity for these meetings (hear, hear and laughter). That is a general request. My special request to them is on behalf of the newspaper writers. I say ' do not harass the respectable editors and proprietors'. I further say ' treat us as generously as you would the English people. We the people of India are not a race of hypocrites (laughter). We are enlightened, good and civilised people' (hear, hear). To my newspaper-writer-brethren I say ' Say openly whatever you have to say' (hear, hear). That is our duty. We should rely on ourselves to expatiate on our grievances, but we must not forget that we have to do that under certain restrictions born of politeness and sobriety. Whenever we are face to face with a political catastrophe we should never hesitate to say in as clear terms as possible what we feel and desire to say (hear, hear). For such plain-speaking and honest pleading of our own course if we are punished by the Government, well, let them do so (hear, hear and laughter). What can they do if the worst comes to the worst ? They will take our bodies, at best (laughter). Very well; if our bodies are taken away our souls will become free (hear, hear and roars of laughter).

Page 521, paragraph 888 (b)—

Ahmedabad, June 26th.—A meeting was held at the Premabhai Hall on the 18th instant under the auspices of the Gujarat Sabha at which resolutions were passed protesting against the Press Act and the Bill to amend the Government of India Consolidation Act. M. K. Gandhi was in the chair and the assembly consisted principally of students and members of the local Bar and numbered about 300. The principal speakers on the resolutions were R. B. Ramanbhai M. Nilkanth, Jivanlal V. Desai and Maganbhai C. Patel.

Page 737, paragraph 1220 (b)—

Ahmedabad, September 11th.—A well-attended meeting was held here on the 4th instant in honour of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji's birthday. M. K. Gandhi, who was in the chair, exhorted his audience to emulate Mr. Naoroji's example and particularly to take a vow only to use Swadeshi articles.

Page 907, paragraph 1460 (Resolution Nos. 14, 16 and 20)—

XVIth Bombay Provincial Conference, was held at Ahmedabad on the 21st, 22nd and 23rd of October 1916—

(Resolution No. 14).—That this Conference views with deep concern and alarm the working of the Defence of India Act as exemplified in the recent cases of Mrs. Besant and others, and strongly urges upon the Government the immediate necessity of providing in connection with the Defence of India Act the same safeguards as exist in England in relation to the Defence of Realm Act, respectfully requests that the Government may also be pleased to cancel at an early date the order prohibiting Mrs. Annie Besant from entering the limits of this presidency.

Proposed by Mr. M. K. Gandhi.

Seconded by the Honourable Mr. Shrinivas Shastri.

Supported by Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai.

Supported by Rao Bahadur Ramanbhai Mahipatram.

Indenture System

(Resolution No. 16).—That this Conference strongly urges the necessity of the abolition of the Indenture System as early as possible, the system being a form of a slavery, which socially and politically debases the labourers and is seriously detrimental to the economic and moral interests of this country.

Proposed by Mr. M. K. Gandhi.

Seconded by Mr. Imam Saheb, a Mahomedan from South Africa,

Supported by Mr. Javdegar (Dhulia).

(Resolution No. 20).—Levy of customs duties at Viramgam and other places on Kathiawar Frontier.

This Conference brings to the special notice of Government the inconvenience, hardship and annoyance, caused to persons coming from Kathiawar into British Territory by levy of customs duties and especially by the stringency of the rules and manners of their enforcement for such levy at the Viramgam Railway Station and at other stations which border on Gujarat and earnestly prays for the removal of the levy at an early date.

Proposed by Mr. M. K. Gandhi.

Seconded by Mr. C. S. Deole.

Page 938, paragraph 1516—

(a) *Ahmedabad, November 10th*.—Failing N. C. Kelkar who did not arrive in time, P. K. Telang was prevailed upon to deliver the advertised Home Rule lecture on the 20th ultimo (October) under the presidentship of M. K. Gandhi. About 1,000 persons, consisting mostly of students and pleaders, were present. The lecture and the speeches which followed were practically confined to the details of the League's published programme and extolled the League and its aims and objects and sought to impress on the audience the desirability of becoming members and joining in the movement. The local branch was fairly active in publishing its existence and in the distribution of literature during the Conference proceedings, but, so far as I can learn, the response to its canvass for members had been insignificant. Maganbai C. Patel is the moving spirit and I have heard of no one else with any fire in him who is behind the movement here.

Page 980, paragraph 1576—

Ahmedabad, November 27th.—M. K. Gandhi's visit to Umreth on the 12th instant was, it appears, with the object of opening the Gokhale Library there. On his return from Bombay on the 17th he also brought with him, besides Polak, one Surendralal Bapubhai Madh, a native of Ahmedabad, who had been absent for some time and who took a prominent part in the passive resistance movement in South Africa and suffered imprisonment there. The Gujarat Sabha convened a meeting on the 22nd in the Premabhai Hall in Polak's honour which was attended by about 300 persons, mostly students and pleaders. Gandhi introduced Polak and also Madh and one Imamsaheb Abdulkadar, another prominent South African "resister", who has been stopping here with Gandhi at his Ashram since August last. Polak gave a short account of the movement in South Africa and dwelt upon some of the efforts and trials of the prominent "resisters".

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Page 18, paragraph 21(c)—

Secretary, S. D., January 3rd.—Another correspondent writes under date Lucknow, 28th December 1916 :—" There was a secret meeting of the League and the Congress authorities to arrive at an understanding in regard to various outstanding disputes.

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Gandhi, Mrs. Besant and many others were present.

Page 30, paragraph 53(a)—

Secretary, S. D., January 11th.— "The Congress met on the first day, namely, the 26th December 1916 at 2 p.m. at Lucknow.

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B. G. Tilak, Mrs. Annie Besant, G. S. Arundale, M. K. Gandhi and M. A. Jinnah were accorded a good reception by the audience and were provided with seats on the dais.

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Page 36, paragraph 57—

Secretary, S. D. January 11th.—A Correspondent writes: The Muslim League met at Kaisar Bagh Baradari on the 30th and 31st December 1916. Mr. M. A. Jinnah—who appeared only on this occasion in a Turkish Fez—was in the chair.

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"On the first day Tilak, Gandhi, Ambikacharan Muzumdar, Surendra Nath Bannerji, Bepin Chandra Pal, Horniman, Arundale, Mrs. Annie Besant and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu attended the League and were received with prolonged cheers. His Honourable the Lieutenant Governor attended the League on the second day and was given a warm reception. Gandhi, B. C. Pal, Horniman and Mrs. Naidu also attended on the second day and delivered speeches.

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Page 81, paragraph 132—

Ahmedabad, January, 25th.— * * * The only persons worth noting who actually did attend the Congress from here were M. K. Gandhi, S. B. Madh, Ramlal alias Chhotalal Hukamchand, Maganbhai C. Patel and Jiwanlal V. Desai. Gandhi and Madh returned from Lucknow on the 2nd instant and Ramlal on the 5th.

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Page 113, paragraph 181—

Ahmedabad, January 29th.—M. K. Gandhi is said to have explained at his Ashram last week how Mr. Lionel Curtis' much debated letter became public. He said that it was he who first received a printed copy of the letter at Agra in the form of a wrapper enclosing some books he had obtained from the Government Press (which press is not clear). He showed this to Mr. Horniman of the Bombay

Chronicle, and, on his advice, had the letter reprinted as a leaflet and distributed among the nationalists at the Congress. He also described the Congress as a great success since it had united Hindus and Mussalmans, Extremists and Moderates, with Swarajya as their common goal. He said that owing to some pressure which had been put upon him to do Congress work he was now seriously debating in what direction he should exert himself in the interests of Swarajya.

Page 146, paragraph 247(a) (b) —

Karachi, March 2nd.—The Civil Intelligence Officer reports :— Last evening, Mr. Gandhi, the Indian agitator, arrived in Karachi by the Quetta Mail. So far as is known, the object of the visit is to speak at a protest meeting against " Indentured Labour" which is being held this evening in the Khalikdino Hall. On Saturday evening he will preside at another public meeting in the Khalikdino Hall held under the auspices of the Brahmacharya Ashram, a Hindu " National " institution.

It is an extraordinary fact that when Mr. Gandhi, who is a Brahmin, was in Sind about a year ago he paid a visit to one of the big Muhammadan Pirs in the Hyderabad District. This particular Pir is known to aspire to " Mahdi-ship ".

It is a still more extraordinary fact that this Pir, whose ancestral tradition is never to leave his mud fort except to go on pilgrimage to the Hedjaz, arrived in Karachi last evening by the same train as Mr. Gandhi, accompanied by a large number of followers. The story put about to account for the Pir's presence in Karachi is that he has come for an eye operation to be performed by the Civil Surgeon. The Civil Surgeon tells me that he has been notified that a patient of importance is coming to Karachi for a cataract operation and is going to live at the Agha Khan's bungalow behind the Empress Gardens.

Whether the Pir is being operated on or one of his family or following is a matter of doubt.

But it appears to be a legitimate inference to draw from the association of Mr. Gandhi and the Pir, that an effort is being made by agitator class to join up the Hindu and Muhammadan forces of unrest in this Province.

It may be remarked that on the 12th ultimo the Sind C. I. D. reported that an officer had seen the following written on a lavatory window of an intermediate compartment on the North-Western Railway between Karachi and Hyderabad :—

" Hazrat Imam Mahdi has come and from 1st March the throne of Delhi shall be lost to the Kaffirs. Oh Muslims ! have but faith and success is yours."

The date " 1st March" is significant as it is that on which the Pir arrived in Karachi.

The situation is being watched.

(b) *Karachi, March 6th.*—The Deputy Superintendent of Police reports : Under the auspices of the Citizens' Association, Karachi a public meeting was held in the Khalikdino Hall on the 2nd instant to protest against the continuance of the system of Indentured Labour. The Honourable Mr. Harchandrai, President of the Association, was in the chair. About 600 persons were present.

M. K. Gandhi arrived after the time fixed and informed the audience that he could not attend throughout as he had to catch the mail train to Calcutta, having been invited by the Maharaja of Cossim-bazaar to be present in that city on the 6th instant. After speaking in Hindi for half an hour he left the hall. He began by requesting the assembly to send a telegram of condolence to A. M. Kacharia, who had just lost his nephew, and explained how much Mr. Kacharia had done for Indians in South Africa. Gandhi then spoke on Indentured Labour. After mentioning the various evils of the system, he told the audience that Indians must insist on its abolition by the 31st of May this year 1917. If their request were not acceded to, all practical steps should be taken to prevent Indians from leaving the country for labour in Fiji. Every effort should be made to teach the people to hate the system and to clamour for its suppression.

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In the course of the day (2nd instant) (March) Gandhi visited the Home Rule League headquarters twice. On both occasions he spoke to the members, associates and college students on passive resistance and austerity. The love of dress, which Gandhi has noticed among Sindhis, has impressed him unfavourably. One of the members asked him why he went about barefooted. He replied that unless he maintained austerity he could not expect the masses to believe in his sincerity. He said that India was too poor and that those who could afford to spend money on dress should refrain from spending it in that way and give it to the poor. Jethman, of the Hinouwasi, questioned him about passive resistance and Gandhi explained its value by examples from his South African experiences.

He also visited the Hardevi Bai Girls' School and said a few words to the children on education.

He met the Cutchi and Gujarati Community at the Parsi Theatre in the afternoon and told them about Indenture Labour.

Page 160-61, paragraph 269—

Karachi, March 3rd.—The Deputy Superintendent, C. I. D., reports : " M. K. Gandhi arrived from Ahmedabad on the 1st instant. The

train was about an hour and a half late, but a large crowd composed of Amils, Sindhi banias, including merchants of Shikarpur, Cutchis and Gujaratis waited to meet him at the City Railway Station where some 500 platform tickets were sold. The Home Rule League was out in force and the badge H. R. L., was very much in evidence. The Muhammadans were represented by a single Borah. Harchandrai, Chellaram Dalumal, his son Lokamal, Gidumal Lekraj, Achalsing, the Pleader, and other prominent men did not turn up. In fact none of the " leaders " put in an appearance. Durgadas B. Advani, "Dr." Choitram, "Dr." Nihalchand, "Dr." Popatlal and some others including two Parsi ladies met Gandhi at the Cantonment Railway Station, and those named above travelled with him to the City Station. On arrival at the latter station he was received with cries of " Bande Mataram " and " Mahatma Gandhi ki jai ". He took his seat in a carriage along with Jamshed N. R. Mehta, Durgadas, B. Advani, Nihalchand and Naraindas, a Cutchi contractor, and proceeded to drive slowly through the City. He was preceded by a banner, on which were inscribed the words " Bande Mataram ; Home Rule for India ". Several school-boys waving Union Jacks and a band playing " It's a long, long way to Tipperary " were in the van. A great crowd followed him to the house of Durgadas B. Advani where he put up. On the way the procession stopped at the Home Rule League office, where Ayer, the Secretary, and Mariwala Ramchand, a student of the Sind Arts College, garlanded Gandhi."

Page 163, paragraph 278—

Panch Mahals, March 4th.—Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi arrived by invitation at Godhra by the noon train on the 19th ultimo (February) from Ahmedabad in order to celebrate the second anniversary of the death of the Honourable Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale. He was met at the station by about 1,000 persons of all classes and creeds and was taken in procession through the town which was decorated with flags, etc. He was accompanied by Mrs. Gandhi and Indulal Yajnik of the Servants of India Society and stayed with Waman Sitaram Mukadam of Godhra, who is a Deccani Devrukha Brahmin and a teacher in the New High School. On the way to the latter's house Gandhi and his wife were garlanded and received pan supari. A meeting was held that evening at 5-30 at Sutar's Mandir at which Gandhi was elected President. Speeches were delivered by Messrs. Purshotamdas Shah, Gokaldas Chunilal and Harilal Mehta on the life of Mr. Gokhale. Gandhi spoke on the two outstanding features of Mr. Gokhale's character, viz., truthfulness and fearlessness and proposed to start a committee to commemorate Mr. Gokhale's death permanently in Godhra and to further the

cause of education. This was seconded by Dalsukhbhai Lallubhai, a Pleader. A committee of 16 persons was elected for this purpose Kazi Ahmedmia Muhamadmia proposed a vote of thanks to the chairman which was seconded by Manilal Harilal Mehta and Manilal Vadilal, and the meeting dispersed. About 400 to 500 persons of all castes and creeds attended, including the Assistant Collector Mr. Hamid Ali, the Civil Surgeon Mr. Mahomedi, Mr. Zia-ud-Din, Deputy Superintendent of Police, Mr. Kothawala, the Mamlatdar, and another Mr. Kothawala, the Distillery Contractor. On the following day at 9-30 a.m. another meeting was held at the same place (Sutar's Mandir) at which Mr. Gandhi also presided ; the subject of Indentured Labour was discussed at length and it was resolved to urge His Excellency the Viceroy to abolish it by the 31st May 1917. There was also a meeting of women, at which Mrs. Hamid Ali (wife of the Assistant Collector) presided, held at about 2-30 p.m. the same day in a building belonging to Bohra Badruddin ; Mrs. Gandhi spoke on the subject of Indentured Labour. It was resolved to urge Her Excellency Lady Chelmsford to secure the abolition of Indentured Labour by the 31st May 1917. About 200 women were present.

The same evening Mr. Indulal Kanaiyalal Yajnik delivered a lecture on the scheme of self-government. Mr. Gandhi presided. The speaker dwelt on the principal features of the scheme adopted by the Congress and Moslem League at Lucknow. About 500 persons attended.

Mr. Gandhi left for Ahmedabad by the evening train.

Page 177, paragraph 316—

Ahmedabad, March 20th.—M. K. Gandhi returned from Karachi on the 14th instant. He has been showing a great deal of activity of late in various direction of a political nature and is reported to intend starting a sort of " National School" in connection with his Ashram. He is also said to be joining forces with Tilak to make Ahmedabad a centre of political activity second only to Poona in the Presidency. I doubt the truth of this, however, as Gandhi and Tilak have never quite hit it off as to the best methods of political propaganda. Developments are being watched.

The District Magistrate remarks : " Talking to a millowner the other day I was told that he was not such a fool as to go in for what is known in this country as " politics ". He said that as a businessman he was polite to everyone—even to politicians—but no one need argue from his being civil to them, that he believes in them.

" This of course may or may not be true. "

Page 254, paragraph 486—

Ahmedabad. May 2nd.—M. K. Gandhi's recent doings in Bihar have been given great prominence here, apparently at his own express desire. As to what actually occurred I have only press reports to go upon, but it appears to be a revival of his old "passive resistance" game with improved methods in the publicity department. On the 22nd April in the morning a wire was received at the Ashram from Gandhi from Motihari reading as follows : " Proceedings withdrawn under instructions from Government and official assistance to conduct inquiry promised. Feel grateful to Government for withdrawal and assistance. Being splendidly helped by local pleaders and others. Messages of sympathy and help received from many quarters which encourage fellow-workers and self. During stay have already visited some villages and seen hundreds of riots. Officials have shown every courtesy throughout inquiry. *No public agitation necessary.* Issues involved are tremendously great. Hope place final conclusion before Government and Country. *This may be published.*"

The italics in the above are my own. Of course no public agitation necessary can be read in two ways and will doubtless be given its perfectly innocent and harmless meaning that all is right and the public need not be agitated in their minds about the welfare of Gandhi or his mission, but it may also be taken to imply that if all had not gone smoothly "public agitation", in the more natural and everyday acceptance of the term, would have been considered necessary and would have been forthcoming at the word from Gandhi. A leaflet giving a Gujarati translation of this wire was printed and freely distributed in the City. Following up the wire, Gandhi supplied the local press here (and probably many ether papers elsewhere) with a copy of his statement before the court on the 18th April. He evidently intended the sentiments expressed in it to gain the widest publicity. It was published in the Praja Bandhu of the 29th April at the end of a leader on the Subject of Gandhi's adventures and in the Gujarati Punch of the same date without comment. With the usual accompaniments of lip-loyalty and the profession of an eager (but unfulfilled) desire to submit to authority, it is a subtle method of inculcating the doctrine that disobedience of official orders is quite justified if the individual thinks he knows better or believes he is working in a patriotic cause. His wide dissemination of such ideas appears to be highly objectionable and calculated to have a very bad effect. One local effect of these events has been the complete rehabilitation of Gandhi's reputation as a patriot of the first order, which had been threatened with partial eclipse as the result of a movement which was gaining

headway here to disparage him on account of his primitive manners and ways of life and mode of dress and his insistence of vernaculars to the exclusion of English in ordinary intercourse and as a vehicle of education.

The District Magistrate remarks : " The Mamlatdar of Viramgam has heard that Gandhi is responsible for the violent article in the Chronicle a few days ago on the subject of War Loan collections in a Talukdari village. The Commissioner has asked the Talukdari Settlement Officer personally to enquire into the subject matter of that article and I have asked the Mamlatdar to inform me whether there is any proof that Gandhi is responsible for it."

Page 294, paragraph 557(a), (b), (c), (d).—

(a)*Ahmedabad, May 16th.*—The Political Bhomiyo, a local vernacular weekly, in its issue of the 4th instant devotes a leading article to criticism of M. K. Gandhi and his " passive resistance " methods and propaganda both here and in South Africa. This attack is, so far as I know, the first of its kind that has appeared in the local press and it shows that opinion is not altogether one-sided.

(b)*Ahmedabad, May 16th.*—The District Magistrate writes : " I hear no more about Gandhi's being mixed up in the Chronicle article.

(c)*Ahmedabad, May 16th.*—M. K. Gandhi's two sons, Manilal (age about 26) and Ramdas (age about 21), who were stopping here at his Ashram and assisting in its management, are reported to have now gone to Natal to manage Gandhi's newspaper, ' Indian Opinion '.

(d)*S. B. Bihar and Orissa.*—Bihar, S. B. May 5th. Mr. Gandhi arrived at Muzaffarpur on the 10th April and called on Mr. James Wilson, Secretary of the Planters' Association, and on the Divisional Commissioner. He left for Motihari on the 15th idem, (April) where he was served with a notice under section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, requiring him to leave the place. He replied that he would not comply with the order and was prepared to suffer the penalty of disobedience. At the same time he wired to the notorious Mr. H. S. L. Polak of South African fame, who was at Allahabad, to come to his assistance and the latter immediately complied. Mr. Polak proceeded from Motihari to Bankipur where he was the chief speaker at a meeting of the members of Executive Committee of the Bihar Provincial Association held to consider what steps should be taken to assist Mr. Gandhi, at which it was resolved that telegrams of protest against the highhanded proceedings of the district officers, in preventing Mr. Gandhi from making enquiries into the grievances of the Champaran riots, should be sent at once to the Viceroy and the Lieutenant-Governor. Under instructions from Government the notice under section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, against

Mr. Gandhi was withdrawn and he is proceeding with his enquiries. He has asked for a sum of Rs. 1,500 for necessary expenses and Mr. Hasan Imam has sent Rs. 1,000, and Mr. S. Sinha has promised Rs. 500. The Superintendent of Police, Champaran, reports that Mr. Gandhi's " mission ", the avowed object of which is to enquire into the conditions under which Indians work on Indigo plantations has caused intense excitement throughout the district. The wildest rumours are current, and the most absurd lies are being fabricated and brought to Mr. Gandhi.

Page 421, paragraph 733—

S. B. Bihar and Orissa, Ranchi, June 9th.—Mr. Gandhi came here for two days (4th, 5 June). He had an interview with His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor on the 4th June and also saw other Members of Council the next day. He returned to Bankipur on the 5th June. While here a meeting in his honour was convened. The leading local gentry attended. He was asked to make a speech, but refused to do so. He sat on the floor in front of the conveners of the meeting saying he was one of the poor public and so could not make a speech. The whole meeting seems to have been a failure and Mr. Gandhi's behaviour, which is not understood at all, seems to have caused a good deal of amusement.

Page 447, paragraph 765—

Bihar S. B. June 30th.—Mr. Gandhi arrived at Bankipur on the 17th June 1917 and stayed with Parmeshwar Lal and left the next morning for Ahmedabad. On arrival at Bankipur, he was met by Babus Haranandan Sahai and Shambhu Saran, vakils of the Patna High Court, and one Fazlar Rahman, who was ring-leader in the strike at the Patna College last year.

(b) Ahmedabad, July 7th.—M. K. Gandhi, returned here on the 20th June and brought with him one Swami Satyadev who has been installed in the Ashram as a teacher of Hindi. Gandhi left again on the 23rd ultimo for Bombay en route to Bihar.

Page 502, paragraph 817—

Ahmedabad, July 17th.—Anusuya, sister of Sheth Ambalal Sarabhai, one of the leading local mill-owners, has now joined Gandhi's Satyagraha Ashram and taken all the vows of the institution and is reported to have subscribed a lakh of rupees to its funds. She has gone to join Mrs. Gandhi in Bihar and assist Gandhi in his work there. The Ashram has lately been developing a much more ambitious educational programme than before and this windfall of funds will enable it to further extend its operations.

Page 551, paragraph 817—

Ahmedabad, July 31st.—Gandhi appears to be finding it necessary to relax at least some of his Ashram rules which were formerly

rigorously enforced. For instance, Miss Anusuya Sarabhai, who joined the Ashram recently, is living with her brother, Sheth Amba-lal, at his Shahibagh bungalow and not at the Ashram, though formerly residence within the Ashram was obligatory. (In correction of my last report, she did not proceed to Bihar to join Mrs. Gandhi though she left here with that intention, but returned from Bombay). Also, two Professors, who joined the Ashram as teachers in May last and at first observed all the rules, are now living outside. These are : (1) Narhari Dwarkadas Parekh, B.A., LL.B., and (2) Sanhalchand Jethalal Seth, M.A. The latter was formerly Science Professor at the Gujarat College. Their services appear to have been retained with a view to the " National School" to be started by Jivanlal Varajrai Desai. The project is at present in a state of suspense till Gandhi returns from Bihar, but a plot of land has already been acquired for the proposed buildings on the far side of the river from the city, near Wadij village.

Page 613, paragraph 934—

C.I.D., Bihar and Orissa, August 21.—A Bihar Special Branch officer reports that Mr. Gandhi left Patna for Ahmedabad on the evening of the 17th August. He purchased six tickets for Agra. Among the 300 people present at the station to see him off were Messrs. Mazharul Haq, Parmeshwar Lal and Babu Rajendra Prasad.

Two Maharatta gentlemen, Messrs. Karandikar and K. R. Deobhan-kar, came from Bombay to see Mr. Gandhi and consult him on the advisability of starting a passive resistance movement. These two gentlemen are said to be the followers of Mrs. Besant. They left with Mr. Gandhi. While at Patna they lived with Babu Rajendra Prasad.

The train steamed out of the station to the shouts of Bande Mataram.

Page 623, paragraph 949—

(a) *Ahmedabad, August 29th.*—M. K. Gandhi returned from Bihar on the 21st instant *via* Agra and Baroda. With him came his wife, Professor Jivatram Bhagwandas Kirpalani and a boy named Surendra Gopiram of Mirzapur (United Provinces). Gandhi is to leave again shortly for Bihar.

Page 620-21, paragraph 949(L)—

Bombay, September 4th, the adjourned meeting of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee was held on Sunday the 2nd instant in the Presidency Association rooms. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar presiding.

A friend writes to me as follows on the subject : —

" On the proposal of the Honourable Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas it was resolved to recommend to the All-India Congress Committee

that Sind should be treated as a separate province as regards the Congress and given the right to send its five delegates to the All-India Congress Committee and the Subjects Committee.

" On the proposal of Mr. N. M. Samarth it was resolved to affiliate the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha to the Congress.

"After these two resolutions the question of passive resistance was taken up. The President said that the report on it being submitted by the Sub-Committee was divided into two parts. The latter part was out of order as it had nothing to do with the work entrusted to the Sub-Committee, so that portion of the report on which this meeting could direct its attention was as follows: —

"As Mr. Montagu, the Secretary of State for India, was to come to India and as it was declared beforehand as to why he was coming to India the circumstances under which the Sub-Committee was called upon to consider the question of passive resistance had changed a great deal and also as the speech, delivered by Mr. Montagu on the eve of his appointment to the post of the Secretary of State for India during the discussion in the House of Commons on the report of the Mesopotamia Commission, was found to be satisfactory as regards Indian questions, it was not desirable to carry on the campaign of passive resistance."

"The President then said that the meeting had at that stage to * consider the original proposal of Mr. Samarth to the effect that as the campaign proposal of passive resistance was against the principle of the Congress Constitution and was subversive of law, it was the opinion of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee that it was not desirable to take it up. The President then formally placed the proposition before the meeting for consideration.

" After somewhat heated discussion it was moved as an amendment that it was justifiable to carry on the campaign of passive resistance and it was advisable to make use of it if there was no satisfactory termination of the coercive measure taken by the authorities. Some members, speaking against the amendment, protested that those who favoured this amendment refused to define what passive resistance was and the Sub-Committee too had shirked the work entrusted to it of giving its definition. Under the circumstances they stated that before proceeding on the proposal and the amendment then before the meeting, the Sub-Committee be again asked to report as to how passive resistance could be defined. A heated discussion took place on this suggestion after which M. K. Gandhi, on being asked, stated that the campaign of passive resistance could not be carried on by an institution like the Congress. Passive resistance could be described merely as a matter of conscience or force of soul, when it was useless to go to lawyers. After Gandhi had delivered his

opinion, it was suggested that B. G. Tilak should, after consultation with Gandhi, suggest to the meeting some acceptable amendment. On this Gandhi himself suggested an amendment but Tilak insisted on making his own alterations in it before placing it before the meeting. These alterations again led to a hot discussion in the meeting because in them it was sought to justify the use of the stronger measures like passive resistance, etc., under certain circumstances. Mr. Hormasji Ardeshir Wadia and the Honourable Sir Ebrahim Rahimtulla pointed out the danger of young inexperienced men being led astray by such suggestion plainly said that in case this amendment was passed it was sure to lead to the very unfortunate result of dividing the Congress. The President here interposed and brought about an unanimous compromise. The President, after some discussion with Tilak and his party, declared that a certain amendment had been drawn up in agreement with Tilak and his party. The amendment was as follows :

" Though the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee is of opinion that there is a strong feeling among the people to support the campaign of passive resistance on account of the coercive measures recently taken by the Government, it advises that, taking into consideration the fact that Mr. Montagu is coming on a visit to this country and that the reasons of his coming are well known, the work of the consideration of and giving opinion on the principles underlying passive resistance and the measures necessary to put them into effect, which has been entrusted to this committee by the All-India Congress Committee and the Council of the All-India Muslim League, be for the present held in abeyance, and the meeting expresses the hope that the Government will take the necessary steps to allay the bitter feeling aroused among the people by action of internments and coercive measures taken by the authorities. This course will enable the Secretary of State to fulfil the work entrusted to him under normal conditions."

" As this proposal was accepted by Tilak and his friends, a wish was expressed that it should be placed before the meeting by the President himself as a non-contentions resolution. Accordingly, on the President himself placing it before the meeting, it was unanimously passed amidst cheers and the meeting terminated amidst shouts of Pramukh ki Jai (President's victory).

" The business of the meeting lasted three hours."

Page 648, paragraph 988—

Ahmedabad, September 13th.—M. K. Gandhi left for Bombay on the 25th ultimo August accompanied by Swami Satya Deo. Gandhi returned alone on the 27th and left again for Bombay on the 30th, returning here again on the 4th instant.

Gandhi has accepted the presidentship of the First Gujarat Political Conference to be held at Godhra on the 3rd, 4th and 5th November next. He has also accepted (provided his other political activities leave him free) the presidentship of the Second Gujarat Educational Conference to be held in October at Broach.

(b) C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, September 22nd.—Mr. M. K. Gandhi arrived in Poona on the 17th instant to attend the Co-operative Societies' Conference. He put up in the Servants of India Society's Home. He left by the night train on the 18th for Ranchi.

Page 904, paragraph 1224 (r)—

C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, November 26th.—At the instance of some of the advanced classes who assembled at Godhra for the First Gujarat Political Conference, the Dhed community of Godhra were induced to hold a Conference of their own, which was patronised by members of the Political Conference. It was held on a strip of land outside the cemetery, where the Dhed population is located, on Monday, the 5th November 1917. The whole of the Dhed community turned out to welcome the *elite*. The grounds were illuminated and a Dhed band was in attendance.

The Honourable Mr. Patel created some excitement by appearing in the garb of a Sanyasi a white flowing robe and red cap such as Bawas generally wear. The Dheds sat apart in humble isolation, but Mr. M. K. Gandhi, on his arrival insisted on bringing them into the midst of the assembly, where they mixed with the highest in the land. Among those present were Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Abbas Tyabji, the Honourable Mr. Patel, Mr. Ratansey Dharmasey Morarji Gokaldas, Mr. H. J. Amin of Broach, Mr. Vibhakar, Mr. Ambalal Sarabhai (Ahmedabad). Ladies of the families of Mr. Tyabji, Ambalal and others were also present.

Mr. Gandhi, occupied the presidential chair. Addressing the audience in Gujarati, he said: "My dear brethren, we are in the midst of those people, call them Dheds, Bhungis, Antiaj, or by whatever appellation you like. Beside me there are lawyers and doctors, I believe, and other gentlemen ; we have today joined hands with the so-called backward classes; now we are sure to get Swaraj. (Hear, hear). We, Hindus and Muhammadans, have become one, here we are in association with this Dhed community. Do not suppose that that community belongs, to a lower status ; let the fusion

take place between you and that community, and then you will be fit for *Swaraj*. We lost the right to *Swaraj*, before, because we committed a sin before God in treating this community with such neglect. Why should we hesitate to touch the antiajas ? It is not mentioned in any religious book that this community should not be touched or treated as we are doing now. It is a fallacy to give that community the lowest place in the scale of castes. Where the union of hearts takes place, there, I am sure, God is present. God is omnipotent, though some of us do not believe it. Therefore, we quarrel among ourselves. Where is the difference between us and this community ? There is the same heart, the same nose, the same tongue, the same feeling—everything the same. (Cheers). Where there is a divided heart, there Ramchandra cannot be. There is no Imam (Laughter). I do not know whether God was present at the Political Conference (Laughter), but I am sure he is here, (Hear, hear). I have not come here to make a long speech ; I came to set an object lesson. (Hear, hear). This lesson is more valuable than the numerous lessons on social reform to be had elsewhere. (Cheers). Here is a vast assemblage. It is like an ocean. Anyone can use this water for cooking his rice. (Laughter). Let everyone speak. I now call upon the Honourable Mr. Patel to speak (Loud cheers)."

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A young Dhed then asked permission to speak. He came forward very nervously. He said that he was not an educated man. He was the son of a Dhed. He thanked the assembly on behalf of his community and tendered their tribute of love and gratitude to the Bawaji (Mr. Patel). He gradually grew more confident and endeavoured to substantiate the claim of his community to be among the foremost ranks of the Rajput race.

Mr. Gandhi rose at once to disillusion him of this, and advised him not to believe in such cock and bull stories regarding his ancestry. He admonished the Dheds to be content with their parentage and to rise by their own efforts, now that the higher classes had lent them a kindly hand.

Other speakers followed—all striving to console and encourage the Dhed community. Mr. Ratansey Dharamsey Morarji Gokaldas rose to speak, but was seized with stage fright and after he had vainly tried for nearly five minutes to gather his thoughts, the President asked him to sit down.

In his final speech Mr. Gandhi asked the upper classes to convert their theoretical sympathy for the Dheds into a practical one and to subscribe towards opening and maintaining a school for Dhed children. Rs. 1,653 were subscribed on the spot.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi and others were then profusely garlanded by the Dheds and the meeting dissolved amid shouts of " Gandhiji-ki-jai."

Page 932, paragraph 1247—

*Panch Mahals, November 16th.—*The First Gujarat Political Conference.

M. K. Gandhi, the President of the Conference, arrived from Ahmedabad by the noon train on the 2nd instant. He was met at the station by the Chairman of the Reception Committee and several local Home Rule League members, and was garlanded by Rao Saheb Manwantrai Jadurai Desai, President of the Panch Mahals District Congress Committee. A procession was formed and went through the town. There were about 500 persons in the procession, including many " Volunteers " who had come from Broach, Nadiad, Umreth, Ahmedabad and Bombay.

On the evening of the 2nd instant a meeting was held with Gandhi in the chair to discuss the grievances of 3rd class Railway passengers. Both Gandhi and Jevraj Gokaldas spoke on the subject to an audience of about 800 people. M. A. Master and Khaparde also spoke.

On the 3rd instant Bal Gangadhar Tilak arrived at Godhra by the noon train from Bombay. For reasons which are not known, on the arrival of the train neither the Chairman of the Reception Committee nor any of the Members were present at the station. Tilak, therefore," waited in the waiting-room for nearly half an hour when Gandhi and some others put in an appearance. Tilak was then taken off in procession through the town ; Gandhi, Khaparde and Manilal Harilal Mehta being with him in the carriage. There was not such a crowd of onlookers as on the previous day when Gandhi arrived.

The Political Conference opened its first session at 2 p.m. on the 3rd instant. There were about 9,000 persons present. Mr. Abbas Tyabji opened the proceedings by moving the election of the President. In opening his speech he said that the task has devolved upon him because he was a Muhammadan and so it could be asserted with truth that Mussalmans and Hindus were working hand in hand. He referred to Gandhi as his guru and a great leader, and touched upon him because he was a Mahommadan and so it could be asserted as a great leader by both Mussalmans and Hindus, and, therefore, he was the one great leader on whom the choice of the communities must fall on this occasion.

Mangal Girdhar seconded the proposal and was supported by Maganlal Chaturbhuj of Ahmedabad and Vadilal Chhaganlal Shah of Godhra.

Mr. Gandhi occupied the President's chair amid loud and vociferous cheers. Mr. Manilal Harilal Mehta, Chairman of the Reception Committee, then pinned on Mr. Gandhi's breast the gold medal pertaining to the Presidentship of the Conference. Telegrams from Mrs. Besant, Messrs. Devji Kanji (Sheriff of Bombay) and others, expressing sympathy with the object of the Conference, were then read out.

Mr. Gandhi then rose amid thundering applause, and with a few preliminary remarks commenced to read his presidential address in Gujarati.

(A translation of his address is reproduced below).

Brothers and Sisters,

I feel grateful to you for giving me the place of honour. I am a child 2½ years old in respect to the politics of this place. (Laughter). I cannot trade here on the strength of my experiences in South Africa. I know that it will seem presumptuous to occupy the chair under these circumstances. (Laughter). Nevertheless, I accept the post, surrendering myself to your excessive love. (Hear, hear).

I appreciate my responsibility. This is the first Conference in Gujarati. For the whole of India this is a very critical time. The Empire is passing through a crisis, such as it never experienced before. My thoughts do not all run in the ordinary groove. They may flow in directions contrary to yours; such is my fear. Hence I have the less right to sit in this chair. Generally the speech of the President reflects the views of the meeting. This is not so in my case. (Laughter). That you have allowed me this excellent opportunity of placing my views before the Gujarati people bespeaks your broad-mindedness. (Hear, hear). If the views I express at this Conference are criticised or opposed or challenged in any way, I shall not feel aggrieved. (Hear, hear). I wish that they should be freely criticised, (Cheers). As regards my views, they are not a mushroom growth ; they have been formed after full consideration. I am sticking to them, and they have not altered in my two and a half years' experience.

I offer my best thanks to the organisers of this Conference. This step has been a necessary one. This Conference is a foundation as it were. If the foundation is sound and strong, we can rest unconcerned as regards the (safety of the) building. (Hear, hear). This Conference, having laid the foundation, has assumed a very great responsibility. I pray to God that He may give us all strength and that our cause may be helpful to our people in the future. (Cheers).

This Conference is a political one. (Hear, hear). Let us analyse the word "political". "Rajkiya" is a translation of the English

word " political". This word is mostly used in a narrow sense. But I am of opinion that it would be much better if it were placed on a broader basis. If the progress of the work of this Conference culminates merely in deliberations regarding the relations between the rulers and the ruled then our cause will remain half-finished, and we shall not be able to understand rightly where we stand. For instance, the *mhowra* question is of great importance so far as some of the parts of Gujerat are concerned. If you discuss that question merely from the political point of view, the result might be disheartening or we may not be able to achieve the result we had in mind. But if we consider the question of the origin of the law relating to the *mhowra* question, and along with it also consider the question of *mhowra* from the political point of view, then it is possible for us to achieve success early in our fight with Government. And the problem of how to fight successfully will be solved (Hear, hear). From the views that I shall now place before you you will be able to ascertain better what exactly I mean by the word " political".

A conference is held, after which its working committee does not appear to exist; or if there is one maintained, then, in the words of the late Gokhale, its members attend to the work of the Conference only during their spare time. What we want are men who will realise that their chief and only business is to attend to the carrying out of the resolutions of the Conference. (Hear, hear). When you get such men, then only will the work of the Conference be Well done; then alone will it be fruitful. (Cheers). At present much of the work is neglected. We want the establishment of a number of institutions like the Servants of India Society in the country. When you get numbers of people who believe that " Service" is their religion, then only shall we see good results. Fortunately, religion holds Hindustan in its tentacles. (Hear, hear). Hence, one is led to believe that at this time of day service to the country is a part of our religion. And when that belief takes possession of people, men of a religious bent of mind are likely to take part in politics in large numbers. It is my opinion that when saints and religious men enter the domain of politics, India will be able to achieve its ends with great ease. Whatever may happen, it behoves us to appoint a working committee under the auspices of this Conference, whose duty it will be to see that the resolution of the Conference are given effect to. The cry of Swaraj is reverberating throughout this country. That educated lady Annie Besant has set lakhs of men and women to "tell" the rosary of Swaraj. A thing which many a man and woman did not know two years ago has been propagated by this lady by means of her wisdom and her

indefatigable labours. There is no doubt that the name of this lady will be mentioned in the front ranks of fame in History for having created the hope (in us) that we shall get Swaraj in a short time. Swaraj is a model of the Congress as it has been, so Mrs. Besant's idea is not a new one, but this lady will be recognised as having explained to the people that Swaraj is a thing that can be acquired in a short time. Consequently, we cannot sufficiently thank the lady. (Hear, hear). Government have done an act of kindness by releasing her and her associates, Mr. Arundale (Cheers) and Mr. Wadia. Thereby it has become plain that the Swaraj agitation is not an improper one. (Cheers). It is to be desired that Government should show to our brothers Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali the same mercy that they showed in the case of Mrs. Besant and her associates. In what Sir William Vincent has said as regards these two brothers, it is unnecessary to try to find what demands consideration. By releasing them in response to the request of the people, if the Government throw the responsibility on the people to guard against untoward results, they will be obliging the people all the more. (Cheers). As long as these brothers are not set free, the liberality of Government will not be held to be complete. We shall hope that Government will show a full measure of liberality and win both the hearts of the people and the people themselves too. (Cheers).

Mr. Montagu is coming here ! a petition is about to be presented to him ; it is already signed ; its principal object is the education of the people. To acquire Swaraj you must know how to read and write. This is suggested by our ignorance of history. My brothers, it is not necessary that our people should be literate to be able to appreciate that the work of the Government of the country has to be done ; what is necessary is to believe in—to desire—that, hundreds of illiterate kings have ruled their kingdoms well. The object of the petition is this : to ascertain how far people can appreciate this fact, and, where it is found that they cannot, to create the power of appreciation. It is advisable that lakhs of men and women should sign the petition after understanding what they are doing. The simplest effect of that petition would be this that it will carry weight with Mr. Montagu.

No one has the power to interfere with the Scheme of Reforms formulated by the Congress and the Muslim League. That is to say, there is no room to criticise it.

This Scheme is not Swaraj, but a big step up the ladder to Swaraj. Some critics—English—say that we have no right to enjoy Swaraj (cries of " shame ") because the section of the people that demands Swaraj has not the power to defend India. They ask: "What,

should the English be the sepoy (servants) of India and the Indian people carry on the administration ?" (Laughter and cries, of "shame") This question is as ridiculous as it is regrettable. Ridiculous, because (our) English friends suppose that they are to be separated from us. Our idea is this that we should work together in harmony with the British and enjoy Swaraj. (Hear, hear.) We do not desire that the Englishmen, who are living here, should go away ; they will be our partners in Swaraj; (Cheers). If, perhaps, it should fall to their lot to be sepoys, there is no reason for them to complain. (Laughter). But it is premature for them to think that they will not take part in " Sepoygiri". It is also a regrettable question, because it reminds us of the fact that Government have up to now kept us without military training. If they had given us that training, a large army of educated men could fight. (Cheers). The educated have not taken part in this war, for which they are to blame ; but a greater blame lies with Government. If the policy of the Government had been different from the very beginning an invincible army would be in existence by now, but nobody can be held to blame for the inscrutable ways of Providence. When the British power was established, it was supposed to be a wise policy to govern crores of subject people by disarming them and depriving them of a military education ! Now, get hold of recruits from anywhere and everywhere, and let the rulers and the ruled remain together just as they have been !!

These views are expressed here in the belief that they are warranted by the present state of affairs. I personally do not feel that what is happening is all right in every respect. The agitation we have been carrying on is after the western fashion. The Swaraj that we desire to have is after the western fashion. The Swaraj that we desire to have is after the western model. It will end in creating enmity between India and the western country. It is the opinion of some that that is inevitable. I do not think so. India is not Europe, Japan or China; this fact I cannot overlook. Hindustan is a land for work ; the rest are lands of enjoyment; this is a divine voice ; it is imprinted on my mind. I feel that the mission of this country differs from that of other countries. India is fit to enjoy a religious empire. The austerities practised in this country transcend those of any other country. India wants less of iron weapons. She has fought with supernatural arms ; and can do so still. People of other countries worship physical strength. The great war in Europe symbolises this. India can conquer all by means of its psychic strength. There are numerous illustrations to prove that the strength of the body is as a straw compared with the strength of the soul. Poets have sung of this ; and experience has

demonstrated it. A sturdy young man of thirty behaves like a lamb before his father eighty years old. This is a token of the strength of love. Love is soul, it is a part of Atma. This love we can use all the world over. We have lost our regard for religion. Therefore we cannot stand steadily in the modern atmosphere ; we live in a bewildered state of mind. I will discuss this point a little further on.

In spite of my thought being of this nature, I am taking part in the agitation for Swaraj, because the system of administration adopted by Government is of a modern type. Government themselves recognise that the symbol of this system is " Parliament". If we do not get such a Parliament, we shall become aimless workers. One of the expressions of Mrs. Beasant is absolutely true. Either India should have Swaraj or else there will be a disease in her due to starvation. I do not wish to dabble in statistics. What I can see with my eyes is sufficient for my purpose to show that in India poverty is on the increase. What else can be the result ? Must not there be distress in that country, which produces the raw material, exports it, and buys it back in its finished condition ; which produces cotton and yet spends outside crores of rupees for its clothes ? That country must be in a beggarly condition in which the people spend money in marriage and other expenses in an extravagant manner. That country must be poverty-stricken; which cannot spend enough to remove plague and such other diseases. The people of that country must become destitute, whose officers spend a greater part of their income outside it. That country must become impoverished, whose people burn invaluable manure to keep out the cold in the absence of warm clothes. I have wandered throughout India but have not come across people anywhere bearing a bright appearance. The middle-classes are in a miserable condition. To the lowest classes there is heaven above and earth below. A happy day never dawns for them. It is an unwarranted assumption that the wealth of India is buried under-ground and in ornaments. What wealth there is not worth calculation. The people's incomes have not increased and expenses have gone up. This state of affairs has not been caused by the Government intentionally. I admit that the intentions of Government are righteous. Theirs is a genuine desire that their subjects should prosper. They have great faith in their " Blue Books ". There is an English proverb that says that facts and figures can be made to prove anything and that is true. Economists prove the growing prosperity of India by figures. Those who are poor accountants like myself become suspicious and nod their heads. Even if the deities from the Heavens come and say

otherwise, I shall positively assert that the India that I see is becoming destitute. (Hear, hear).

Hence, if we have our own Parliament, what will it do ? When there is a Parliament in India, we will have power to make mistakes and to correct ourselves. (Hear, hear). At first, we are bound to make mistakes. But living as we are in this country, we shall not take long in correcting our mistakes (Cheers), and we shall immediately find the remedies against starvation. (Hear, hear). Then we shall not think of depending on Lancashire goods; then we shall not build an Imperial Delhi by spending colossal wealth. There must be some difference between the huts and the House of Parliament. At present people have become miserable. They have not the right even to make errors ! (Hear, hear and laughter). Those who have not the right to err can never improve. The history of our meetings is the history of our mistakes. Man is an embodiment of mistakes ; this is an Arabic proverb. Swaraj is sometimes defined as liberty to commit errors and the right to correct them.

The Parliament that we want to-day, we are to-day fit to take (Hear, hear). That is to say, we will have it when we ask for it. When that "to-day" will come, depends on ourselves. (Hear, hear).

Swaraj cannot be had when plaintively asked for from the British Democracy—the British people. Those people cannot recognise such a prayer. They will say ; " We did not go to anybody for Swaraj. We acquired it by our own ability. The reason you have not got it is because you are not fit for it. When you become fit for it, then you will get it."

How will this fitness come ? We have to ask for Swaraj from the people of India. Our prayer must go to them. When the Indian peasantry will understand what Swaraj means, then nobody dare hold it back from us.

Sir, William Wilson Hunter wrote that the straightest road in the British Empire to acquire what one desires is victory gained on the battlefield. Had our educated classes taken part in the war, I am sure that our goal would have been reached by us at this very moment. Not only that but the fact would have had a peculiar significance.

Often times we are told that many Indian soldiers were killed in the battlefields of France and Mesopotamia, but our educated classes cannot claim any credit in this matter. We did not influence these soldiers. These soldiers did not go filled with patriotism. They have no idea of Swaraj. They are not going to ask for Swaraj at the end of the war. They have gone to prove their loyalty to those whose salt they ate. I think that in our request for Swaraj we cannot ask them to intercede. If the educated classes have not

taken a greater part in the war, they cannot be blamed. That is the only thing that we can say here.

We have expressed our loyalty at the critical moment, but that does not signify our fitness. Loyalty is no (special) virtue. It is an essential feature of the life of a subject-people. That Swaraj cannot be got through loyalty is an absolute truth.

Our fitness lies in our keen desire to have Swaraj now. It also lies in our conviction that however liberally the authorities may have worked for us, the time to give us Swaraj has come. It is also a fact that we are fit enough. Peace is not now possible in India without Swaraj.

But if we carry on the agitation for Swaraj by merely holding meetings, the people are likely to suffer. There are times and places for meetings and speeches, but they of themselves will not do everything.

In the people imbued with the idea of Swaraj, there exists an awakening in all directions. The first stage of Swaraj is the individual. "What is good for man is good for the world" is an adage which we find to be true in this connection. When there is constant commotion in our hearts, when we go the wrong way, when instead of controlling our passions the passions control us, then how can we have a true conception of *Swaraj*? The first step is that to learn to govern ourselves.

Again, if families quarrel among themselves, and brothers fight with brothers, that is to say, if families enjoying (domestic) *Swaraj* become divided on account of quarrels, how can we be really fit for *Swaraj*?

Then take the case of the different castes. They also are divided among themselves. If we cannot carry on a *Swaraj* in a body of such small dimensions, then how can we carry on the nation's *Swaraj*?

After the caste comes the town. If we cannot conduct the affairs of our town, if we cannot keep our "gullies" clean, if our houses are in a dilapidated condition, if our roads are not straight, if those who look after the affairs of the town are not unselfish, if they are indifferent or selfish, then what right have we to get additional powers?

Really speaking, the key to *Swaraj* lies in the town, and it is necessary to give that point a little further consideration. Plague has made its home in India. Cholera is, of course with us. Malaria claims its victims by thousands every year. Plague is being driven out of other parts of the world. It went to Glasgow and stopped there. In Johannesburg it appeared, but in one month the Municipality effectually scotched it. We can do nothing to control the

ravages of plague. For this reason we cannot blame the Government. Properly speaking, even poverty cannot be blamed for it. Nobody can prevent us from adopting remedies against plague. A big city like Ahmedabad is not in a position to drive away poverty. I am afraid we shall have to take all the responsibility upon our own shoulders regarding plague. It is a significant fact that when plague enters our city and carries on its devilish play, it dares not enter the residential quarters of Englishmen ! The reason is soon told. The atmosphere of their quarter is clear and clean, the houses stand apart from one another, the roads are wide and clean and the conservancy arrangements are very good. With us to go to the " W. C. " is to wallow in filth. In a country where 99 per cent. of the population walks bare-footed, where people spit wherever they like, and answer the calls of nature wherever they like, we are compelled to walk on filth. Under these circumstances, is there any wonder if in such a place plague gains a footing ?

We shall never be able fully to appreciate what a good *Swaraj* means as long as we cannot change the state of our towns, as long as we do not correct our bad habits, and as long as we do not keep our lavatories in a sanitary condition.

On this occasion it will not be out of place to say at least this much. We consider the most useful servants of all—the scavengers— as untouchables. The result of that is that we do not allow them to sweep our lavatories clean. From a religious standpoint we feel we should be polluted if we did that work ourselves. Hence, although we believe that personally we are very pure a part of our house remains dirtier than the same apartments in other parts of the world, and, consequently, we live always in a dirty atmosphere. When we lived in villages we were happy, but owing to the above mentioned difficulties in city-life we are always doing harm to ourselves.

Where people die of accidents, there is possibility of an absence of religion, and a neglect of duty. I believe that it should not be beyond our power to drive away plague. If we can do that, we shall show our fitness for *Swaraj* more than by means of agitation. This question is worth the consideration of our Doctors and Vaidyas.

In our very neighbourhood there is a sacred place called Dakorji. I have visited it. In that sacred place there is no limit to insanctity. (Laughter.) I consider myself to be a Vaishnava out and out. Hence, I have the greater right to criticise this matter. Dakorji is so full of dirt that it is impossible for a man, who is accustomed to live in cleanliness to spend a single day there. The pilgrims spoil the tank and the roads just as they like. The "Mukhis" are fighting and a Receiver is appointed regarding the ornaments, etc., of (the deity) Ranchhodraiji. Our duty is necessarily to improve this state

of affairs. If we the Gujaratis — who have started on our mission of *Swaraj* do not improve the state of our own verandahs, then what success can we achieve in the army of *Swaraj* ?

When we examine the state of education in the cities also, we feel disheartened. It is our bounden duty to make personal exertions to teach hundreds of our youths. Instead of that thousands of our children go without education, and we keep our eyes fixed on the Government.

In cities the vice of intemperance is on the increase; the Irani is increasing the number of his shops ; gambling is rife ; if we do not adopt remedies to stop these things, then how can we take *Swaraj* ? *Swaraj* means to carry on our own affairs.

It appears that the time has come when milk will soon be a stranger to the mouth of our children and ourselves. In Gujarat dairies are springing up rapidly. All (available) milk is purchased by them, who sell it in the shape of butter, etc. The people who mainly depend on milk how can they allow their food to be thus destroyed ? How do such selfish beings come into existence who put to improper use articles of food, ignoring the health of the people for the sake of money ? Milk, ghee and other articles prepared with milk are so invaluable to the people that it behoves the Municipalities to keep complete control over them. What do we intend to do in this direction ?

I have just returned from a province which was the scene of Bakri-Id riots. For a trifling cause the two communities quarrelled with each other. We could not do anything in the matter. We have to rely on whatever action Government take. This illustrates our helpless condition.

It would not be out of place if we consider for a while the question of cow-protection. It is not a minor question. And yet its solution is left entirely to the Cow-Protection Societies. The custom of cow-protection is supposed to be very ancient. Its origin is interwoven with the existence of things necessary for the happiness of this country. Where 90 per cent. of the population depends on agriculture, where bullocks are required for agriculture, there a necessity naturally arises for the protection of cows. In such places even flesh-eaters let the cows alone. For these natural reasons a strong movement ought to exist to protect the cows. But here things are otherwise. Cow-protection principally means this that we should prevent the cows from going into the hands of our Mussalman brothers for slaughter. The rulers required beef. For that purpose thousands of cows are slaughtered. We do not do anything against that. In Calcutta the Hindus themselves practise the cruel habit of "blowing", whereby they draw out milk from the cow. We hardly do anything to save the cows

from this maltreatment. In Gujarat itself the Hindus use sticks to drive the bullocks. You do not protest against that. We see that the condition of the bullocks in our cities is pitiful. To protect the cows and their progeny is an important question. The evil of slaughtering cows is added to by picking quarrels with Mussalmans over the question. It is not right to kill our Mussalman-brethren while saving the lives of cows. (On the contrary) it may lead to irreligion. (Hear, hear.) I feel that our Mussalman-brethren will appreciate the Hindus sentiment and spare the lives of cows if we discuss the subject with them in a friendly spirit. By means of requests and by means of passive resistance we can induce them to spare the lives of cows. But in order to do that we must realise the true aspect of this question. We must be prepared to die instead of to kill our brethren. But this we shall do when we understand the real value of a cow and when we possess a genuine sympathy. In this matter many questions are involved. The feud between the Hindus and Mussalmans will disappear, cows will be protected, milk and ghee we shall get both pure and cheap, and our bullocks will be a model to the world. If our prayer is pure, we can stop the slaughter of cows at the hands of the English, the Mussalmans, the Hindus, etc. The solution of this one question will bring *Swaraj* nearer to us.

Many of the above subjects are concerned in the management of a city. From this we can see that the management of the Indian Empire depends on the proper management of a city.

It would not be incongruous to say that the Swadeshi spirit is practically non-existent in the country. It does not strike us that in it there is the key approximately—of *Swaraj*. If we have no taste for (our) mothertongue, if we do not like swadeshi clothes, if our swadeshi dress causes us inconveniences, if we are ashamed of the tuft of hair on the head, if we are not pleased with our food, if our climate is found uncongenial, if our people are considered as untouchables and not worthy of our association, if our customs are considered rude and the foreign customs proper, in short if everything belonging to us is disliked and everything foreign liked, then I cannot bring myself to understand what the meaning of *Swaraj* is. If everything foreign is acceptable to us, then, of course, we are in need of a further foreign training, because the foreign atmosphere has impregnated the minds of our people to a very small extent. I feel that before we can drink the juice of *Swaraj*, we must be imbued with the swadeshi spirit. In every work that we do the impress of swadeshi must be visible. The ideal of *Swaraj* should be so framed as to be consonant with all that is good to us. If that is true, the swadeshi agitation in this country must be organised on a grand scale. In every country,

where the *Swaraj* agitation has existed, its people have fully understood the value of swadeshi. In Scotland the soldiers do not wish to part with their kilts even though their love for them may cost them their lives. A regiment in kilts we jocularly call " Ghagra-Paltan ". (Laughter.) What strength lies behind the kilts is known to the wide world. The kilt is both incommodious and easily visible, still the Scottish soldiers do not abandon it. I do not mean that we should remain unprogressive, but that whatever the drawbacks may be we should not forsake them. A foreign article, though pleasing, is unworthy of being handled. What is a defect in us, to-day we can by our own efforts convert into a virtue. (Hear, hear.) If this assembly feels coursing through its veins the impulse of swadeshi, and resolves to cling to swadeshi in the teeth of great difficulties, and bears inconveniences if this happens, *Swaraj* is a thing that we can get by sitting at home. (Hear, hear.).

From the above disquisition you will see that our swadeshi agitation must be double-edged. You may send petitions to Government; you may ask for rights in the Supreme Legislative Council; but it is very necessary to start an agitation to awaken the people. (Cheers.) In the superficial remedies, pride, selfishness, etc., are liable to be mixed up. There must be an internal upheaval; otherwise the outer commotion is out of place. Not only that, but it may possibly be useless. I do not suggest in this argument that you should not take note of the internal upheaval. What I mean to suggest is that we do not appreciate it as much as we should.

Some believe that once we get into our hands the power to managing the affairs of the Indian Empire, we shall all become idle. There cannot be a worse supposition. No independent nation has become so.

If it has to be admitted that we have not made as much progress as we should have, there are two reasons to explain it. We have kept our womankind at arm's length in all our movements. Therefore, we are guilty of partiality. People are walking on one leg. All their undertakings seems to be half-hearted and incomplete. Besides, the educated portion of the people is affected by studying in a foreign language, and what strength it acquires is not made available to the whole of the people. On this subject I have expressed my views at the Gujarat Education Conference. Therefore, I shall not repeat them here. This Conference has resolved to carry on its work in Gujarati (Hear, hear), which is very prais-worthy, and I am hopeful that the Gujarati people will not depart from this resolution under any pretence whatsoever. (Hear, Hear).

If the educated classes had made common cause with the people at large, the Bakri-Id riots would not have occurred to-day.

Before I touch my last point, I have a certain duty to perform and a few suggestions to make.

Every year " Yamraja " (Death) takes away certain of the leaders of Hindustan. I do not wish to mention all the casualties of last year; but the name of the late " Rishilike" (hear, hear) India's "Dada" Dadabhai Nowroji, cannot be left unnoticed. (Hear, hear.) Who am I to appraise his services to his mother country at their true value ? I have sat at his feet. When he went to England as a young man, I saw him. I went to him with a letter of introduction. From that time I have learnt to worship him. His pure and continuous service to his motherland, his impartiality, his pure life— all these will always be as models to India. May his soul rest in peace. May God give strength to his family and all India to bear the loss. Let us transplant his life into ours, let us follow in his footsteps in the service of the country, let us keep him in our hearts ; we can thus immortalize him.

It is our duty to thank His Excellency the Viceroy for his resolution regarding the abrogation of the Customs Duties on the borders of Viramgam. (Cheers.). This (resolution) should have been passed long ago. Under the load of these duties people were crushed. Many (merchants) had stopped their business on account of them. Those who were very weak had to undergo great miseries. This resolution does not seem to have yet been brought into operation. We hope it will soon be introduced.

I placed before the public through the medium of the newspapers ' my experience of the hardships borne by third class passengers on railway Those hardships are really unbearable. The Indian people are meek; they are, therefore, accustomed to bear hardships quietly and lakhs of them put up with these troubles. It is a great virtue to bear hardships in this way, but there must be some limit. To suffer patiently these railway grievances indicates cowardice. These grievances are of two kinds. One is due to delinquencies on the part of the railway department, and the other arises out of the indifference of the passengers themselves. For the removal of these troubles there are two remedies. The people should write to the railway company, which exists for them, about their hard experiences. They can write even in the Gujarati language. It may be published in the newspapers. The other remedy is for the educated passengers to teach etiquette to their ignorant co-passengers. They should draw the attention of the latter to the necessity of keeping themselves clean and of being mindful of the comfort of those who sit beside them. For this purpose it is necessary to have volunteers. In that work everyone should do his share. The higher classes should occasionally travel third class so as to realise the difficulties borne by the poor third class passengers, taking care to conceal their identity, and they should place their experiences before the railway company. If we do so, we shall see important changes in a short time.

A committee was appointed in London to consider the question of indentured coolies going to Fiji, etc. The report of that committee has been officially published and the Indian Government have asked for the opinion of the public. On this subject I have already stated my views in the newspapers, so I need not discuss the point here. What I have said is this that the committee's recommendations amount really to a system of indenture. We can give the same opinion. We do not want our labour to go elsewhere under any sort of Indenture. We do not want that. It is necessary that the Law of Indenture should be completely and absolutely repealed. We are not bound to pander to the comfort of other people in any way.

Now I come to my last point. There are two ways of reaching our goal : passive resistance and active resistance. In our Shastras they are described respectively as divine and fiendish. In the matter of passive resistance, truth is always to the fore. On no account does truth depart from the field. Truth always prevails. Sometimes we have to travel a dangerous road, to suffer hardship, but a passive resister never abandons truth. The passive resister will never be disappointed. Truth will be his weapon, so that he does not require either a sword which rusts or munitions. He conquers his enemy by the strength of his soul and by love. Among friends cordiality is no test of love. It is neither strange nor meritorious for friends to regard one another with friendship, there is no trouble involved in their so doing. But love is put to the test in the case of a foe. (Cheers). Therein lies virtue ; therein lies trouble. Hence, therein is manliness. (Hear, hear). Therein lies true chivalry. Towards the rulers also we can have the same sentiments, (cheers). Thereby we can appreciate their work's true value. We should point out to them their mistakes, not with a scowl but with a loving disposition, so that we can thus manage to lead them to correct their mistakes. There is no alloy of fear in this loving sentiment. Cowardice is absent. In cowardice there is no trace of love. Love is manifested by the brave only. Look with an eye of love, and we need not look at the rulers' work with suspicion. Never believe that there is some evil design behind all they do. (Hear, hear). Our examination, conducted with a loving eye, of their work must be unbiassed, and is bound to have some influence on them. (Cheers).

Love can fight; love has often to fight; man does not recognise his mistake, being blinded by his powers. At that moment the passive resister does not sit quiet, but bears the pain, willingly or unwillingly obeys the orders and the laws of the people in power; and when he disregards those orders and laws, he suffers the evil consequences arising from such conduct, viz., imprisonment, hanging and so forth. (Hear, hear). In that way, the soul is perfected; no time is wasted ; and if a mistake is discovered in this peaceful

disregard of orders and laws, the passive resister and his companions bear the consequences of such mistakes. Therein there is no bitterness against the authorities ; on the contrary, it brings them to our side. They understand that they cannot do anything against the passive resisters—that they cannot do anything unless they have the co-operation of the passive resisters. This is the extreme limit of Swaraj, because it involves complete independence. He who has a hard heart can also stand the fury of fire by means of his psychic strength. Even a Nero becomes as soft as a lamb before the strength of the soul. This is not an exaggeration but a truth. This passive resistance is specially suited to India ; there are other weapons in India, but passive resistance is a much used weapon. It is an all-absorbing power. It can be used at all times, and under all circumstances. It needs not the help of Congresses and things of that kind. He who thinks of this power cannot refrain from using it. Just as the eyelid protects the eye, so passive resistance—when it comes into play—protects the independence of the soul. (Cheers). But active resistance is a power of an opposite nature. We have an illustration of it in the great war going on in Europe. If one nation conquers another nation by means of its physical power, that does not prove that its cause is a righteous one. We see many a time strong men oppressing the weak. If the poor man is defeated, it does not mean that his cause is unjust, nor does it prove that the cause of the strong man is righteous. The active resister does not think of the means. He adopts any means—proper or improper—to gain his ends. This is not religion but irreligion. In religion there cannot be the least trace of untruth, of brutality, of carnage. Religion is to be measured by love, sympathy, truth. Without these if the very Heavens were gained, it would be unavailing. If, by abandoning truth, India were to get Swaraj, it would be fruitless and would ultimately mean the ruination of the people. The active resister becomes impatient and desires to kill his enemies. This produces only one result, viz., an increase of hatred. The conquered enemy harbours thoughts of revenge and bides his time. Thus a legacy of enmity is transmitted from generation to generation. It is to be hoped that at no time will India favour active resistance. If the members of this Conference adopt passive resistance, and thus fix the outlines of their work, they can reach their goal fairly easily. There may be disappointment in the beginning, no good results may be seen for some time, nevertheless, in the end passive resistance must win completely. The active resister moves like the bullock in an oil-mill. He moves and moves in a circle. That is a retrograde motion. It is not progress. The passive resister goes onward and onward.

One who may hurriedly glance at my views might think that they are inconsistent. On the one hand I appeal to Government for

military training ; on the other hand, I advocate passive resistance ! How is passive resistance to be reconciled with the use of arms ? Certainly it cannot. The use of arms is meant not for a passive resister but for one who is not. I do not think that the whole of Hindustan will become passive resisters. It would be a disgrace to act like women and not to protect either the country or the weak. It is always so in every respect. We should win over, by the affection of the soul, the man who is either using force against an innocent woman or is going to commit suicide. If we are not able to do so, then we had better expend the whole of our physical power in wallowing in sin. The passive resister and the armed man are both warriors. The armed man, when disarmed, becomes humble but the passive resister never becomes humble. That body is like a victorious one which does not rely on physical force, but fights on the strength of the immortal soul. Besides these two, there is no other. They despise everything and cling to their physical strength as the miser does to his wealth. They do not like to die. Armed men may possibly become passive resisters one of these days. India has hopes that this great and sacred Aryan country will secure for itself a divine atmosphere by means of its Aryan proclivities and will to a great extent take to the policy of passive resistance. It will never encourage a wholesale use of arms. In India truth connotes physical strength. This proposition may not appeal to you, but that "truth prevails" must undoubtedly be admitted.

With the adoption of passive resistance principles, we can improve the state of affairs. We can remove caste disabilities, we can lessen the fraction between Hindus and Mussalmans, and we can decide political questions. It is possible that we may be divided in our opinions, but we should not forget that we are closely related to one another. It is wrong to think that political questions have no bearing on religious or social questions. With a religious temperament we can decide political questions. The decision arrived at is different when religion is ignored. While considering political questions we cannot lose sight of the thousand and one ignorant "Sadhus" nor can our Mussalman brothers afford to neglect the interests of their "Fakirs". When considering the question of Hindu widow Marriage, we cannot overlook the question of infant marriage. Nor can we ignore the question of "Purdah" among the Mussalmans.

True, our difficulties are as high as the Himalayas. But just as there are difficulties, so are there means of surmounting them. We are the descendants of an ancient people. We are the witnesses of the destruction of the happiness of Rome, Persia, Egypt and other countries. Our fortunes have experienced the rise and fall like

the high and low tide of the sea. There is ample provision in our country for absolute freedom. It consists of high mountains, rivers, beautiful natural scenery, the legacies of the religious austerities of our saints. Here all religions live side by side. Here all the deities are respected. In the face of such provision, if we cannot give peace to the world by remarkable deeds, if we cannot win the sympathy of Englishmen by means of our pious lives, then we shall leave a legacy of shame to our descendants. Our relations with the English people will have been in vain. The English are an enterprising race ; they are imbued with religious tendencies. They have great confidence in themselves, they are the progeny of warriors, they enjoy independence, but they are influenced by commercial instincts; they have not always considered whether they were adopting proper or improper means of amassing wealth, and they worship Modern Reform. Instead of imitating them, we should not forget our own. We should place firm reliance on our own strength. We should have great confidence in its superiority; then we shall have made good use of our relations with the people of the world and will act in a way beneficial to ourselves, to the British and to the whole world. To this great work may this Conference be permitted to do full justice, and that the glory of Gujarat and the whole of India may be enhanced is our prayer to the Almighty (Loud cheer).

Page 981, paragraph 1285 (d)—

Kaira, December 16th.—M. K. Gandhi came to Nadiad on the 16th instant and was received by the principal Home Rule Leaguers of Nadiad at the station. He was conducted in procession to the house of Gokaldas Dwarkadas Talati. At 4-30 p.m. a private meeting was held to consider a scheme to give effect to the resolutions passed at the Gujarat Political Conference and to consider the question of education as referred by the same conference. Several prominent Home Rule Leaguers of Ahmedabad and Nadiad comprised the meeting. Although it had not been previously arranged, M. K. Gandhi was persuaded to deliver a public lecture in the evening about 8 p.m. to an audience of 5,000 people. He alluded to impending changes and said that all should work solely for their country. If they did this, they should have *Swaraj* without asking Mr. Montagu for it. He condemned the Mhowra Flowers Act and said that Government had been misinformed. The lecturer then discoursed on the plague epidemic and gave much good advice about killing rats and observing cleanliness in the name of religion. He also pointed out that many of the present-day epidemics were due to the people not having sufficient milk as the dairies bought it all up. Mr. Gandhi visited the Hindu Orphanage and left the same day, being seen off at the station by a large number of people.

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Page 999-1000, paragraph 1293 (a) (b)—

S. B., United Provinces—From Abstract, dated December 8th.— Aligarh. Mr. Gandhi arrived at Aligarh from Delhi on November 28th by the 7-15 p.m. train and left at midnight for Calcutta.

He had informed some students that he was coming to visit them in the College, and Aurangzeb, the president of the Union, asked Mr. Reynell, the acting Principal, to allow him to address the students in the Union rooms. This application was refused.

On arrival at the station he was met by several students and a large crowd. He was told that he could not go to the College, and it had been arranged by Mohan Lal Varma, Barrister-at-Law, and others that he should give a lecture in the grounds of the Lyall Library. He was taken from the station through the city in procession in a carriage lent by Udaibir Singh, which was drawn by the crowd. The streets were illuminated, flowers were thrown and there was great enthusiasm on the part of the Hindus.

Some two thousand five hundred persons were present at the library to hear him speak, and there was a good deal of disorder owing to people striving to get near him.

His subject was Hindu-Mahommadan unity, and he gave his hearers to understand that the plea of benefit to the community would be of no avail to procure Home Rule unless unity prevailed among them. In referring to the Arrah riots he expressed contempt of the contemptible and detestable barbarism exhibited by the Hindus. It was for the Hindus to mend this gap. Hindus-Mahom-madan quarrels should be settled like those of private family. He made many references to the Ali brothers.

The College students who met Mr. Gandhi at the station and went with him in the procession and to the library did so without leave and expressed the opinion that they would rather be expelled than not go and see him after he had said that he wished to visit the College, and had been discourteously refused permission by the principal.

Tafazzul Husain, a student (son of Nawab Husain of Delhi, formerly manager of the *Comrade* office), with whom Abdul Majid stayed recently when he came to Aligarh from Delhi, it is alleged, to persuade the students and professors to agitate for the release of the brothers, seemed to take the most prominent part among the students and he garlanded Mr. Gandhi on the platform in the name of Home Rule.

On leaving the Lyall Library Mr. Gandhi slipped off quietly to the College to talk to the students. He soon got a large number round him, and hearing that Mr. Raynell was at work in the Union hall, wrote and asked if he could see him. Accompanied by a large

body of students he went there and asked if he could address the students on " Truth and Thrift".

Having obtained permission, he said that he had hoped to visit the College in the company of the Ali brothers. He had seen Aligarh working for the nation and the country but the Mahommadans were not so absorbed in endeavouring to uplift their country as their brother Hindus were. He would like to see some, if not all, of the College students nation uplifters, such as Mr. Gokhale was. He made a reference to his dress (*white Kurta, Dhoti and topi*) and said that it was the only suitable dress) for Indians ; the depressed classes would listen to and consult persons dressed in the garb of ancient India more readily than they would those dressed in modern clothes.

Mr. Gandhi then went to Khwaja Abdul Majid's house and from there to the station.

(b) *S. B. Bihar and Orissa*—Bihar S. B., December 8th.—On the 11th November 1917 Mr. Gandhi visited Muzafarpur and held a public meeting at the Dharmasala, five to seven thousand people assembled ; the local bar attended in force and teachers, students, traders, Zamindars and cultivators are also reported as being present. The Honourable Rai Bahadur Dwarka Nath and Babu Mahadeo Prasad, retired Deputy Collector, were among the audience. Mr. Gandhi alluded to Champaran affairs and said that his object had been to bring about peace and to remove difference between tenants and indigo planters. He wished the former to remain as partners and not as slaves. He advocated the opening of schools in villages to educate the masses, whose ignorance at present was an obstacle to social reform. He said that the advantages obtained in Champaran by his efforts cannot now be applied to all districts but later on Muzafarpur tenants would get the same benefits. He spoke also about the Shahabad riots which he considered a purely local outbreak and not indicative of general disunion between Hindus and Mahommadans but said that the interests of the Hindus lay in trying to stop the wholesale slaughter of cows for meat which takes place daily, rather than in obstructing their mahommadan brothers in a religious sacrifice. He appealed to the Shahabad Hindus to compensate the Mahommadan sufferers and pay them twice their losses. If necessary, Hindus from all over India should subscribe. He said he would have been ready to do his best to bring about a reconciliation himself had it not been that his work in Champaran was unfinished and it had always been his principle not to leave unfinished any thing he had taken up. Finally he spoke about the Home Rule movement and exhorted all to support the recommendations of the Indian Moslem League and the National Congress. He appealed

to his audience to sign the petition prepared for presentation to Mr. Montagu, which he explained.

Page 994, paragraph 1289—

C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, December 22nd.—In a note dated the 24th July 1917, the Commissioner of Police, Baroda, reported that K. G. Deshpande, ex-Sar Subha of the Baroda State Service, visited Ahmedabad between the 20th and 23rd June having been summoned, so it was said, by M. K. Gandhi who paid Ahmedabad a hurried visit from Bihar about that time. He also commented on the visits to Gandhi's Ashram of Dattatraya Balkrishna Kalelkar, Jagatram Chimanlal Dave, Kedarnath Appaji Deshpande and other intimate friends and associates of K. G. Deshpande, and suggested that a watch might be kept on their movements and doings as it seemed probable that K. G. Deshpande was plotting some mischief in Ahmedabad in collaboration with Gandhi.

Confidential enquiries made at Ahmedabad by an officer of this department showed that Gandhi had summoned K. G. Deshpande to Ahmedabad to consult him about the building, curriculum, teaching staff and other details relating to the National College. Gandhi proposed to found at Ahmedabad. Deshpande's advice was sought owing to the experience gained by him in connection with the Ganganath Bharatiya Vidyalaya at Baroda, the seditious National Institution, which was closed down by the Baroda State Authorities in 1912. Deshpande, it is reported, is to be one of the teaching staff of the New College.

Dattatraya Balkrishna Kalelkar, a great friend and admirer of K. G. Deshpande and for some time a teacher in the defunct Ganga-nath Institution, is also to be employed on the teaching staff of the New College.

**Page 105—*

He is at present working as Sanskrit coach in Gandhi's Satyagraha Ashram at Ahmedabad. Kalelkar is a Shenvi by caste and is a native of Belgaum where he has two brothers, Govindrao, a photographer, and Anna, a Deputy Superintendent in the Survey Department's Office. The family is undivided and own house property in Shahapur and Belgaum Cantonment and land at Belgundi in the Belgaum Taluka. D. B. Kalelkar is a graduate of the Bombay University and a very good Sanskrit scholar. While in Belgaum he is reported to have borne a good character; and excepting for his association with K. G. Deshpande and his connection with the Ganganath Institution, nothing was noted against him while he was at Baroda. He left his home about nine years ago and has wandered over a great part of India. The D. C. I., writing in May 1914, said that Narain Swami, the living successor of Swami Rama Tirtha and apparent guru of Amirchand, accused in the Delhi and

* Bombay Commissioner of Police file No. 3001/4/10-18.

Lahore Conspiracy Cases, and his friends, was found to have associated both at Dehra Dun and Rishikesh with the notorious Bombay seditionists, D. B. Kalelkar of Belgaum, A. R. Mardhekar of Satara and N. J. Gunaji of Belgaum. In his travels in Northern India Kalelkar made the acquaintance of Himatlal Ramchandra Dvivedi alias Anand Maniram alias Anandannanda of Siani under Limbdi. A close friendship resulted and as a consequence Kalelkar introduced Himatlal to K. G. Deshpande. Kalelkar is also credited with the introduction of Himatlal to the Satyagraha Ashram at Ahmedabad. Himatlal, who has no ostensible means of subsistence, is reported to have left his home many years ago on the plea of serving his country. He was turned out of the Junagadh High School for lecturing on Swadeshi. He is said to be a follower of B. G. Tilak, in whose company he arrived in Akola in May 1908. He attended the Swadesh Mandal meetings at Amraoti and frequently lectured on Swadeshi, Swarajya, National Education, the present state of India, etc. He was prosecuted for seditious writing and preaching under section 109, Criminal Procedure Code, and was bound over in a personal recognizance of Rs. 2,000 and surety of a like amount in 1909. He went to jail as he failed to furnish security. Subsequently his brother, Jayshankar, who is said to be employed in the C. I. D. and to be stationed with the Viceroy's Camp either at Delhi or Simla, offered security which was accepted and took Himatlal away with him to Bombay. Himatlal's name appeared in G. D. Savarkar's list of addresses. He is reported to have been at Siani from the 1st to the 8th of March when he is reported to have been responsible for creating some agitation among the Brahmins, which prompt measure by the State authorities prevented spreading. He left for some place on the Narbada and turned up at Sayajipura in June 1917 where he put up with K. G. Deshpande till the end of September when he left for Bombay. In Bombay he is reported to be staying with Maneklal Dullabhram Mehta at Pimpalwadi, Mugbhat. He intends to remain there for the present and to instruct the children of Motichand and Devidas, Solicitors. He is also giving K. G. Deshpande's son instruction in Marathi. He is described as a dangerous character.

Kalelkar is also responsible for the introduction to K. G. Deshpande of Jagatlal Chimanlal Dave whose visit to Gandhi's Ashram in July was made as a preliminary to his joining the Institution. Kalelkar met Dave in Bombay and took him to Baroda. Dave is a Gujarati Brahmin of Lakhtar, Kathiawar, aged about 25 years. His father was in business in Bombay and died about ten years ago, leaving two sons, Madhavlal and Jagatlal, who lived with his maternal uncle at Wadhwan City where they were educated. Madhavlal, the elder is in service at Cambay. Jagatlal served in the Standard Oil Company at Bombay and afterwards in the office of the monthly

magazine " *Vishmi Saddi*". When he first arrived at Baroda he put up with Kalelkar in the Sampatrao Library and used to visit Deshpande in the latter's company. Later, as he became intimate with Deshpande, he began to visit him without Kalelkar. He is now living with his mother in a hired house in Baroda and is working in the Gujarati Press.

Another man who, it is reported, is to be employed on the teaching staff of the New College is Kedarnath Appaji Deshpande. He is a Kayastha, age about 25, a resident of Pali in the Bhore State. He is said to be visiting M. K. Gandhi's Ashram with this object. His father is at present residing at Pali. He has three brothers, Sadashiv-rao, Educational Inspector, Janjira, Trimbak, a teacher in a private school at Girgaum, Bombay, and Malharrao employed in the service of the Indore State. Nothing is known about his character at Pali. He is unmarried and is said to wander from place to place, having twice been on a pilgrimage to Benares and Hardwar. He was, however, connected with the Ganganath Institution and is a great friend and admirer of K. G. Deshpande and these facts make him an object for suspicion. About the end of February last he arrived at Sayai-pura from Ahmedabad and put up with K. G. Deshpande. After a stay of about two months he returned to Ahmedabad in the company of Kalelkar and Chhaganlal Gandhi, a cousin of M. K. Gandhi, who is employed on secretarial work in the Satyagraha Ashram. He was at Pali in July or August last and made a stay of 10-12 days and then left saying he was going to Poona.

Writing on the 27th July last, the Commissioner of Police, Baroda, reported that recently a boy named Girdharilal Verumal Kirpalani, Sindhi, aged about 15, native of Hyderabad, Sind, was admitted to the 5th Standard of a local High School. He mixed with K. G. Deshpande, Kalelkar and Company and is now at Ahmedabad in Gandhi's Ashram. Enquiries into the antecedents of this boy showed that after studying a few standards of Sindhi, he went to live with his uncle Jivatram Bhagwandas Kirpalani ex-professor of the G. B. B. College, Muzaffarpur. His uncle arrived in Ahmedabad on the 21st August 1917 in the company of Gandhi and is reported to have joined the Satyagraha Ashram, probably with a view to being employed on the staff of the New College. Jivatram is the son of a retired Mukhtyarkar of Hyderabad, Sind. As a student he was very fond of lecturing and was refused admission to the D. J. College, Sind, because he talked strongly about the sad fate of the Bengalis at the time of the Partition. He, however, was admitted to the Fergusson College, Poona, from which he graduated. He then taught for some time in schools in Hyderabad and Sukkur, after which he obtained a professorship in the G. B. B. College at Muzaffarpur, Bihar. His

services were dispensed with by the College just before the last summer vacation on the ground that he interested himself too much in politics.

His brothers are not uninteresting. Verumal, the father of the boy Girdharilal mentioned above, was Manager of a Swadeshi Stores (now not in existence) in Hyderabad. He now looks after the land owned by his father. Though his name does not appear on the list of Hyderabad Home Rulers, he is said to be sympathetic with the movement and to take an inactive part in Home Rule processions, etc.

A second brother, Deu or Deumal, is no other than the Muslim convert and pro-Turk absconder, Abdul Rahim. This brings the family into contact with Dr. Vasanmal, son of Hukmatrai *alias* Shaikh Muhammad Yakub, and in fact with the whole clique of recent Amil converts to Islam.

The third brother Hanamal is unimportant. He is described as an ordinary shopkeeper—boot and shoe merchant—without political spirit, and addicted to drink.



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Page 164, paragraph 235—

Ahmedabad, February 14th.—A projected general strike of mill-hands has been in the air for some days past owing to the mill-owners having given out their intention to discontinue paying plague allowances from the 15th of this month. There is not much organisation on either side, the Millowners' Association being at sixes and sevens internally and the men having no definite leaders. The hands appear to look to M. K. Gandhi to espouse their cause and give them guidance, though a few of the wilder spirit among them question what he can do for them. A meeting was held on the night of the 8th at which he was invited to preside and about 3,000 millhands attended. His advice was all in the direction of sobriety and conciliation and he suggested that they should select five representatives from among themselves to accompany him as a deputation to the millowners to state their case, but nothing was finally decided at the meeting: Some of the more timorous shopkeepers are concerned lest a strike might lead to the looting of their shops such as occurred in Bombay. Steps are being taken to forestall or meet any such disturbances that may threaten, but the latest advices are that both sides have agreed to submit the question to arbitration and the millowners to continue the existing allowances pending its result.

Page 197, paragraph 293—

Ahmedabad, February 28th.—The mill strike situation here is still somewhat obscure and alters its complexion from day to day. Neither side appeared to be very enthusiastic about the settlement by arbitration to which they had originally agreed nor disposed to await or abide by its result. A group of mill-owners who had come to some sort of agreement among themselves posted notices at their mills on the 23rd withdrawing the plague allowance at once and offering a 20 per cent. increase of pay. A general strike was expected to result but nothing particular did happen, and the group mill-owners, apparently piqued by this, have now locked out their weavers but continue to pay them part wages during the lock-out on some very fluctuating and loosely defined conditions. The extraordinary situation is perhaps largely attributable to shortage of coal. Meanwhile the locked-out weavers are holding daily mass meetings and propose to go on doing so until some settlement is arrived at. The meetings so far have been quite orderly and have been 'held under the presidentship and restraining influence of M. K. Gandhi who is forming a union of weavers and endeavouring to bring about some sort of midway compromise between the terms offered by the employers and those demanded by the men.

The District Magistrate remarks : " The situation as regards the "Lock-out" is as follows :— When a strike was feared on the 15th February, the mill-owners agreed to arbitration to avert the crisis. But M. K. Gandhi with whom they treated was unable to control the operatives who continued to strike in one mill after another. In order to preserve their unity the " Group " mill-owners decided on a lock-out of the weavers, offering, however, to support those who accepted their terms. They withdraw from arbitration on the grounds that Gandhi had no real position of authority, no mandate from the operatives and that there was no guarantee that the latter would accept the award.

" In reality the mill-owners are afraid of Gandhi and hope to break his power. " Owing to the high prices the weavers who remain out will soon begin to suffer ; and the shortage of coal makes it very convenient to close down the mill just at present."

Page 223, paragraph 316—

Ahmedabad, March 5th.—The lock-out of the mill weavers still continues and they hold a mass meeting in the river bed each evening under the leadership of M. K. Gandhi and Anusuya Sarabhai, who have persuaded most of the men to form a union and to hold out for a 35 per cent. increase of their former wages. So far there has been no trouble, but the situation may take a more serious turn before long when the men's immediate resources are exhausted if no settlement has been arrived at. These daily meetings will probably soon fall, as only the same old ground seems to be gone over at each one.

Page 276, paragraph 386—

Ahmedabad, March 28th.—The mill weavers' lock-out was declared closed on the 18th and work was resumed in nearly all the mills on the 20th. The terms of settlement are designed to save the faces of both parties, neither of whom could hold out and both of whom had sworn not to give into the other side's demands. Gandhi's "Hunger-strike" was merely a typical theatrical final when he knew a settlement was inevitable.

The terms agreed to were :—35 per cent. increase on the wages of last July for the first day of work, 20 per cent. for the second day and 27½ per cent. thereafter pending the final figure assessed by Professor Dhruva of the Gujarat College who has been appointed sole arbitrator. There is no assurance, however, that the result of the arbitration will meet with general acceptance, any more than the earlier efforts in that direction did, and the mill-owners have little faith in the men's accepting any award that is not extremely favourable to them.

Pages 297-98, paragraph 423—

Ahmedabad, April 7th.—The District Magistrate writes : —" I had a long conversation with Mr. Ambalal Sarabhai on April 4th. Mr. Ambalal is the leader of the group of mill-owners who recently stood out against the Weavers' Organization and locked them out of their mills for several weeks. He gave me a new account of Gandhi's vow which is of some interest and which I believe to be correct.

" Gandhi while fighting the mill-owners on behalf of the Weavers both professed and maintained openness and fairness in his conduct of the campaign. His favourite maxim is that every man should be fearless of consequences and follow his own conscience alone. But when he found that some of his followers were beginning to fall from him and return to the mills on the mill-owners' terms he picketed the mills, professing that his object was to "dissuade" them from this course. Ambalal on behalf of the Group challenged this behaviour on his part and said that if he began picketing the mill-owners would be driven to unfair tricks in self-defence. He maintained that Gandhi on his own principles should tell the weavers that if they thought the terms of the mill-owners fair they should return to work. Gandhi who has a strong vein of simplicity in him and is not always practical, was so moved by this that he gave out to all the weavers that they should be guided by nothing else than their consciences and return to work on the employers' terms if they thought right. This enraged the majority of his followers to such an extent that they nearly mobbed him and Miss Anusuya Sarabhai, who actually thought of sending for the police. The weavers assailed him bitterly for being a friend of the mill-owners, riding in their motor cars and eating sumptuously with them, while the weavers were starving. It was at this point and when stung by these taunts that Gandhi took his vow that he would eat no food until the weavers' terms were granted by the millowners. The rest of the story is well-known. Both the weavers and the mill-owners took alarm at the idea of his starving and came to terms by compromise.

Page 75, paragraph 93—

Baroda, January 15th.—The Resident writes : —" In the first week in November, K. G. Deshpande left Sayajipura for Karnali on the Nerbada. Thence he went to Vajira where he stayed with the Dewan, and thence to Garudeshwar and Ganganath, where he stayed till the end of the month.

" On the 27th December 1917 he went to Bombay. His presence in Bombay was reported to the police who evidently kept him under

watch as they telegraphed his departure for Baroda, where he arrived on the 4th January. On the 6th he went to Ahmedabad (Sabarmati) and went straight of to M. K. Gandhi's Satyagraha Ashram. It is said he went to Sabarmati in order to see Gandhi before the latter returned to Champaran.

" On the 6th December 1917 M. K. Gandhi, arrived at Baroda where he stayed a few hours, proceeding by the 1 a.m. train to Rutlam."

Page 135, paragraph 204—

*Ahmedabad, February 5th.—*The Gujarat Sabha has recently been adopting an unwantedly aggressive attitude in connection with the Kaira cultivators' grievances and accounts of its activities have appeared in the Press. M. K. Gandhi, its President, just before he left for Bihar, convened a meeting of the Sabha on the 7th of January at which this subject was given prominence, and though he is still away from Ahmedabad it appears he is being looked to for guidance and is kept regularly informed of the progress of events and has issued instructions that the agitation should be pushed for all it is worth. Maganbhai Chaturbhai Patel is one of his most energetic lieutenants in this matter as in most other agitations. The local Home Rule League also held a meeting on the 3rd instant to protest against the official attitude towards the demands made on behalf of the Kaira cultivators.

Pages 136-37, paragraph 206—

*S. B. Bengal, dated February 2nd.—*The Commissioner of Police, reports as follows : " The first sitting of the All-India Muslim League was held on the 30th December 1917 in a pandal at Halliday Street. The audience numbered some 2,000. The chair of the president-elect remained vacant throughout the session, the Honourable Raia of Mahmudabad officiating. The following received great ovations on arrival at the pandal : —

(1) Mrs. Besant, (2) Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi, (3) Mr. Wadia, (4) Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, (5) The Honourable Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, (6) The Honourable Raja of Mahmudabad, (7) The Honourable Mr. Justice Chaudhari, (8) The Honourable Mr. Justice Rafiq, (9) Mr. Horniman, (10) Mr. Hasan Imam.

"The second day's sitting opened with an announcement by the President that the resolution relating to the internment of Messrs. Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali would be taken up first. This resolution was moved by the Honourable Mr. Fazl-ul-Haq.

" The resolution was supported by Mr. Zahur Ahmad, Mr. Safiuddin Kitchloo, Mr. Safi in Urdu and Mr. Gandhi in Hindi.

" Messrs. Gandhi and Shafi, of Bihar, also spoke in the same strain. The former added that the Hindus and Mahommadans were united in demanding the release of Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali.

Page 183, paragraph 266—

Ahmedabad, February 18th.—The Honourable Messrs. V. J. Patel and G. K. Parekh came here on 15th in connection with the Kaira cultivators question. They left again for Nadiad on the 16th accompanied by M. K. Gandhi, Mahadev Haribhai Desai, Shankarlal Dwarkadas Parekh, Maganbhai Chaturbhai Patel and a few other local politicians.

Page 197, paragraph 299—

Kaira, February 25th.—M. K. Gandhi, G. K. Parekh, V. J. Patel, Shivabhai M. Patel, Vallabhbhai J. Patel, of Ahmedabad, C. N- Pandya, Indulal K. Yagnik and some others came to Nadiad on the 16th instant from Ahmedabad. They were met by Haribhai Patel, Fulchand Bapuji Shah, Dahyabhai Ranchod, Gokaldas Talati and others. A private meeting was held and statements regarding the harassment by Talatis in collecting land revenue were recorded. V. J. Patel and G. K. Parekh went to Bombay the same evening M. K. Gandhi stayed at the Anath Ashram.

On the 17th idem M. K. Gandhi with Kalidas Jaskaran of Ahmedabad went to Vadthal to inquire into the state of the crops.

On the 18th M. K. Gandhi went to Kathlal with Mahadev Hari (Desai) of Ahmedabad to enquire into the state of the crops. Gandhi went again to Kathlal on the 19th.

Page 223, paragraph 315—

Kaira, March 4th.—M. K. Gandhi visited several villages in Matar Taluka on the 21st ultimo. He went to Anand on the 22nd and recorded some statements regarding the crops. The same day he went to Lambwel. On the 23rd, accompanied by V. J. Patel and others, he visited Uttersanda.

Page 265, paragraph 380 (i)—

Ahmedabad, March 28th.—Mrs. Besant passed through here on the 10th instant *en route* to Bhavnagar. She was met at the station by a fair crowd, including all the local Home Rulers, and was garlanded. She arrived back from Bhavnagar on the 12th by the evening mail and put up for the night at Ambalal Sarabhai's bungalow in Shahi-bag. Next morning she motored to the Maskati Market near the station and from there was taken in procession through the city in a carriage. The crowd was dense at first but gradually thinned out as the procession advanced. M. K. Gandhi sat beside her in the carriage. She was garlanded at frequent intervals throughout the route and presented by various trade associations and mahajans with purses aggregating about Rs. 3,500. The procession ended at Sheth Mansukhbhai's Vada where she delivered a lecture on " National Education " to an audience of about 10,000. Gandhi was in the chair.

Page 272 to 274, para 380—

Bombay April 1st.—The Passive Resistance Movement in Kaira is causing much comment amongst educated and thoughtful Indians in Bombay, who express surprise at the latitude given to the handful of Home Rulers who have made it their business to intervene in matters which do not concern them and adopt such obstructive tactics in war time. They consider that a movement of this nature, which is a novel one in the Presidency, is not in the best interests of the people concerned and very derogatory to the prestige of Government. The movement is regarded by many as direct incitement to lawlessness and to defiance of Government. They argue that India cannot be compared with South Africa, where a similar movement was justified and succeeded to some extent. In the circumstances prevailing in India, the movement strikes them as disloyal and one that should be nipped in the bud without any loss of time, otherwise the contagion will spread to other districts and Government will find themselves in a very awkward position. The manner in which the *Bombay Chronicle* is booming the agitation is also regarded as most objectionable and wonder is expressed at the latitude given to the paper in this respect.

The District Magistrate, Kaira, writes : " The Anti-Assessment Campaign is waxing stronger. Gandhi returned to Nadiad on 27th and put up at the Anath Ashram. Since then he has been busy issuing circulars. The first one which has been posted in prominent places throughout the district asks all occupants to report to Gandhi full details as to coercive measures adopted.

Another circular inciting people not to pay was issued on the date of his arrival. A translation of this accompanies (Exhibit A).

Gandhi left on 28th for Indore to attend some conference and is expected back in three or four days.

EXHIBIT A.

The duty of the ryots of Kaira District.

As the crops in the Kaira District have been poor, that is to say, below 4 annas in most of the villages, the Government rule is that the collection of Land Revenue this year should be postponed. Repeated appeals have been made to Government on behalf of the ryots to make this postponement. On behalf of the people the 'Gujarat Sabha' the Honourable Messrs. G. K. Parekh and V. J. Patel and Messrs. Deodhar, Amritlal Thakkar and Joshi of the " Servants of India Society" made enquiries about the crops and all came to the conclusion that the kharif crop practically came to nothing. With the help of many responsible and respectable assistants I also made minute enquiries into the crops of about 400

villages and found the same thing that in almost all the villages the anna valuation was below four annas. I also saw that many of the ryots had no money, and that the granaries of many were empty; further that many poor people were importing maize wholesale from outside in place of grain grown in this district and living on that. I even saw this, that wherever the people had paid up the Land Revenue they had done so through fear of the Talati, etc. At several places people have paid the Land Revenue by selling their trees, etc. It also came to my notice that the people were groaning under the burden of extremely high prices. Further the people, through fear of plague, are living in huts in a state of anxiety. All these facts have been explained to the Collector and the Commissioner ; they have made certain concessions but these are of no account in comparison with the necessities of the people. In such circumstances only one piece of advice can be given to the people, and it is this that in order to prove their truthfulness they should not pay the land revenue but let Government collect the land revenue by selling their property if it so desires. It is more advisable to lose all by not paying the land revenue than to pay it up through fear and so prove false. This is at least my definite advise to the people ; they should certainly not pay the land revenue and they should bear all the suffering and oppression (Zulum) that may result. Government is bound to respect popular opinion, and it is only if people act in this way that Government will learn to respect it. Many leading gentlemen are ready to assist the people in this struggle, and even if any one is turned out of house and home, arrangements have been made for his food and lodging. Forms of pledge for the signatures of those who have courage enough not to pay the assessment have already been issued, and it is hoped that all agriculturists who have not yet paid will sign it. My advice is to think well before signing, but it should be remembered that after signing whatever may happen there can be no going back.

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

Nadiad, Hindu Anath Ashram,

Phalgun Sud 15, Dated 27th March 1918.

P. 292-94, para. 417 (a) (b).—

(a) *Kaira, April 2nd.*—On the 21st ultimo M. K. Gandhi addressed a meeting of about 5,000 persons at Nadiad. Gokaldas Dwarkadas Talati, of Nadiad, presided. The following is the purport of Gandhi's speech, as reported by the Sub-Inspector : " I have, by permission of the Gujarat Sabha, made personal enquiries in several villages regarding the crops. Throughout the whole district the crop has not been more than 4 annas. In only a few villages

has it been 6 annas. I have talked with the Collector and the Commissioner about this and have communicated with the Governor. They have replied that sufficient enquiries have been made in this matter, and the Collector has issued a notice that stricter measures will now be taken to collect the revenue. In some places cattle have been seized and the Talatis are collecting revenue by zulum. I would like to inform Talatis and Patels that they can collect revenue in a lawful manner, but I do not think that they are authorised to practise zulum. They must be true to the interests of Government, but cannot take unlawful measures. If they are convinced that the crop is below 4 annas they should say so boldly to their superior officers. There are two reasons why I give you this advice. It has been the system of Government to assert that what they have said is true. In a talk with Lord Willingdon I came to know his opinion that the people of India do not give out their correct views ; they are not bold enough to say what they mean ; they say anything which pleases the other party; they are lacking in moral courage. I advise you, therefore, to put before Government the true state of things here. Government says that the orders passed are based on proper enquiries. I must say that Government have not been properly informed. You may safely tell Government that for such a small sum of assessment such a big multitude of people would not lie. There has been a question why those who are rich should not pay. I can safely say that in order that those who are poor may not be discouraged, the rich also should not pay. All great nations that have risen have had to sacrifice. You also should similarly have to undergo hardships. Some of my friends told me that my advice not to pay revenue would be considered as rebellion. But this is not treason or rebellion; this is an attempt to correct some misunderstanding with Government. We want to help Government. But, if out of fear of Government we were to tell a falsehood we would be guilty in the eyes of God. I advise, therefore, that those who have got more than a 4 annas' crop should pay the assessment. Those who are afraid should pay it up even though they have less than a 4 anna crop. Those who are sure that their crop is less than 4 annas should refuse to pay. If Government collects it in their own way, allow them to do so. There are four ways in which revenue can be collected : (1) by selling property, (2) by taking kothai, (3) by confiscating land, (4) by imprisonment. Government says that it is *dandai* when you do not pay. But if you are unable to pay under these conditions it cannot be called *dandai*; it should be called bravery. Even if you have to leave your villages, be prepared for it. In this connection I will ask

you to take a vow. All those who wish to take a vow should go to the Anath Ashram after we disperse and sign the form. I earnestly tell you that those who do not keep their vows are my bitter enemies. Nothing grieves me more than a man who breaks his vows.

"If the crop is less than 4 annas, the people of those villages should with due respect, inform the officers that they are unable to pay and that they will do so next year.

"I advise those who have Sanadia lands to pay the assessment. Mr. Andrews, who has gone to interview the Governor, sends me a wire to go to Delhi to see him. Mr. Andrews and Mr. Vallabhbhai (Patel) will carry on further work here. I am going to Delhi in connection with the work of Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali."

Gandhi then asked those who were willing to raise their hands. About 500 did so. In reply to the query as to who were unwilling to take the oath, none raised a hand.

During the week a meeting was held at Matar, when a lecture was given by Kalyanji Vitalji Mehta of Nadiad. He referred to Gandhi's speech at Nadiad and urged the audience, which numbered about thirty, to take the vow.

On the 27th March a meeting was held at Uttersanda when Shankarbhai Ghelabhai Banker spoke in favour of non-payment of assessment. Eight persons of Uttersanda took the oath.

A meeting was held at Narsanda on the 23rd March when two. persons took the oath.

The Sub-Inspector, Kapadvanj, reports that Torna village has been affected by the non-payment of revenue movement.

(b) *Kaira, April 6th.*—The District Magistrate writes: "I can assure Government that the situation here need cause no anxiety. The people have now realized that Government are not going to make any concessions, and our recent measures have convinced the majority that the revenue as demanded is to be collected, and will be collected except in rare cases where they are willing to allow the land to be forfeited. The only question now with us is how this is to be collected. Mr. Gandhi and his followers have also realized this, and what they are now aiming at is advising people not to pay voluntarily but to pay under protest. Mr. Gandhi urges that this protest must be effective, that is, the revenue should be collected only by distraint. Mr. Gandhi came here yesterday (5th April) and we had a discussion which lasted for five hours. As far as I could gather he was ready to make a "compromise". I dare say that he is beginning to realize that the people are not so strong as he had hoped. He offered to advise all the people to open their houses and actually help in surrendering the property to be distrained provided we would forego any penalties, specially $\frac{1}{4}$ th the fine. He

argued that the people withheld payment not because of contumacy but because they wanted to vindicate their truthfulness and it would be a shame to penalize them for having a conscience. I urged that Government were as convinced of the justice of their claim and so they were equally justified in taking legal measures to compel payment; and as the people would not pay up voluntarily the dues Government must impose some penalty, as a deterrent. I also told Mr. Gandhi that so far forfeiture had not been much resorted to but this might be necessary hereafter. In fact I told him that his proposal could not be accepted.

" I have written to Mr. Pratt, Revenue Commissioner, Northern Division pointing out that the advantages of accepting Mr. Gandhi's offer would be to have all the money collected quickly. The drawbacks are (1) we shall have to discontinue in every case, for the people will no longer be penalized and so there would be no longer any inducement to pay up without distraint, (2) Mr. Gandhi will claim that the fact that so much coercive measure had to be used is a proof that the people were hard up or in any case that they had a conscientious belief in the truth of their assertion and had the courage to act up to it, (3) the people will not suffer because they will really buy back directly or indirectly the property distrained.

" Revenue is coming in fairly freely and I am not for any compromise. It is the fear of forfeiture that is making the people pay up in cash without coercive measures. If we were to agree to distraint only, our work will be too heavy and the amount of coercive measures too large. Any concession now would also savour of defeat.

"The only thing is that we must not only forfeit in a few cases but promptly give out that land to others. As local people will not come forward the land must go to outsiders. This would disabuse the people of the idea that even if forfeited the land is eventually to be given back to them and they risk little.

" Mr. Gandhi apparently sees no harm in the people buying back their property distrained. His one idea is the vindication of truth, and the fact that the people had money which they could have paid direct instead of indirectly through distraint does not appeal to him. I enquired out of curiosity why not pay direct or allow distraint of cash ? Mr. Gandhi said that then the protest would be a sham and not effective. These are rather fine distinctions.

" In Kathana in Kapadwanj Taluka many people who had signed pledge began to pay up. This made Mr. Gandhi's followers send for him post-haste. When Mr. Gandhi turned up he persuaded the few who were going to pay but had not actually paid up to allow distraint of ornaments, etc., and these were brought back by the people. Similarly in Limbashi where, on account of a combination

not to pay a pie of the 2nd instalment, crops had been attached. Mr. Gandhi has agreed to the people surrendering a quantity of crop necessary to fetch the full amount of arrears and has also agreed that the property should be purchased by the people for full value on the spot.

" I do not think we need fear pledges. It means at most distraint and that too in many cases with the connivance of the people. It is a pity that we have got to distraint in such a scale, but I fear this is unavoidable.

" Mr. Gandhi also assured me that he wanted to fight fair and that the recent articles in the *Chronicle* were contrary to his instructions, and that he was doing his best to put a stop to this, but I doubt if he will have his own way in this."

The Commissioner, Northern Division, adds:

" I have just despatched a long letter to the Honourable Mr. Carmichael about the Passive Resistance question so will only write here that Satyagraha literally means *Insistence after the truth*.

" *Satyagrahashram* is the name by which Mr. Gandhi's school at Ahmedabad has long been known. The adoption of this name by the Passive Resistance movement has the unfortunate effect of labelling the school or *Home* as the Passive Resistance Home."

Page 296, paragraph 419—

Ahmedabad, April 1st.—M. K. Gandhi is to attend the Hindi Literary Conference at Indore and, it is said, will return to Delhi and Bihar unless Kaira affairs call for his presence there. He and his satellites appear to be organising a passive resistance crusade on an extensive scale in the Kaira District. He is credited here with having interviewed the Viceroy a few days ago in Delhi and extracted a promise from the Government of India that the Ali brothers would be released within a fortnight ? His powers are coming to be looked upon locally as almost unlimited.

Page 314, paragraph 445—

C. I. D., Bombay Presidency, April 18th.—A public meeting was held in the New Poona College building, Poona, on the 11th instant (Hindu New Years' Day) for the purpose of establishing a "Hindi Shikshan Prasarak Mandal". The Honourable Mr. B. S. Kamat presided, and the audience numbered about 300, mostly students.

A telegram was received from Mr. Gandhi which ran as follows :—

"I wish every success to your effort, feel sure Deccan will lead the way, as in so many cases, in recognising Hindi as common medium and thus save India loss of immense nerve energy required for the use of English".

Page 318, paragraph 453—

Kaira, April 8th.—On the 30th March a meeting of about 1,000 people was held at Nadiad.

Vallabhbhai J. Patel, Barrister of Ahmedabad, was elected President. He regretted the absence of M. K. Gandhi who had gone to Indore, and advised his audience not to pay their assessment on account of fear but to remain firm to their vows when they would be supported by the whole of India. * * *

On the 2nd instant M. K. Gandhi, V. J. Patel and Bai Annasuya Sarabhai visited Limbashi. The two latter addressed the villagers.

Page 347, paragraph 484—

Kaira, April 15th.—M. K. Gandhi and his satellites have been busy during the week with the passive resistance movement. On the 4th instant accompanied by Vallabhbhai J. Patel, Badrinath Varma, Professor of the Adhiyapak College, Lucknow, and Bai Anandibai of the Karve Anath Ashram, Poona, he held a meeting at Karamsad in Anand Taluka. On the 5th idem he visited Vadthal with Mohanlal Kameshwar of Kathlal, Bai Annasuya and Doctor Hariprasad of Ahmedabad. The same day he delivered a lecture in Kaira Town. On the 6th he went to Uttersanda with Vallabhbhai J. Patel and others and on the 7th he visited Nawagam. A meeting was held at Borsad on the 8th which Gandhi, Vallabhbhai J. Patel and Fulchand Bapuji Shah attended. The purport of the speeches has been the same throughout, the audience being advised not to pay the assessment no matter what sacrifice they had to suffer. A number of the people took the vow. At Karamsad, for instance, 150 are said to have done so and at Borsad about 100. *Page 349, paragraph 491—*

S. B. Central India Agency, April 8th.—Mr. Gandhi, who had been elected to preside at the eighth annual session of the *Hindi Sahitya Sammelan* (Hindi Literary Conference), arrived in Indore on the 28th March 1918, and was met by a crowd of people at the Railway Station.

The proceedings of the *Sammelan* continued for three days. commencing from the 29th, and will be reported afterwards.

Mr. Gandhi delivered a lecture on "Home Rule" at the *Dutt Mandir*, Kishenpura, Indore City, on the 30th March 1918 at 6 a.m. In the course of his speech, he said that to attain Home Rule three things were essential Truthfulness, Harmlessness and Perseverance. He criticised the present policy of the Government inasmuch as it was injurious to the general welfare, of the country and its people, and exhorted the audience to exert themselves to acquire Home Rule.

On the 30th March at 5 p.m. Mr. Gandhi was presented with an address on behalf of the Gujarati merchants at the Dewas Kothi, Indore Residency. He left Indore on the 31st March by the 4-30 p.m. train to Rutlam.

Page 367-68, paragraph 534—

Kaira, April 22d.—After the meeting held by the Commissioner, N. D., on the 12th instant at Nadiad, another meeting was held at the Anath Ashram by Gandhi and the Passive Resisters. Gandhi impressed on his hearers the necessity of behaving with politeness towards Government officers. The Commissioner had said that land would be confiscated, but he was quite sure that Government would not deprive them of their land for ever. The fight was not for the Kaira District only, but for the 36 crores of India. They were not the slaves of Government but their children. They must suffer for truth just as Harischandra did; they should observe their vows and have confidence in themselves rather than in him (Gandhi).....

On the 16th instant a meeting attended by M. K. Gandhi, Vallabh bhai J. Patel and Motilal Bhogilal was held at Chikodra, Anand Taluka. M. K. Gandhi, Vallabhbhai J. Patel and Shankarlal Ghela-bhai Banker of Bombay held meeting at Odd on the 17th.

Page 399, paragraph 577(d)—

Bombay Chronicle, dated 4th May 1918.—A meeting of the All-India Congress Committee was held on Friday at 2 p.m. in the rooms of the Bombay Presidency Association, with Mrs. Annie Besant, President of the National Congress, in the chair. Among those present were Mr. Tilak, Mr. Gandhi, the Honourable Mr. Shastri, the Honourable Mr. Khaparde, Dr. Munje, Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Mr. C. P. Ramswami Aiyar and Mr. B. P. Wadia.

Page 413, paragraph 580—

Kaira, April 28th.—M. K. Gandhi and Vallabhbhai J. Patel went to Sunad in Borsad Taluka on the 21st instant and gave lectures to a large audience.

Page 443, paragraph 662 (b)—

Ahmedabad, May 13th.—The District Magistrate writes: " M. K. Gandhi visited me spontaneously on the 10th April to talk about recruiting. He appeared to be enthusiastic on the subject and said that now was the opportunity for Indians to show that they cared for their country and were fit for Home Rule. He pulled out a copy of Mrs. Besant's manifesto on the subject and said that it struck just the right note. I asked him whether he was prepared to go out in the district recruiting and using his influence and he replied that he was. But he said that he was going first to interview the Government of India Authorities and get their approval. I suggested that nobody could object to his turning the Home Rule Campaign,

which is already going on. into a Campaign for helping Government with the War, hut apparently he thought otherwise.

" He was full of fair words and if he chooses can undoubtedly do good work. What he really means remains to be seen. I believe that he does."

The Commissioner adds : " I believe that Gandhi means what he says and hope he will be encouraged ".

Note : —From a newspaper report it would appear that Gandhi has carried the Gujarat Sabha with him. (Secy, S. D.).

Page 456, paragraph 665—

C. I. D. Presidency, May 25th.—The second Provincial Depressed classes Mission Conference was held at Bijapur on 5th May, 1918 under Presidentship of the Hon. Mr. B. S. Kamat, Shri M. K. Gandhi Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, N. C. Kelkar etc. attended.....

The 3rd resolution was to be proposed by M. K. Gandhi. Before moving it he asked the audience whether there was a single member of the depressed classes in the pandal. On receiving a reply in the negative, he said that the Conference was an absurdity in the absence of a single individual of the depressed classes, and declined to move the resolution.

The President explained that the Conference was of people who wished to ameliorate the conditions of the depressed classes. The resolution was then put from the chair and passed unanimously.

Page 456, paragraph 666 (b)—

Kaira, May 19th.—Messrs. Gandhi and Vallabhbhai J. Patel visited Dhandakuwa, Borsad Taluka, on the 13th instant and held a passive resistance meeting of about 150 persons.

Page 474, paragraph 704—

Bijapur, May 17th.—Shri M. K. Gandhi attended the XVIII Bombay Provincial Conference which was held at Bijapur on the 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th May, 1918. The Hon. Mr. V. J. Patel presided.

* * *Page 477). This Conference emphatically urges that nothing short of a complete abolition of the indenture system of recruitment of labour in any form will meet the evils of the system which is a form of slavery which socially and politically debases the labourers and is detrimental to the economic and moral interests of this country.

Proposed by Mahatma Gandhi.

Seconded by Mr. N. M. Joshi.

Page 518, paragraph 894—

Baroda, June 7th.—The Commissioner of Police reports: "The First annual Conference of the Baroda Praja Mandal (Ryots' Association) was held in the Maharaja Theatre, Baroda, on the 25th, 26th

and 27th May 1918. The Honourable Mr. V. J. Patel was secured as President and attempts were made to bring Mr. Gandhi, Horniman, Chandrasankar N. Pandya, Haji Umar Sobani and Jamnadas Dwarkadas but none of them came.

"Gandhi spent an hour and a half at the railway station on the 27th morning and a deputation from the Praja Mandal pressed him to stay for the last day of the Conference, on the ground that the State of the Baroda Raj was very bad and his advice was urgently needed ; but he pleaded an engagement at Nadiad and went on by the Gujarat Mail. It is probably no part of his programme to give prominence to maladministration in a Native State.

Page 521, paragraph. 808—

Bombay, *June 8th.*—I am informed that a movement is on foot in Bombay to honour publicly M. K. Gandhi in connection with his so-called success in settling the Kaira Revenue dispute.

It is under consideration to convene a meeting of the Presidency Association to pass a resolution to that effect then to arrange for a big show.

The underlying motive is to advertise in general the advantages of a passive resistance movement against Government.

Pages 521-22, paragraph 810—

Bihar S. B., June 1st.—Mr. Gandhi returned from Motihari to attend a meeting in Patna City on the 25th ultimo. While in Champaran, he visited the District Magistrate and Sub-Divisional Officer, Bettian, and then went on and saw his schools at Shikarpur, Madhuban and Dhakka. While at Motihari, he stayed with Babu Gorakh Prasad. Numbers of ryots visited his camp, but most of them were instructed to take their grievances to their local representatives. His visit caused a mild excitement as usual.

The meeting in Patna over which the Honourable Mr. Purnendu Narayan Sinha presided was an unusually crowded one, some 8,000 persons attending including over 300 *sadhus*. It would seem that the people expected a more fiery speech than the one actually delivered, for the enthusiasm evinced at Mr. Gandhi's arrival waned very low as the speech proceeded. In his opening remarks he referred to the subject of a universal language in India and hoped that within a few years Hindus would learn Persian and Mahommadans would study Sanskrit, so that the two languages might eventually combine. He then went on to say that he had no time to speak to them regarding affairs in Champaran or " the disgraceful episode at Shahabad ", but he would say that mutual goodwill between Mahommadans and Hindus would not be attained by recourse to the Special Tribunals; that was a question of mutual consultation and arrangement. The

main subject of his speech was " Our Present Condition ". The time had arrived for Indians to make their choice. Such opportunities only come once in the lifetime of a nation. He was addressing his remarks more specially to the educated classes. India had been called on for another army; already some seven or eight lakhs were serving outside India and another five lakhs were to be recruited this year. These persons were paid by Government and earned their living by military service. India could not be proud of them, and derived no benefit from their existence. The self-government that the people were clamouring for was not the self-government that he had in mind. They must have a self-government army, and for this it was incumbent on them to supply the five lakhs that Government wanted without waiting for Government to recruit them. The advice he gave them was to raise a republican army, and he called on the people " to go along with him and go wherever the Government directed". (At this stage a fairly large number of people quietly slipped away from the meeting). If they did not provide the men, Government would obtain them somehow or other, if necessary, by enforcing legal compulsion.

Another matter that he wished to speak to them about, was the idea that self-government meant the dismissal of the British from India — this was impossible. All they wanted was to become a great partner in the British Empire. A great leader of India had said : "We are prepared to fight, but on this condition, that you pledge yourself to grant self-government to India". In his opinion, this was not a straight way of obtaining self-government. He advocated that India should provide the men wanted, and impose no conditions any calamity that overtakes the Empire is one that overtakes India as well. The English race had two outstanding characteristics, they lived in friendship with those who know how to die and those who know how to kill, and they helped those who helped themselves ; they would be of one heart with those who claimed their rights at the very first moment they showed their strength and their determination to obtain these rights. Two essentials are necessary in self-government, power over the army and power over the purse, and that is he repeatedly said that India's ambition to obtain self-government would be blasted if they missed this opportunity of obtaining military training and assisting the Empire, and thereby obtaining self-government. This opportunity would never come again. Only those who are weak are compelled to think of making conditions. The strong impose no conditions.

Page 542, paragraph 862—

Kaira, June 17th.—The Sub-Inspector, Kaira Town, reports that preparations are being made by the Home Rulers of Kaira town

to meet the two accused in the Nawagaon case on their release from jail on the 16th and to give them a public welcome. The case referred to is one in which a crop of onions, which was under attachment, was removed under the advice of M. K. Gandhi and other Passive Resisters. The two owners of the field were sentenced to ten days' imprisonment, and four others the most influential of whom was Mohanlal Kameshwar Pandya of Kathlal were given 20 days' imprisonment.....

A meeting of two or three thousand people was held at Nadiad on the 8th instant under the presidentship of Gopaldas Viharidas Desai at which M. K. Gandhi spoke on the present situation in Kaira. He declared that as the authorities had given way and had acknowledged the demand for remission for the individual, there was no further need to continue the Passive Resistance movement. All they had to do now was to see that those who were in a position to pay, did pay. He regretted that Government had acted without grace. Instead of acknowledging that they were in the wrong they thought only of their prestige and declared that there was nothing new in the orders issued. They had become unpopular owing to their failure to admit their mistakes and acknowledge that they had given in to the public demand. He believed, however, that due regard would be paid to public opinion in the final decision as to who should pay. He congratulated Mohanlal Kameshwar Pandya who, he said, had laid the foundation stone of the Passive Resistance movement and who had gained great glory by going to jail in the Nawagaon theft case.

Vallabhbhai J. Patel, Batukshankar Girdharlal Mehta and Gokal-das Dwarkadas Talati took a prominent part in the meeting.

Pages 564-65, paragraph 910—

Kaira, June 22nd.—The District Magistrate writes : " On June 17th Mr. M. K. Gandhi held a small meeting of his more immediate followers at Nadiad in connection with recruitment; as his speech shows it was a *ballon d'essai*. About 50 persons were present."

" In the course of his speech Mr. Gandhi observed that it was the first and most important duty of the ryot to assist Government. Full assistance should be given in order to overthrow the Germans. The English were better than the Germans. They had come into close contact with the English and they knew each other well, so it was their first duty to assist the English. Some said that they should help only if they were given Home Rule. He believed they could not preserve the country so long as they had no military traditions. In due course they would get Home Rule. By the mere fact of giving assistance they would get it. Half a million of men

were required from India for active service during a year, and if they did not come forward to supply these men, Government would themselves enlist them and the army so raised will be called the Government army. But if the men were supplied by them they would be called the national army. The same rules and regulations that were heretofore in force would apply to the men so raised. Home Rule without military power was useless, and this was the best opportunity to get it. They should not, therefore, lose this opportunity. He had a talk with Tilak, Mrs. Annie Besant, Mr. Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mr. Motilal Nehru in this connection, and they were all of opinion that it was a good idea, but they doubted whether the ryots would accept these views. He had faith in ryots. Many men died of plague and cholera and so it would not be a hard thing to die in the war. He was ready to go to the war if the people would come forward. He was not a member of the Home Rule League. To receive military training was the stepping stone to acquire Home Rule, and so each and every member of the Home Rule League should join. It was rumoured that Indians were placed in the first row and were killed, but he did not believe this. The English were a fighting race and he did not believe that such a people would remain in the rear and send others to the front. If, however, such a time came he would himself object, and unless he were shot he would not allow all the men to be so killed. Before appearing to the whole country for the national army he had a mind to appeal first to the Kaira people who had become Satyagrahis. Nadiad was an important town in the Kaira District and so he had called them together in private. If they agreed with him the matter would be taken in hand; so they should think well, and then get themselves enrolled. If he were satisfied a public meeting would be called in two or three days.

" The reporter who was present remarks that the meeting did not seem enthusiastic ; when the people heard the words ' going to the war' they were dismayed. The meeting closed very silently; some people were saying that Mr. Gandhi was putting his followers in a very tight place, nevertheless they dispersed trying hard to show that they had faith in him."

"The promised public meeting was duly held on the 21st in the Moghul Kotwadi at Nadiad; about 1,000 persons were present, and Mr. Gopaldas Viharidas Desai presided. Mr. Gandhi used again some of the arguments quoted above which are not therefore repeated here. Referring to the British Government he said he had studied its merits and failing closely. There was no pleasure in being subordinate to the English, for they were generally severe with their subordinates, but it was a good thing to be on brotherly terms with them. There was no more advantageous position for

them than to be with the British. India could not stand on her own legs; she was crippled. They wanted to occupy the same position as Australia and Canada. If the British left India they would not be able to defend it against other nations, or even to defend themselves from the wild tribes and castes, a single Kabuli would be able to disperse that whole assembly. Till they had strength to defend themselves Home Rule was useless, but if they were prepared to take part in the war Home Rule would naturally follow. Even if they were deceived in this hope they would then have strength to oppose and would be able to achieve the desired object. There were many faults in the British nation, but they had a greater number of good qualities and it was to these they should look. If they did not assist the British on such an occasion as this they became practically their enemies. In conclusion he asked them to get on with the work and give advice in the villages. He had told Government that he was willing to be sent to the war himself ; though he would not make use of weapons he would perform what service he could and he would not fear death."

" He was followed by Dr. Ramsing who said it was laid down in the Bhagwat Gita that they should do their duty without fear of consequences."

" The next speaker was Mr. Bapalal Maneklal, a Muktyar of Nadiad, who was wounded in Mesopotamia and has, since his return, been elected to the Municipality. He said he could say from personal experience that those who went to the war were well cared for, and he himself was excellently looked after when he was wounded. British troops and Indians were employed, together. Those who feared death were cowards; he would disperse the whole meeting with only a stick in his hand. Nadiad could supply 1,000 men, and though he was lame he was ready to go again."

" Mr. Gandhi closed the proceedings in a brief speech, remarking at the end that until they were able to secure recruits no report of the meeting need be sent to the Press."

The Commissioner, Northern Division, adds: "I received this morning a short letter from Gandhi to tell me that he had ' now commenced public recruiting for combatants' and had addressed his first public meeting at Nadiad on the 20th instant. He writes '*no definite decision was arrived at but I believe that several will give their names*'. "

Page 565, paragraph 912—

Poona, June 15th.—On the 12th instant the opening ceremony of the Anath Vidyarthi Graha building at Chinchwad was performed by M. K. Gandhi, N. C. Kelkar also made a short speech suitable to the occasion.

Page 578, paragraph 943 (h)—

C. I. D., Bombay Presidency, July 4th.—The following is a summary of a report received from the Commissioner of Police of the proceedings of a public meeting held on Sunday the 16th June 1918 at Shantaram's Chawl, Bombay. The meeting was held under the auspices of the two Home Rule Leagues and its objects was to celebrate " Home Rule Day ". There was a very large attendance.

Dr. M. B. Velkar opened the proceedings by moving the election of Mr. Gandhi to the chair. He commented on the speech of His Excellency the Governor the previous Sunday at the War Conference. He said that they were not going to take the insult lying down, and one of the reasons they were assembled there in their thousands was to protest against the conduct of Lord Willingdon.

S. V. Lalit seconded the motion.

Mr. Gandhi then addressed the meeting in Gujarati. He said he had his address written in English, but owing to the noise and confusion he was afraid he would not be able to give them even a summary of it. He would, however, tell them that they

were assembled to protest against the disrespect shown to their revered leaders and he thought they should take some steps to give expression to that protest. Certain resolutions would be put before them which they should consider and give their opinion as to whether they should be passed or not.

Page 589, paragraph 946—

Kaira, June 30th.—The District Magistrate writes : " Mr. M. K. Gandhi, Mr. Vallabhbhai J. Patel and about 25 others from Ahmedabad and Nadiad came over here on June 27th to give a reception to Mohanlal Kameshwar Pandya and three others on their release from jail. The party came on foot from Mehmedabad, as Mr. Gandhi thought they should undergo this sacrifice for the sake of the passive resisters who had gone to jail for acting under his instructions. They had a procession in the town, with a band and a man on horseback bearing the Home Rule flag, and they tried to get the loan of an elephant from a circus which happened to be in Kaira, but it was refused. About 100 persons came in from Nawagaon, ten miles away, the home of three of the persons convicted, and the procession collected on its way some idlers and sightseers which brought the gathering up to about 300; to these a lecture on Passive Resistance was delivered by Mr. Gandhi who congratulated the released prisoners. On its way the procession was led out through one of the gates on this side of the town, with an object that can only be surmised ; I should not have minded if the band had been in tune."

Page 597, paragraph 981 (b)—

Ahmedabad, July 3rd.—The daily open-air Home Rule meetings and lectures have continued" during the week, but there has been nothing in the proceedings worthy of note. The Home Rulers also convened a meeting on the 24th at which M. K. Gandhi presided to protest against the Bombay War Conference " insult". Another meeting was convened by the Home Rule League on the 26th to protest against the Secretary of State's " insult" to Sir S. Aiyer.

Page 643, paragraph 1047—

Kaira, July 7th.—A procession and meeting were held at Kathlal on the 28th ultimo on the return of Mohanlal Kameshwar Pandya after undergoing imprisonment in the Nawagaon " Onion" case. M. K. Gandhi and Vallabhbhai J. Patel were present. An address was presented to Mohanlal K. Pandya.

On the 29th ultimo a meeting attended by about 4,000 people was held at Nadiad in order to present an address to M. K. Gandhi for his Passive Resistance campaign. Gokuldas Dwarkadas Talati presided and Vallabhbhai J. Patel, Mohanlal Kameshwar Pandya, Sheth Motilal Bhogilal of Chikodra and Fulchand Bapuji Shah also spoke.

Page 644, paragraph 1049—

Kaira, July 15th.—The Sub-Inspector, Matar, reports that M. K. Gandhi visited Nawagaon on the 8th instant and as a result of his influence a Kumbhar (potter) has offered himself as a recruit for the Army.

Generally speaking Mr. Gandhi's recruiting campaign does not seem to be meeting with any extraordinary success. The Sub-Inspector, Nadiad, however, informed me that 120 names are said to have been noted.

On the 17th ultimo M. K. Gandhi held a private meeting at Nadiad to consider the question of recruiting in Gujarat. As a result of this preliminary meeting a public meeting was held on the 21st idem under the presidentship of Gopaldas Viharidas Desai. The audience numbered about 600. M. K. Gandhi exhorted his hearers to assist recruiting. The President spoke on the same subject and offered his son for the Army. Bapulal Maneklal, a man of low reputation, who managed to get himself elected to the Nadiad Municipality, also spoke and expressed his willingness to join the Army again. He had previously been wounded in Mesopotamia.

M. K. Gandhi addressed a meeting at Ras, Borsad Taluka, on the 26th ultimo and urged that every help should be given to recruiting. He has addressed a printed appeal to the people of Kaira on the same subject.

Page 645, paragraph 1053—

C. I. D., Bombay Presidency, July 20th.—The following is a translation of an extract from the Kesari, dated the 9th July, under the heading " Lokmanya Tilak's letter to Mahatma Gandhi " :—

Rs. 50,000 deposited as security.—Mr. Tilak has communicated to Mr. Gandhi by letter the conditions subject to which he offered at the Public Meeting held at Bombay on the 16th June 1918 to provide 5,000 recruits for the army within six months. They are as follows : —

The recruits enlisted in India for the army should be eligible for training in the Military Colleges and to appear for the examination, and they should have the same opportunities as the Europeans of obtaining officers' posts. The higher posts and commissions should be open to them by open competition. In short, if the Indian youths are given an assurance that the highest posts in the Army will be thrown open to them irrespective of caste, creed, religion or colour, I will secure 5,000 recruits within six months of the receipt of such an assurance, and if I fail to complete that number within that period, I will pay in cash Rs. 100 for every recruit short of that number. As security for this amount I am enclosing Bank Deposit Receipts for Rs. 50,000 and request you to keep them in your custody. If such an assurance is not given within two months from to-day, the 19th June, I shall not be bound by the conditions laid down therein and the Deposit Receipts may be returned to me.

Page 663, paragraph 1098—

Broach, July 21st.—M. K. Gandhi visited Jambusar on the 19th to speak on Recruiting. He was met by Haribhai Amin and others. He appears to have been invited by the Local Home Rulers. He is to visit Ankleshwar later.

Page 677, paragraph 1135(a), (b)—

(a) *Kaira, July 22nd.*—On the 11th July, M. K. Gandhi and the Honourable Mr. Shrinivas Shastri delivered a lecture on recruiting at Kathlal. Indulal Kanaiyalal Yajnik and Dr. Amratlal lectured on recruiting at Kathana on the 12th instant.

(b) *Broach, July 28th.*—V. J. Patel and Amritlal V. Thakkar of the Servants of India Society, came with M. K. Gandhi to Jambusar. The speeches given were in aid of recruiting. Some 2,000 to 3,000 people are said to have been present and they were impressed by the lecture; but I have not heard of any recruits joining in consequence.

Haribhai Amin undertook to join as a Combatant, but up to the present he has not approached any Recruiting Officer to make good his undertaking.

The District Magistrate remarks: " Haribhai Amin has only offered himself to Mr. Gandhi as a recruit for his prospective ' Gujarat Battalion'; he does not mean to join through the ordinary depots."

Page 692, paragraph 1180(d)—

Kaira, July 30th.—The Deputy Superintendent reports that he has learnt that B. G. Tilak has requested M. K. Gandhi to start Passive Resistance in connection with the Reform Scheme. Gandhi is said to have replied that he would do so only on condition that Tilak and his Party should take up unreservedly the question of recruiting. Tilak, however, showed no inclination to come to terms.

Page 693, paragraph 1180(j)—

Bombay, August 5th.—Strenuous efforts are being made by the Home Rule extremists to win over the moderates, but so far as I can see the attempts are likely to fail. The Bombay extremists have been trying to induce various persons to preside over the Special Congress, but so far without a success. They are reported to be in correspondence with Sir Rash Bihari Ghose and failing him, talk of securing Sir P. S. A. Shivaswami Ayer, Ex-member of the Executive Council of the Madras Government. On the top of this the *Chronicle* of the 5th instant announces that Mr. Hasan Imam, ex-Judge of the Calcutta High Court, has agreed to accept the presidency if he is elected by the All-India Congress Committee.

The date for the Special Congress has not yet been fixed, but a meeting of the Reception Committee is being held in order to settle this detail.

Gandhi is said to be having serious disagreements with Tilak and is reported to have written a *hotly worded* letter to him on the question of recruiting. This is a very healthy sign of a permanent breach between the Bombay, Poona and district Home Rule Leaguers.

Page 704, paragraph 1214(a)—

Ahmedabad, August 7th.—The Home Rulers' meetings still continue nightly. At the meeting on the 4th instant M. K. Gandhi presided and the attendance and interest was, therefore, greater than usual.

Page 705, paragraph 1216(d)—

Surat, August 5th.—The Sub-Inspector, ' B' Division, City, reports that M. K. Gandhi, came to Surat on the 1st instant and put up at the Anavla Boarding House. The object of his visit was to condole with the family of Sorabji Shahpurji Adujania, a passive resister, who recently died in Johannesburg. In the evening, at the invitation of the local Home Rulers, he addressed a meeting of about 300 persons in the Arya Samaj Hall, on the Montagu and Congress

Reforms. In the course of his address he appealed for recruits, saying that India must supply 5,00,000 but no one came forward. He left for Ahmedabad by the night train.

Page 710, paragraph 1216(l) (Bombay, August, 10th)—

The Commissioner of Police, Bombay, writes under date the 10th August 1919.

" Gandhi is reported to have refused to come to terms with Mrs. Besant and Tilak, saying that he has much to do in recruiting men for the army which he has promised Government.

"Jamnadas and S. G. Banker are to see Gandhi and induce him to put in his appearance in the Congress even though he may not take part in it.

Page 714, paragraph 1222—

*Kaira, August 5th.—*M. K. Gandhi visited Vadthal on the 31st ultimo and delivered an address on recruiting. He has issued another appeal to the people of Kaira to help recruiting.

Page 725, paragraph 1249(h)—

*Bombay, August 16.—*An informal meeting of the leaders of the Moderate Party was held at Sir D. Wacha's premises on the 12th instant when consideration was given to the definite steps to be taken regarding the holding of an All-India Moderates' Conference.

* . * . * . * . *

Mr. M. K. Gandhi has expressed his willingness to join the Moderates.

Page 801, paragraph 1401—

*Ahmedabad, September 12th.—*M. K. Gandhi has now sufficiently recovered from his illness to be removed to the Ashram and he is expected soon to be able to resume his activities.

Page 868, paragraph 1604—

*Ahmedabad, October 30th.—*The District Magistrate writes : — " In a letter to-day M. K. Gandhi informs me that his medical advisers have told him that he must take complete rest for three months. He is sufficiently recovered from his illness now to be able to dictate a few necessary letters. "

Page 904, paragraph 1726—

*Ahmedabad, December 2nd.—*M. K. Gandhi with his wife and his son, Devdas, left here on the 1st instant for Matheran. Mahadev Haribhai Desai, who left on the 29th ultimo (November) is expected to join them there.

1919.

Page 151-54, para 378 (a, b, c and e)—

(a) *Bombay, February 28th.*—I * have received information from a reliable source that a Deputation consisting of S. G. Banker, C. M. Desai, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and one other, whose name I have not yet been able to ascertain, proceeded to Ahmedabad four days ago and waited on Gandhi in connection with the Rowlatt Bills. As a result of their deliberations Gandhi has sent a strongly worded telegram to His Excellency the Viceroy stating that if Government proceed with the Rowlatt Bills it is their intention to resort to Passive Resistance.

I* am informed that they intend to render the maintenance of law and order impossible by courting arrest in large numbers, by refusing to obey Police Regulations with regard to processions, etc., and by other quasipeaceful means. Gandhi has written out a form of vow to this effect.

(b) The following is an extract from the *Bombay Chronicle* dated the 2nd March 1919 —

PASSIVE RESISTANCE AGAINST THE BLACK BILLS.

Mr. Gandhi Leads the Movement.

Pledge to disobey laws.

Passive Resistance or Satyagraha against the Rowlatt Bills was inaugurated at a meeting held at the Ashram of Mahatma Gandhi at Ahmedabad on Monday (3 March). Below we publish the Satyagraha Vow, with the lists of signatories in Bombay and Ahmedabad, and Mr. Gandhi's manifesto : —

Mr. Gandhi's Manifesto,

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CHRONICLE.

Sir, I enclose herewith the Satyagraha pledge regarding the Rowlatt Bills. The steps taken are probably the most momentous in the history of India. I give my assurance that it has not been hastily taken. Personally I have passed many a sleepless night over it. I have endeavoured duly to appreciate Government's position, but I have been unable to find any justification for the extraordinary bills. I have read the Rowlatt Committee's report. I have gone through the narrative with admiration. Its reading has driven me to conclusions just the opposite of the committee's. I should conclude from the reports that secret violence is confined to isolated

* Bombay Commissioner of Police.

and very small parts of India, and to a microscopic body of people. The existence of such men is truly a danger to Society. But the passing of the Bills designed to affect the whole of India and its people and arming the Government with powers out of all proportion to the situation sought to be dealt with, is a greater danger. The Committee utterly ignores the historical fact that the millions in India are by nature gentlest on earth.

Now look at the setting of the Bills. Their introduction is accompanied by certain assurances given by the Viceroy, regarding the civil service and the British commercial interests. Many of us are filled with the greatest misgivings about the Viceregal utterance. I frankly confess I do not understand its full scope and intention. If it means that the Civil Service and the British commercial interests are to be held superior to those of India and its political and commercial requirements, no Indian can accept the doctrine. It can but end in a fratricidal struggle within the Empire. Reforms may or may not come. The need of the moment is a proper and just understanding upon the vital issue. No tinkering with it will produce real satisfaction. Let the great Civil Service corporation understand that it can remain in India only as its trustee and servant, not in name but in deed, and let the British commercial houses understand that they can remain in India only to supplement her requirements and not to destroy indigenous art, trade and manufacture; and you have two measures to replace the Rowlatt Bills. They, I promise, will successfully deal with any conspiracy against the State.

Sir George Lowndes simply added fuel to the fire when he flouted public opinion. He has forgotten his Indian History or he would have known that the Government he represents has, before now, surrendered its own considered opinion to the force of public opinion.

It will be now easy to see why I consider the Bills to be an unmistakable symptom of a deep-seated disease in the Governing body. It needs therefore to be drastically treated. Subterranean violence will be the remedy applied by impetuous hot-headed youths who will have grown impatient of the spirit underlying the Bills and the circumstances attending their introduction. The Bills must intensify the hatred and ill-will against the State, of which the deeds of violence are undoubtedly an evidence. *The Indian Covenanters* by their determination to undergo every form of suffering make an irresistible appeal to the Government towards which they bear no ill-will and provide to the believers in the efficiency of violence, as a means of securing redress of grievances, with an infallible remedy, and with a remedy that blesses those

that use it and also those against whom it is used. If the covenanters know the use of this remedy, I fear no ill from it. I have no business to doubt their ability. They must ascertain whether the disease is sufficiently great to justify the strong remedy and whether all milder ones have been tried. They have convinced themselves that the disease is serious enough, and that milder measures have utterly failed. The rest lies in the lap of the gods. I am yours, etc.

—M. K. GANDHI.

The Satyagraha Vow.

Being conscientiously of opinion that the Bills known as the Indian Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill No. I of 1919 and the Criminal Law (Emergency Powers) Bill No. II of 1919 are unjust, subversive of the principles of liberty and justice, and destructive of the elementary rights of individuals on which the safety of the community, as a whole, and the State itself, is based, we solemnly affirm that, in the event of these Bills becoming law and until they are withdrawn, we shall refuse civilly to obey these laws and such other laws as a Committee, to be hereafter appointed, may think fit, and we further affirm that in this struggle we will faithfully follow truth and refrain from violence to life, person or property.

Among the more important signatories to the Satyagraha pledge are : —

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi.

Mrs. Annie Besant, Madras.

Vallabhbhai Javerbhai Patel, Bar-at-Law, Ahmedabad.

Bai Anusayabai Sarabhai, Secretary, Women's Branch of the Home Rule League, Ahmedabad.

Indulal Kanaiyalal Yajnik, Editor, Nava Jiwan, etc. Ahmedabad.

Benjamin Guy Horniman, Editor, *Bombay Chronicle*.

Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Merchant, Bombay.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Hyderabad.

Umar Sobani, Mill-owner, Bombay.

Shankarlal Ghelabhai Banker, Secretary, All-India Home Rule League, Bombay.

Dr. Dinkar Dhonddev Sathaye, Secretary, Home Rule League, Bombay.

Narayan Damodar Savarkar, Bombay.

(c) *Bombay Chronicle*, dated the 4th March (Thursday) 1919.— At a meeting of the signatories to the Satyagraha Pledge held on

Saturday (1st March) the following Executive Committee was appointed : —

President—Mahatma Gandhi.

Vice-President—Mr. B. G. Horniman.

Members of the Committee—

(1) Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas, (2) Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, (3) Dr. Erulkar, (4) Mr. M. Subedar, (5) Mr. L. R. Tairsee, (6) Mr. Azad, (7) Dr. Velkar, (8) Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta, (9) Mr. L. G. Khare, (10) Mr. V. A. Desai, (11) Mrs. Awantikabai Gokhale, (12) Mr. Chunilal Ujamsi, (13) Mr. R. N. Mandlik, (14) Mr. Jethmal Narandas, (15) Mr. Hansraj P. Thakersey, (16) Mr. Vithaldas V. Jerajani.

With power to add.

Secretaries—

Dr. Sathaye

Mr. Shankarlal Banker.

Mr. Umar Sobani.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee held on the 2nd March. (Sunday) Sub-Committees were appointed for collecting funds and carrying out the propaganda work. Messrs. L. R. Tairsee and Hansraj Pragji Thakersey were elected Honorary Treasurers and the following names were added on the Executive Committee : —

Mr. P. K. Telang, Dr. C. M. Desai, Mr. Kanji Dwarkadas.

(e) *Ahmedabad, March 2nd.*—The Commissioner, Northern Division, writes : —" I submit a few notes on the " Passive Resistance " weapon—the " celestial weapon " which has now been unsheathed as promised by B. G. Horniman in his speech of about a week ago.

" The first point worth noting is the surrender of their consciences by the signatories who are willing to leave the selection of the laws to be disobeyed to the subsequent Committee. I very well remember last year discussing with Gandhi his Land Revenue Passive Resistance and telling him that the Kaira people had surrendered their consciences into his keeping. He was rather taken aback by the phrase but admitted that that was what had happened.

"The next point perhaps worth noting is the fatuous stupidity of the comment made by the *Times of India*. Gandhi reprobated the Viceroy's reference to two distinct matters : —

(1) The position of the I.C.S., under the Reform Scheme.

(2) The position of European commercial interests.

" *The Times*" office boy confuses these two points and asks what is the relevance in this connection of quoting the opinions of the I.C.S., about the safety or otherwise of European commercial

interests under the Reform Scheme ! Last year the organizers of Gandhi's Passive Resistance campaign, though in reality completely defeated, were allowed to pose as having won a triumphant victory because nobody thought it worthwhile to contradict them and give publicity to the true facts. I venture to suggest that the searchlight of publicity should be kept steadily focussed on this new Satyagraha and that they should not be allowed to throw dust into the eyes of the public again."

Page 155, paragraph 378 (g and I)—

(g) Bombay, March 3rd.—The Rowlatt bills are the talk of the town at present. The Chronicle has helped to keep them prominently before the public by publishing in bold type for the last three days. M. K. Gandhi came to Bombay and I arranged for him to be unobtrusively watched. He was constantly visited by the Home Rule leaders of Bombay. The following saw him :—B. G. Horniman, Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Shankarlal Ghelabhai Banker, Dr. Dinkar Dhonddev Sathaye, Dr. Motiram Balkrishna Velkar, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Miss Anusaya-bai, of Ahmedabad and Mawji Govindji. Speculation is rife as to the manner in which the passive resistance movement will be effected. It is generally understood that the intention is to cut the ground from under the feet of Government by refusing to pay any taxes if the bills are passed into law.

The younger generation appears to be catching on very enthusiastically, and the cloth merchants have determined to follow Gandhi through thick and thin. The Home Rulers are taking signatures on the vow. I have little doubt that the list of signatures will grow very quickly. On the 2nd instant a notice in pencil was put up at the Mulji Jetha Market inviting people to sign the vow at S. G. Banker's residence. About 40 men went to do so.

It will be noted from the composition of the Satyagraha Committee that the Home Rulers are taking the lead in the agitation. They are attempting to ridicule the Manifesto of the Moderates against the Passive Resistance movement which was issued from Delhi. The public mind is undoubtedly agitated over the question and a very large number of people of various classes openly express the opinion that there was no necessity for Government to introduce such legislation immediately after the armistice. The agitators have succeeded so far that they have caused the idea to spread that the machinery of Government will collapse in the face of this movement. It is even said that officials may be affected by it.

M. K. Gandhi left for Delhi on Monday. (3rd March). It is rumoured that he went in response to a telegraphic summons from His Excellency the Viceroy.

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(i) *Ahmedabad, March 3rd.*—On the 23rd ultimo a meeting of about 500 traders assembled under the chairmanship of V. J. Patel to protest against the Rowlatt Bills known as the "Black Laws". Nearly all the local Home Rule League leaders were in evidence and did most of the speaking, freely, advocating passive resistance if the Bills were proceeded with. The meeting, though ostensibly a spontaneous expression of trading class opinion, was manifestly engineered by the League with the support, if not at the instance, of M. K. Gandhi.

On the 24th idem (February, Monday), Messrs. B. G. Horniman, Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Umar Sobhani and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu arrived in the morning from Bombay together with some leaders of agitation in other Gujarat districts. All then together with the local leaders had a conference at the Ashram with M. K. Gandhi which lasted most of the day, at which passive resistance was definitely decided upon unless the Rowlatt Bills were dropped in toto. The text of the "Pledge" has already appeared in the *Times of India* of the 1st instant with the names of some 50 signatures. About 400 are now reported to have signed here and Gandhi's followers are dispersing to spread the agitation throughout Gujarat and further afield. The Conference appears to have decided that they should break such laws as the Excise laws and others whose breach would not involve the general public in any loss or trouble and that they should be prepared if necessary, to go to jail in thousands, flood out the jails, wear down the authorities responsible for the preservation of order and so reduce Government to capitulation. It is reported that Gandhi, when he last visited Bombay on the 15th ultimo consulted Mrs. Besant regarding this idea and that she expressed the fear that the pursuit of this programme might lead hot-headed and raw-brained youths to commit violence and bloodshed, to which Gandhi is said to have replied that if it happened so, Government alone would be to blame.

The committee which is to decide which laws are to be broken does not appear to have been appointed yet.

It is further reported that Gandhi had now declined to be one of the Congress deputation to England, saying that he has lost faith in the efficacy of deputations and that stronger measures are necessary to oppose those obnoxious Bills, before anything else is done.

Horniman, Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Umar Sobani and Mrs. Naidu left here again for Bombay on the evening of the 24th.

Dr. P. J. Mehta arrived here from Delhi on the 27th ultimo (February) and put up at the Ashram. On the 28th (Friday), he left for Bombay with M. K. Gandhi, Mahadev Haribhai Desai, Miss Anasuya Sarabai and other members of the Ashram. It is said that Gandhi and his party intend to tour the Bombay and Madras Presidencies propagating the passive resistance creed.

Page 187-88, paragraph 476 (a), (c).

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Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi arrived in Bombay from Allahabad on the 13th instant and stayed with Revashankar Jagjivan, a jeweller in Gamdevi, Bombay. He was received on his arrival at Victoria Terminus by Jamnadas Dwarkadas. He was interviewed the same evening by B. G. Horniman, Kanji Dwarkadas and a few others of the Satyagraha Sabha. On the following day, Dr. D. D. Sathaye, S. G. Banker, Swami Shradhananda *alias* Munshiram of the Gurukul at Hardwar, and Dr. N. D. Savarkar saw him at his lodging. On the 14th idem, Gandhi presided at a public meeting held at the French Bridge of protest against the Rowlatt Bills. He did not speak. Ill-health was assigned as a reason for this, his address as President being read out for him. He left Bombay for Madras on the night of the 16th idem. The following persons saw, him :—P. K. Telang, Dr. D. D. Sathaye, Dr. M. B. Velkar, Kanji Dwarkadas, Sanyasi Munshiram, Vishvanath Keshav Salvekar, proprietor of the Sirdar Griha Hotel, Mrs. Anusuyabai, S. G. Banker and Revashanker Jagjivan Javeri.

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(c) *Kaira, March 14th.*—The Deputy Superintendent has supplied the following interesting information regarding the inner history of the Satyagraha Pledge. B. G. Horniman wanted Gandhi to start the movement at once without reference to the Viceroy. They pointed out that when the protests of the whole country had been disregarded, an appeal to the Viceroy would meet with a like fate. Gandhi persisted in his determination to give Government a chance of reconsidering their position, and accordingly wrote to the Viceroy informing him that he intended to start Passive Resistance and giving him a time-limit of four days for a reply. As the Viceroy sent his reply by post instead of by wire, it was not received before the expiration of the time-limit and Gandhi published his manifesto.

Gandhi's Private Secretary, Mahadeo Hari Desai, has written to people in the Satyagraha Ashram, Ahmedabad stating that the Viceroy in the course of the interview which eventually took place,

gave an assurance to Gandhi that if the non-official members persisted in their opposition, he would be prepared to reconsider the advisability of passing the Bills.

Page 203, 4, 5, paragraph 500 (b and c)—

(b) *Bombay, March 25th.*—In today's *Chronicle* is an announcement by M. K. Gandhi declaring next Sunday as a day of fast and prayer. It is reported that this is intended to be an annual celebration until the new legislation is annulled.

Note.—The following is the announcement as it appeared in the *Chronicle* of the 25th : —

Madras, March 24th.

Mr, Gandhi has sent the following letter to the press : —

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 reform 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 may be observed as a day of humiliation and prayer. As there must be effective public demonstration in keeping with the character of the observance, I beg to advise as follows : —A twenty-four hours fast, counting from the last meal of the preceding night, should be observed by all adults unless prevented from doing so by consideration of religion or health. The fast is not to be regarded in any shape or form in the nature of a hunger-strike or designed to put any pressure upon Government. It is to be regarded for Satyagrahis as a necessary discipline to fit them for the civil disobedience contemplated in their pledge and for all others as some slight token of the intensity of their wounded feelings.

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 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 an unquestionably right thing for them not to take part in political discussions and gatherings, in my opinion they have the undoubted right to express upon vital matters their feelings in the very limited manner herein suggested. Public meetings should be held on that day in all parts of India not excluding villages at which a resolution praying for the withdrawal of the measures should be passed. If my advice is deemed worthy of acceptance, the responsibility will lie in the first instance on various Satyagraha Associations for undertaking the necessary work of organisation, but all other associations will, I hope, join hands in making this demonstration a success.

(Acting Secretary, S. D.),

(c) *Kaira, March 16th.*—The District Magistrate writes : I enclose copies and translations of five posters recently stuck up in many places in Nadiad Town, and directed against the Rowlatt Bills. It was at first not clear who the new Mahatma was, of the name of Thoreau, but it now seems that they are taken from a leaflet headed " How will you break the fetters in the form of the Rowlatt Bills" by M. K. Gandhi, which purports to contain " The advice of the great Thoreau (taken from his writings)." From this I am led to suppose that Thoreau may be intended.

" If the Government referred to in posters II and III is the Government established by law in India, I think they are clearly seditious; on the other hand the Government is not in fact tyrannical, and every one knows it is not, so it may fairly be argued that they cannot refer to the existing Government. In that case instead of being seditious they become merely rather absurd, and I think that they should more properly be regarded in this light.

" The Satyagraha movement is going to cause a good deal of trouble before it is finished, especially if Mr. Gandhi is taken at his own valuation and allowed to work colossal bluff which he is attempting. It may be recalled that he has publicly tried Satyagraha twice in India since he returned from South Africa and failed both times ; the first was in connection with the Mill Strike in Ahmedabad, and the second was the Passive Resistance movement in this district. The present attempt is likely to be more successful, as it has a great body of popular support behind it."

The Commissioner, N. D., remarks : The posters are as 'seditious ' as Horniman's leaders. They need no special notice or action.

" I do not agree that there is any great body of. popular support behind Gandhi's movement. Mere perusal of the comments in this week's issue of the moderate papers, *Servant of India* and *Indian Social Reformer* would suffice to show this."

POSTER No. 1.

How will you break the handcuffs in the form of Rowlatt Bills ?

If there is one really bold man who opposes slavery, does not pay revenue and goes to jail, from that day the bonds of slavery will begin to break.

Thoreau.

POSTER No. II.

The new handcuffs of Rowlatt Bills.

Duty of servants of the country.

In a' state in which people are wrongfully sent to prison, the house of just and good people is itself a jail.

It is shameful to be under a tyrannical Government, it is easy and good to oppose it.

Thoreau.

POSTER No. III.

Fight against the handcuffs in the form of the Rowlatt Bills. The advice of the great Thoreau. When there is great tyranny it is the duty of man to oppose the tyrannical Government. In the world, 999 people out of a 1,000 are talkers about truth, but one is a true follower. Yet the one is of more value than the 1,000 who talk about it.

Thoreau.

POSTER No. IV.

How to stop the evil of the Rowlatt Bill. If one thousand men refuse to pay revenue there is no evil therein, but if we pay revenue to the State that acts wrongfully, the state is helped and so to pay the revenue is itself an evil.

POSTER No. V.

Whom will you honour : The Rowlatt Bill or the Truth ?

I see no utility in teaching the virtue of honouring laws, there is always a necessity to honour the truth.

Gnan Sagar Litho Press, Girgaum

Road, Bombay, Printer: K. G. Joshi.

Page 264, paragraph 555 (a-1)—

(a) *Bombay, April 7th.*—(1) The Satyagraha movement which had been advertised in the *Bombay Chronicle* during the preceding weeks came to a head in an attempt to observe Sunday the 6th April as a day of "national" mourning to protest against the Rowlatt Act. M. K. Gandhi came to Bombay on the 3rd April and made Bombay his headquarters for the campaign.

Page 265, paragraph 555 (a-4, 7 and 8)—

(a) *Bombay, April 7th.*—(4) At a meeting on Friday night Gandhi addressed about 5,000 millhands. He is reported to have instructed them to ask for leave from their Managers, to take it if granted, and to work if leave was refused.

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(7) Gandhi came to see me* during the afternoon in connection with the incident. He tried to obtain from me the admission that the police had used unnecessary violence as some peaceful people had been injured. I made it clear that the crowd was unruly, that it appeared to be the same crowd that had stopped tramcars and torn down theatre placards, and that it had disobeyed the orders of the Deputy Commissioners of Police and that I did not consider that the Police had used undue force in stopping them. I attributed the mild comments in Monday's Chronicle to the effect of this interview on Gandhi's mind.

In further conversation Gandhi admitted his responsibility for the result of his actions and dissociated himself from the contrary doctrine preached by Swami Shradhanand which I quoted to him. He was not able to explain how he proposed to realise this responsibility if the lower and more irresponsible elements of the City's population broke out into disorder. He explained that violence was the antithesis of the ideas on which his movement is based. His campaign was an experiment. If it failed, he would withdraw.

(8), To sum up, the day's events have resulted in a strategical victory for Gandhi in that the number of the adherents to his cause have been greatly augmented by his spectacular success in paralysing activity and a tactical advantage to him in that the proceedings were carried through without any real disturbance. At the same time the effect was secured largely by spontaneous timidity on the part of the public and by deliberate intimidation by Gandhi's followers, probably without his express sanction, but possibly with his connivance.

The logical sequel would be a great increase in the force of the movement, which will probably develop in many and varied directions. While effects may not follow causes quite logically, there is a grave danger of very serious disorder arising from this movement which aims at breaking laws. We must remember that the Tilakites and others who are implacably hostile to Government, and many, who are imbued with violent feelings of racial hatred, have taken it up; and threats have not been lacking in the press which suggests it may spread in the hands of enthusiasts to the disobedience of laws aiming at the maintenance of good order. It is probable that the real ultimate object of the movement is to paralyse all the activities of Government.

*Bombay Commissioner of Police.

Page 301, paragraph 574 (e)—

Bombay, April 21st.—A meeting of the All-India Congress Committee was held on the 20th instant at 11 a.m., under the presidentship of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. Amongst others the following were present :—(1) The Honourable Mr. G. S. Khaparde, (2) The Honourable Mr. V. J. Patel, (3) M. A. Jinnah, (4) M. K. Gandhi, (5) Mrs. Besant, (6) K. M. Munshi, (7) P. K. Telang, (8) Janmnadas Dwarkadas and Kanji Dwarkadas, (9) Umar Sobani, (10) S. G. Banker, (11) Swami Satya Dev and (12) Nekiram Sharma.

A formal discussion took place on two subjects. Firstly the question of sending a deputation to England in connection with the Reform Scheme and secondly that of preparing and forwarding a written representation to His Excellency the Viceroy and Secretary of State describing the political situation and asking for a thorough and searching inquiry into the present disturbances. A subcommittee consisting of (1) Pandit Malaviya, (2) Mr. V. J. Patel, (3) Mr. Kasturiranga Iyengar and (4) Mr. Ganesh Lal was appointed to draft the representation. Discussion took place in connection with the advisability of forwarding such a representation. Mrs. Besant very strongly opposed the step and said that the situation was so bad that even constitutional agitation should be stopped and every Indian should help Government in restoring peace and order. She said that India was in a precarious condition as Bolshevism had come. There was some opposition to Mrs. Besant's statement, when it was decided to postpone consideration of the matter until 4-30 p.m. on Monday. It was decided to send a deputation consisting of the Honourable Mr. Patel, the Honourable Mr. Khaparde and Mr. N. C. Kelkar to England in connection with the Reform Scheme.

Bombay, April 22nd.—The adjourned meeting of the All-India Congress Committee was held yesterday evening. The first item for consideration was the statement drafted by the Committee dealing with the present situation. The Chairman, Mr. Madan Mohan Malaviya, read this report. It condemned unequivocally the present state of outrage and anarchy in the country. There was considerable discussion and difference of opinion as to whether or not the statement should be adopted. The Chairman said that in his view, although they all deplored the incidents that had occurred in certain parts of India, they were still in the dark as to whether they should condemn the people or Government. They were agreed that the violence and physical force used at Amritsar and Lahore should be deprecated, but they had been unable to ascertain what had been the real cause of the trouble and whether the people themselves or Government were primarily to blame. He disassociated himself from the allegation made in certain quarters that the Passive

Resistance Movement was responsible for the trouble. Mrs. Besant spoke very strongly condemning the riots and acts of violence. She said that India was at the most critical stage in her history, and that her only hope of salvation was for all her sons to rally to the side of Government and to offer their whole-hearted support. She had herself visited certain of the disaffected areas and she was convinced that there was something behind the movement. In her opinion Government were perfectly justified in taking strong coercive measures. She was loath to believe that the disorders were due to Bolshevism but she was now convinced that such was the case, and she had very good authority for saying that an armed invasion of India was contemplated. M. K. Gandhi deplored the violence which had taken place. The Passive Resistance Movement was in itself quite innocent and he never dreamt that it would degenerate into violence. He associated himself with Mrs. Besant to a certain extent but he was not yet satisfied as to the direct cause of the mischief. He was still awaiting reports from his emissaries Kasturiranga Iyengar, the editor of the *Hindu*, of Madras, deprecated the measures adopted by Government. He said that Government were not justified in using aeroplanes, bombs and machine-guns and he was of opinion that the coercive measures employed would do more harm than good.

At this stage Mrs. Besant, Gandhi and certain others left the meeting, presumably for private discussion, stating that they would return. They did so one hour later.

The following resolutions were then passed:—

(1) To protest strongly against the Rowlatt Act, and to urge upon the Secretary of State the desirability of withdrawing it in view of the resentment caused throughout the length and breadth of India.

(2) To issue a statement reviewing the present situation, this statement to be drafted by a sub-committee on the lines indicated.

(3) To call upon the people of India to rally to the side of Government and to request Government at the same time not to adopt coercive measures but to deal with the people sympathetically.

(4) To deplore and condemn the acts of violence perpetrated in various parts of the country.

(5) To condemn the action of the Government of India and of the Punjab in preventing Mr. Gandhi from proceeding to Delhi and to draw the attention of Government to the fact that had

Mr. Gandhi been allowed to proceed to Delhi the people would have been pacified by him, as was the case in Ahmedabad, and the situation would not have become so bad.

The following were amongst those present at the meeting:—

(1) Madan Mohan Malaviya, (2) M. K. Gandhi, (3) Mrs. Besant, (4) Jamnadas Dawarkadas, (5) Kanji Dwarkadas, (6) Umar Sobani, (7) Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, (8) The Honourable Mr. V. J. Patel, (9) Kasturiranga Aiyangar, (10) N. C. Kelkar, (11) P. K. Telang, (12) M. A. Jinnah and (13) V. P. Madhav Rao.

(2) Reports show that numbers of persons visit the Satyagraha Office to enquire what Gandhi's programme is. Indications are not wanting that he is losing his power. Many blame him for putting a stop to the Satyagraha movement arguing that nothing can be achieved without bloodshed and that the movement had just assumed sufficient force to be valuable.

(3) M. K. Gandhi left for Ahmedabad by the Gujarat mail last night (21st April). The Railway Police were warned and a Sergeant accompanied him. Information was sent by telegram to the authorities in Ahmedabad.

(4) Gandhi was visited yesterday by S. G. Banker, Mrs. Naidu and he went out with them at 7-15 p.m. He attended an informal meeting held at China Baugh to meet Mr. John Scurr. Jamnadas Dwarkdas, Umar Sobani, Luckhmidas Tairsee and Ruttonsy Dharamsy were also at the meeting.

Page 336, paragraph 598—

(a) *Bombay, April 29th.*—The arrest of Horniman led to the wildest rumours in the city. It was believed by many to be the first step in a campaign of repression. The news was published by the *Hindusthan* and the *Sanj Vartaman*, the latter paper describing the action of Government as a gross blunder and the tone of the announcement was distinctly bad. Many were in favour of a strike next morning, but Gandhi issued a definite manifesto strongly advocating that there should be no strike, and this message, coupled no doubt with the fact that Bombay is full of troops and that Martial Law has been invoked in the Punjab and elsewhere, had the desired effect. Gandhi was visited at his residence on Saturday evening by a number of Hindus and Mahomedans who were in favour of demonstration to protest against the action of Government, but Gandhi was able to dissuade them from taking such a step.

In many quarters the decision of Gandhi is adversely criticised, and there is no doubt that his inaction has estranged a number of agitators.

Gandhi has despatched telegrams to Nadiad and Ahmedabad stating the fact of Horniman's arrest, and adding that no hartal or demonstrations were necessary.

Gandhi has been frequently visited by Jamnadas, Sathaye, Banker, Umar Sobani and by a number of Banias and Marwaris, also by Anusuyabai, Pandit Malaviya, and Shantaram Narayan Dabholker. I think there is no doubt whatever that he has used his influence on this occasion in the best interests of Government, and that he has strained every nerve to preserve Law and Order.

Rauf went to see Gandhi at his house at 7 p.m., on Saturday; he found Gandhi closeted with Jinnah, Jamnadas, Sathaye and others, discussing the future of the *Chronicle*. On his arrival the discussion abruptly ceased, and he was told to come at some other time.

Page 337—

I* had a long interview with Gandhi on Sunday (27th April) afternoon when Curry and I (P. C.) attempted to persuade him that the modified form of *Satyagraha* was dangerous, in that he was preparing the ground for a campaign which would inevitably be dangerous if his restraining influence should for any reason become inoperative. I am afraid we did not succeed in shaking him. Amongst other things he told us that he had some doubts as to accepting Horniman as a *Satyagrahi* when he desired to sign the pledge, because he had always considered, judging by what he had heard of him and by his writings, that Horniman was as an advocate of violence who believed that a revolution might be justifiable if justifiable ends could be achieved by no other means. He also said that he attributed the cause of the present unrest to five main factors, which he placed in the following order of importance : —

- (1) The question of the Khilafat,
- (2) Unrestrained oratory on public platforms,
- (3) Rowlatt Acts,
- (4) The prevailing scarcity, and
- (5) Forced recruitment in the Punjab.

He further told us that he considered Jamnadas, Umar Sobani, Bankar and Horniman to be the main props of the *Satyagraha* movement in Bombay. He stated his opinion that Horniman had, since joining the *Satyagraha* movement, undergone a complete metamorphosis, and had it not been for his untimely removal, he would have developed into a veritable turtle-dove.

* Bombay Commissioner of Police.

Gandhi emphatically claimed that it was the influence of *Satyagraha* alone that had kept Bombay calm in spite of the provocation of Horniman's arrest. He was gratified to feel that the movement had obtained so firm a hold upon the people. Our reports show that the *Satyagraha* Volunteers were active in moving about and advising crowds reading the special supplement announcing Horniman's arrest to disperse and go quietly to their homes and further to resume their work as usual next day.

I attach copy of Gandhi's message upon the arrest of Horniman.

Copy of M. K. Gandhi's Message.

Brothers and Sisters,

With great sorrow and equal pleasure I have to inform you that the Government have today removed Mr. Horniman from Bombay and he has been placed on board a steamer bound for England. Mr. Horniman is a very brave and generous Englishman. He has given us the *Mantram* of Liberty, he has fearlessly exposed wrong wherever he has seen it and thus been an ornament to the race to which he belongs, and rendered it a great service. Every Indian knows his services to India. I am sorry for the event because a brave *Satyagrahi* has been deported while I retain my physical liberty. I am glad because Mr. Horniman has been given the occasion of fulfilling his pledge.

The publication of the *Chronicle* will for the time being be discontinued, because the Directors have wisely decided not to accede to the improper demands of the Government. In reality, however, the continuance of the *Chronicle* without Mr. Horniman would be like an attempt to sustain a body when the soul has departed.

The condition I have described is truly serious. *Satyagraha* is on the anvil. At the same time, this is a fine opportunity for demonstrating its purity and its invincibility. It will rest with *Satyagrahis* and other inhabitants of India to take advantage of the opportunity. I can fully appreciate the deep wound that will be caused to every *Satyagrahi* by the separation of a dear comrade. The Nation will certainly feel hurt to find that the one who presented it with a daily draught of liberty is no more in its midst. At a time like this *Satyagrahis* and others will, in my opinion, demonstrate their true affection for Mr. Horniman only by remaining perfectly calm. It will be sheer thoughtlessness to break the peace. Modern Civilization challenges the Ancient. *Satyagraha* now going on is based upon the teachings of the Ancient Civilization and if India accepted *Satyagraha* the superiority of the Ancient Civilization will be indicated. The world will see Modern Civilization in its nakedness and there is no doubt that its votaries will retrace their steps.

The following are the practical suggestions I venture to place before you. There should be no stoppage of business anywhere in Hindustan. There should be no large public meetings of protests, no processions, no violence of any kind whatsoever and every effort should be made to stop any tendency thereto. I ask *Satyagrahis* and the sympathisers not to lose faith in the efficacy of *Satyagraha* and firmly to believe that the Satyagraha pledge will be carried out in its entirety.

More later.

M. K. GANDHI.

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Page 338, para 599.—

Bombay, April 29th.—Below are rough notes of an interview * with Gandhi on 27th April 1919.

Gandhi said that the idea that the Rowlatt Act was bad was his own and had not been suggested to him by others. He had not been influenced by anyone's arguments but had studied the Act himself.

(2) Questioned as to what he objected to in it, he evaded giving a direct answer as to facts, but said that it was degrading. In reply to a direct question he said that many innocent persons were convicted under the ordinary laws, and he did not object to the Rowlatt Act on the ground that it endangered innocent people, but he said that it was without the ordinary safeguards and that it established courts other than the ordinary courts. He objected to special legislation being permanently in force when Ordinances could always be brought out for extraordinary emergencies. He said that the tribunals were created by the Executive, but in reply to the question who creates the ordinary courts he could only admit that they were created by the executive Government. He said that the ordinary Courts had "an atmosphere" and "traditions". Questioned as to the real objects of the Rowlatt Act he said "to deal with revolutionary crime". He objected also because they were passed against the will of the people's representatives.

(3) He stated that Horniman had come up to see him at Ahmedabad and Mrs. Naidu, Jamnadas, Banker and Umer Sobhani had also come. Horniman had professed himself ready to sign the *Satyagraha* vow. He had asked him whether he really accepted all the principles of *Satyagraha*. Horniman had replied that he did not accept them as general principles of life, but he did accept them in this particular case for the purpose of opposing the Rowlatt legislation and that he was therefore willing to sign.

*Bombay Commissioner of Police.

(4) He said that he could not feel sure that Horniman had never deceived him. He had gained the impression from his writings and from things that he had heard about him that he was in favour of violence as a political weapon. He also said that he (Horniman) had struck him as being prepared even to resort to revolutionary methods to gain ends which he considered justifiable.

(5) He said that he did not think that the new modified vow was likely to lead to fresh outbreaks. He repeated his ideas about being able to persuade people to adopt the true principles of *Satyagraha*.

(6) When he said that there was a skilled mastermind behind the revolutionary movement, organising it, he referred to Ahmedabad only. He did not mean that a master-mind, or master-minds, had organised trouble throughout India. That would be too vast a problem. The present unrest was due to the following causes in order : —

(1) The Mahomedan question.

(2) The inflammatory speeches of agitators.

(3) The Rowlatt Act

(4) The famine.

(5) The forced recruiting in the Punjab.

(7) He said that Jamnadas, Umar Sobani, Banker and Horniman were the four main props of the movement in Bombay.

(8) Gandhi said that he shuddered to think what would happen in India if the Reforms did not come up to expectations.

(9) He considered the arrest and deportation of Horniman and the virtual suppression of the *Chronicle* were unjustifiable and provocative acts. He claimed that the influence of *Satyagraha* alone had been responsible for the absence of disorder on Horniman's arrest.

Page 339-40, Para 600.

(a) *Bombay, April 28.*—A public meeting under the auspices of the *Satyagraha* Sabha was held in Nar Narayan's Temple, Kalbadevi Road, at 5-30 p.m. on the 27th instant. It was intended to be for the bene-fit of the Marwaris of Bombay. The following, amongst others, were present at the meeting which was attended by about 1,000 persons : — M. K. Gandhi, Miss Anusuyabai, Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Umar Sobani, S. G. Banker, T. D. Sanghani and Nekiram Sharma.

Jamnadas Dwarkadas repeated Gandhi's address as the latter was said to be unable to stand up and address the meeting : the address was as follows : —

" I regret that I could not be punctual in attending this meeting. I was however engaged in our own work (Note.—He was engaged in an interview with me—Police Commissioner) When I received the information which led me to come to Bombay, I did not know that

brother Horniman would be deported. I have realised that we have not fully grasped the principles of *Satyagraha*. If we had not known this defect, we would have done something different about brother Horniman. So I must advise you that in spite of the separation from a great servant of the public like brother Horniman we should do nothing which would harm anyone. " We cannot close the shops or suspend business, because that would mean risk of disturbances. Disturbances are not part of *Satyagraha*. The foundation of *Satyagraha* is based on truth and non-violence. He who abides by truth and does not wish to harm anybody can be called a *Satyagrahi*. You know how we are going to resort to *Satyagraha* against the Rowlatt Act. We have declared that we will not submit to the Rowlatt Act and that we will civilly disobey other laws. That civil disobedience of law can only be practised by one who adheres to truth and nonviolence. Without that civil disobedience is foolish and could not help us to achieve anything for the public good."

" The aim of *Satyagraha* at present is to place before the public the principles of truth and non-violence as far as possible, and when we are sure that these principles have been grasped, we will again break the law civilly. Every man and woman who takes this vow must understand that truth and non-violence are to be adhered to in this struggle. We have to disobey the law civilly as Prahlad did. Like Prahlad also we must not depart from truth. Without these two things civil disobedience of law is irreligious. As will be seen from the manifesto issued by me about Horniman, our struggle is concerned with modern civilization. The history of the world speaks of the time spent by the nations in the development of physical force. We have observed this in Europe."

" I would put it to Hindus and others that they should not sink to the condition of modern Europe. Yet I have observed that India is inclined towards that condition. Otherwise we would not have seen the outrages that we have seen."

" I have my duty to point out, without going into the merits or demerits of these outrages, that outrages and disturbances will never achieve any good for India. From the study of other religions I have learnt that the man who depends on physical force spreads irreligion, and he who depends on soul-force understands the true religion. So sisters and brothers bear in mind what has been said about this movement and help the cause. From this it need not be supposed that what I have said will take years and years to fulfil. It is only necessary to understand that we should not take part in disturbances when the movement progresses."

Jamnadas then read out the 'Sympathisers' Vow' in Hindi and exhorted the audience to sign the vow after the meeting was dissolved.

Page 367, 68, 69, para. 625 (b)—

(b) *Kaira, April 28th.*—As already reported the news of Gandhi's arrest was received with great resentment in the district and, on the 11th and 12th, a general hartal was observed in the large towns and villages. It is believed that strikes were observed in all villages having any Patidar population, but, for want of official information about them from Police Patels, no reports have yet been received from Sub-Inspectors, who have been reminded.

In Nadiad and Anand talukas, in which the rich Patidar population predominates, the excitement had reached a high pitch and it is fortunate that it did not culminate in a greater number of outrages. On the morning of the 12th instant a rail was removed from the railway line between Nadiad and Uttersanda. A troop train conveying British troops to Ahmedabad was derailed. Fortunately, however, no one was injured. Later on at night the telegraph wires between Uttersanda and Borivli, Anand and Navli, and Navli and Vasad were cut and an attempt made to burn a culvert within the inner and outer signals of Uttersanda Station, and to cause a derailment by the removal of keys between Uttersanda and Nadiad. It is rumoured that it was intended to remove the whole line between Vasad and Bare-jadi. The Government dairy at Anand and the Indian Dairy were also marked down. In Nadiad the mill-hands of both mills refused to work and it was feared that the situation, which was grave, would at any moment become threatening. Tact and coolness on the part of local officials, however, saved the situation.

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Copies of the pamphlet "Swarajya" by Gandhi were also sold in the district. Home Rule League literature was eagerly sought for and read by large numbers of the public during the week. Gandhi's advice to the public, printed in the Bombay papers, and his advice given to the people of Ahmedabad, were eagerly read and helped a great deal in pacifying the public in closing the hartal.

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On the evening of the 13th instant, a meeting of about 2,000 persons was held near the Santaram Temple at Nadiad to read Gandhi's message delivered by him at Ahmedabad and to preach Passive Resistance. At the request of the Deputy Superintendent of Police Mr. Madhavlal Nabubhai Dvivedi, the organiser of the meeting, omitted to say anything about Passive Resistance and after a few general remarks concluded the meeting by reading out Gandhi's message and exhorting them to refrain from violence, etc.

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Kaira, April 29th.—Messrs. M. K. Gandhi and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya were reported to be coming to Nadiad on the 22nd instant but did not do so. Mr. Gandhi, however, passed through on his way to Ahmednagar by the Gujarat Mail. A large number of local Home Rulers, including Gokaldas Dwarkadas Talati, Fulchand Bapuji Shah, Madhavlal Nabubhai Dvivedi and Janardhan Sharma saw him at the station.

Gandhi came to Nadiad by the fast train on the evening of the 24th instant, and after putting up in the Anath Ashram for a few hours, went on to Bombay by the night mail. During his stay he saw the District Magistrate and, in company with the District Magistrate and myself, visited the sub-jail and advised the accused in the Borivli-Uttersanda telegraph-cutting offence to come forward and tell the truth.

Mr. Gandhi's advice about refraining from violence, etc., has had a good effect on the public feeling which is cooling down daily. Though things outwardly calm, the resentment against the steps adopted by Government throughout the country for putting down the disturbances has not died down. It is feared it will now take the form of swadeshi and boycott of foreign goods.

Page 373-74, para 625 (m)—

(m) Bombay, May 1st.—The *Satyagraha* meeting of yesterday evening was very illuminating. Gandhi arrived one hour late. He consulted his fellow *Satyagrahis* as to their opinion of the future line of action which the Sabha should take. He stated that he had received a number of letters of protest against his inaction, including some containing ugly threats of poison and murder. He had been charged in some of the threatening letters with instigating the *Satyagrahis* to do deeds of violence and of leaving them in the lurch when they had committed themselves and had paid the penalty in bloodshed. He averred that it was not his intention to back out of the movement but he would like to know the sense of the meeting before he said more. One *Satyagrahi*, whose name I have not got, said that they should act vigorously and he instanced Egypt which had obtained many rights after a strenuous fight of 15 days. Another said that the principles of *Satyagraha* did not enjoin on them the necessity of receiving kicks and blows in patience without retaliation. Gandhi asked this speaker whether it was his intention to fight openly; if so, he was at liberty to try conclusions with the authorities and he would soon find that he would come to grief as no political move based on physical force could possibly succeed. Another man enquired what was being done by way of protest against Horniman's arrest. Gandhi answered that it mattered little that

Horniman had gone; it was for India to produce 101 Hornimans that was true *Satyagraha*. Many murmured that this was not *Satyagraha* and that they should do something to mark their resentment at the action of Government. Gandhi replied that if they wanted to strike they might close their shops but they should remain at home and create no demonstrations whatsoever. Gandhi, seeing that his power over the *Satyagrahis* was waning, postponed further discussion until Friday next, the 2nd instant (May). He advised that the Sabha should meet regularly once a week to exchange opinions and Wednesday was fixed as the future date of meeting.

On arrival at the meeting Gandhi was accompanied by Jinnah and Pandit Malaviya, neither of whom attended the meeting.

The only item of interest as regards the movements of Gandhi is that he was visited by Ahmed Khatri at noon yesterday.

Umar Sobani has blossomed out in full swadeshi rig.

Bombay, May 3rd.—Gandhi has just issued in the *Sanj Vartaman*, dated the 3rd May 1919, a further message stating that he proposes to resume *Satyagraha* and Civil Disobedience of the law on the 1st of July next.

WHEN IS SATYAGRAHA GOING TO BE RESUMED ?

Mahatma Gandhi's Message.

We have received the following message from Mahatma Gandhi to-day : —

When is *Satyagraha* going to be resumed ? Is the question many have been asking me. There are two answers. One is that *Satyagraha* has not at all ceased. As long as we practise truth, and ask others to do so, so long *Satyagraha* can never be said to have ceased. And if all practise truth, and refrain from violence to person and property, we would immediately get what we want. But when all are not prepared to do so, when *Satyagrahis* are only a handful, then we have to devise other methods deducible from *Satyagraha*. One such method is Civil Disobedience. I have already explained the reason why this Civil Disobedience has been for the time being suspended. As long as we know that there is every likelihood, bordering on certainty, of rioting and violence following Civil Disobedience, so long disobedience of laws cannot be regarded as Civil Disobedience, but as disobedience that is thoughtless, uncivil, and devoid of truth. *Satyagrahis* may never commit such disobedience. The resumption of Civil Disobedience can however be hastened by the *Satyagrahis* completely fulfilling their duty. My confidence in it has led me to assurance that we shall be fitted for resuming Civil Disobedience in about two months, i.e., if the Rowlatt

legislation is not withdrawn in the meantime we may resume Civil Disobedience by the beginning of July. In provisionally fixing this period I am guided by the following considerations : One of them is that we shall have by that time spread our message throughout the country, viz., that during the pendency of Civil Disobedience no one, under cover of *Satyagraha*, or the pretence of helping it, should resort to rioting or violence. It may be hoped that the people being convinced that the true interest of the country will be served by acting in accordance with the message will preserve peace. And peace thus voluntarily sustained will materially contribute towards India's progress. But it is possible that India may not understand *Satyagraha* to this extent. In that case there is one more hope of the non-recurrence of violence, though the condition upon which the hope is based is humiliating for us. It is open to the *Satyagrahis* however to avoid this condition. Indeed it becomes their duty to resume *Satyagraha* under such conditions. The military dispositions that are now going on will naturally ensure non-recurrence of violence that is so detrimental to the country. The recent outbreaks were all so sudden that the Government were not prepared to cope with them there and then. But the Governmental arrangements are quite likely to be completed in two months' time and breach of public peace will then be well nigh impossible, and therefore also conscious or unconscious abuse of *Satyagraha*. Under such a state of things the *Satyagrahis* may without any fear of disturbance commit Civil Disobedience and thereby demonstrate that not violence but *Satyagraha* alone can help us to secure justice.

M. K. GANDHI.

May, 2nd, 1919.

Page 394, paragraph 660 (c)—

Kaira, May 8.—Excitement was caused in Nadiad at the news of B. G. Horniman's deportation and the stopping of the *Bombay Chronicle*. Leaflets eulogising the services of Horniman under the signature of Gandhi, dated the 28th April 1919, were distributed in the town.

Page 395, para 661—

Bombay, May 11th.—

The hartal is in full swing and there are no indications whatever of trouble. It is a very different affair to that of the 6th ultimo. While the bulk of the shops in the neighbourhood of the cloth markets, Sheik Memon Street and Kalbadevi Road are closed, north of Sandhurst Road the reverse is the case and the great bulk of the shops are open. Reports from mill districts show that things in that locality are absolutely normal.

Gandhi has made the Mulji Jetha Market his headquarters. He has been sitting there since 7-30 a.m. receiving reports from his volunteers. The volunteers are moving about in small bodies throughout the city and I have no doubt that they feel that they can justly take the credit for the fact that things are perfectly quiet. It is noteworthy that a small posse of volunteers is on duty in the immediate neighbourhood of the India Infantry picket established at Dhobi Talao.

The Victorias are plying as usual and there is little to show that there is anything abnormal.

In the Crawford market the stalls are closed with the exception of Beef and Mutton stalls. The Irani shops and Tobacco shops in Kalbadevi and Sheikh Memon Street are open.

Altogether the hartal is a very tame affair and I am quite satisfied that it is too dull to attract much attention. Gandhi will have some difficulty over future hartals unless he can devise a more palatable programme.

Page 396-404, paragraph 665—

Bombay, May 10th.—On Friday, the 9th May 1919 at 9 p.m. a meeting of the Mussalman community was held in Jamal Hall, Falkland Road, when Mr. Kaderbhoy, Bar-at-law, presided and Mr. Gandhi delivered a speech expressing his sympathy with the idea of unity between Hindus and Mahommadans, and asking the Mussalmans to always be united with Hindus in the *Satyagraha* movement and to place their demands in a clear manner before Government.

About 600 people were present; more than a hundred of them hid stood round Mr. Gandhi to be able to hear him distinctly.

Mr. Gandhi came with Messrs. Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Umar Sobani and Banker.

The proceedings were commenced with a prayer, which was offered by the whole assembly standing up. Then a Mussalman youth recited a verse in which "Khooda" was invoked to facilitate the happening of Hindu-Mussalman "entente", to remove all the difficulties now lying before the Mussalman community regarding the Khilafat question and to help the Mussalmans to free themselves from internal dissensions. In the verse the Mussalmans were invoked to take courage by listening to the advice of Mr. Gandhi, whose words, said he, had the authority which the very Gospel had. He said the Rowlatt Bills were bound to go if his co-religionists would honestly follow Mr. Gandhi's lead.

Mr. Gandhi's Speech.

Page 398— * * * * *

Mr. Gandhi said as follows in Gujarati : —

Mr. President sahib and brothers, I hope you will excuse me if I sit down and deliver my address. I cannot stand and make a speech. Such is the state of my health. I am sure you will excuse me for sitting and then making a speech. If I stand up, my head becomes giddy. I intend to speak in Gujarati. I think you all understand it. If you do understand it, kindly, raise your hands, because if you do not understand it, I shall speak in broken Urdu but want to speak in Gujarati particularly, because I know that I can explain my views better in Gujarati than in Urdu. Therefore I shall speak in Gujarati. (Hands were raised signifying that the audience understood Gujarati). Our President has told you about his correspondence with me when he was in England. I admit that. I also admit that from my very childhood I had this one idea that between the Hindus and Mussalmans there should be no difference of opinion. They are born in one country and, therefore, whatever be their religions, they should be of one heart, and that between them no "*Tafavat*" (Disagreement) should take place. I went to South Africa for the case of a Mussalman brother. After going there and having made my permanent or semi-permanent home there—that was done at the instance of many Mussalman brethren—I have been thinking of their political troubles. I had seen their difficulties. I am intimately acquainted with their grievances. When I went to England and reached there on the 6th of August 1914, I heard that on the 4th the great war had commenced between England and her allies on the one hand and Germany and her allies on the other. In a short time Turkey threw in her lot on the side of Germany. In regard to Turkish questions I read some letters in the London *Times*. I used to read the paper every morning to watch and see what Turkey was going to do. I had sympathy for the Mussalman brethren. I came in contact with their leaders in England occasionally. One morning I read that Turkey had consented to join Germany. Then my feeling was this—whether Turkey was right or wrong—I had no material before me to judge whether she was right or wrong—I said to God "Oh, God protect Mussalmans " because I knew the feelings of the Mussalman brethren in South Africa when there was war between Tripoli and Italy. The significance of the war with Tripoli could only be realised if the geography and history of the place was known to people. I said to myself, when I read in the London Times that Turkey had consented to join Germany " what will be the result of this alliance ". No one could see that. Subsequently, in January 1915, I returned to India

and my feeling about my Moslem brethren was deepened. I said if in India we could do anything, it was the important duty of bringing about unity between Hindus and Moslems. I always thought that I would rather die in bringing about this unity than by contracting a disease. I did not expect my death would come about through any disease, because my health was all right. My intention was to bring about the unity between these two communities by some means or other—unity which no man could break. My other idea was about *Satyagraha*. It is a great question. There is no greater question than that. It includes many other questions—it includes even the question of the aforesaid unity between Hindus and Mussalmans. I have read the Hindu Shastras, and I have read the Islamic Shastras, and I have read the Parsi Shastras. I have read all these books, and I have come to this conclusion that *Satyagraha* is the best remedy for all complaints. I do not want to say very much on that subject today. I have come here to give some advice to my Moslem brethren. I have come to serve them. With that object I came to India. My first duty was, when I came to India, to find out such Moslem brethren who would give their lives for truth and for unity between Hindus and Mussalmans. Though the two communities are of two different religions, they must have a common heart for the fulfilment of the political aspirations. Therefore, as soon as I came to India, I went to Delhi. There was no upheaval there. I had no idea of Mr. Shaukat Ali then. I did not know him then. I did not also know Mahomed Ali. Though I did not know Mahomed Ali I had heard of his " *goon* " (Abilities). I did not know Principal Rudra. Accidentally both the brothers Shaukat Ali and Mahomed Ali—came to me. About this incident I have to tell you this. That some people always see me, although I do not know them. As soon as I saw them I thought that I knew them from my birth. They also thought that they knew me from their birth. From that time there has been a " *Gath* " (tie) between them and myself which is not broken and cannot be broken. Through these brothers I saw other Mussalman brethren. We then came to talk with Dr. Ansari and Mr. Abdul Rahim. You know them. Then I saw and became acquainted with Abdul Bari of Lucknow at the Aligarh College. I stayed in his house at Lucknow when I went there because I knew him. When I was at his place I went to see him in connection with *Satyagraha* we had a talk on *Satyagraha*, and on that occasion he treated me most hospitably and most affectionately and I need not explain to you in detail what passed between him and me on the subject of *Satyagraha* on that occasion. The conversation lasted for a long time, for several hours. We there discussed the Moslem questions on which the heart of my Moslem brethren was wounded. On that question I carried on correspondence with Government—with the Viceroy, to whom I wrote

an open letter. I placed before him the whole of the Islamic questions. The Moslem question is a very " *Gambhir*" (serious) question. The reform question the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme question—is also a very great question. We have to ask for " *Dad* " (Redress) of our grievances from Government. The earnest attention of Government is necessary to be paid to this question. We have not to live the lives of luxury. We bear pain. Otherwise we shall never become fit for Swaraj. We should not forget that we have to do excellent work in the country. We have to study the grievances of our neighbours. Not to live in luxury but to do good to our neighbours, is our war-cry. The neighbours should not be discontented. We have to see that our Mussalman brothers are free from pain. We have to take part and share in their pain. There can be no pain which will break their hearts and not ours. If their hearts are wounded, our pain should be increased. We have to consider the question of how to increase the happiness for the Mussalman brothers. How to seek our and their happiness for the present and for the future is the question that should be under our consideration. We should feel for the " *afat*" (mishap) that has come upon our Mussalman brothers. The question of this *afat* has to be considered. The *afat* on our Mussalman brothers is an *afat* on us too. We cannot bear to see that they should labour under the *afat* without our taking some share in it. Such are the many and important questions that we have to consider. We are foolish enough to confine our attention to one question or other. The British people consider many such questions. They do not consider the question of the Army, but also the question of the five crores of Mussalmans in the country. How to satisfy the hearts of these people is also one of the questions before them. For us to consider, there is this question that if the hearts of the five crores of Mussalmans are wounded, the hearts of all the 30 crores of people are also wounded. We have to make a common demand. The Mussalmans have to make their demand very clearly. They should make such a demand as would secure the approval of the whole world, which will say that this demand is proper. You have to make a specific demand regarding the Khilafat and regarding Mecca, Medina, etc. Though I am not a Mussalman, I can well appreciate the feelings of my Mussalmans brothers on this subject. I have read the Koran. I have studied the Mahomedan Shastras. I can understand the significance of the demand to be made by the Mussalman brothers. I can understand their demands as well as they themselves can understand it. The question of Palestine should be decided with justice. Why should Palestine be handed over to the Jews ? I have considered this matter, but I am not able to give you a final reply. Of course, there should be a limitation to our consideration of this

question. There is a " *Hadd* " to our limitation. The desire of the Mussalman brothers naturally is that Palestine should be under the Mussalman Sultanate. And the reason is obvious. Up to the other day it was under Mahommedan Rule. It was under Mussalman Sultanate. The Mussalman brothers want to retain it in their own hands. I think Palestine should be in the hands of the Mussalman Sultanate. Palestine being under the Mahommadan Sultanate, it is the duty of the British Government to protect it as against the ownership of any non-Mahommadan power. I think the Mussalman brothers should consider these questions (with moderation) within certain limitations. What demands our Mussalman brothers will make ought to be conceded. We must be useful to the Mussalman brothers. We must participate in their pain. Hindus must work heartily in conjunction with their Mussalman brothers. Hindus are bound to help them. They must help them unasked. Mussalmans should not be made to wait and ask for our help. Our hearts being united, there should be no ground for " *takrar*" (complaint) among themselves. If we do complain we will be behaving like fools. Hitherto we were behaving like fools in fighting with the Mussalman brothers. We should not fight like fools. Now that we are thinking of living as of one heart, why should we fight among ourselves ? We have become one, and no one can divide us. I think that the Mussalman brothers have not explained their case properly to the Government. I feel it is their duty to do so. I said so to Abdul Bari. I told him that Hindus would spontaneously help his coreligionists if they know exactly what case the latter have placed before Government. Crores of Mussalmans have to make a specific demand. They have not yet made it. There should be such a demand made on behalf of five crores of Mussalmans of India. What their feeling is Government do not know. The best proof of the fact that Government do not know what five crores of Mussalmans want is what appeared four or five days back in the *Times of India* You all know that there was lately a meeting here of the All-India Congress Committee under the presidentship of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. It decided to represent certain matters to Government. A telegram was sent to that effect to Government. In criticising that representation of the Committee, the *Times* suggested that what demand the Mussalmans want to make the British Government do not know. You cannot say—my argument is this—that your demand has been clearly placed before Government. Therefore, I have come to warn you—to advise you to place what you want before Government in a clear manner. The President of the Muslim League has touched upon this subject in his address (at Delhi), but he has not enlarged on the point to any particular degree. This question should be treated by itself. It ought not to be mixed up with

other questions. It is, therefore, the duty of the Mussalman leaders to place before Government the case of their community at large. They should state how the complaint arose of which they want to speak to Government. You deserve all sympathy and, therefore, I have to complain to you that you have not done your duty of placing your wants before the authorities. What "*chhez*" (thing) you have not placed before Government, you should do now. It is not my duty to place before Government what your case is. That is your own business. Only I will help you. You will have to place before me proper materials. I will do what I think is proper after hearing you. You place before me a blanket (outlines of your case) and I may be able to convert it into a shawl (well-conceived representation). I can assure you that Hindus feel that their hearts are as much wounded as yours in this matter. If you place a proper demand before Government, the world cannot find fault with you. But you must not lose time in placing your case before Government. Time is flying fast. One minute is equal to one year. If you allow even a few months to pass without doing anything in the matter, remember, there is a likelihood of great changes taking place, of which you can have no idea. Try to place your case before the authorities. Suppose you make a mistake, that does not matter. You think of the case of the pots made in their crude shape by the potter. Mistakes in the initial stage of the manufacture can be rectified later on. Say to Government "such and such is our grievance, and if you do not remove it, it will make us '*ashant*' non-peaceful. Remove from our minds the cause of becoming non-peaceful". So there is a great work before you. If you do not do it, you will not be able to protect your interests, and I shall not be able to help you. Now before I conclude, I have to refer to another point. How are you going to attain your object? There is no better remedy than *Satyagraha*. In India we have to do nothing but to work without fighting. We have to do no fighting. *Satyagraha* is our last weapon ("*chhela shastra*"). If the Hindus and Mussalmans fight, they will add to their burden of troubles (boro). If we have not to fight, what shall we do? With humility ask Government that our rights should be given to us. That is our demand. We shall keep on making that demand. We are not going to make "*Khuna-marki*" (murders and pillage). Those living outside the British Empire can fight with that Empire. That is the history of the world. In India we cannot fight with Government. I have read our Shastras. I have got thirty years' experience of these things, and I have come to the conclusion that there is only one royal road — the road of *Satyagraha* — to reach the goal. It is a royal road. It is not "*jungli*" road. The road is one on which

we say " we shall not kill but shall be killed" (*Marish nahi, pan marish* "). The moral is that we shall do our best to gain our object by fair means. More we cannot do ; that is to say, we cannot say what the result of our action will be. It may be that what we call 'justice', may be " injustice ". But we should not do what we Ourselves fear is injustice. Never do an unjust act and then become repentant ("*paschatap*"). We have to court death in the name of our rights. It is everybody's right to attack a wicked man. But it is not his right to do it by means except that of *Satyagraha*. I have discussed this question with Abdul Bari. He told me that all that I was telling him was to be found in the Koran. If you are prepared to die, you can get the article of your choice. You can take it. You have to show the world that you are prepared to die for your rights. Many people are ready to fight for their rights, but they do not seem to understand what the rights are that they are going to fight for. As long as you want to have a particular thing, you cannot appreciate another thing. Your fight must be the fight of " *prem* " (affection), of " *mohabat*" (friendship), and of justice. Mrs. Naidu gave you the same advice on the last occasion when she addressed you in the Sonapur Mosque (on 6th April 1919). God is not of the Mussalmans only. He is of the whole world. It is therefore, our duty to treat the whole world with " *mohabat*". I shall make *Satyagraha* and fall at your feet in that spirit. I shall thus make the authorities withdraw the Rowlatt Act, I will give my life but I shall never submit to the Rowlatt Act. I shall also interfere with other laws, if I find that those laws are not beneficial to the relationship between the rulers and the ruled. I shall break laws that will cause "*Nuksan*" (loss) to the subject-people. Otherwise, I shall not break any laws. This is then the royal road we should respect good laws. They will not cause any loss to us. Those laws should be protected. In my mind there is no doubt about it. You have to respect laws. You have to protect laws. But how can people protect laws unless they understand that they are proper laws ? *Satyagraha* is the best weapon you can handle when you want to oppose anything. I have full confidence in *Satyagraha*, so that I shall place it before you. If you do not accept this weapon, I fear (*dhasti*) that you will not be able to gain your object in view. I do not say you will not gain it at all. For instance, suppose you make a request to Government, and they do not grant that request, then displeasure in your heart will ensue today. Tomorrow that feeling will grow, and then you will take to murderous acts. What I want to say I shall say openly. I shall not say it in a private room. There are detectives about me sitting here. I have to protect them. They are not to protect me. If they come it will be beneficial to me and to them also. There is no idea of "*burace*" (mala-fides) in my

mind. I am not presumptuous. Today I am doing everything that is all right. Tomorrow, I may become "bevakoof" (foolish). There is no knowing. But at this moment in my heart there is no idea of "burace" (mala-fides). Such is my heart. From childhood I have received this sort of "talim" (training). There will be no "bevakoof," about me. My experience is this. If anyone raises his sword against me and places it on my neck, he will find me smiling in that position. Then I shall not think of anything but pray to God. If India does not get her rights, what will be the result? The result will be this, that the rights will be trampled under foot, and India will become "Bairagi" (a beggar). You know what took place at Ahmedabad and other places. What "khunamarki" took place there. These things arise because people are displeased. You should get over your complaints by making a proper representation to the authorities. Your question is about your *Caliphate*. If Turkey is divided, your temporal and spiritual heads will be divided. God is not so "Bholo" (simple) (as not to understand the machinations of man). He is watching us for all 24 hours. He punishes him who is working not in a straight way. It is, therefore, your duty to let Government know what you want. You should protect your interests. Nothing should go out of your hands. The article that belongs to you should not pass out of your hands. That article should remain with you in your hands. That you can keep in your hands by means of *Satyagraha*. I think I have taken much of your time. I thank you for patiently listening to my remarks. I ask you to discuss your grievances "pet bharine" (to your heart's content), watching when the last sand passes out of the bottle (refers to the sand-clock in vogue in the past). I have placed before you my views. I have told you how high has risen the mercury in the thermometer of the feelings of your people in connection with these few subjects. I came here as a thief to steal your heart. I shall preserve that heart well in my pocket. If you want it back, then I would ask you to observe Sunday next as the day of humiliation. On that day we, Hindus and Mussalmans, shall be one in heart. They cannot have any difference of opinion. Their demand will be one. That demand is the removal of the Rowlatt Act from the Statute Book. Tomorrow we shall not be angry or force anyone to do anything against his will. I request you to treat everyone with "mohabat". I don't say you should retrace your paces. No. Whatever happens, if our bones are broken, we shall not go backwards. We shall work with "mohabat". We do not care for the police for our protection. We shall keep peace ourselves. The whole world will admire our conduct. Martial Law will be useless, maxim guns will be useless, aeroplanes, weapons will be useless

against us. These can be used outside India. Even a child will say that they are of no use in India, because ours is a loyal *Satyagraha* agitation. There is no doubt about it. (Subdued cheers).

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Page 404-405, paragraph 666—

Bombay, May 8th.—The following is a brief note of an interview I (P. C.) had with Gandhi on the 8th instant: —

I asked Gandhi if he had seen the letter which Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali had addressed to the Viceroy. He replied that Umar Sobani had shown it to him. He said that Umar Sobani had not distributed the pamphlet among Mahomedans and that he had refrained from doing so under his (Gandhi's) instructions. In further conversation he said that while he did not think that Umar Sobani was a revolutionary, he was frank and open by nature and he (Gandhi) thought that if Umar felt convinced that a revolution was the best way to secure the well-being of India, he would not hesitate to adopt such methods. He thought that in such a case Umar Sobani would plainly tell him (Gandhi) of his intentions and Gandhi would in that case tell me. He did not think this was inconsistent, even though Umar Sobani might know that secrecy was essential to the success of the revolution. Gandhi did not know whether or not the letter had been despatched to the Viceroy. He hoped that it had not, because he thought that the letter was unreasonable and foolish. He felt partly responsible for the letter because when the orders prohibiting him from entering the Punjab were served on him he sent a verbal message to Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali advising them to break the orders restricting them under the Defence of India Act, but before doing so to write to Viceroy a temperate letter setting forth in detail the grievances of the Mahomedans.

Gandhi said that he had written a letter to the Viceroy suggesting that a solution to the Mahommadan question must be found. In reply to a further question he said that he thought that the only solution possible was for Turkey to receive back the territories which she possessed before the war with suitable guarantees for good government.

He said that affairs on the border and in Afghanistan had caused him to think seriously as to his programme for the future. He had arranged for a meeting of Mahommadans tomorrow. He had not heard since whether it was finally settled that the meeting was to take place or not.

Gandhi showed that he felt that the situation in India was very bad and he admitted that the news from Afghanistan made a difference as regards his plan for a hartal. He said that that question had presented itself to him immediately on hearing the news but he had decided that *hartal* should be observed because there was an insistent demand among the people for some such observance and he felt that if they were not given in to, some of the people might break away from control. He did not admit that he had sanctioned a *hartal* for Sunday against his better judgment. He admitted, however, that he had received a number of threatening letters and had also been urged by his followers to hold a *hartal*. He said that he did not know how far the demand came from an insistent minority and how far the minority vocalised the views of the majority but that he had received representations on the subject from all quarters.

Page 416, para 685—

Bombay, May 19th.—The following telegram was sent by M. K. Gandhi on 10th May 1919.—To Principal Rudra, Stephens College, Delhi, " Strongly advise Charlie not proceed Lahore without sanction present juncture ".

Charlie is apparently C. F. Andrews. Andrews arrived in Bombay on the night of Friday the 16th May. Met Gandhi and left for Ahmedabad with him and Anusayabai a couple of hours later. All three returned to Bombay on Monday the 19th.

Page 462, para 754—

Bombay, May 23rd.—During the current month the *Satyagraha* campaign has not been vigorously conducted, and I* have therefore not sent in daily reports. Gandhi returned to Bombay from Ahmedabad on the 19th instant. On the evening of that date, he attended a *Satyagraha* meeting at the Morarji Gokuldass Hall at 9 p.m. There were no speeches, but general discussion on *Satyagraha* activities during Gandhi's absence took place. Gandhi emphasised the importance of conducting enquiries into the possibilities of *Swadeshi* industries. One of the *Satyagrahis* proposed that Gandhi should start a paper to take the place of the *Chronicle*. Gandhi replied that he was not inclined to start a paper, but that he preferred to educate the people by oral discussion on the subjects

* Bombay Commissioner of Police.

of *Swadeshi* and *Satyagraha*. He had decided, to call *Satyagraha* meetings twice a week, namely, on Wednesdays and Saturdays. One Vithaldas Vasanji Jairajani proposed that in view of the removal of the military posts from the City, from which it could be inferred that Government felt renewed confidence in the people, civil disobedience to laws should be renewed. Gandhi replied that he was not satisfied that it would be safe to restart these activities and that he would not do so until next July.

Gandhi went on to explain how he had been to Nadiad and called a meeting there, and how he had urged the people who had cut telegraph wires and removed railwaylines to come forward and tell the truth so that the innocent might not suffer for the guilty. He remarked that one Ishwarbhai Patel had been arrested and he (Gandhi) did not believe that he was a man who would cut wires and remove railwaylines and so it was the duty of the real offenders to save men like Ishwarbhai Patel. This proposal that people should surrender themselves and give evidence against others was not favourably received by Gandhi's audience. Seeing this Gandhi made the point that this attitude of theirs was a reason for refusing to continue civil disobedience. He pointed out that unless they told the truth and practised accordingly they were not *Satyagrahis*.

C. F. Andrews, who had returned from Ahmedabad with Gandhi, was not present at this meeting. On this and subsequent days during the week, Andrews was noticed constantly moving about with and visiting Gandhi, Bankar, Jamnadas and Mrs. Naidu. Andrews left Bombay with a ticket for Delhi on the 22nd afternoon. Information Was sent to the Delhi Police. It is said that Andrews has been collaborating with Gandhi to write a report on the events in connection with the disturbances at Ahmedabad and Nadiad for publication in the Press.

Nekiram Sharma of Delhi is with Gandhi. He has been translating all the *Satyagraha* literature into Hindi. It appears that he has been urging Gandhi to resort to the former practice of campaigning by public meetings in order to keep the movement alive, but Gandhi has not shown any inclination to fall in with his views. He has also urged Gandhi to reply to the counter-propaganda of Government in connection with the Rowlatt Act by further leaflets explaining the *Satyagraha* objection to the Act. Here again he has failed to move Gandhi.

On the 21st a meeting of *Satyagrahis* was announced for 9 p.m. at the Morarji Gokuldas Hall but at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the *Satyagraha* Sabha on the same day at 6-30 p.m. Gandhi was informed that the Hall was not available for the *Satyagraha* meeting. He, therefore, gave orders that two *Satyagrahis* should go to the hall and inform those that came to the meeting that it had been postponed. It appears, however, that nobody went. The result was that about 150 *Satyagrahis* and sympathisers collected on the road outside the hall. They were unable to discover why the hall was not open and after waiting for some time a number of them decided to go and see Gandhi to ask him to explain the matter. About 100 of them reached Gandhi's house about 10-15. When Gandhi learnt this he arranged for them to be accommodated on the terrace of the house where he is staying and explained to them that sufficient notice had not been given to the Trustees of the Morarji Gokuldas Hall and therefore the hall was not available for that meeting. He said that he was glad to see that they were so eager to meet and exchange views even if it caused them considerable personal inconvenience. He asked them whether they had any questions to ask him. One Nanalal D. Upadhaya complained that Gandhi had not convened a meeting but on the contrary had prevented them from meeting in public. He enquired whether it was true that Gandhi had stopped Sayyid Hussein from holding a public meeting. Gandhi replied that it was true that he had persuaded Sayyid Hussein not to address a public meeting and that he had done so because he thought that public meetings were not necessary under present circumstances. The same man again asked why John Scurr had been prevented from addressing a public meeting. To this Gandhi replied that he knew nothing about that. His questioner then asked whether Jamnadas and Umar Sobani had committed any sin in that they told lies about the proscribed pamphlets about the Ali Brothers and had then gone to the Commissioner of Police and apologised for doing so. Gandhi here reprimanded his questioner for introducing personal questions and the personal failings of other *Satyagrahis* and refused to answer the question. To another *Satyagrahi* who impatiently enquired when the *Satyagraha* Sabha would resume the campaign of civil disobedience, Gandhi replied that impatience would lead them into a serious position. Those who wished to be violent were welcome to try it. They would go to jail as the people of the Punjab had done and instead of being sentenced to one year's imprisonment which was the ordinary punishment for such offences they would be liable to be sentenced to seven years. He advised his audience to be patient and not to break the peace.

Gandhi uttered a warning against people who pretending to be *Satyagrahis* collected money in his or their names. He said that one Vrajlal had been detected in the commission of such an offence and had been expelled. It has been the practice at recent *Satya-graha* meetings to call upon those who had attended to sign their names in a register at the door before they entered. In this case as the meeting took place unexpectedly at Gandhi's house this precaution was not taken. The impression left on at least one of his audience was that Gandhi was not very frank in what he said to them perhaps owing to his being uncertain of the identity of all the people to whom he was speaking.

It is reported that the *Satyagraha* Sabha has despatched by rail all available literature and that this is partly to be accounted for by the apprehension that Government might seize it. For this reason and also because the campaign is now being conducted much less actively, the staff of the *Satyagraha* Sabha finds itself with nothing to do.

On the 22nd there was a meeting at the Morarji Gokuldas Hall for members of the *Visa Sorathia Vanik* Yuvak Mandal. Gandhi delivered a lecture on the *Swadeshi* vow. Jamnadas, Mrs. Naidu and Anusuya Bai who were expected to attend were conspicuous by their absence. Gandhi repeated his old arguments about *Swadeshi*. He remarked that the East India Company which had come to India to trade had remained to rule, and that they had been able to rule because the trade of their country was in their hands. If Indians had acquired control over the trade of the country there was no reason to suppose that they would not be able to attain the position of the East India Company. To one of the audience who enquired whether English or foreign made watches might be used Gandhi replied that so long as India was not able to make watches they might use foreign ones. This meeting was attended by about 200 *Sorathia Banias*.

Page 467 para 758—

Ahmedabad, May 27th.—M. K. Gandhi, Mahadev Haribhai Desai, Anasuya Sarabhai and I. K. Yajnik returned from Bombay on the 24th.

"M. K. Gandhi is reported to disapprove of the suggested suspension of business in Ahmedabad on the opening day of the Riot trials and to be dissuading the organisers."

Pages 505-507, para. 791—

(a) *Bombay, May 30th.*—I* had an interview with Gandhi on the 27th instant. He informed me then in the course of conversation that he was holding a private conference at his bungalow the following day. He had addressed a circular letter to certain friends at (1) Delhi , (2) Allahabad, (3) Ahmedabad, (4) Patna, and (5) Madras, telling them that he considered that the time had come to take stock and inviting them to come to Bombay to have an informal conference with him. He did not expect more than half a dozen people. He informed me that his primary object in summoning the conference was to explain clearly and definitely to *Satya-grahis* of other provinces that it was his intention to confine his own activities entirely to the Bombay Presidency and that they must not look to him either directly or indirectly to take an active part in the movement beyond the confines of this Presidency. The secondary object of the conference he said was to discuss the general lines of the campaign to be initiated on July the 1st.

The conference duly took place on the 28th instant. Precautions were taken to keep out any but the most trusted *Satyagrahis* and the greatest secrecy was observed. Amongst those present were the following : Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Anusuyabai Sarabhai, S. G. Banker, L. R. Tairsee, Kalidas, a pleader from Palanpur, Sunder Lall from the U. P., Zulfikar Ali Khan from the U. P., Hasrat Mohani of the U. P., Ghanshamdas of Sind, Mahadev Desai, Gandhi's private secretary, Mathurdas, his head clerk, Govindram of Juggannathpuri, who is one of Gandhi's disciples, Valabhbhai Patel, K. N. Desai from Ahmedabad, Vithaldas Vasanji Jairajani and Yajnik. Gandhi announced that in view of what had happened in the Punjab, he thought that the time had come to extend the *Satyagraha* movement to that province. His idea was to despatch from Bombay a number of trusted men who were not sufficiently well known to be objected to, who would be able to introduce into the Punjab the principles of Passive Resistance. Jamnadas joined issue with his and protested vigorously against any such scheme which he said was bound to lead to disorder and bloodshed. Jamnadas suggested instead that they should petition the Viceroy and request him to appoint a commission of official and non-official members with powers to investigate into the causes of unrest and into the administration of Martial Law. Gandhi replied that he would like to send such a petition but that to do so would involve delay and meanwhile

* Bombay Commissioner of Police.

more persons would be convicted and more property confiscated. Gandhi especially objected to the order prohibiting *Satyagrahis* from entering the Punjab and also to the order prohibiting members of the bar of other provinces from entering the province. On these grounds alone he considered that *Satyagraha* shall be started fourth-with in the Punjab, Yajnik suggested that in view of the fact that a large number of *Satyagrahis* in Bombay had taken the vow solely in connection with the Rowlatt Acts and since they had no concern whatever with the quarrels of the Punjabis with their Government it would be advisable first to consult the local *Satyagrahis* before taking any action in the Punjab. Gandhi said that he would discuss the matter with local *Satyagrahis*.

On the 29th instant Jamanadas had a long interview with Gandhi, told him that he could not bring himself to agree with his scheme for extending *Satyagraha* to the Punjab and eventually resigned his membership of the Sabha. Jamnadas came to see me the same day and gave me a detailed account of his conversation with Gandhi. He told me that he had impressed upon Gandhi the danger of introducing a movement of this nature into the Punjab at a time when the peace terms were likely to be published and Mahommadan feelings were running high over the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire, but he was unable to make any impression upon Gandhi who seemed determined at all costs to go on with his programme.

A private meeting of the *Satyagrahis* was held the same night at the Morarji Goculdas Hall. Gandhi told those present that he was about to address them on a very important matter which they were on no account to divulge. Certain persons had been hanged in the Punjab, others had been transported for life, and men were being severely and unjustly punished by Government. He was convinced that it was unjust of Government to behave as they were behaving and he wanted to fight to the bitter end with Government on this account. For his campaign he was in need of intelligent, strong-willed and well-educated men to assist him and he appealed only to such persons as were prepared to give an undertaking that they would adhere to the principles of *Satyagraha* to the last. *Satyagrahis* who are prepared to assist on these terms he asked to see him at his residence. They must be prepared even to face firearms. He further announced that for the present he would enlist no more *Satyagrahis* and that only those whose names had already been registered and who carried *Satyagraha* badges would henceforth be admitted to their meetings.

Gandhi explained that he had for some time heard rumours about what was being done in the Punjab and he had received certain letters. He had carefully considered whether it was right for him to remain idle or to take action in the disturbed area, but after seeing certain " Brothers " from the United Provinces and the Punjab and having heard from them first-hand information of events that had taken place there he could no longer refrain from acting because of the excesses of the Courts Martial which had inflicted capital sentences and corporal punishments on numerous persons many of whom were innocent.

The reports I have received are conflicting upon one important point, viz., upon the question whether or not Gandhi intends to extend *Satyagraha* to the Punjab in any event or whether he intends first to ask His Excellency the Viceroy to appoint a commission and then to start his campaign if an unfavourable reply is received. But one fact is clear, namely, that Gandhi has taken in hand preparations for the campaign and there is little doubt that he intends to carry it through for it cannot be conceived that the local authorities will give way to his absurd demands. It is still uncertain whether Gandhi himself intends to go to the Punjab or not. He will probably do so and court arrest if he finds any stickiness in the progress of *Satyagraha* in that Province. It is interesting to note that Swami Shradhanand has written a letter to Gandhi requesting him to absolve him from the *Satyagraha* vow. This letter has been published in the vernacular papers of today. Shradhanand gives the following reasons for desiring to sever his connection with *Satyagraha*, viz., it is his firm opinion that Indians will never come to an agreement with Government by discussing political questions with Government officials. In his opinion the people will obtain their political rights only if they put their own schemes into operation. Gandhi had proposed to resume the *Satyagraha* campaign vigorously when peace had been restored in the country but he, Shradhanand, was now convinced that so long as British rule continued in India there would never be peace in the land and that the *Satyagraha* movement could not succeed. He is therefore, definitely of opinion that *Satyagraha* will never be able to break civil laws unless there are disturbances in the land. He feels that there will be no peace in India unless the Rowlatt Act is repealed and in that case there will be no need to continue the *Satyagraha* movement.

Page 509, para 791(c)—

Surat, May 31st—M. K. Gandhi arrived here on the morning of the 26th instant accompanied by Anusuyabai, sister of Ambalal

Sarabhai, of Ahmedabad. They put up at the *Satyagraha* Office. About a dozen of the local *Satyagrahis* met him at the station. There were no spectators, the hour of arrival, 5-30 a.m. being too early for the Surat folk, but in the course of the day inquisitive crowds collected outside the *Satyagraha* office to get a glimpse of the Mahatma who appeared at a window at intervals. While here, Gandhi addressed two meetings one, for women only, in the afternoon, when about 250 attended and another 'open-air' meeting in the evening when the audience is estimated at 7,000. Gandhi's subjects were *Satyagraha* and *Swadeshvrat*. Gandhi was unable to make himself heard and his speech was repeated, sentence by sentence, by Dayalji Nanubhai. Gandhi left for Bombay by the 10 p.m. train and only a few of the leading *Satyagrahis* saw him off. His audience expected more 'ginger' and were on the whole disappointed.

Page 521, para 819—

S. B., Delhi, dated May 3rd.—An informer reports that Mr. Gandhi met Maulvi Abdul Bari some time ago and discussed the *Satyagraha* movement with him. Gandhi is said to have been most optimistic about the success of the movement. He told Abdul Bari that he had agents in every city and that the passive resistance idea would extend to the servants of officials and to the army. Hindu-Muslim unity would be complete and the Government would be paralysed. It was agreed that when agitation was at its height there would be a large meeting of Ulemas, Maulvis and Mahommadans generally, at which Abdul Bari should be elected Shaikh-ul-Islam and the Muslim demands regarding the Khilafat, the holy places, etc., should be formulated. The Hindus would support these demands which should be submitted to His Excellency the Viceroy with the warning that non-acceptance of them would mean *jihad*. In return for the assistance of the Hindus, Abdul Bari, in his capacity as Shaikh-ul-Islam, was to issue a *fatwa* declaring that the animal originally sacrificed by Ibrahim was a sheep and not a cow, and that cow-sacrifice was prohibited in future. The scheme is said to have been ruined by the outbreaks of violence in various parts of the country.

With reference to the above it is significant that, Gandhi was in Lucknow as the guest of Abdul Bari in March 1919.

Page 526, para 826 (a).

(a) Bombay, June 10th.—There is considerable uncertainty as to what Gandhi's immediate intentions are. He poses as being engaged

in making preparations for the opening of a *Satyagraha* campaign in the Punjab early next month, but he is setting about the task in so unbusinesslike and unpractical a manner that I cannot help think-king that he is trying to make it appear that, anxious as he is to do something in the Punjab, circumstances are too strong for him. On the 31st ultimo (31st May 1919) for instance ten *satyagrahis* visited his house in order to sign on as volunteers for duty in the Punjab. After Gandhi had addressed them eight of the ten were still prepared to sign. Gandhi then questioned them as to whether they had any dependant on them. Naturally everyone had either a father, a mother, a wife or children dependent on him, whereupon Gandhi turned him down as unsuitable. Gandhi insistently maintained an attitude of mystery about his programme which again was calculated to dissuade recruits from signing on. He was asked point blank what his programme was and what those willing to sign on would be expected to do, but Gandhi refused definitely to enlighten them. All he would say was that they must be prepared to carry out his orders to the letter, orders which he would issue at the last moment, and that they must be prepared to sacrifice their lives if necessary. Gandhi left for Ahmedabad the same night (31st May 1919).

He returned to Bombay on the 3rd instant.

Jamnadas formally resigned the *Satyagraha* Sabha on the 3rd instant. With his resignation he handed in to Gandhi his 'message' addressed to the *Associated Press* which Gandhi corrected and approved. Gandhi told certain *Satyagrahis* that he had compelled Jamnadas to resign because as a *Satyagrahi* he could not continue to be member of the National Home Rule League of Mr. Beasant. There is no doubt that Gandhi feels very bitterly the defection both of Jamnadas and Swami Shradhanand.

Six volunteers for the Punjab assembled at Gandhi's house to sign on the morning of the 4th. Gandhi announced, to them that he intended to practice civil disobedience on three main issues, viz., (1) salt, (2) revenue and (3) education. He had detailed a Mahratta to go to the Royal Asiatic Society and to collect all the information he could as regards the production, sale, taxation and disposal of salt. Apparently Gandhi's object is to write a series of pamphlets dealing with the administration of the salt, revenue and educational departments in order to prepare the public to disobey civilly the orders of Government on these questions. Gandhi then delivered a lecture to the six candidates as to their duties as volunteers for

duty in the Punjab. He said that he expected implicit obedience and blind compliance with his orders. He said that they might be required to go either to the Punjab or to Madras and that Swami Shradhanand had said that the *Satyagraha* Sabha in Delhi had practically ceased to exist. Gandhi sent away the six candidates to think over the matter and told them to report again on the 7th.

A meeting of the *Satyagrahis* was held at 9 p.m. on the 6th June in the Morarji Gokuldas Hall, some 200 being present. Elaborate precautions were taken to see that strangers were not admitted. Gandhi opened the proceedings by stating that no *Satyagrahi* should question him about the resignation of Jamnadas and Shradhanand; those who doubted the efficacy of *Satyagraha* had better resign ; also those who did not agree with him in thinking it was necessary to start civil disobedience on the 1st of July. After the meeting was over there was an informal meeting of *Satyagraha* volunteers who complained—

- (1) That their uniform made them look like convicts, and
- (2) That Captain was rude to them when they were late for parade !

Gandhi disclaimed responsibility for the dress regulations which he said had been drawn up by Umer Sobani. As regards the complaints against their Captain, it was important to be punctual at drill. Gandhi however promised to speak to the Captain and to advise him not to be too strict a martinet. When the meeting broke up adverse comments were heard on all sides as to the change in Gandhi's demeanour.

Next day, 15 *Satyagrahis* came to Gandhi's house to sign on as volunteers for the Punjab. Gandhi asked them whether they had consulted their parents, their wives and their children and whether they had obtained their sanction to their going to the Punjab and facing imprisonment or death. They replied that they were men of mature understanding and that they saw no necessity to seek the consent of their parents or children to their actions. Naturally, they said their relations would not jump at the idea of their going to the Punjab to meet an untimely end. Gandhi refused to consider their case and said that he did not think they were suitable men to be employed on this work. He reiterated that he was determined at all costs to start full *Satyagraha* on the 1st of July. Gandhi announced that he had spent much of his time with Jinnah and

Mrs. Naidu who were going to England and that he gave them certain instructions. I am informed that he has written four letters which Mrs. Naidu is to deliver for him in England. One is addressed to Horniman, one to Henry Pollock and the other two to Englishmen whose names my agent cannot remember.

S. G. Banker has procured 500 black flags which are now stored in the *Satyagraha* Office, for what purpose we do not yet know.

There is no doubt that Gandhi is now keenly aware of the fact that he is losing influence, for 100 *Satyagrahis* have resigned since the middle of April and, with the exception of Umer Sobani and S. G. Banker, he can count on no one of importance to follow him blindly. This opinion was confirmed in an interview which I* had on the 7th instant with Jamnadas. He told me that Gandhi was restless and worried and that in his (Jamnadas) opinion Banker and Sobhani were exploiting him. Jamnadas himself is very anxious to leave India. He receives threatening and anonymous letters and is altogether rather unhappy in his beloved motherland !

I am informed that it is contemplated to print an issue in July, as part of the programme of civil disobediences, an Urdu translation which is being prepared of the Ali Brothers' letter. I am making further enquiries on this point.

Page 527, paragraph 827—

Bombay, June 10th.—The *Chronicle* continues to appear with its editorial columns conspicuously blank. Gandhi was informed by Banker that the Censor objected to this; Gandhi replied that in his opinion the editorial columns should remain blank as a protest until the censorship was removed. Two of the Directors of the *Chronicle*, viz., T. N. Malvi and S. N. Dabholkar objected to the editorial columns being kept blank but the other Directors said that they were not inclined to disregard Gandhi's advice in this particular case. In consequences of this Malvi resigned and it is said that Dabholkar intends following suit. Meanwhile F. E. Dinshaw is watching the situation carefully and will act when he considers the time is ripe.

Gandhi has told his secretary that he has advised that copies of the *Chronicle* as at present issued should be sent to the editors of various papers in England and foreign countries, particularly in

*Bombay Commissioner of Police.

America, in order to show them how ruthless is the control of Government upon the Indian press. He has hopes that a copy will fall into the hands of President Wilson.

Page 529, paragraph 834—

(a) *Poona, June 11th.*—The Secretary, S. D., writes :—(1) The Chief Presidency Magistrate, Bombay, is being moved to revise his order under section 3(1) of the Press Act, 1910, dispensing with security in the case of the " *New Jain Press* ", Bombay and to impose a security of Rs. 2,000 on account of an objectionable Gujarati leaflet printed at that press entitled " The *Satyagraha* of Mahatma Gandhi" a translation of which is given below : —

The *Satyagraha* of Mahatma Gandhi.

(1) Becoming *Satyagrahis* we shall fight for truth, we shall live in jail for our country.

(2) You may at your pleasure put the chains (of) your laws on our hands ; we shall bear that for our country.

(3) Oh, the Pandava and the Kaurava have gone, having left India. See, Chouhan Prithviraj is gone, having left India.

(4) Mother Hind is a virgin, she will not choose (in marriage) any one. Oh, she shall today judge between right and wrong.

(5) Gokhale and Gandhi are the preceptors of our school; Gokhale and Gandhi are the preceptors who will remove our troubles.

(6) For the sake of our country (We) do not take (our) meals in comfort; for the sake of our country (we) do not sleep in comfort.

(7) If (they) make (you) dance on the edge of the sword, let them do it at their pleasure ; if (they) wage a great war, let them do it at their pleasure.

(8) If (they) make (you) give up the Lakshmi (goddess) of happiness, oh, you abandon her; if (they) set fire to the house, let them do it at their pleasure.

Let the murder be committed to the holy father and mother along with the family; in spite of that, bow down your neck willingly for the sake of the country.

Composer Labhshankar Harijivandas Dihorkar.

Tilak is the diamond of India, the remover of the trouble of the people; although fetters are being put on (his) hands, still he becomes valient. Some are such eunuchs that they become a burden to the people, willing accepters of bribes, holding (their) names among the great.

If ants mount on the adder, how long can they remain alive ? If the ass eats sugar, how long can he remain alive ?

Page 534, paragraph 840—

Bombay, June 16th.—M. K. Gandhi presided over a ladies' meeting on the 13th instant at the Jain Mangrol Sabha Hall and exhorted them to use *swadeshi* cloth and to take the *swadeshi* vow regardless of the dictates of fashion.

About 200 Gujarati ladies attended. Miss Anusayabai was present.

Pages 536-39, para 849—

C. I. D., Bombay Presidency, June 16th.—

The following is a brief account of the meeting held on the 31st May 1919 at Shantaram's Chawl, Bombay, to record an appreciation of B. G. Tilak's services to India and to appeal for funds for the Tilak Purse.

M. K. Gandhi, proposed by Dr. Motiram Balkrishna Velkar, took the chair.

The following were some of the prominent persons who attended : —

- (1) Yeshwantrao (" Anna Saheb ") Vishnu Nene.
- (2) Narandas Purushotamdas.
- (3) Shivram Mahadev Paranjpe.
- (4) Raghunath Pandurang Karandikar (" Dada Saheb").
- (5) Vithaldas VasANJI Jairajani.
- (6) Dr. Moreshwar Gopal Deshmukh.
- (7) Dr. Dinkar DhondeV Sathaye.
- (8) Dr. Motiram Balkrishna Velkar.

Gandhi on taking the chair made a speech in Gujarati to the following effect :—

Between Tilak and himself there existed a difference as regards the manner in which the ideal, which they had in common, should be attained.

At the same time he gratefully acknowledged Tilak's yeoman services to the Motherland and for this reason had attended the meeting with the object of laying before them their indebtedness to

Tilak and proposing that his expenses in the Tilak-Chirol case be defrayed by public subscription.

Lawyers in the audience would agree with him that the verdict in a court of law depended on several factors such as the personality of the judge, the powers of the counsel and the place of trial. There was much truth in the English saying that 'victory went to the longest purse.'

Since he had lost the case, the speaker felt that Tilak had lost the satisfactory sensation he would have experienced, had he been a *Satyagrahi*, of being above considerations of loss or gain. At the same time his admiration for Tilak had increased when he saw that the latter, in no way discouraged by his reverse had continued to place before the English, in a constitutional manner, the political aspirations of India.

Tilak had fought the case for the benefit of his countrymen and the speaker trusted that the resolution which would now be put to the meeting would, in recognition of this fact, be carried with acclamation.

Gandhi, after having his speech read out in Marathi, called up Mrs. Sarojini Naidu ("Sarojini-Devi") to move the resolution in the absence of Jamnadas Dwarkadas in whose name it stood in the agenda.

Mrs. Naidu then spoke in Urdu. She regretted the absence of Jamnadas but felt that, in thus discharging the duty which had developed upon her, she was paying homage to the "Great Rishi" Tilak who had spent the whole of his life with selfless devotion for the betterment of his countrymen.

She then read out the following resolution in English : —

"That this meeting puts on records its appreciation of the selfless and devoted services rendered by Lokmanya Tilak to the Motherland during the last forty years of his life, and calls upon his countrymen generously to contribute to the *Tilak Purse Fund* started with the object of defraying the expenses incurred by him in the prosecution of a case, which was undertaken by him purely in the public interest".

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Page 539—

Gandhi then put the resolution to the meeting emphasising that it was a matter of duty and not charity to help Tilak. The resolution thus put was carried unanimously, and with a vote of thanks to chairman, the meeting dissolved.

Pages 543-44, para. 853(a)—

(a) *Bombay, June 16.*—Jamnadas had a long interview with Gandhi on the 13th instant. He did his utmost to try and dissuade Gandhi from embarking on his campaign of Civil Disobedience pointing out that it would inevitably lead to bloodshed and disorder. Gandhi replied that he was quite aware of what he was doing and that he would watch events very carefully until the 30th instant. He declined to endorse Jamnadas's gloomy prophecies.

At 3 p.m. the same day Gandhi delivered a lecture on the *Swadeshi* vow before a meeting of the Jain Mahila Samaj at Pydhonie. He placed the usual stock arguments before his lady audience and there was nothing worthy of record in what he said.

He is said to be very pleased with the announcement of Mr. Montagu on the question of the Reforms and he is writing him a long letter giving him information as to the causes of the present state of unrest in India and the immediate causes of the recent riots in the Punjab and Ahmedabad.

A private meeting of the members of the Executive Committee of the *Satyagraha* Sabha was held at the *Satyagraha* office at 6-30 p.m yesterday with Gandhi in the chair.

S. G. Banker read out the circular summoning the meeting. Gandhi explained that the action of Government in connection with Kali Nath Roy had compelled him to summon this meeting. In his opinion a grave injustice had been done to Roy and he felt compelled to do something to avenge the wrong. He was quite determined to start Civil Disobedience but before doing so he wanted the members of the Executive Committee to authorise him to assume uncontrolled powers to carry on the movement as he might think best. He explained that by assuming the Dictatorship in this manner he would be in the best position of judging what course to follow, he would be the chief sufferer himself and no valuable time would be lost in convening meetings of the Executive Committee, meetings which, he regretted to observe, were invariably scantily attended.

Kaliyanji of Surat enquired what Gandhi actually proposed to do. Gandhi replied that he would at once write a very strongly worded letter to the Viceroy taking him to task for the injustice perpetrated against Kalinath Roy and against other victims and threatening, if these wrongs were not righted, to enter the Punjab and start Civil Disobedience which would result in commotion. The letter would be drafted in such strong language that his arrest would inevitably follow before the 30th June. At the same time he would draw up a programme to guide the future actions of the

Satyagrahis. His general idea was to form a number of groups of *Satyagrahis* at various centres who would be instructed to refrain from Civil Disobedience and to confine their activities to the organisation of public meetings condemning the Rowlatt Acts and the policy of Government. He hoped by this means to excite the sympathy of the whole of India. If necessary, he himself would break the law by leaving Bombay and entering the Punjab. If he is not arrested immediately, it is his intention to call a series of public meetings in the Punjab. If he cannot get following there he will hold meetings of his own *Satyagrahis*, thereby defying the law in the Punjab prohibiting meetings of more than 20 persons.

The Executive Committee decided to give Gandhi absolute power.

It is now quite clear that Gandhi has assumed the role of leader in a Society whose avowed object is to break the laws of the land and to excite popular feelings in India with a view to making Government impossible. The *Sabha* has gradually assumed the aspect of a Secret Society and if Gandhi can command a sufficient following there is no room for doubt that his propaganda will inevitably lead to a recrudescence of the disorders which we experienced two months ago. It is difficult at present to say whether or not Gandhi will command a sufficient following to render his campaign dangerous and it is still more difficult to determine the psychological moment at which to sterilise him. If action is taken too soon, he becomes a martyr and his arrest might lead to the very condition of affairs which we are anxious to avoid. On the other hand if he is given rope he may become a danger. There is no question that he means business and this I think is evidenced by the fact that the more lukewarm of his followers are deserting. Our reports show that 8 or 10 have resigned from the Sabha daily for the past few days and 12 members of the Executive Committee are said to have notified their intention of resigning.

I* have just seen Jamnadas. He tells me that he is still attempting to dissuade Gandhi from carrying out his avowed intentions. He has got Gandhi to promise that he will subject every *Satyagrahi* to a rigorous cross examination and persuade all but the whole-hoggers to resign before the active campaign opens.

Page 561-68, paragraph 883—

(a) *Bombay, June 20th.*—There is little of importance to report in connection with the activities of Gandhi. He has concentrated his energies upon the case of Babu Kalinath Roy of the *Tribune*, and the leaders published in the last issue of *Young India* gives, I think, a pretty clear indication of the state of his mind in this respect.

* Bombay Commissioner of Police.

He has written to a number of Editors in Bombay sending them a copy of a circular letter of his dealing with the case and also extracts from *Young India*, and has asked them if they will join in the movement to secure Roy's release.

The resolution proposed by the special meeting of the executive Council of the *Satyagraha Sabha* has been used in letter form by the Sabha and is being distributed to members.

Gandhi was examined on commission** by the Chief Presidency Magistrate on the 16th instant in connection with one of the Lahore cases. He was asked a number of controversial questions, none of which tied him down to a very definite reply. His appearance in Court caused no stir or excitement.

On the 18th instant he performed the opening ceremony of the Swadeshi Store at the Morarji Goculdas Market, of which an account appeared in the *Chronicle*. The previous evening he held a public meeting at Carnac Bunder Bridge, and it is a significant fact that only some 200 persons attended.

At 9 p.m. on the 18th instant a private meeting of *Satyagrahis* was held at the Hira Baugh. Gandhi translated to them in Gujarati the resolution passed by the Executive Committee on the 15th instant. He pointed out that he had been authorised to act as he might think fit, and he had determined to reduce his instructions to writing which would serve as a guide to the Executive Committee in the event of his arrest. In these instructions he would detail exactly what was to be done in the event of a strike being declared necessary, and he would also specify which laws were to be disobeyed civilly. If he should be arrested before he had had time to write out his instructions, *Satyagrahis* should obey the orders of the Executive Committee. One *Satyagrahi* asked him what was to be done with reference to Horniman and Kalinath Roy. Gandhi replied that he was starting civil disobedience on account of Kalinath Roy on July the 1st. As regards Horniman, he would call a meeting, and pass a resolution. Jairajani then asked what was to be done with reference to the Ali Brothers. Gandhi said that he could not discuss the case at a meeting, but he was of opinion that the Ali Brothers had committed a mistake though they were by no means, as blameworthy as Government try to make out. He would write something in his instructions on this point. He announced his intention of going to Ahmedabad on the 20th instant, returning to Bombay on the 24th idem June. He would write out his detailed

** Gandhi was examined by the Martial Law Commission in connection with Lahore trial of Dr, Kitchlew, before Chief Presidency Magistrate Bombay.

instructions on his return from Ahmedabad and he would start civil disobedience on the 1st proximo. He anticipated that this would lead to his immediate arrest, hinting thereby that he would leave for the Punjab.

On the morning of the 19th, 25 *Satyagrahis* went to have a private talk with Gandhi at his house. He told them that he intended to go to jail and that he would watch with interest to see how, the *Satyagrahis* behaved themselves in his absence.

I have been able to obtain a copy of the official list of the officebearers of the Executive Committee of the *Satyagraha Sabha*.

Indications are not wanting that Umar Sobani is losing interest in Gandhi and his doings. What the cause of this is I have not yet been able to ascertain. Umar Sobani has of late given up wearing the *Swadeshi* cap which is worn by all *Satyagrahis* and has reverted to his usual head dress. This may mean nothing but it is interesting.

Laburnum Road,
Bombay, 12th June 1919.

I enclose herewith a portion of *Young India* containing a reference to Babu Kalinath Roy's case. I hope you will find time to peruse the case and if you agree with my views that a gross injustice has been done to Mr. Roy, I trust you will join the movement for his release. I enclose also copy of a letter addressed to a few friends outside Bombay for their support. The letter will indicate the manner in which agitation for Mr. Roy's release might be carried out

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI,

Laburnum Road,
Bombay, 11th June 1919.

I enclose herewith a portion of *Young India* containing full text of the judgment in Babu Kalinath Roy's case, the articles on which it is based, and my remarks thereon. In my opinion there should be wide and prompt agitation throughout the country for the release of Babu Kalinath Roy on grounds of simple justice. I venture to suggest (1) a memorial by local lawyers (2) a memorial by local editors and (3) resolutions at public meetings for the release of Babu Kalinath Roy, addressed to His Excellency the Viceroy. The lawyers' memorial will show that the conviction is legally wrong. the editors' memorial will show that they would have written

nothing less than Mr. Roy wrote and public meetings will pass resolutions requesting release of Babu Kalinath Roy on grounds of justice. If you fall in with my suggestion, I would suggest your writing to the leaders in your district to adopt similar memorials and resolutions. We ought to invite Englishmen to associate with us, if they will, asking for the redress of a clearly demonstrable injustice.

Time is of essence in this matter. Whatever is done must be done promptly. If it is a shame that the Government should permit this manifest wrong to continue it will be an equal shame after knowing the existence of a proved wrong for the public to rest still and satisfied until it is removed.

Yours sincerely,
(Signed) M. K. GANDHI,

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Bombay June 25th.—On his return from Poona on the 19th instant, Jamnadas had a long interview with Gandhi, and made one more attempt to induce him to give up his programme of Civil Disobedience. Gandhi flatly refused to accept his advice, and there is no doubt that he is committed to the policy he has sketched out. This is further confirmed by a telegram despatched by Dr. Sathaye to Mr. Lansbury of the Daily *Herald*, London, of which I have received a copy from the Director, Central Intelligence. The telegram runs as follows :—

" Gandhi is restarting Civil Disobedience from July positively, inform Tilak and Horniman."

There was a public meeting on the *Swadeshi* question on the 19th at which Jamnadas spoke. Our reports show that great enthusiasm prevailed at this meeting, and that Jamnadas excelled himself by his oratorical effort. Gandhi presided and paid him a tribute and extolled his work for the country. Although he did not agree with his views on *Satyagraha*, he wished him all success in his enterprise in England whether he is bound to fight the battles of India.

Gandhi left Bombay for Ahmedabad on the evening of the 20th (June) accompanied by Annsuya Ben, who carried with her a small spinning wheel. Jamnadas and S. G. Banker saw them of Jamnadas saw Gandhi twice before his departure, and Gandhi gave him advice as to whom he should see in England. Gandhi also gave him letters addressed to Horniman and Mrs. Naidu. Gandhi informed Jamnadas that he still had various meetings to hold in Bombay, and a great deal of work to do before he could start Civil

Disobedience. It was therefore possible that he might have to defer the opening of the campaign until the end of the first week in July.

The reports received from my agents are most reassuring. They seem to indicate that the *Swadeshi* movement is fast ousting *Satyagraha*, and that as each day passes the *Satyagraha* programme is more at a discount. People are now openly saying that the campaign of Civil Disobedience is unpractical, and that its conception by Gandhi is nothing more or less than a last attempt to retain his waning popularity. They argue that Gandhi himself is fully aware that the programme he has sketched out is impracticable, and that for this reason he has made up his mind to seek arrest, so that the more charitably disposed of his followers can draw upon their imaginations as to what he would have done had he not been imprisoned. He is being compared with Tilak, very much to his (Gandhi's) detriment. In short, the opinion is slowly growing that Gandhi's incarceration will not create much stir. In this connection it is interesting to note that the daily attendance of the *Satyagraha* Volunteers on parade has dwindled from 150 to 80.

Gandhi returned from Ahmedabad this morning (25th June 1919). He was met by Banker, his secretary and a few *Satyagrahis*. They asked him what news he had but he said that he was too tired to speak to them and asked them to leave him. By his general demeanour the impression was created that his visit to Ahmedabad had not been an unqualified success.

It is of course possible that the events of the next few days may tend to rehabilitate Gandhi in the eyes of his quondam followers, but there is no doubt that fewer and fewer people are prepared to endorse his views on *Satyagraha* as sound and workmanlike.

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Bombay, June 26th.—I* sent for Gandhi yesterday in order to examine him as to the activities of Goverdhandas, the author of the article in the *Bombay Chronicle* of the 24th of April against whom the Punjab C.I.D., are taking action. I took the opportunity of having a general talk with him as to his future intentions.

He admitted to me that there had been a large number of resignations from the *Satyagraha* Sabha. He said that he greeted these resignations with joy, because they did not signify the atrophy of *Satyagraha* but rather the purification and refinement of the movement. He had come to the conclusion that few, if any, of the members of the Sabha were really true *Satyagrahis* in accordance with his

* Bombay Commissioner of Police.

acceptance of the term. Practically all had some superfluous tendencies which he had considered it advisable to divert into a safer channel than that afforded by Civil Disobedience, viz., into the channel of *Swadeshism*. He has, therefore, reconstructed his plan of campaign, and he has drafted detailed instructions to guide the Sabha during his absence. He is quite determined to offer Civil Disobedience himself, for he argues, that he is a sufficiently true *Satyagrahi* to afford himself the luxury of offering Civil Disobedience. Having obeyed Government in word and deed 999 times, he claims the privilege of having a right to disobey Government once. He promised to send me the rough draft of his instructions and he did so last night. I attach a copy (printed below). These instructions have not yet been issued to *Satyagrahis*, but they will be issued as soon as the proofs have been corrected and the instructions reprinted.

Gandhi stated definitely that he had not yet made up his mind as to what form his Civil Disobedience would take. He meant to seek arrest at all costs, but was not yet certain whether he would achieve this object by attempting to enter the Punjab.

The instructions are interesting reading. You will observe that Gandhi has rescinded from his original position, and that the programme he has sketched out is very much milder than we feared it would be. It is so mild, in fact, that I doubt whether it will be popular. It is significant that the centres he has selected are Bombay, Surat, Broach, Nadiad and Ahmedabad. The Konkan and the Deccan are, apparently, beyond the scope of his activities. You will notice that he advocates a series of public meetings to pass resolutions praying for the repeal of the Rowlatt Acts, the appointment of Committees to enquire into the causes of the unrest in the Punjab, the administration of Martial Law, the revision of sentences passed by the Tribunals, the release of Kalinath Roy and finally the cancellation of the order of deportation against Horniman.

The instructions laid down in paragraph 16 are calculated to damp the ardour of any lukewarm *Satyagrahi*!

Gandhi is still very strong on the question of Kalinath Roy, and Young India, under his direction, has once more devoted practically the whole of its pages to the discussion of his case. A petition signed by Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, Sir Dinshaw Wacha, the Honourable G. K. Parekh, Gandhi, Natrajan and others has been forwarded to His Excellency the Viceroy praying for mercy to Kalinath Roy on the grounds that the articles themselves are not covered by section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code.

There is to be a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Satyagraha Sabha, at 6 p.m. to-day (26th June). The meeting has been advertised as " the last meeting under the presidentship of Mahatma Gandhi ".

There was a meeting of the Executive Committee of Swadeshi Sabha yesterday (25th June) at which it was decided to open another store. It was also decided to give a number of rentias, (Indian-made spinning wheels) to Hindu women with a request that they should take them home and spin thread in their spare hours in the interest of *Swadeshism*. Twenty-five such rentias have already been given away.

Instructions for *Satyagrahis* in terms and in virtue of the resolution passed by the Committee of the Sabha on June 19th.

(1) As it is or should be the belief of *Satyagrahis* that those are the best fitted for offering civil disobedience who are the most free from anger, untruth and ill-will or hatred, and as I consider myself to be from this point of view the best fitted amongst the *Satyagrahis* I have decided that I should be the first to offer civil disobedience.

(2) The manner in which I propose to offer civil disobedience about the beginning of July is by disobeying the orders against me of interment and externment

(3) I firmly believe that our victory lies in the nation preserving perfect peace and equanimity at the time of, after and during my incarceration. Such preservation will be the best way of bringing about the withdrawal of the Rowlatt legislation.

(4) I therefore advise that upon my incarceration there should be no demonstration of any kind whatsoever, no hartal and no mass meetings.

(5) I advise that Civil Disobedience by the other *Satyagrahis* be not resumed at least for one month after the day of my incarceration as distinguished from my arrest or some such final act on the part of Government.

(6) This month should be treated as one of discipline and preparation for Civil Disobedience and assuming that no disturbances take place after my incarceration it should be devoted to the following constructive programme : —

(a) The preaching of the cardinal principles of the doctrine of *Satyagraha*, namely, the necessity of strict adherence to Truth and *Ahimsa* and the duty of Civil Disobedience its natural corollary and the equally paramount duty of refraining from criminal disobedience, and with this end in view literature such as *Thoreau's Civil Disobedience*, *Hind Swaraj*, *Defence of Socrates* by me, Tolstoy's *Letter to Russian Liberals* and Ruskin's *Unto This Last*

should be widely distributed. It is true that we sold some of this literature as part of the plan of actual civil disobedience. But now we have the knowledge that the Government have been advised that reprints and sale of prohibited literature is not an offence except in so far as such or any literature may be covered by section 124-A. We would therefore now sell this literature as part of our propaganda but not as an act rendering us liable to penalty for breach of any law.

(b) Propaganda of *Swadeshi* should be taken upon an intensive and extensive scale. It should cover as far as possible the whole of India. Propaganda should be free from all bitterness and from even a suspicion of boycott, *Swadeshi* being regarded as an economic, political and even religious necessity for all time. And this propaganda should include in an equal degree both the presentation of the different pledges to the public for acceptance and activity for the new production of cotton cloth principally by the encouragement of hand spinning and weaving even though it may be for the time being at a loss.

(c) The advocating of the Hindu-Muslim unity not by means of public speeches but by concrete acts of help and kindness on the part of Hindus towards Mahommadans and on the part of the latter towards the former. Hindus would therefore naturally give enthusiastic support to the Mahommadans in their just claims regarding the retention of Turkey as a Mahommadan Sovereign State with full regard for their feelings as to the Holy places and the Khilafat.

(d) Meetings should be held to pass resolutions praying for the repeal of the Rowlatt legislation, the appointment of an independent impartial committee of enquiry with the power to enquire into the causes of the Punjab disturbances, the administration of Martial Law and to revise the sentences passed by the Punjab Martial Law Tribunals, the release of Babu Kalinath Roy without the necessity of an enquiry, and cancellation of the order of deportation against Mr. Horniman.

(7) If full peace is observed for one month as per paragraph 3 and it has been ascertained that the people have understood the doctrine of *Satyagraha*, time will have arrived for offering further civil disobedience assuming of course that the Rowlatt legislation has not been repealed.

(8) Civil disobedience may then be offered by those who may be selected by the leaders appointed in paragraph 14. I however advise that not more than two at a time should offer civil disobedience from any one centre nor should civil disobedience

be commenced simultaneously at all the centres. But the effect of resumption of civil disobedience in one or more centres of the public mind should be watched before resuming it in the other centres.

(9) The recommending of the laws for civil disobedience is a most difficult task. In the present state of the country when it is highly debatable whether the spirit of civil disobedience replacing and entirely superseding criminal disobedience has been understood by the masses, I am unable to advise civil disobedience of the Revenue Laws, i.e., the salt tax, the land tax and the forest laws.

(10) The income-tax is a feasible proposition on the ground of safety from any violent disturbance, but I am more than doubtful as to any response being made by those who pay the income tax. There remain therefore the political laws and only the Press Act lends itself to civil disobedience but there also the only possible manner of civil breach is the establishing of unlicensed printing presses. But I am not confident as to the efficacy of establishing unlicensed presses for the purpose of inviting imprisonment.

(11) I can therefore only advise that individual *Satyagrahis* when they receive orders of internment or orders prohibiting them from speaking or publishing any matter which the Government may consider to be obnoxious but which from the *Satyagraha* standpoint may be flawless such orders should be disregarded.

(12) It may be that the Government may not view with indifference the propaganda of the doctrine of reprint of prohibiting literature although such literature from the moral, i.e., *Satyagraha* standpoint are perfectly innocent. In that event civil disobedience is offered in the easiest and most dignified way. It is open however to the leaders to add to the ways above mentioned by thinking out other laws which may have escaped my notice.

But it will be no fault in them to confine themselves to the limits mentioned in paragraph 3 but it would be considered a grave indiscretion on their part if they select laws which do not hold proper matter for civil disobedience or a civil breach of which is likely to lead to a criminal breach.

(13) In the event of a prosecution for civil disobedience a *Satyagrahi* if he has committed he should plead guilty, offer no defence and invite the severest penalty. If he is falsely charged with civil disobedience he should make that statement but not enter upon any further defence and accept the penalty he receives. If a *Satyagrahi* is prosecuted for criminal breach as for instance for actually uttered sedition or incited to sedition he should make a statement denying

the guilt and producing his witnesses. It is open to him also to engage a lawyer if he wishes to but it is no part of the duty of the Sabha or of *co-Satyagrahis* to find funds for engaging lawyers, as the essence of *Satyagraha* lies inviting penalty for deliberate civil disobedience and in accepting penalty where one is falsely charged with criminal disobedience because a *Satyagrahi* is indifferent to the pain of imprisonment. He glories in it when it is self-invited and resigns to it when a false and malicious charge has been brought against him. That he may not by making effort to get the best lawyer possible be, found guilty not only by the court but be considered such by the public should not concern a *Satyagrahi*. The voice of a clear disciplined conscience is the final arbiter for him.

(14)I have come to the conclusion that it is better to divide the Bombay Presidency into so many independent self-sustained centres, each seeking co-operation with and advice from the rest but none being under the orders of any, and I select Bombay, Surat, Broach, Nadiad and Ahmedabad as such centres. I make no selection in the other Presidencies for the Bombay Sabha's jurisdiction is limited only to that Presidency and the resolutions giving me extensive powers can refer only to this Presidency.

(15)I therefore propose to give separate brief instructions using this as a basis to be adopted by the centres outside the Presidency. The centres appointed under this paragraph will be responsible each for its own district, for instance Nadiad for the whole of Kaira. For Bombay I appoint Mrs. Naidu if she has returned in time, Umar Sobhani, Shankerlal G. Banker and I. K. Yajnik if he can be spared from Ahmedabad successively as leaders. In Surat Dayalji Nanubhai Desai and Kalyanji Vithalbhai Mehta. In Broach Haribhai Javerbhai Amin. In Nadiad Foolchand Bapooji Shah and Mohanlal R. Pandya. In Ahmedabad Vallabhbhai J. Patel, Balwantrao Narasingh Prasad Kanuga, Indulal Kanaiyalal Yajnik all successively leaders as in Bombay. I advise the leaders to form small committees and for their guidance and others consult the feelings of fallen *Satyagrahis*.

(16)All along I have assumed that there will be no disturbance. If however the worst happens and there is a disturbance every *Satyagrahi* living in the disturbed centre will be expected to lose his life in preventing loss of other lives whether English or Indian. He will, at the same peril, prevent destruction of property and if he thought there was shooting of innocent men he will offer himself also to be shot.

(17)Wherever there are individual *Satyagrahis* whether within the Presidency or outside who either for want of ability, confidence

in themselves or otherwise are unable to remain in their respective places, it is open to them to go preferably to Bombay or to some other active centre and work under the direction of the leader acting for the time being.

(18)The above instructions are for general guidance but in emergencies every leader is free to depart from them at his own risk. Read paragraph 11 in this connection.

(19)*Satyagraha* in action is in some respects like physical warfare. The love of discipline for instance are most common to a *Satyagrahi* (Spiritual) warfare and the physical warfare. Therefore a *Satyagrahi* is expected to render implicit obedience to the instructions of the leader and is not to reason why. He must obey instructions first and then question the leader as the propriety of a particular action but unlike as in physical warfare does retain his final independence in vital matters and then on such occasions as a true *Satyagrahi* yielding to the leader the same right of independent judgment will without irritation place his resignation in his hands. But it should be remembered in the vast majority of cases differences arise not on vital matters but on trifles. A *Satyagrahi*, therefore, will not mistake the voice of *Satan* for the voice of conscience and dignify trifles into things of the essence and then precipitate differences. My experience is that it is only he who has obeyed in nine hundred and ninety-nine things finds the thousandth perhaps to be a legitimate matter for difference. With him everyone else is first, himself last.

Page 568-70, paragraph 883 (b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, and j)—

(b)*Surat, June 21st.*—The District Magistrate writes: 'I hear definitely that Mr. Gandhi is to leave for the Punjab on the 1st July, to test whether or not he will be arrested. It is also said that he will be accompanied by one batch of *Satyagrahis*, while another batch headed by Dayalji Nanubhai of Surat is to follow after a month. Gandhi has definitely ordered his followers not only to abstain from violence themselves but also to resist violence in others. How they are to prevent violence, however, is not explained.'

(c)*Kaira, June 23rd.*—The people of Kaira District are temporarily fighting shy of political movements and there is some speculation as to what will happen next month at Nadiad if Mr. Gandhi restarts his *Satyagraha* movement. It is still doubtful whether the Nadiad people will join him though it is thought that he will break laws and perhaps go to Delhi even if he has to do it by himself.

(d)*Surat, June 23rd.*—The local *Satyagraha* Sabha Office has closed down and volunteer drill has ceased. For the last month the attendance at the latter has varied from seven to three.

(e) *Sholapur, June 24th.*—The Sub-Inspector, Pandharpur Town, reports that one of his Jamadars obtained copies of leaflets issued by Mr. Gandhi.

K. R. Samant of Madha Taluka, left Pandharpur on the 16th instant for Bombay, to consult Gandhi in connection with *Satyagraha*.

(f) *C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, June 24th.*—The Superintendent of Police, G. I. P., M. & S. M. Railways, Poona, writes : " I call attention to the following passage in paragraph 155 of the Sedition Committee's Report, 1918 : —

" In the issue of the 18th August 1914, the *Ghadr* gives instructions for those actively working in the cause. They should distribute *Ghadr* literature, encourage passive resistance, break up railways, induce people to withdraw their money from banks, give notice to the native regiments to get ready to ' raze down these Franks' and so on."

" Passive resistance is thus most authoritatively declared to be part of the *Ghadr* programme together with breaking up railways, tampering with regiments, etc. However, wide the term ' passive resistance' may be, the passive resistance against legislation expressly introduced to combat the *Ghadr* people is manifestly of all sorts that which may most justly be considered to be part of the *Ghadr* programme. Looking at the matter in this light, the only difference between Mr. Gandhi (supposing him to be a sincere visionary, pushed on by others) and the miserable school boy Birendra Datta Gupta who was told off to murder Deputy Superintendent Shams-ul-Adam, is that the former is much more important and dangerous. The difference between those who incited in each case is less. Mr. Gandhi may be a very good man. So was the veiled prophet Mokanna for all we know, but he made much trouble.

" My contention is that shopkeepers and others who back this ' passive resistance' are wilfully backing revolution, as much as my old and much pampered friends, the Hyderabad *Sind Workers* all over the world, when they obeyed the order ' Accumulate bags of money for the *Ghadr*' or at least a great many of them. If, Mr. Gandhi has never read the *Ghadr* of 18th August 1914 with a view to studying the bearing of its instructions and programme on his movement. I suggest he should be asked to do so. "

(g) *C. I. D., Bombay Presidency, June 25th.*—The Superintendent of Police, G. I. P., M. & S. M. Railways, writes: " I submitted a, former note (paragraph (f) Supra) on the fact that Passive Resistance was a declared item in the programme of the *Ghadr* party, as much as

destruction of railways or corruption of troops. This Passive Resistance was considered as a means not of combating oppressive measures but as a general means of undermining the Government. Gandhi's action in diverting his attack from the Rowlatt Acts and concentrating on the Moslem Khalifa question exactly follows this revolutionary view of the uses of Passive Resistance. As leader of the *Satyagraha* movements against the said Acts he had no concern with this question of foreign politics. Nor if hostile revolutionaries were to look for a question of foreign politics with which to plague Government, could they find one more embarrassing. Gandhi said that when he heard of Turkey's having made war upon the British Empire, he had no reason for saying they were right or they were wrong. This in spite of the fact that almost all Indian Moslems, whatever their feelings, have really deplored the wrongheadedness of the young Turks. Gandhi was therefore perverting Moslem loyalty, or trying to do so.

"The recent centres of disturbance were Gujarat and Gujarati Bombay and East Central Punjab. Gandhi and his followers had worked very hard to acquire popular influence in Gujarat, and Punjab leaders, to whose assistance Gandhi was going when stopped, has done the same in their country and the war cry everywhere was *Gandhi-ki-jai*. Nowhere else was the movement considerable. The Gujarat-Delhi-Punjab connection through the "Mahatmas" is clear. Apart from those local centres, there was the All India discontent of the educated (English-speaking) and the All-India apprehension of the Mussalmans (but almost confined to Urdu-speaking Northerners). These are the four elements exploited by the *Satyagrahis*.

" These are precisely the four elements to which the overseas *Ghadr* movement directed its chief efforts, the English speaking, the keen Northern Moslems, the Sikhs and the Gujaratis. The reason in the case of the first two is obvious, in the case of the others it is because those populations supply a host of enterprising hard bitten villagers who go overseas and are capable of supplying the physical force without which the *Ghadr* party cannot do much. Of no other province is this true. Madras sends a vast number of coolies overseas, but they are too keen on their non-Brahminism to be suitable for an essentially 'Sacred Bharata' army,

"The only two vernaculars in which the *Ghadr* was published were Gurumukhi and Gujarati, except for unsuccessful attempts at a Hindi edition. In Burma, where Gujaratis abound (Rangoon), out of 233 copies of the *Ghadr* intercepted when censorship started, 220 were Gujarati.

" The Gujarati *Ghadr* circulated well in South Africa, and imbued Indians there with its violent opinions. It may be considered how far their leader Gandhi, an exceptionally clever man, could honestly believe that these people would confine themselves to passivity when well stirred up on their ' Native heath', with a handful of " bureaucrats" in their way. Passive or active, all depends on circumstances, and in the case of hasty thoughtless men, on immediate circumstances. Gandhi knew perfectly well that Ahmedabadis, seeing practically no force immediately in front of them, would not behave like his folk in Natal in face of a super-efficient white population under arms, a population which brooks no interference with its actions from London or elsewhere. In fact it would be foolhardy for Indians in South Africa to become violent. Gandhi made a great point of their not having done so, in order to justify his *Satyagraha* movement. It is incredible that he did not realise the difference in circumstances and in probable results-

" Public condemnations mean nothing."

(h) *Baroda, June 21st.*—The Commissioner of Police reports : — "Recently *Vithal Laxman Phadke* on his way from Bombay to Ahmedabad stayed for two days with K. G. Deshpande. This man is a seditionist who is living in Gandhi's Ashram at Ahmedabad. Another doubtful character, Vinayak Narhar Barve, (Bhave) has also come to Baroda from the Ashram. On the 18th K. G. Deshpande left for Bombay to see Gandhi. It is possible that these visits have some connection with Gandhi's programme for a fresh outbreak of *Satyagraha* activity early next month. On the other hand they may have no significance, as Deshpande has been an occasional visitor to Gandhi's Ashram and his association with Phadke is no new thing."

(i) *S. B., Delhi, June 23rd.*—Information has been, received from a reliable source that M. K. Gandhi intends to leave Bombay for the Punjab on or about the 1st July 1919. He proposes to start a *Satyagraha* campaign on the lines approved by the more rabid members of his following.

(j) *C. I. D., Bombay Presidency, June 24th.*—According to a statement issued by the Satyagraha Sabha, Bombay, and published in

the *Bombay Chronicle*, dated the 8th April 1919, the following proscribed literature was selected for dissemination: —

" Hind Swarajya ", by M. K. Gandhi.

" Sarvodaya or Universal Dawn ", by M. K. Gandhi (being a paraphrase of " Unto This Last ")

" Defence of Socrates. The story of a True Warrior," by M. K. Gandhi (being a paraphrase of the " Defence and death of Socrates " by Plato).

" The Life and Address of Mustafa Kamal Pasha. " (Printed at the International Printing Press, Natal.)

These publications are included in the list of proscribed publications published under the Abstract for 1915.

The- following is the result of enquiries made in connection with the dissemination. Reports from districts other than those mentioned in the statement were blank.

Name of District

Hyderabad.

Proscribed publications that are being printed, sold or distributed and whether in English or in Vernacular.

(1) Only typed extracts from The Life and Address of Mustafa Kamal Pasha were sold on the 11th April 1919.

(2) An unauthorised newspaper cyclostyled was published on the 11th, 12th and 13th April by Uttamchand Teunsing Gidwani.

Name and address of the press and the Not known.
Proprietor.

No of copies printed; date of printing and Only three copies were typed and sold by name of the person at whose request they were Jeramdas Daulatram, Sachanand Pherumal printed. and Jethmal Parsram.

Name of District

Broach.

Proscribed publications that are being printed, sold or distributed and whether in English or in Vernacular.

Name and address of the press and the Proprietor.

Hitechhu Press, Khadia, Ahmedabad.
Hariprasad Pitambardas Mehta.

No. of copies printed, date of printing and name of the person at whose request they were printed.

3,000 copies (first edition) published by (1) Valabhbbhai Javeribhai Patel, (2) Indulal Kanaiyalal Yajnik, and (3) Kesriprasad Manilal Thakore Secretaries, *Saiya-graha Sabha*, Ahmedabad.

Name of District

Broach.

Names and addresses of firms, agencies or individuals through whom the publications are being sold or distributed.

(1) Haribhai Zaverbhai Amin,
(2) Sheikh Husein Rasul,
(3) Iswardas Narandas Bidi-walla and (4) Trambaklal Amarsi Gandhi, all of Broach.

The No. of each proscribed publication stocked by those mentioned in column 5.

About 300 books at 2 annas each.

Name of District

Broach.

Proscribed publications that are being printed, sold or distributed and whether in English or in Vernacular.

Story of a Satya Vir by M. K. Gandhi, in Gujarati.

Name and address of the Press and the Proprietor.

Meher-e-Nimroze Press, Bombay, M. U. Nazim,
9, Dharam-sala Road, Bombay.

No. of copies printed, date of printing and name of the person at whose request they were printed.

Number not known. Umar Sobani and Shankerlal Banker, Secretaries, *Satyagraha Sabha*, 251, Hornby Road, Bombay.

Names and addresses of firms, agencies or individuals through whom the publications are being sold or distributed.

(1) Haribhai Zaverbhai Amin,
(2) Sheikh Husein Rasul

(3) Iswardas Narandas Bidi-walla and (4)
Trambaklal Amarsi Gandhi, all of Broach.

The No. of each proscribed publication stocked by these mentioned in column 5.

Name of District	Broach.
Proscribed Publications that are being printed, sold or distributed and whether in English or in Vernacular.	Life of Mustafa Kamal Pasha by M. K. Gandhi, in Gujarati.
Name and address of the press and the Proprietor.	Meher-e-Nimroze Press, Bombay, M. U. Nazim, 9, Dharam-sala Road, Bombay.
No. of copies printed, date of printing and name of the person at whose request they were printed.	Number not known. Umar Sob-bani and Shankerlal Banker, Secretaries, Satyagraha Sabha, 251, Hornby Road, Bombay.
Names and addresses of firms, agencies or individuals through whom the publications are being sold or distributed.	(1) Haribhai Zaverbhai Amin, (2) Sheikh Husein Rasul, (3) Ishwardas Narandas Bidi-walla and (4) Trambaklal Amarsi Gandhi, all of Broach.
The No. of each proscribed publication stocked by those mentioned in column 5.	About 200 copies at 4 annas each.

Name of District	Matar (Kaira).
Proscribed publications that are being printed, sold or distributed and whether in English or in vernacular.	Hind Swarajya by M. K. Gandhi in Gujarati.
Name and address of the Press and the Proprietor.	Meher-e-Nimroze Press, Bombay. M. U. Nazim, 9, Dharamsala Road, Bombay.
No. of copies printed, date of printing, and name of the person at whose request they were printed.	No. not known. Umar Sobani and Shankerlal Banker, Secretaries, Satyagrah Sabha, 251. Hornby Road, Bombay.

Names and addresses of firms, agencies Distributed by (1) Babubhai Haribhai of Limbashi, or individuals through whom the publications are (2) Ishwarbhai Jivabhai and (3) Vallabhbai being sold or distributed. Jethabhai, Patidars of Limbashi Village, taluka Matar, Kaira District.

The No. of each proscribed publication Not known.
stocked by those mentioned in column 5.

Name of District

Kaira Town.

Proscribed publications that are being Hind Swarajya by M. K. Gandhi, in Gujarati.
printed, sold or distributed and whether in English or in Vernacular.

Name and address of the press and the Meher-e-Nimroze Press, Bombay. M. U. Nazim, Proprietor. 9, Dharmashala Road, Bombay.

No. of copies printed, date of printing and Number not known. Umar Sobani and Shankarlal name of the person at whose request they were Banker, Secretaries, Satyagraha Sabha, 251, printed. Hornby Road, Bombay.

Names and addresses of firms, agencies Distributed by Ravishankar Shivram of Sarsavni or individuals through whom the publications are village, taluka Mehmedabad, district Kaira. being sold or distributed.

The No. of each proscribed publication Not known.
stocked by those mentioned in column 5.

Name of District

Mehmedabad.

Proscribed publications that are being Hind Swarajya by M. K. Gandhi, in Gujarati.
printed, sold or distributed and whether in English or in Vernacular.

Name and address of the press and the Meher-e-Nimroze Press, Bombay. M. U. Nazim, Proprietor. 9, Dharmashala Road, Bombay.

No. of copies printed, date of printing and Number not known. Umar Sobani and name of the person at whose request they were printed. Shankarlal Banker, Secretaries, Satyagraha Sabha, 251, Hornby Road, Bombay.

Names and addresses of firms, agencies or Distributed by Ravishankar Shivram of Sarsavni individuals through whom the publications are village, taluka Mehmedabad, district Kaira. being sold or distributed. About 50 copies were distributed.

Name of District

Nadiad Town.

Proscribed publications that are being Hind Swarajya by M. K. Gandhi, in Gujarati. printed, sold or distributed and whether in English or in Vernacular.

Name and address of the press "and the Meher-e-Nimroze Press, Bombay. M. U. Nazim, Proprietor. 9, Dharmashala Road, Bombay.

No. of copies printed, date of printing and Number not known. Umar Sobani and Shankarlal name of the person at whose request they were printed. Banker, Secretaries, Satyagraha Sabha, 251, Hornby Road, Bombay.

Names and addresses of firms, agencies Distributed by (1) Home Rule League Office, or individuals through whom the publications are Nadiad, (2) Janardan Sharma of Chaklashi being sold or distributed. village, taluka Nadiad, (3) Punjabhai Laxmidas of Nadiad, (4) Shankerlal Ram-shanker, Nadiad, Dave Pole, (5) Shavjibhai Lallubhai Patel, Sutaria Pole, Nadiad, (6) Fulchand Bapuji Shah, Dumral Bazar, Nadiad, and (7). Madhavlal Nabhubhai, Nadiad.

Name of District

Kapadvanj.

(1) Proscribed publications that are being printed, sold or distributed and whether in English or in Vernacular. (1) Hind Swarajya by M. K. Gandhi in Gujarati.

(2) Name and address of the press and the proprietor. (2) Meher-e-Nimroze Press, Bombay, M. U. Nazim, 9, Dharmashala Road, Bombay.

No. of copies printed, date of printing and name of the person at whose request they were printed. Number not known. Umar Sobani and Shankarlal Banker, Secretaries, Satyagraha Sabha, 251, Hornby Road, Bombay.

Names and addresses of firms, agencies or individuals through whom the publications are being sold or distributed. Distributed by Mohanlal Kameshwar of Kathlal Village, taluka Kapadvanj, in Kathlal village.

Name of District

Dakor.

Proscribed publications that are being printed, sold or distributed and whether in English or in Vernacular. Hind Swarajya by M. K. Gandhi, in Gujarati.

Name and address of the press and the proprietor. Meher-e-Nimroze Press, Bombay. M. U. Nazim, 9, Dharmashala Road, Bombay.

No. of copies printed, date of printing and name of the person at whose request they were printed. Number not known. Umar Sobani and Shankarlal Banker, Secretaries, Satyagraha Sabha, 251, Hornby Road, Bombay.

Names and addresses of firms, agencies or individuals through whom the publications are being sold or distributed. 20 copies were sold by Nathji Harjivan of Dakor.

Name of District

Ahmedabad.

Proscribed publications that are being printed, sold or distributed and whether in English or in Vernacular. Hind Swarajya by M. K. Gandhi, in Gujarati.

Name and address of the press and the Hitechhu Press, Khadia Ahmed-abad. Proprietor
Proprietor. Hariprasad Pitambardas Mehta of Khadia,
Ahmedabad

No. of copies printed, date of printing and 3,000 copies. First appeared on 10th April 1919
name of the person at whose request they were apparently printed at the instance of the
printed. Satyagraha Sabha. V. J. Patel, Y. K. Yajnik
and K. M. Thakor appear on the cover as
publishers (2) About 2,000 copies of the
Bombay Meher-e-Nimroze Press impression
of the same book were received on the 7th
April 1919 and distributed. (3) A few copies of
the Story of a *Satya-grahi* were also received
about the same time and distributed.

Names and addresses of firms, agencies or Practically all *Satyagrahis* and Home Rule
individuals through whom the publications are Volunteers were engaged in distributing these
being sold or distributed. publications.

Remarks

It was intended to have the other publication
mentioned in the circular printed at the
Hitechhu Press and distributed in Ahmedabad
but the Government intervened.

Name of District

Surat.

Proscribed publications that are being (1) Hind Swarajya, in English and Gujarati.
printed, sold or distributed and whether in (2) The Story of a *Satyagrhi*, in Gujarati.
English or in Vernacular.

(3) The Life and Address of Mustafa Kamal
Pasha, in Gujarati.

Name and address of the press and the Printed at the Meher-e-Nimroze Press, 9, Dharmashala Road, Bombay.

Proprietor not known.

No. of copies printed, date of printing and 16,000 copies of Hind Swarajya are reported to have been printed. The number printed of (2) and (3) is not known. These publications were printed at the request of S. Banker and Umar Sobani, Secretaries of the Satyagraha Sabha, Bombay.

Names and addresses of firms, agencies (1) Publications, (1) and (3) were received by the or individuals through whom the publications are being sold or distributed. Satyagraha Office, Gopipura, Surat, and sold by the persons mentioned in the accompanying list.

(2) Two copies of Hind Swarajya were sold by Narmada-shanker Balashanker and Chhotubhai Dajibhai of Surat at Vadoli, Bardoli Taluka, and one each by Haribhai Morarji of Rawa, Bardoli, and by Jinabhai of Turbhon, Bardoli. A few copies of the same were sold by Manibhai Jivanbhai of Sisodra, and Dahyabhai Nichhabhai of Toli, both in Jalalpore Taluka. In Bulsar they were sold by Gopalji Khandubhai and Kalidas Morar, both of Bulsar. Some copies of the story of a 'Satyagrahi' were sold by Jevachram Gokaldas, of Bulsar, at Bulsar.

The No. of each proscribed publication About 250 to 300 copies of these publications stocked by those mentioned in column 5. were received by Jivachram, of which about 100 copies appear to have been sold by him. Nothing could be ascertained regarding the stock held by the other persons.

Page 579, paragraph 901—

(a) *Bombay, June 28th.*—Gandhi is proceeding to Ahmedabad to-day and proposes to return on the 1st. It is said that he intends to proceed to the Punjab on the 2nd proximo, but of course we have no means of verifying this and I cannot say how far it is correct.

Gandhi was asked by a Satyagrahi on the morning of the 27th whether those who had signed on for duty in the Punjab would be required. He replied that he would not require their services at all in any capacity as he would be the first to go if it was) decided that any one should go to the Punjab. He said that Madan Mohan Malaviya, Motilal Nehru and C. F. Andrews had been to Amritsar and Lahore and if he received satisfactory reports from then, it might not be necessary for him to go to the Punjab. He further said that if the case of Kalinath Roy, was satisfactorily disposed by his release, he would then think of taking up cudgels on behalf of the Ali Brothers, for he had information that they had been interned on the strength of forged letters which had been produced against them by the C. I. D.

Gandhi's visit to Ahmedabad has been undertaken with the intention of giving final instructions to his lieutenants in Gujarat as to how they should act on his arrest. He will see the Broach and Nadiad Leaders at the railway stations as he passes through.

* * * *

Bombay, July 2nd.—The following reply was sent to an unofficial reference, dated the 29th June 1919, from the Deputy Secretary to Government, Political Department, forwarding a copy of a telegram from the Government of India directing that Gandhi should be

warned of the responsibility he would incur by resuming civil disobedience at the present juncture :—

Gandhi returned from Ahmedabad at midday on the 1st instant. Mr. Robertson was on the same train. Mr. Robertson and I* interviewed Gandhi at my office at 4 O'clock; the same afternoon. Mr. Robertson warned him on the lines of the Government of India telegram. Gandhi admitted that points (1) and (2) as included in this telegram were correct. He explained the position in the following terms. He had made a very close study for the past two months of the position of affairs with special reference to (1) the Afghan War, (2) the feelings of the people and (3) the attitude of the authorities. He had been in particularly close touch with the Mahommadans. While he admitted that he was not in very close touch with the Mahommadan masses, he was in close touch with a number of Moulvies and he had also visited a large number of better class Mahommadans, including Mahommadan women (who by the way, he says, do not observe purdah in his presence) and he was quite convinced by what he had seen and heard that they were perfectly quiet. They had given him definite promises that the Mahommadans would not create any disorder should he be arrested. He had made it a point to impress upon Mahommadans that it was their duty if they followed his teaching to do nothing to embarrass the authorities, particularly in view of the Afghan War. He was quite convinced that the vast bulk of Mahommadans in India had no sympathy with the Afghans and that on that ground alone they would take elaborate care to do nothing that was calculated to prolong hostilities. Moulvi Abdul Bari, a close personal friend with whom he was in intimate touch, bore him out in this conclusion. Further, after innumerable conversations with Hindus and Mahommadans of all classes he felt assured that his arrest would cause no trouble because the people now realised that the authorities were prepared to meet any disturbance that might arise and moreover that they would be swift to act. He was quite convinced that there would have been no disturbance in April had it not been for the fact that the Mahommadans were behind the Hindus. He put this down to the Mahommadans' fear that the Rowlatt Act had been framed with the express intention of suppressing the expression of, their opinions with regard to the Khilafat question. Had it not been for this fact the Mahommadans would not have instigated the Hindus to violence. He was thoroughly satisfied that had it not been for the incitement of Mahommadans, the Hindus would have shown no violence.

* Bombay Commissioner of Police.

When Mr. Robertson informed him that there was evidence that racial animosities still existed in Ahmedabad and quoted two or three concrete instances in support of this contention. Gandhi expressed the greatest surprise and was anxious for details. He would be ready to forego Civil Disobedience if he felt that this state of affairs was at all general in Gujarat, or at any rate to postpone Civil Disobedience until he had conducted a propaganda in Ahmedabad to eradicate the feelings of hostility. He was more nervous about Gujarat than he was about any other part, of India. He felt that the people there still retained full confidence in him. The danger was most marked in Kaira District and he had therefore been constantly impressing upon them that violence and hatred were entirely foreign to his propaganda. He had taken the people of Kaira very severely to task for the part they had played in the recent disturbances. Indulal Yajnik was his right-hand man at Ahmedabad and was the truest *Satyagrahi* there. As regards the millhands in Ahmedabad, Anusuya Ben had settled down in the City and as long as she was there he had no fear of any disturbance, for the millhands regarded her as their mother. She was a brave woman with very great influence and her association with the millhands was a sufficient guarantee that they would abstain from violence no matter what might happen to him. Anusuyaben was his hostage in Ahmedabad. On his pointing out to her that the defence of accused persons was contrary to the tenets of *Satyagraha*, Anusuyaben had abandoned her plan of engaging counsel from Bombay to defend the accused in the Ahmedabad cases. She was now engaged in diverting the energies of the millhands into the channel of Swadeshim in view of the probability of his arrest and disappearance. He admitted that large numbers of millhands out of work difficult to control and he would be very nervous were it not for the presence and co-operation of Anusuyaben. She had promised to perish at her post should there be trouble. In addition to Anusuyaben, he had infinite faith in the influence of Indulal Yajnik and Vallabhbhai Patel, Dr. Kanuga and also the inmates of his own Ashram. Mr. Robertson reminded him that these gentlemen had not shown up very brilliantly in the recent disturbances and that Dr. Kanuga had been too petrified with fright even to attend casualties lying at his very door. Gandhi agreed that they had cut a sorry figure but said that two months' intensive training had worked wonders in them, that they had found themselves and were so transformed that he felt he could safely rely on their staunchness in the event of future disturbances. He was inclined to encourage the diversion of the energies of the bulk of *Satyagrahis* to Swadeshim because he felt that *Satyagraha* in the case of the

majority of them was a matter of expediency rather than conviction. With regard to Madras he had recently heard from Rajagopalcharya that there was no danger whatever of any violence ensuing in his Presidency should Gandhi be arrested. His information from the United Provinces was the same and, as regards Bengal, he was certain that nothing would happen because the Bengalis regarded him as a fool. As regards the Punjab, numbers of Punjabis had come to him and apologised for the violence that had taken place in that province and, apart altogether from their sorrow at having acted in opposition to his expressed wishes, he was satisfied that the Punjab was still in such a state of panic that they would in no circumstances resort to violence. In spite of this conviction he had taken full precautions with regard to the Punjab and had seen hundreds of Punjabis in this connection. Nor was there any fear that there would be trouble on his account in Delhi.

As regards point (2) of the telegram Gandhi explained his point of view as follows : —

When the disturbances broke out in April Government like himself, were quite unprepared. Government were now fully alive and very wide awake and he could see no reason why a man should not take advantage of such a condition of affairs. His mission in life was to correct the mental attitude of the people. If evil doers were not inclined to follow his preachings, then he felt that it was quite justifiable to rely upon the measures taken by Government to keep those evil doers in check. He could see nothing wrong in his attitude in this respect. No Government could govern by force alone. A good Government was a happy blend of force and sympathy. He considered that there was a stronger strain of sympathy in the British character than in the character of any other National and throughout his teaching he had made it a point to emphasise this fact and to make it clear that on this ground alone he was a staunch supporter of the British connection and that the person who did not see eye to eye with him in this respect could have nothing in common with him. By his propaganda he hoped to quicken the sympathy of Government. It was his intention to force Government to yield to public opinion. He had agreed to suspend his programme for one week out of his strong regard for Lord Chelmsford. I asked him whether he had considered the possibility of the mental equilibrium of the Mahommadans being upset by the peace terms offered to Turkey and whether he did not think it advisable on that account to avoid the risk of complicating the situation by going to Jail and depriving the Mohommadans of his restraining influence. He replied that he did not think it likely that there would be any danger of trouble on his account if the first

week after his arrest passed without incident and he therefore argued that it was unlikely that his incarceration would have any effect one way or the other upon the attitude of the Mahommadans with regard to the peace terms. He understood that the peace terms would not be published for another two months, by which time possibly he might be a free man again. If the terms offered to Turkey were so drastic that they made the Mahommadans disloyal to the British, he would certainly make common cause with the Mahommadans with the double object of restraining them from violence and of assisting them to combat the terms.

Gandhi defined Civil Disobedience as disobedience against a law which there was no moral obligation to obey, provided always that the penalty for disobedience should fall in full upon the delinquent who openly invites and seeks it, and by his action does not harm his opponent.

Gandhi realised that the removal of his personal influence would give his political opponents a chance of counteracting or distorting his teaching, but he did not consider that that was a sufficient ground for foregoing his programme of Civil Disobedience. Referring to the Deccan, Gandhi stated that he was very anxious to convert the Deccanis to his views. The foundation of their political thought and action was anti-British that was Tilak's creed. Tilak was the apostle of the "tit-for-tat" cult, and declared that the salvation of India lay in retaliation. He himself was very strongly opposed to this cult. He considered that ill-will and hostility were fatal to progress and he hoped to insinuate himself slowly but surely in the Deccan and to gain influence with the Deccanis who in his opinion were very valuable material since they were staunch and men of their word. He had a few ardent followers in the Deccan, prominent amongst whom was one Sumant who was doing excellent spade-work in Pandharpur. Gandhi admitted that there was a great deal of irresponsible talk about his contemplated campaign of Civil Disobedience. He himself expected to emerge stronger both morally and physically from his residence in jail. He did not anticipate a long period of incarceration.

In conclusion Gandhi made a statement which was reduced to writing, of which I attach a copy (printed below). His plans for the future are detailed in that statement. He emphasised the fact that he had not the slightest desire to cause Government more embarrassment than was inseparable from the performance of the duty imposed upon him by his conscience. He promised to give me ample notice of his intended movements and expressed his intention also of warning his Excellency himself before opening his

campaign. It will be observed that he went so far as to state that he was prepared to consult the convenience of the authorities as to the details of his arrest, stating that he would choose the route most convenient to the authorities. As at present advised, he thought it undesirable to go to the Punjab. To do so might cause unnecessary excitement in the province which was slowly settling down and he could equally well achieve his object by disobeying his order of internment and leaving the confines of the Bombay Presidency either enroute to Madras or to Mount Abu, as might be most convenient to Government.

Bombay, 1st July 1919.

I have received through Mr. Robertson the message kindly sent by the Government of India with reference to my plans. I wish to state that whenever I actually resume Civil Disobedience I shall give due notice to the local authority. Civil Disobedience will be restricted only to myself and my co-workers will not take it up for at least one month after my incarceration except at their own risk. As I have written to His Excellency the Viceroy a letter to which I expect a reply and as I have sent a cable to Mr. Montagu, in order to wait for reply to these two communications, I do not propose to offer Civil Disobedience up to Tuesday next. The manner in which I propose to offer Civil Disobedience is by crossing the border of this Presidency at some point. So far as I can think at present it is not my desire to cross the border by attempting to go to the Punjab as I feel that I would be unnecessarily disturbing the process of peace going on there at present and doing an act which might irritate the local Government. If the Government of India or the local Government would wish me to cross the border of the Presidency at any particular point I would gladly do so. My movements up to Tuesday are as follows : —

I intend to take the Gujarat Mail on Saturday evening reach Nadiad on Sunday morning staying in the Kaira District practically the whole of Sunday, during that time if necessary pay a visit to Kathlal for the sake of delivering an address at Kathlal on *Swadeshi*. In that event I would take the evening train from Nadiad to Ahmedabad on Sunday and stay in Ahmedabad during the whole of Monday taking the return Gujarat Mail from Ahmedabad to Bombay which accordingly I reach on Tuesday morning at 8 O'clock. The day in Ahmedabad I propose to pass by talking to my friends about the manner of preserving peace after my Civil Disobedience and I propose to address the same day a meeting of women in Ahmedabad on *Swadeshi*.

I would like respectfully to state that if the Government desire that I should suspend the resumption of Civil Disobedience for any-definite time not too distant, I would consider it my duty to respect their wish as I am most anxious that no action on my part should in any shape or form cause embarrassment to Government save what embarrassment is inevitable by reason of Civil Disobedience on the ground of the refusal of Government to listen to the appeal for withdrawal of the Rowlatt Legislation. I have heard on what is in my opinion good authority that it is the intention of the Government of India as also the Secretary of State for India to revise their opinion on the Rowlatt Legislation and at a suitable time not very far distant they propose to withdraw the Rowlatt Act and that they have abandoned the intention of proceeding with the sister bill. If my information is correct and if the Government will so far as they can at present give the assurance, not for publication, that such is their intention, I would indefinitely postpone Civil Disobedience.

(Sd.) M, K. GANDHI.

Page 583, para. 901(d)—

Ahmedabad, June 30th.—The following is a copy of a letter I received from Mr. M. K. Gandhi in reply to a reference about his movements.

Ashram, 30th June 1919.

Dear Mr. Healy,

I thank you for your note. I am leaving to-night for Bombay expecting to return on Sunday. If the inquiry is in connection with the proposed Civil Disobedience, I wish to add further that I do not intend at present to renew Civil Disobedience till after the end of this week, and when I do I shall give ample notice to the local authority. I am hoping to disclose the whole of my plan to the Government. If there is any further information required please assure Mr. Pratt that I shall make every endeavour to supply it.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI.

Page 584, para. 901(g)—

C. I. D., United Provinces, June 26th.—On June 20th Mr. Gandhi wrote to Maulvi Abdul Bari advising that there should be no agitation for the release of the Ali Brothers until peace has been signed both in Europe and with the Amir. Abstention from agitation will enable them to approach Government later with much greater justification. Mr. Gandhi asked the Ali Brothers to withdraw their memorial and submit a fresh one. He has again given them this

advice and asks Maulana Abdul Bari to co-operate. Unless circumstances materially alter he proposes to offer Civil Disobedience early next month.

Pages 601-2, paragraph 938 (f)—

C.I.D., United Provinces, June 25th.—I Zafar-ul Mulk Alawi of Lucknow has received the following letter from Mr. Gandhi : —

I thank you for your letter of the 15th instant. Do please keep me informed of the proceedings in appeal against the conviction of Saiyid Fazl-ul Rahman.

The picture you gave me of Lucknow is the picture I am receiving about almost every part of India. It does not dishearten me for we have now got the correct perspective. If you tell me that you have to stand there alone in the midst of the social and political debris you may come down to Bombay and take part in the constructive programme that is being shaped. Ramzan is fast 'drawing to a close and I suppose you will be at liberty thereafter to leave Lucknow.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI.

P. S.—I shall see that you get the literature you want. Do you get *Young India* ?

Page 602, paragraph 939 (a, b and c)—

(a)*Ahmedabad, July 1st.*—A public meeting to establish a *Swadeshi Sabha* at Ahmedabad was held in the Premabhai Hall on the evening of the 23rd June. M. K. Gandhi presided. About 50 persons were present including two ladies and four Mahommadans. The ladies were Miss Anusuyabai Sarabhai and Miss Kanta Jiwanlal Chinoy. All the leading local politicians attended. It was decided to start a *Swadeshi Sabha* with Gandhi as president. Krishnalal Narsilal Desai, M.A., LL.B., Indulal K. Yajnik, Dr. Balvantrai N. Kanuga and Ganesh V. Mavlankar as Secretaries and Chimanlal J. Chinoy as Treasurer. The office of the *Sabha* is to be in Chinoy's office in Saker Bazaar.

(b)*Bombay, July 7th.*—A public meeting under the auspices of the Cutchi Jain Association was held at 8 a.m. on the 28th June under the presidentship of a Jain *Sadhu* named Kamalsurishwar Maharaj. M. K. Gandhi delivered a lecture on *Swadeshi Vrata* in Gujarati.

The audience of about 500 persons, included Jains and others, but none of the leading Jains of Bombay attended. The meeting lasted for about 1½ hours.

Gandhi dwelt on the importance of *Swadeshi* from the industrial, political and religious points of view and emphasised the view that the *Swadeshi Vrat* would lead to the uplifting of India whose people in thousands lived in a state of misery. He exhorted the audience to take the *Swadeshi Vow* and requested the Jain *Sadhu* to make efforts to encourage the people to do so.

The President referred to the present state of the Jains and suggested that every one should act in accordance with the views of Gandhi in regard to the *Swadeshi Vrat*.

Pandit Lalan thanked the President and the lecturer and supporting the views of Gandhi he asked the people to follow them in earnest.

(c) *Bombay, July 7th.*—Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi left Bombay for Nadiad, Kaira District on the night of the 5th instant. Information has been received that M. K. Gandhi has written to several districts proposing the formation of *Swadeshi Sabhas*. In consequence of this, *Swadeshi Sabhas* have been formed at (1) Ahmedabad, (2) Pandharpur and (3) Satara. The head office of the *Swadeshi Sabha* will be in Bombay. The President of all *Sabhas* is M. K. Gandhi.

Page 623, paragraph 954—

Ahmedabad, *July 10th.*—M. K. Gandhi arrived at Ahmedabad from Bombay on the morning of the 26th June to perform the stone-laying ceremony at the *Vanita Vishram* as Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya was unable to come from the Punjab. He was accompanied by one Jamnalal Gordhandas (age about 40), a native of Wardha in the Central Provinces, and Jamnalal's younger brother Harikrishna (age about 15). The ceremony took place at 9-30 a.m. There were about 200 men and 300 ladies present. All the local political leaders attended.

Pages 635-36, paragraph 970 (a)—

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(a) *Bombay, July 14th.*—Gandhi returned from Poona yesterday morning (13th July). He spent most of the day in the Narayan Mandir on Kalbadevi Road, trying to popularise the use of the *Swadeshi* spinning wheels in order to foster his *Swadeshi* movement. He attended two meetings, both at the Morarji Goculdas Hall. One was on the subject of " Our Duty ", held under the auspices of the Mangrol Jain Sabha. The other was a meeting to protest against the treatment of Indians in South Africa.

A number of persons saw Gandhi at his residence this morning. He informed them that His Excellency the Governor had treated him

very kindly, and that at His Excellency's suggestion he had agreed to postpone his campaign of Civil Disobedience for a short time. He stated that His Excellency had told him that the best opinion in the country was against *Satyagraha*, and that he should respect that opinion. He understood from His Excellency that the Government of India were considering the situation in the Punjab and, although he did not say so in so many words, he understood His Excellency to hint that there was some hope that the question of withdrawing the Rowlatt Act was under the consideration of the Government of India. He expected very shortly to receive a reply to his letter to His Excellency the Viceroy who was now in Poona, after which he would call a meeting of the *Satyagrahis* and inform them what he had decided to do.

There is a leading article in today's *Praja Mitra* and *Parsi* congratulating His Excellency the Governor on his tact and Gandhi on his decision to postpone the *Satyagraha* movement. Gandhi stated that the paper had been very hasty in writing as it had done, because he had only agreed to postpone the movement for a short time and if, during that time, the Rowlatt Act was not abolished he certainly would start his campaign.

He expressed himself as being pleased at the keenness shown by the people of Poona over the *Swadeshi* movement, but he was sorry that they still leant towards the inclusion of boycott. One Jivandas Bagabhai Ruparel, a tile merchant of Null Bazar, has set aside a sum of one lakh of rupees which is to be used to assist any manufacturers capable of preparing Indian-made articles who are not in a position to do so for want of capital.

Page 636, paragraph 970 (c and d)—

(c) *Surat, July 6th.*—Leaflets have been issued under the signatures of Dahyabhai Kalyanji and Dayalji Nanubhai, the local *Satyagraha* leaders, asking the public to abstain from violence or declaring strike in the event of M. K. Gandhi's arrest.

(d) *Kaira, July 13th.*—Even if Gandhi is arrested, it is not expected that there will be trouble in the district

The District Magistrate remarks : —" I am inclined to agree that probably we shall have no trouble even if Gandhi is arrested but we have advised the Officer Commanding Troops at Nadiad to be particularly on the alert for the next few days and are taking other precautions."

Page 637, paragraph 971 (e)—

Ahmedabad, July 10th.—A meeting under the auspices of the newly organised *Swadeshi Sabha*, Saker Bazar, Ahmedabad, was held in

the Premabhai Hall on the evening of the 23rd June. Gandhi presided. There were about 1,500 persons present, many others having had to go away for lack of accommodation. Ten ladies were noticed. All the local leaders attended, as well as a *Sadhu* named Nirgunanand alias Gnyanand *guru* Ram Krishnanand of Abu. Gandhi addressed the meeting on the *Swadeshi* movement. There was nothing objectionable.

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Ahmedabad, July 15th.—M. K. Gandhi and Anusuyabai Sarabhai arrived here from Nadiad on the evening of the 6th instant. The following evening Gandhi addressed a meeting of about 200 ladies in the Hatkeshwar Mahadev on *Swadeshi*. The ladies were mostly of the Brahma Kshatri and Nagar Brahmin castes. Gandhi left the same night for Bombay.

Pages 638-40, paragraph 971 (g)—

C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, July 17th.—The following is a cutting from Young India, dated the 16th July 1919 : —

Mr. Gandhi, who had to go to Poona to see His Excellency the Governor on Saturday the 12th instant, addressed there two meetings in the evening on the subject of *Swadeshi*, one to the students of the Fergusson College in the amphitheatre of the College, and another to the Citizens of Poona in the Gaekwar's Wada. A brief report of the two meetings is given below.

Fergusson College Meeting.

In addressing the students in Hindi Mr. Gandhi said the question of *Swadeshi* included the question of the language, and he would prefer to address them in their *Lingua Franca*, Hindi, rather than in English ; but it was about *Swadeshi* in respect to clothing that he was there to speak to them.

Dr. Harold Mann had surveyed the conditions in a Deccan village near Poona and he had observed that a large part of the population was without work for a large part of the year and had to depend on daily labour, e.g., carrying milk to Poona, working in the Ammunition Factory, etc., and that for the most part it was the males only who found work in this direction. How, asked Mr. Gandhi, did the women employ themselves ? They had no work, or they employed themselves with unprofitable work. That was the condition all over India. Sir Dinshaw Wacha had calculated that during the period of the war we had much less cloth for our consumption

than we had in the five years preceding the war. Shall we wait for more mills to supply the shortage of cloth from which we were suffering, asked Mr. Gandhi. It would take years before the mills could come effectively to our rescue. *Swadeshi* alone could effectively and without loss of time supplement our supply of cloth. Sir William Hunter had calculated that one-tenth of our population scarcely got one meal per day. The speaker's own experience of the peasant in Champaran proved the truth of the calculation. He could say that most of the peasants in Champaran had to rest satisfied with scanty meals. He said Mrs. Gandhi herself went about in the villages of the Champaran District and she revealed to him the painful fact that many of the women had not sufficient clothing to cover themselves with, and some of them had not had their baths for days together for want of clothing to change for the dirty scanty clothing on their bodies, which they could ill afford to wash ! Thousands of peasants burnt away their precious manure in winter to warm themselves with, only because they had nothing wherewith to buy warm clothing. And what was at the root of all this misery ? One hundred and fifty years ago they produced their own cotton and spun it and wove out of it their own cloth ; to-day they had to depend on foreign markets. It would be tormenting to him to relate, and to them to hear, painful process of the extinction of their handicrafts in the past. It was theirs—the students' who were the hope of the future, to study the conditions of the agriculturists, to think of how their lot can be improved and to set to them the example of their own lives. They themselves could learn spinning and weaving in a short time, and go from village to village preaching to the peasants the need of *swadeshi* and explaining to them how they could fight starvation and famine by filling their time with spinning yarn and weaving cloth out of it. It was a serious state of affairs for any country if its peasant population had to remain without work for six months in the year. He explained to them the three vows that he had placed before the public, but told them that the purest *Swadeshi* consists in using cloth woven on handloom out of hand-spun yarn. The question of machine-made cloth apart, Mr. Gandhi said it was undoubted that the clothing he wore was more artistic than what the students wore. Art, he explained, lies in producing something which could not be exactly imitated, which had on it the stamp of some ideal, which in short had the soul of the artist in it. Machine-made cloth had no soul in it. As to the greater durability of hand-woven cloth there was scarcely any doubt. But if the audience did not share his views on

art, they had the Indian mill-made cloth to fall back upon when the peasants could manufacture their own yarn and cloth in their cottages.

From the point of view, then, of rejuvenation of our lost art, of service of the Motherland and of the protection of our peasant population, *Swadeshi* was a thing without which none of them could do. For some time to come they would have to rest satisfied with cloth of coarse texture, but it was little sacrifice on their part considering the mighty issues involved.

The speaker emphasised that he did not hold out the hand-loom as a competitor of the power-loom. The objective was not that the former should supplant the latter. It was rather that the former should supplement the latter. What he meant to say, however, was that any amount of progress in our mill-industry could not improve the condition of our agriculturists. Only a revival of cottage industries, viz., hand-spinning and hand-weaving could work their economic salvation. He hoped they would discuss the whole question with their professors, and that both they and the professors would see their way to support *Swadeshi* in a religious spirit.

Principal Paranjpe in rising to thank Mr. Gandhi said that as Mr. Gandhi spoke in Hindi, he could not follow him fully. He could only get the gist of his remarks. But he could guess the rest. He then mentioned some of the grounds on which, he said he was opposed to the idea of what he thought to be a crusade of an unpractical nature. One hundred years ago, he said we may have produced our own cloth; similarly we traversed large distances by means of primitive bullockcarts and our caravans brought in and took out commodities to and from our country in that primitive fashion. The railways had now come and ruined the profession of those carters. Did Mr. Gandhi wish that the Railways should be destroyed and the primitive means of trade and communication be restored instead ? It is vain, he maintained, to strive to turn back the tide of time, and to seek solution of an economic question in a sentimental way. Similarly it would be absurd to say that the printing-presses which had supplanted the copyists of the olden time should go, and allow the copyists to minister again to our needs of writing. The saddest part of the affair was, Mr. Paranjpe admitted, that the ryot was starved and scantily clad, but that was because, he thought, we did not take to mill industry early enough. The third thing that he wished to say was that if the educated took the *Swadeshi* vow, they would only help in taking away the supply of coarse cloth which the poorer classes were using to-day. We would thus, said Mr. Paranjpe, endanger rather than alleviate the lot of the poor. It was unsafe,

he concluded, to proceed on argument by appeal to the sentiments and to base a crusade of gigantic magnitude on it. The question deserved to be solved by considerable discussion with economists who might be able to suggest proper economic regulations. He had not made up his mind in the matter, but Mr. Gandhi had left him unconvinced.

(*Note.*—It is evident that the learned and popular Principal of the Fergusson College, as he himself admitted, could not follow Mr. Gandhi in detail. He evidently thought that Mr. Gandhi was endeavouring to bring his known views on machinery into the *Swadeshi* propaganda. The fact is that he has deliberately refrained from doing so. All the three vows prepared by him recognised the use of mill-made goods. He said in his address that the city people could use the mill-made cloth only if the peasant population produced and used hand-made coarse cloth. The illustration of the carters and the copyists has really no bearing on the question. These two classes have found other occupation ; whereas the peasantry, especially the women-folk of the villages remain largely idle for want of work at home. Mr. Gandhi has suggested hand-spinning and hand-weaving for the millions who have to pass nearly half the year in enforced idleness. Referring to Sir Dinsha Wacha's letter to the *Times of India* on the shortage of cloth and his prognostication that ' no relief by way of increased output from Indian mills can be expected owing to the difficulty of strengthening the mills by additional spindles and looms' the *Modern Review* remarks : " Cannot hand-loom and the indigenous spinning wheels render any further help than they do ? We think they can." (Editor, Y. I.)

Public Meeting of the Poona Citizens.

Mr. Gandhi, who was introduced to the audience by Mr. Khadilkar, said, speaking in Hindi, that at the outset he wanted to discuss *Swadeshi* not from a political standpoint, but from an economic and religious one. *Swadeshi*, as he understood it, was broad-based on certain religious and economic principles according to which all men from the Viceroy to his peons downwards may accept it. It recognised no distinction as of the Moderates or the Extremists among its votaries, and it was such that it was possible to bring men of all races, castes and creeds under its influence. There was thus no place in it for boycott, which was the predominant element in, or which practically meant, the *Swadeshi*, of a few years ago. He therefore wished to request them with all the force that he could command to keep the thought of boycott away from their minds while thinking of *Swadeshi*.

He recalled a day when just after his return from South Africa he visited Poona and there said at a meeting that what Poona thought

one day the rest of India would think on the next. He said he was still of the same opinion. He believed that no city in India could compare with Poona in its learning and its self-sacrifice, and he had no doubt that if Poona saw eye to eye with him in the matter of *Swadeshi* it would relieve him from half of his task. What in his opinion, Poona lacked was faith and self-confidence. Poona still believed, he thought, that there is no salvation without our being westernized. It is only when Poona disabused itself of this belief that it could truly help in raising the country from its despondency.

Proceeding to explain *Swadeshi* Mr. Gandhi drew a homely analogy. Supposing, he said, a man has ample provisions and a wife to prepare out of them dainty dishes for him, and if in spite of it he sends for his dishes from an outside hotel, how shall we describe him? We should he said, regard him as one out of his senses. Similarly a nation, which acted in the way this man did, could not but be characterised as one out of its senses, and India was an instance in point. A hundred and fifty years ago she produced her own cloth, and produced fabrics of cotton and silk woven into a texture the fineness of which no cloth produced anywhere else in the world could compete with. And to-day she depended on foreign countries for a large part of her cloth. Last year for instance India paid 60 crores of rupees for the cloth imported from abroad. This dependence was at once an act of folly and of sin. If having given up our old profession of producing our own cloth, we had busied ourselves with something more profitable, Mr. Gandhi said he would have no quarrel. But the fact is that they had not done so. The peasant population, i.e., two hundred and forty million of our whole population spent six months in the year idly. He had lived among the agriculturists of Kaira and Champaran and he knew that they remained without work for half the part of the year. The condition of these people could not be improved unless they became self-supporting which for them meant the earning of their living and manufacture of their cloth by hand spinning and hand weaving. And here he instanced the case of Vijapur, a village near Ahmedabad, where owing to the indefatigable efforts of Mrs. Gangabai Mazumdar, a widow of fine patriotism and selflessness, four hundred Musalman women who had before nothing to do and who on account of the purdah could not go out to work, added to their income by spinning cotton in their own home. It was Gangabai who brought employment to those unemployed and her example deserved to be copied everywhere. And, argued Mr. Gandhi, they should bethink themselves of England and Germany, how they tackled their food problem during the war, how they turned fallow land into arable and grew potatoes on it in six months' time. Spinning and weaving our own

cloth was surely a less difficult task than growing potatoes. That however, was the economic aspect of the question. He had still to put before them the question from a religious standpoint. He had defined Swadeshi as restricting oneself to the use and service of one's immediate surroundings to the exclusion of the more remote. He thought it was scarcely human for people to prefer remote surroundings to those nearest themselves, and humanity, said the great Tulsidas, was the basis of all religion. He felt that the first and elementary duty of man was to use and serve his neighbours and that if he went farther for his needs and service it argued on his part more regard for self than for others. "We have wasted a considerable part of our precious spare time", said Mr. Gandhi, "and it behoves us, now to bestir ourselves to utilise it and to dedicate our labour to the land of our birth". Mr. Gandhi then explained to them the three Swadeshi vows. He wished they could share his view that there was more art in hand-spun and hand-woven cloth than cloth manufactured in factories. Even supposing that there could be one day in India mills enough to supply all the cloth they needed, there was nothing wherewith the women of the country could employ their spare time better, or wherewith those who had no means of honourable living could get a mean more honourable than spinning and weaving. The chief part of Swadeshi activity was production of as much cloth as possible, and the need of it could not be over-estimated. Perseverance, patriotism and self-sacrifice were the essentials of success in their programme and Mr. Gandhi hoped that Poona would respond enthusiastically to his call and justify its proud traditions.

Page 663, para 1002 (a, b, c and d)—

(a) *Kaira, July 13th.*—On the 6th instant Gandhi visited Nadiad for a day in company with Miss Annusuyabai Sarabhai of Ahmedabad and Mrs. Gangabai of Broach.

About 20-25 persons including boys met Gandhi at the station including (1) Fulchand Bapuji, (2) Madhavlal Nabhubhai, (3) Jamnadas Sakaram, and (4) Mohanlal Kameshwar of Kathlal. Nos. (1) and (4) are the two who have been appointed as Mukhis for the Nadiad Branch of his movement after his arrest. A public meeting was held in the Panjarapole Dharmashala at 9 a.m. at which about 1,000 persons, of whom about half were school boys and the balance Patidars and Banias (but no labourers and mill-hands).

At the outset he flattered the local people even to the extent of saying that he preferred Kaira District to any other place in India. His speech was moderate in tone and at the conclusion he took the local people severely to task for their part in the April disturbances which he stated were worse than the Ahmedabad ones since they

were deliberate and not the result of momentary frenzy. He again beseeched the culprits to come forward. He expounded his theory that at present he alone was fit for Civil Disobedience and that none must follow his example for a month and then only those chosen by the locally appointed Mukhis (leaders). No disturbance should be made.

He also touched on Home Spinning.

Daily reports were received from Nadiad and Anand and in every one the Inspectors expressed their opinion that there would be no trouble even if Gandhi were arrested. In fact on the 10th instant there was a rumour current throughout Nadiad that he had actually been arrested, but still there was no excitement.

(b) *Kaira, July 22nd.*—There is much talk about the suspension of *Satyagraha* at Anand and Nadiad and much surmise as to what took place at the meeting Gandhi had with the Governor. However the general idea is that *Satyagraha* is unworkable and that its suspension is to be welcomed. Gandhi is held guiltless of its misinterpretation. It is gathered that the *Satyagraha movement* will be entirely superseded by the *Swadeshi* one, which is being greatly encouraged lately.

Should Gandhi be arrested no trouble is expected locally.

(c) *Ahmedabad, July 21st.*—The general opinion in Ahmedabad is that if Gandhi is arrested the mill-hands will go out in sympathy but will not commit a breach of the peace. Personally I think that the mill-hands will give trouble the extent of which will depend solely on the adequacy of the Military and Police precautionary measures. At present we can deal satisfactorily with any situation that may arise.

(d) *C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, July 23rd.*—The following is a cutting from the *Bombay Chronicle*, dated the 23rd July 1919 : —

MR. GANDHI AND CIVIL RESISTANCE.

Temporary suspension to continue.

To

THE EDITOR OF " THE CHRONICLE ".

Sir,

The Government of India have given me, through His Excellency the Governor of Bombay, a grave warning that resumption of Civil Disobedience is likely to be attended with serious consequences to the public security. This warning has been enforced by His Excellency the Governor himself at interviews to which I was summoned.

In response to this warning and to the urgent desire, publicly expressed, by Dewan Bahadur Govinda Raghava Iyer, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar and several Editors, I have, after deep consideration, decided not to resume Civil Resistance for the time being. I may add that several prominent friends belonging to what is called the Extremist party have given me the same advice on the sole ground of their fear of recrudescence of violence on the part of those who might not have understood the doctrine of Civil Resistance. When in common with most other *Satyagrahis* I came to the conclusion that time was ripe for the resumption of the Civil Resistance part of *Satyagraha*. I sent a respectful letter to His Excellency the Viceroy advising him of my intention so to do and urging that Rowlatt Legislation should be withdrawn, that an early declaration be made as to the appointment of a strong and impartial committee to investigate the Punjab disturbances, with power to revise the sentences passed, and that Babu Kalinath Roy who was, as could be proved from the record of the case, unjustly convicted, should be released. The Government of India deserve thanks for the decision in Mr. Roy's case. Though it does not do full justice to Mr. Roy the very material reduction in the sentence is a substantial measure of justice. I have been assured that the Committee of Inquiry such as I have urged for is in the process of being appointed. With these indications of goodwill, it would be unwise on my part not to listen to the warning given by the Government. Indeed my acceptance of the Government's advice is a further demonstration of the true nature of Civil Resistance. A Civil Resister never seeks to embarrass Government. He often co-operates and does not hesitate civilly to resist where Resistance becomes a duty. He attains the goal by creating goodwill, believing as he does that unfailing exercise of goodwill even in the face of unjust acts of a Government can only result in goodwill being ultimately returned by the Government. Further suspension of Civil Resistance is, therefore, nothing but a practical application of *Satyagraha*.

Yet it is no smaller matter for me to suspend Civil Resistance even for a day while Rowlatt Legislation continues to disfigure our Statute Book. The Lahore and Amritsar judgments make suspension still, more difficult. Those judgments read by me with an unbiassed mind have left an indelible impression that most of the Punjab Leaders have been convicted without sufficient proof and that the punishments inflicted on them are inhuman and outrageous. The judgments go to show that they have been convicted for no other reason than that they were connected with stubborn agitation against Rowlatt Legislation. I would, if I had my way, have therefore preferred to court imprisonment to retaining the restricted

liberty vouchsafed to me by the Government of India. But a *Satyagrahi* has to swallow many a bitter pill and the present suspension is one such. I feel that I shall better serve the country and the Government and those Punjabi Leaders who, in my opinion, have been so unjustly convicted and so cruelly sentenced by suspension of Civil Resistance for the time being.

But this suspension while it lightens my responsibility by reason of the feared outbreak of violence, makes it incumbent upon the Government and the eminent public men who have advised suspension to see that the Rowlatt Legislation is removed without delay.

I have been accused of throwing lighted matches. If my occasional Civil Resistance be a lighted match, Rowlatt Legislation and persistence in retaining it on the Statute Book is a thousand matches scattered throughout India, and the only way to avoid Civil Resistance altogether is to withdraw that legislation. Nothing that the Government have published in justification of that legislation has moved the Indian public from the attitude of opposition to it.

I have thus suspended Civil Resistance to hasten the end of the Legislation. But *Satyagrahis* will pay for its removal by their lives if it cannot be removed by lesser means. The period of suspension is for *Satyagrahis* an opportunity for further discipline in an enlightened and willing obedience to the laws of the State. The right of Civil Resistance is derived from the duty of obedience voluntarily performed. And *Satyagraha* consists not merely, or even chiefly, in civilly resisting laws, but mainly in promoting national welfare by strict adherence to Truth. I would respectfully advise fellow *Satyagrahis* and seek the co-operation of all great and small in the propagation of pure *Swadeshi* and promotion of Hindu-Muslim Unity.

Swadeshi is, I hold, a necessity of national existence. No Englishmen or Indian can view with equanimity the huge enforced waste of the labour of twenty crore peasants during half the year. That labour can be quickly and immediately utilised only by restoring to the women their spinning wheels and to the men their handlooms. This means the elimination of the unnatural Lancashire interest and the Japanese menace. The elimination of the unnatural Lancashire interest purines the British connection and makes the position of equality possible. The elimination of the Japanese menace will avert a national and Imperial disaster. Extension of Japan's hold upon India through her commerce can end only in India's degradation or a bloody war.

The Hindu-Muslim Unity is equally a national and Imperial necessity. A voluntary league between Hindus, Mahommedans and Englishmen is a league in my conception infinitely superior to and

purser than the League of Nations, just formed, Permanent Union between Hindus and Mahommedans is that preliminary to such Triple Union. That Unity can be materially advanced by the Hindus whole-heartedly associating themselves with the Mahommedans in their very just aspirations regarding the Khilafat, the holy Mecca and the other holy places of Islam.

The *Swadeshi* propaganda and work for Hindu-Muslim Unity require powers of organisation, honesty in trade, and immense self-sacrifice and self-restraint. It is, therefore, easy enough to perceive that *Swadeshi* propaganda on the purest lines and promotion of Hindu-Moslem Unity cannot, but have an indirect, though nonetheless effective, bearing on the movement for securing withdrawal of Rowlatt Legislation, for which the Government can claim no justification—little as they claim even now—when we give an unexampled demonstration of qualities named above.

Labournam Road,
21st July 1919.

M. K. GANDHI.

Page 665, paragraph 1003 (a)—

C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, July 21st—At a meeting in Bombay on the 26th June Gandhi presided while G. B. Deshpande lectured on *Swadeshi*.

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The President at the conclusion, while thanking the lecturer deprecated the inclusion of boycott a political weapon and a Western idea — in *Swadeshi* which was essentially Eastern and religious duty.

Pages 679-80, para 1032 (a) —

Bombay, July 28th.—The following telegrams have been intercepted : —

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(24)" From Gandhi, Bombay, to T. M. 3 Kaloph Estrand, Hon. Shastri, India House, Mrs. Naidu, Lyceum Hotel, Piccadilly, London.

" Response Viceregal and friends advice suspended Civil Resistance time being. This throws responsibility leaders carrying redoubled agitation secure withdrawal Rowlatt legislation if not withdrawn, reasonable time renewal Civil Resistance inevitable."

Page 690, paragraph 1033 (b and c)—

(b) *Bombay, July 28th.*—Under the auspices of the Jain Vakrutva Kala Prasarak Sabha, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi delivered a public lecture on *Swadeshi* on the 27th instant at Lalbaug, Panjarapol, at about 9 a.m. under the presidency of Acharya Shri Kamalsurishwary.

About 300 persons, mostly Jains, attended. No prominent or leading Jains were noticed at the meeting except one Pandit Lalan.

Gandhi explained the doctrine of *Swadeshi* and said that it was the only means of removing poverty from India. He impressed upon the audience the view that without *Swadeshi* the welfare of Indians was impossible. He emphasised the necessity of restoring the spinning wheels of the women and the handlooms of the men to secure the betterment of the country.

Pandit Lalan and the President thanked Gandhi for the able manner in which the doctrine of *Swadeshi* had been put before the audience by him. They dwelt in brief on the importance of the use of *Swadeshi* clothes for the furtherance of the National welfare.

A sum of Rs. 500, said to have been given by a Hindu lady, was handed over to Gandhi for *Swadeshi* propaganda and a further sum of Rs. 36 was also given to him by the President as the amount collected by him (the President) from persons who had taken the *Swadeshi* vow in his presence.

The proceedings lasted about an hour. A merchant from Bhat Bazar (Velji Meghji) promised to donate Rs. 500 for *Swadeshi* propaganda.

(c) *Surat, July 28th.*—The District Magistrate writes: " Mr. Gandhi came to Surat this morning and opened a *Swadeshi* store, a very small place so far. He called on me accompanied by Mr. Dayalji Nanubhai Desai and we had a long and friendly interview. All controversial subjects were eschewed on both sides and economic questions only were touched upon. He told me he was anxious that women should weave yarn in their spare time : but was rather taken aback when I said I thought the average Indian woman was kept quite busy enough as it was with childbirth, nursing, cooking, cleaning and fetching water. He then agreed that it would be better if the men did additional work. But I gathered that he found it easier to influence women than men. He told me that both Lady Tata and Lady Petit had taken to spinning. Mr. Gandhi's popularity here is very much on the wane and the Rander Mussulmans especially are very strong on the subject of his faults ".

Page 701, paragraph 1063 (a and b)—

(a) *C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, August 4th.*—The following is a copy of a letter sent to Mr. Gandhi by the Political Secretary to the Government of Bombay : —

I am to inform you that the Government of India have desired His Excellency the Governor of Bombay to convey to you a grave warning of the consequences which must inevitably be anticipated

from the resumption of any action or propaganda involving the disobedience of the law and of the heavy moral responsibility that must lie on those who take or advise this course.

In making this communication to you I am to say that His Excellency would add a further warning that any assumption that such action can be undertaken without most serious consequences to the public security is entirely unwarranted by the situation in this Presidency.

(b) *Bombay, August 4th.*—(1) Since Gandhi's interview with His Excellency in the middle of July, the *Satyagraha* movement in Bombay has shown little signs of animation. Immediately after Gandhi returned from Poona the rumour spread through the City that the movement was dead and Gandhi received several letters congratulating him on postponing Civil Disobedience. On the 15th July he told S. G. Banker to reduce the clerical staff on the *Satyagraha* office and to provide for the clerks in the Swadeshi Stores or elsewhere ; and he advised the more enthusiastic *Satyagrahis* to take to their spinning wheels. At a meeting of the *Satyagrahis* on the 18th, at which about 75 were present, Gandhi explained that one reason for postponing *Satyagraha* was that he was afraid that all *Satyagrahis* could not be depended upon to carry out his principles in the right spirit. He also said that His Excellency had given him certain weighty reasons, supported by the intelligent opinion of responsible and leading citizens, for stopping the *Satyagraha* movement and that being, to some extent, convinced by all these arguments, he had consented to suspend it. Several *Satyagrahis* subjected Gandhi to series of questions as regards his personal attitude. One of these questions was whether he intended to be present at the Town Hall meeting in connection with celebration of peace. To this Gandhi replied that the day could not be regarded as a day of rejoicing for India but at the present time it was a matter of congratulation from the point of view of humanity in general. After Gandhi's interview with His Excellency in Bombay on the 20th July 1919 ; and after his letter which was published in the *Chronicle* of the 22nd, there were some signs of excitement among the *Satyagrahis*. The idea gained support that Gandhi would persist in agitation until the Rowlatt Act was abolished. His reference to Mahommadan questions also attracted considerable attention. At the same time Gandhi was abused for having led others into trouble and deserted them when punishment was clearly to be expected. People in the Cloth Market called him a *Khuni* (Murderer). This opinion was reflected in the *Hindusthan* and other papers. He was compared

very unfavourably with Tilak, as the latter and himself suffered martyrdom in jail. He was called an impostor and a liar.

On the 20th he left for Ahmedabad, returning on the 24th. It was clear that his popularity was waning amongst his most devoted followers. At a meeting attended by 200 *Satyagrahis* on the 26th July he was mercilessly cross-examined by them. One drew his attention to the wording of the vow, which he had taken, to the effect that *Satyagraha* should be continued until the Act was abolished. Another asked whether he had received any definite promise that the Act would be abolished if he suspended Civil Disobedience. A third asked whether he had started the movement of his own accord or whether he had been led into it by others. A fourth asked him whether he thought it creditable to him to leave people in the lurch, who would not have joined the movement and would not have gone to jail but for him. A fifth suggested that his policy had ruined many, and not only that but it had interfered with the good work that was being done by the Home Rule League and other associations. Gandhi's replies to these questions were somewhat lame and he finally told them that if anyone wished to continue Civil Disobedience he was welcome to do so at his own risk. He said that he had not expected that it would lead to violence, and realising the difficulties that had arisen, he advised them to suspend it. He tried to disperse the meeting, but many shouted that they had questions to ask. He finally escaped stating that he would call another meeting on his return from Surat. This was the last *Satyagraha* meeting. For some time two or three members have resigned daily from the Sabha. Many who have not resigned refused to take delivery of letters addressed to them from the *Satyagraha* Sabha office. I consider that the number of persons who now take any interest in the *Satyagraha* Sabha can safely be estimated at less than 100.

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Page 703, paragraph 1064 (a)—

Surat, August 4th.—M. K. Gandhi came to Surat on the 28th July last to open the local Swadeshi Store; his advent aroused little enthusiasm and only about 100 persons attended the opening ceremony. The "store" is a very humble effort.

In the afternoon Gandhi addressed a meeting of females and in the evening a public meeting presided over by Dayabhai Kalianji Vakil, at which about two thousand persons were present. The burden of Gandhi's speech was the "swadeshi" cult as the only way to self-government.

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Gandhi left the same night for Ahmedabad.

Page 716, paragraph 1086—

Bombay, August 11th.—A public lecture on *Swadeshi* was delivered by M. K. Gandhi at the Nar Narayan Temple Hall, Kalbadevi Road, at 9-30 p.m. on the 7th instant before an audience of about 500 persons, including about 40 ladies. No prominent Hindus were noticed as being present. Gandhi pointed out that the primary duty of the vaishnawas, who had assembled there that night, consisted in doing good to people in distress. When India was suffering from (1) epidemics, (2) starvation and (3) nakedness or scanty clothing, it was incumbent on them to try their best to ameliorate matters. He gave a few practical instances in support of the idea and remarked that it was not possible for them at that stage to assuage the first two evils owing to various difficulties in the way. They had, however, an efficacious remedy at hand to check the third, viz., "Nakedness". He said that about sixty crores of rupees a year were sent out of India for the purchase of clothes and it was very regrettable that about three crores of people in India suffer from starvation and want of clothing. The people should therefore open their eyes and apply the remedy by wearing *swadeshi* clothes. Every male and female should resort to spinning wheels and hand-looms to keep poverty from the country. He then referred to the mythological story of "Krishna" who preferred "Sudama" dressed in wretched clothes to the pompously dressed "Duryodhana", and averred that that he would always prefer to see men and women before him dressed in *Swadeshi* clothes to those in foreign ones.

Shivaji Devshi explained the three kinds of *Swadeshi* vows suggested by Gandhi and earnestly exhorted the audience to take any one of them for welfare of their motherland.

Pandit Lalan and Jadavji Maharaj dwelt in brief on the importance of the doctrine of *Swadeshi* and advised the people to be practical *Swadeshists* like Gandhi.

The meeting was then brought to a close as Gandhi was to leave for Poona that night.

Page 718, paragraph 1090 (a)—

Thana, August 11th.—The Sub-Inspector, Thana Town, reports that M. K. Gandhi arrived in Thana from Bombay on the 3rd instant and delivered a lecture on "Cow protection". He returned to Bombay after the meeting, which about 300 persons attended. In the course of his address he said that so long as they continued to sell their cattle to butchers they could not complain of cattle being slaughtered. The remedy lay with each individual cattle-owner who should look after them and not sell them to the butchers. So

long as they continued selling cattle to butchers they had no legitimate grievance against the Mahommadans who slaughtered them.

Page 737, paragraph 1114—

C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, August 16th.—On the 8th instant a meeting under the auspices of the Deccan Sabha was held in the Kirloskar Theatre, Poona to express sympathy with the Indian settlers in South Africa in their present troubles.

Rao Bahadur Khopkar, retired Deputy Collector, occupied the chair and M. K. Gandhi addressed an audience numbering over 2,000. He spoke in Hindi apologising for not knowing Marathi and for not adopting a suggestion that he should speak in English.

Describing Poona flatteringly as the seat of learning and the capital of India which gave direction to public opinion throughout the country, he proceeded to say that, as the result of the correspondence, which had taken place between Sir George Barnes and himself, he was assured that, in this instance, Government and the people agreed that the attitude adopted towards their Indian brethren by the white population of South Africa was deplorable. It was the more regrettable that it came at the conclusion of the great war in which the Ind'ans, resident there, had rendered the Empire material assistance even to the extent of fighting under General Smuts. The Indian settlers had not demanded a share in the administration nor the right of unrestricted immigration. They desired neither to capture the white man's trade nor to force upon him their Indian civilization. As citizens of the British Empire they might have claimed equality in every respect, instead of which they were merely asking for the most elementary rights of citizenship, to move about the country, to trade where they liked and to purchase and possess land there.

He felt confident that if general publicity were given to the manner in which Indians were being treated in South Africa, the white population there would be shamed into fully restoring the rights they had curtailed, and, in this connection, he remarked that a conference of the Indians in South Africa had been arranged to take place on the 5th instant. At this, after demanding civil rights throughout the dominion, the Indians intended making a list of those willing to resort to passive resistance, as in 1906 and 1914, in case their demand was not complied with.

After briefly explaining how the new act would affect the Indians in South Africa he went on to say that Sir George Barnes was misinformed when he wrote that the Indians had no complaint as regards the mortgage and the purchase of land by companies. On

the other hand he was in sympathy with them on the question of the right of the Indians to possess trade licenses.

The lecturer then appealed to the Deccan Sabha to approach Government with a petition to the effect that the Indians would not approve of any act that interfered with the existing rights of Indians in South Africa.

Alluding to a paragraph which he had seen in the previous day's newspaper to the effect that the Town Council of Pochestram had passed a resolution, not only suggesting that the Indians should be debarred from the right of purchasing land, but also that locations should be formed in which they might be allowed to live and trade, he compared this with the system in vogue in India of having separate places, such as a Maharwada, set aside for Low-class people. He further pointed out that, in effect, it restricted the Indian trade to the Indian community itself and this would necessarily lead to the extinction of the Indian Capitalist in South Africa.

This, he said, was a challenge issued by the South Africans. They must boldly face the problem and reply that, though the South Africans might restrict the immigration of Indians into South Africa and enact that they should take no part in the administration of the country, they could not deprive them of the existing elementary rights so far enjoyed by the Indians settled in the country.

In conclusion, observing that in 1914 Lord Hardinge, the then Viceroy of India, had admitted the justice of the Passive Resistance movement then in progress in South Africa, he advocated the formation of a body composed of Europeans and Indians wholly devoted to the task of removing the disabilities of the Indians in South Africa.

This, he said, was a matter in which the Government could cooperate with them.

He therefore, put the resolution to the meeting confident that it would be accepted.

Professor V. G. Kale seconded.

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The following resolution was then passed :—

This public meeting places on record its deep sympathy with the British Indian settlers in South Africa struggling for the elementary rights of citizenship and congratulates them on their brave and sustained struggle and assures them of hearty support from the Motherland.

It further desires to thank the Government of India for its support and trusts that the Imperial Government will not be satisfied until

justice has been done by the withdrawal of the act recently passed by the South African Assembly.

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Page 739, paragraph 1117—

Bombay, August 20th.—A meeting of *Satyagrahis* was held in Bombay yesterday evening. The meeting was timed to begin at 9 o'clock, but Gandhi arrived three-fourths of an hour late, and on this account proceedings were somewhat hurried. Gandhi announced that according to his information it was not likely that the Rowlatt Acts would be abolished, and it would therefore be incumbent on him to resume *Satyagraha*. But before doing so he intended to give Government an opportunity of reconsidering their position, and with that object in view he would submit a petition, signed by a large number of the public, showing that the majority of Indians were opposed to the Rowlatt Acts. He would draft the petition in consultation with the Executive Committee of *Satyagraha Sabha* and with certain lawyers, and would then take on it as many signatures as he could get. He was open enough to say that he did not anticipate that such a petition would have any effect on Government, but he desired to submit one as a matter of formality before reopening his campaign. He further explained that by adopting this course he might placate such men as Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, the Honourable Mr. Shafi and Rangaswami Iyer who had advised him to give up the Passive Resistance movement.

It would appear that Gandhi feels that he must do something to keep himself in the public eye, and it is a satisfactory likelihood that the preparation of the petition and the collection of signatures upon it will keep Gandhi out of mischief for some time to come.

Gandhi stated that he had been advised by many of his friends to institute a Gujarati paper on the lines of *Young India*, and he intends to do at the earliest opportunity.

He leaves Bombay for Ahmedabad on the 22nd instant and is expected to return on the 25th or 26th idem.

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Page 767-69, paragraph 1169—

C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, September 1st.—The following is from *Young India*, dated the 20th August 1919 : —

Godhra last week showed what could be done by co-operation between the officials and the leaders. The occasion was Mr. Gandhi's visit to Godhra on the 14th instant to open the Swadeshi Bhandar.

The owners who have taken up the enterprise purely from a public standpoint asked Mr. Gandhi to announce that they would not

charge more than seven and a half per cent. on the cost price of the goods in Godhra, i.e., the price in Bombay and the railage and packing. This applies only to the articles required for the Swadeshi vows. The store was opened before a large audience. Mr. Gandhi said the enterprise depended for its success on the integrity of the managers and the patriotism of the Godhra public.

Women and Swadeshi.

The women's meeting came off at 4 p.m. Over 1,000 women must have been present at the meeting. Mrs. Jerbanu Merwanji Kotha-wala, the accomplished wife of Khan Saheb Kothawala, presided. The following is the precis of Mr. Gandhi's address to the ladies:—

The speaker said *Swadeshi* was that spirit in us which required us to serve our immediate neighbours before others and to use things produced in our neighbourhood in preference to those more remote. So doing we served humanity to the best of our capacity. We could not serve humanity by neglecting our neighbours. Similarly with our wants. We were bound to supply them through the agency of our neighbours and therefore prefer their labour and wares to those of others. India abandoned Swadeshi a hundred years ago and had consequently, become comparatively poor, and helpless. We were well able to supply all our cloth and to supply the world's market to a certain extent when we were observing the law of Swadeshi. During that period the majority of the women of India spun yarn as a national duty and the men wove the yarn so spun. Now the 21 crore peasants of India had at least four months out of the year thrown on their hands. They did not shirk work. They had none to occupy their time and to supplement their earnings from cultivation. Swadeshi therefore was a question of finding a subsidiary industry for our farmers. No country in the world could prosper that had one-third of the time of the vast majority of its inhabitants lying unutilised. Moreover, there were other men and women who had many hours in the day at their disposal. If these idle hours of the nation were fully, occupied in producing yarn and weaving it, we could manufacture the whole of our cloth and thus save crores of rupees going out of the country every year. The condition of success was that cultured men and women should take up spinning and weaving. The poorer people would follow their example. Mr. Gandhi did not hesitate to recommend it to his European friends. He hoped that those who did not need pecuniary assistance would make it a point of honour to give at least one hour a day to the nation for producing yarn. As an encouragement in this direction he called upon his hearers to pledge themselves henceforth not to

buy foreign cloth. Every village in India would thus become self-supporting and self-producing so far as the two main wants of life, food and clothing—were concerned.

The Chairwoman exhorted the ladies present to help the movement in the direction Mr. Gandhi indicated.

The Public Meeting on Swadeshi.

The women's meeting was followed by a brief recess. The *Vanita Vishram* was visited at 6-30 p.m. The public meeting came off at 9-15 p.m. There was a very large audience. It was held in the open air. Mr. Gandhi's address dealt with the religious and the economic aspect. At the outset he said he was deeply grateful to Mr. Clayton for presiding at the meeting. He knew and appreciated the condition under which he had accepted the invitation of the organisers, and he would endeavour faithfully to carry out the compact. To him the economic and the religious aspects of *Swadeshi* were far more attractive than the political, and as it was his dream that all from the Viceroy down to the sweeper should accept the *Swadeshi*, he was desirous of conducting the *Swadeshi* propaganda from the economic and religious standpoints. He was thankful too that Mr. Clayton had permitted the officials to be present at the meeting. To him the religious aspect was all-sufficient. That elementary religion which was common to mankind taught us to be kind and attentive to our neighbours. An individual's service to his country and humanity consisted in serving his neighbours. If that was true it was our religious duty to support our farmers, our artisans, such as weavers, carpenters, etc. And so long as the Godhra farmers and weavers could supply the wants of the Godhra citizens, the latter had no right to go outside Godhra and support even (say) the Bombay farmers and weavers. He could not starve his neighbour and claim to serve his distant cousin in the North Pole. This was the basic principle of all religions and they would find it was also of true and humane economics. India was suffering from a triple curse, the curse of disease—disease not of a normal but of an abnormal kind, the curse of want of food and lastly that of want of clothing. All proceeded largely from the same cause — poverty, and poverty was due largely to the economic drain. We gave to the producers outside India in 1917-18 the enormous sum of 60 crores of rupees. And we had not in any measure worthy of consideration provided the millions of our spinners and weavers with any other occupation. The whole of the labour thus unwillingly set free was running to waste like a mighty torrent of water. The evil could only be corrected by our reversion to *Swadeshi* and by rehabilitating our spinners and weavers in their former honourable occupation.

He sought, in this gigantic task, the help of the officials, the millionaires and the other leaders of society. It was the most urgent need of the country. We had twenty-one crore farmers. His own experience and the experience of authoritative writers showed that they had nearly four months of the year lying idle on their hands. This was a huge economic waste. No wonder that we were poor. *Swadeshi*, therefore, was the problem of inducing and enabling the farmers to take up the supplementary industry of spinning and weaving. Our *Shastras* and the history of spinning and weaving throughout the world showed that the queens down to their maids considered it an honour to spin cotton. Weaving was largely specialized. In those halcyon days, when our mothers spun for the nation, we were able to produce the finest muslin. We could still regain the lost art and with it the lost prosperity. But one thing was needful for the people to insist on getting only *Swadeshi* cloth and on producing it themselves as far as possible. In the Punjab thousands of women of high birth spun their own yarn and got it woven by professional weavers. The *Swadeshi* vows were designed to create a taste for *Swadeshi*. They must not be ashamed of coarse cloth. As a matter-of-fact there was more art about hand-spun and hand-woven cloth, however coarse, than about machine-made cloth, however fine. But art apart they were bound by every tie of honour, every consideration of prudence and economics to wear what cloth every village could produce and be satisfied with it, till our skill, industry and enterprise could produce a better quality.

Mr. Gandhi next day (the 15th) addressed a crowded meeting of the public on the situation in the Punjab. He briefly reviewed the events of April last and said that it would be a blot upon British Justice if the sentences and convictions, many of which he believed were bad, were not reversed. It would be a greater blot, on their patriotism if they did not insist on an impartial investigation of the whole of the proceedings in the Punjab.

The speaker did not doubt that such a committee would be appointed in the near future. He asked his hearers too to subscribe to the fund opened for the relief of the sufferers in the Punjab. A resolution was then passed calling upon the Government to appoint an independent committee to enquire into the cause of discontent and to review the convictions and sentences and asking the public to support the Punjab fund.

Page 769, paragraph 1170—

Bombay, September 1st.—On Friday the 19th August a public meeting was held in the hall of the Shri Cutchi Dassa Oswal Jain Pathshala, Bhat Bazaar, Mandvi, under the joint auspices of the Jain

Friendly Union and the Union Society, to protest against the deportation of B. G. Horniman, the passing of the Rowlatt Act and the heavy sentences passed by the Punjab Martial Law Commissioners, M. K. Gandhi presided. The proceedings were conducted in Gujarathi. About 500 persons were present.

It is noteworthy that Gandhi advised his audience to accept the readymade opinion of political leaders to the effect that the Rowlatt Acts were bad; he did not advocate even discussion of the Acts. After condemning the sentences passed by the Courts Martial in the Punjab, he proceeded to give a dissertation upon the uses and abuses of adjectives in public speeches and writings. It will not be long at this rate, before Gandhi loses the small following he has.

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Page 785, paragraph 1191—

Bombay, September 8th.—The following has been intercepted in the censorship :—

A telegram addressed to the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy, Simla, by M. K. Gandhi, Laburnum Road, Bombay, dated the 6th September 1919 : —

"Does reference disturbance commission included power investigate judgment and recommend cancellation or revision of sentences."

Page 799, paragraph 1225 (a)—

C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, September 15th.—On the 31st August M. K. Gandhi visited Dohad, Panch Mahals District. In the course of an address he said that forced labour being illegal, it was the duty of everyone on whom compulsion was brought to bear by Government servants to report to the higher authorities and to take legal steps. Government servants were properly paid by Government and were expected to pay for everything that was done for them. At the same time as Government servants were working for the good of the people, the latter should consider themselves bound to work for the former if fully paid.

He then introduced the subject of *Swadeshi* and put forward the stock arguments in favour of fostering home spinning.

Later the same day, Gandhi, at a meeting of the depressed classes, repeated his remarks regarding forced labour and eulogised the Collector who had issued an order to his subordinates prohibiting them from exacting it.

The District Magistrate, referring to the order alluded to by Gandhi, remarks that it is merely advice to all Government officials

to see that as little inconvenience as possible is caused to the public by their requisitions.

Page 823-25, paragraph 1260—

Bombay, September 19th.—A demonstration in connection with the Knilafat agitation was organised on the 18th instant in Bombay. The proceedings consisted of a procession and a meeting.

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The mass meeting at 8-30 was attended by large crowds, the numbers being estimated at something like 10,000 people. The meeting lasted until 1-30 a.m. and was attended by Mahommadans of all Classes.

M. K. Gandhi came from Ahmedabad specially to attend the meeting.

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M. K. Gandhi said that the Mahommadans had failed in their duty as regards the question of the Khilafat and the holy places and he declared that *Satyagraha* was the only remedy for them in the evil circumstances in which they found themselves.

Page 842, paragraph 1281 (f)—

S. B., United Provinces—C.I.D., United Provinces, September 17th.—

The Indian Daily Telegraph of September 14th reproduces Mr. Gandhi's letter to the *Bombay Chronicle* on Hindu-Muslim unity.

Mr. Gandhi describes Maulana Abdul Bari as a great and good man, one of the foremost religious preceptors in Islam with thousands of followers all over India, of an unassuming and truthful nature a priest who combines learning, true wisdom and humility. He recounts a recent conversation he had with him on the attitude of Mahommadans towards Hindus. They had discussed many problems of mutual interest, in the course of which Mr. Gandhi remarked that it would be a difficult task for Mahommadans to secure justice on the Turkish claims. The Maulana replied that he knew that the Hindus wanted to help because the Mahommadan cause was just and it was fair that Mahommadans should also be ready to help Hindus because they were children of the same soil. The nobility of the Mahommadan creed required them to be strictly just to their neighbours, and as they received help from the Hindus they must be prepared to give help. He made it clear that he was not speaking in the spirit of bargaining.

The following telegram was received by Mr. Gandhi from Abdul Bari on the occasion of the Baqri-Id:—

" In celebration of Hindu-Muslim unity no cow-sacrifices in Firanghi Mahal this Baqr'-Id."

Mr. Gandhi replied that he was delighted with this great act of renunciation.

Mr. Gandhi concludes his letter by saying that this world would be a better one if people of all creeds were to show the same virtue of charity, and the same justness and breadth of vision as the Maulana.

Page 816, paragraph 125—

Bombay, September 22nd.—A public meeting was held at Lal Bag, Bhuleshwar, on the morning of the 21st instant to celebrate the 51st birthday of Mohanlal Karamchand Gandhi, Shri Kamala Sureshwari Swami presided.

Mavji Govindji Sheth, N. B. Vibhakar, barrister, and Shivji Devji made speeches eulogising the services of Gandhi to the country. It was announced that Rs. 1,215 had been collected for the Gandhi Purse.

The following is from the *Bombay Chronicle* of the 22nd instant:—On the 21st instant the Bhagini Samaj of Bombay celebrated the fifty-first birthday of M. K. Gandhi at the Vanita Vishram Hall, Mrs. Jaiji J. Petit presiding. There was a large gathering of ladies and gentlemen from all communities in Bombay. The proceedings began with music. The soul stirring song of "Bharat Hamara Desh Hai" was sung by Mrs. Avantikabai Gokhale. The Secretary of the Samaj read several messages of sympathy with the object of the meeting and announced several donations to the purse to be presented to Mr. Gandhi from various parts of the country.

A resolution authorising the president to send a message to Mr. Gandhi, greeting him and wishing him long life and the realisation of his ideals, was unanimously passed.

The president, at the close of the proceedings, declared that the local and up-country donations towards the purse fund amounted to Rs. 23,000.

The Secretary of the fund announced that the fund would remain open up to the 2nd October, and that those who desired to remit any contributions might send them to him care of the Servants of India Society.

(b) *C. I. D., Bombay Presidency, September 27th.*—The following appeared in the *Times of India* of the 24th instant :—On the occasion of the celebration of the 51st birthday of Mr. Gandhi, the people of Lahore presented him with a purse containing Rs. 600. The money was contributed by people of all communities and the purse was sent to Mr. Gandhi at Bombay.*

Page 834, paragraph 1275—

Satara, September 27th.—In celebration of his birthday on the

* Bombay Commissioner of Police, File No. 300/H/19, p. 209.

21st instant; M. K. Gandhi's photograph was carried in procession from the house of Ramchandra Ganesh Soman to Ghate's Theatre where a large meeting, composed mostly of educated Brahmins, was held under the chairmanship of R. P. Karandikar. Speeches were made about the life and doings of Gandhi. A resolution was passed wishing long life to Gandhi.

Page 890, paragraph 1316—

(a) *Belgaum, October 2nd.*—On the 21st September a meeting was held in Belgaum to celebrate M. K. Gandhi's birthday. The audience numbered 300. Chairman was Bhaskarrao Joshi and speaker was Krishnaji Narayan Kargupikar. The speaker first gave an autobiographical sketch of Gandhi's Life. He spoke of Gandhi's vegetarian principles, his saintliness, his visit to South Africa, his passive resistance and his campaign in Champaran. He spoke of the importance of maintaining the caste system and reviving Aryan culture. Since the Mutiny, he said, Mr. Gandhi was the first man to prove that Government could be made to yield to Satyagraha. The audience, he hoped, would be infected by hundredth part of Gandhi's brilliant character.

Dattatraya Ramchandra Majli then rose and obviously with Tilak in mind, remarked that India had other leaders as well as Gandhi and his birthday was celebrated merely because he was one of the leaders.

Balkrishna Mahadev Patankar said that whatever Tilak and others did in words, Gandhi had done in deeds and what he had done was supported by all his countrymen. Gandhi's effort had resulted in the suggestion being made that Lord Chelmsford should resign. Gandhi was convinced that without political reforms-, other reforms were impossible. In Calcutta a large shipping business and in Nagar a sugar factory were being started by Europeans. To combat these efforts, Gandhi advocated Swadeshism.

The Chairman digressed somewhat when in conclusion he asked Government to pass a law prohibiting marriage before the age of 21 and asked British officials to give encouragement to Indians by praising them.

Note.—Numerous other meetings for this purpose were held at various places throughout the Presidency, but nothing worthy of note transpired. (C. I. D., Bombay Presidency.)

(b) *Ratnagiri, October 3rd.*—On the 21st September a meeting was held at Vithoba Temple, Vengurla, to celebrate the 51st birth day of M. K. Gandhi which was presided over by Keshav Anant Rajadhyaksha, Gaud Brahmin, a Landlord of Vengurla. One Ankush Ramchandra Gadekar, Gaud Brahmin, a landlord at Vengurla, made a short speech wherein he advised people to make use of handlooms.

Rajaram Purushottam Satardekar, Gaud Brahmin, a Ashram Sanyasi, explained the Satyagraha Ashram founded by Gandhi at Ahmedabad. He advocated the learning of Hindi which, he said, was spoken in all parts of India. A brief sketch of Gandhi's life was given by one Ganpat Shankar Torne. One Bhau Balkrishna Gulavani, a Deshastha Brahmin, resident of Solanko, Kolhapur State, gave a brief Kirtan.

The audience numbered about 200.

(c) *Sukkur, September 30th.*—On the 21st September, a public meeting was held in Shikarpur at which Dr. Mohanlal presided. Three songs were sung By the following people G. N. Paranjpe, Swami Prayag Bharati and Dharamdas of Messrs. Forbes, Forbes Campbell and Company. The meeting, which consisted of about 100 people, was then addressed by Mulchand Virumal, who said that a letter or telegram of birthday congratulations should be sent to Gandhi, special mention being made of his exertions in the cause of *Satyagraha*, Hindu-Mahommadan Unity and *Swadeshism*. Gandhi and his life were eulogised, and his actions were a thing of which India was proud. The speaker urged his audience to follow in Gandhi's footsteps. Swami Prayag Bharati spoke a few words on Hindu-Mahommadan Unity which he said was necessary for the attainment of success. He was followed by Naraindas Bhatanmal, who took for his text *Satyagraha*, and said that if " we were firm about *Satyagraha*, our haughty rulers would bow down before us and kiss our feet". The meeting then concluded with a few words from G. N. Paranjpe on the necessity for *Swadeshism* in India, which would bring about the salvation of Bharat, and the attainment of Swaraj.

(d) *C. I. D., Bombay Presidency, October 7th.*—The following is an extract from the Intelligence Branch, C. I. D., Bengal, report for the week ending the 24th September 1919, paragraph 3 :—

Mr. Gandhi's birthday celebration.—The commissioner of Police reports as follows : " A meeting was held at Beadon Square on the evening of the 21st instant to celebrate the 51st birthday of Mr. Gandhi. It was apparently organized by the Marwari and Bhatia sections of the population of Calcutta. The audience consisted of about 500 of whom the greater portion was non-Bengali. Nine Bhatia youths dressed in khaki coats, shorts, ammunition boots and pugrees, with brass letters ' Bh. V. C.' (Bhatia Volunteer Corps) on their shoulder-straps, were present and assisted in keeping order at the meeting. Another batch of ten Bhatia youths dressed in their national costume, with a badge ' Mataji Mandal' stitched on their breast pockets, sold copies of Mr. Gandhi's photo at one

anna per copy. The proceeds of the sale were to be utilised in alleviating the distress in the Punjab, and the photographs were sold very often for more than one anna. The chair was taken by Swami Atmanand Bharati, a sadhu of Benares.

"The primary object of the meeting was to eulogise Mr. Gandhi, but some speakers, including Pransankar Nandlal and Radhamohan Gokulji, exhorted the audience to use Swadeshi goods only. Babu Baikuntha Nath Banarji of Barisal, who addressed the meeting in Bengali, praised Bolshevism and said that Gandhi was a follower of that cult. Surendra Nath Sen took the opportunity of appealing for funds for the Bengal Famine Relief. Sadhu Pransankar Nandlal, saying he had nothing else to offer gave his water-pot, which was raffled for Rs. 20 for the fund and afterwards returned to the Sadhu. A sum of Rs. 70 was collected for the Famine Relief Fund at this meeting. Bholanath Barman recited a poem in Hindi to the effect, ' what do we care for your guns and naked swords when we are armed with the all-powerful soul force'. Two Mahommadan youths addressed the meeting, one in Hindi and one in Urdu, for Hindu-Mahommadan unity. It was noticeable that none of the Bengali leaders attended the meeting, and this was the subject of some comment amongst the audience, in view of the fact that a leaflet calling on persons to attend the meeting had been signed by Babu Motilal Ghosh, the Honourable Mr. Fazul Haq and Maulvi, Akram Khan, as well as by leaders of the Marwari community.

" On the 21st instant there was another meeting at the Phoenix Theatre at No. 150 Lower Chitpur Road, to celebrate the birthday anniversary of Mr. Gandhi. The chair was taken by J. Chaudhuri, Barrister-at-Law. There was nothing of interest to note about the speeches, which were merely in praise of Gandhi."

Page 882, paragraph 1298—

Bombay, October 6th.—Mohanlal Karamchand Gandhi presided to a public meeting held at the Excelsior Theatre on the 1st instant to celebrate the 73rd birthday of Mrs. Annie Besant. On the 2nd instant he attended a meeting of the Bhagini Samaj at the Vanita Vishram Hall, Sandhurst Road, where he was presented with a purse of Rs. 27,000 in honour of his 51st birthday. The same evening he addressed the members of the Muslim Students' "Union at Chowpatty. The audience was small, consisting of about thirty Hindus and thirty Mahommadans.

The main points of Gandhi's address were to lay stress on the importance of Hindu-Muslim unity and to encourage the young generation to regard themselves as the hope of the future. He urged them to work for the welfare of their country and to recognise the necessity for mutual sacrifice to secure unity.

He made an appeal to Mahommadan feeling by praising the Ali brothers as having excelled even Gokhale.

Page 895, paragraph 1319 (c)—

Kathiawar Agency, October 5th.—The Superintendent of Police writes : " During his tour in Kathiawar between September 25th and 28th Gandhi refrained from talking about Home Rule or *Satyagraha*, and confined himself to discussing *Swadeshism* and the uplifting of the lower classes. In commemoration of his birthday *Swadeshi* stores were opened at Gondal and Amreli. The tour as a whole created very little enthusiasm and appears to have left very little mark."

Page 896, paragraph 1322—

Bombay, October 6th.—M. K. Gandhi and the Committee to enquire into the Punjab disturbances.

The following telegrams have been intercepted : —

Telegram, dated 2nd October 1919, from M. K. Gandhi, Bombay to the address of the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy :

" In view of forthcoming Disturbance Inquiry I wrote from Ahmedabad applying for revocation of orders internment and externment against me have just learnt Committee beginning enquiry end this month I therefore request urgent and telegraphic reply."

Telegram, dated the 2nd October 1919, from M. K. Gandhi, Bombay to the address of Swami, Shradhanandji, Prakash Office, Lahore :—

"Please wire Ahmedabad what being done lead evidence before Disturbance Committee suggest central body exclusively devoted to collecting evidence proper counsel should be retained am trying secure permission enter Punjab."

Page 905, paragraph 1329—

Ahmedabad, October 5th.—On the morning of the 27th September the Manager of Mr. Gandhi's paper, *Navjivan*, issued a notice to the public of which the following is a translation :—

My attention has been drawn this morning by the District Magistrate's Assistant Rao Bahadur Bulakhidas, to Rule 25 (d) of the Defence of India Act, directing that no new newspaper can be printed or published without the permission in writing of the Government of any Province to which the rule may be applied, and that any person publishing or printing a newspaper in contravention of this rule would render himself liable. In ignorance of this rule, the permission of Government was not asked for the publication of

Navjivan. Having been informed of it to-day, a letter and telegram have been sent to Government for the requisite permission. Until permission is obtained, I postpone the publication of the 4th issue of the paper.

(Signed) INDULAL KANHAYALAL YAJNIK,
Publisher.

Mr. Gandhi, on returning from Rajkot, on the 29th apparently did not approve of his Manager's action, for, according to the information received, he sent an ultimatum to Government to the effect that he was going to publish his paper on the 1st of October.

It appeared on that date without the permission of Government having been obtained.

Note.—Government sanction Issued on the 20th September 1919 (Secretary S.D.).

Page 916, paragraph 1350—

C. I. D., Bombay Presidency, October 17th.—The order of the Punjab Government, dated the 9th April 1919, prohibiting M. K. Gandhi from entering the Punjab, has been cancelled with effect from the 15th October 1919.

Page 924-25, paragraph 1365 (a)—

Bombay, October 11th.—Gandhi has left Baroda and gone to Amreli to open some Swadeshi Stores. It is rumoured in Bombay that he has received permission from the Government of India to enter the Punjab. He is expected in Bombay on the 16th instant and it is alleged that his intention is to try and persuade the Hindus and Mahommadans to bathe in the sea on the morning of the 17th, then to go to their respective temples and mosques for prayers and in the evening to call a large public meeting where a resolution should be passed protesting against the dismemberment of Turkey. Gandhi intends to issue his detailed instructions for the 17th instant on his arrival in Bombay. It seems probable that a strenuous attempt will be made to have a hartal, but I think it most likely if they succeed at all the strike will be very partial and it promises to fall as flat as did the so-called *hartal* held in connection with the deportation of Horniman.

One important fact is that even the Satyagrahis are now discontented with Gandhi, for he has transferred his headquarters from Bombay and has incurred their displeasure by refusing to condemn the Indemnity Bill. There is some talk that the *Satyagraha* Office will close down. It will be interesting to see how far Gandhi's influence will be able to override the wishes of men like Sir Fazul-bhoy Currimbhoy and Chhotani. Both these gentlemen have a large

stake in the country, and it is quite obvious that they are averse from doing anything that is likely to lead to disorder.

Page 928-29, paragraph 2365(a)—

Bombay, October 13th.—I attach for your information a copy of Gandhi's Manifesto (marked "A") (printed below) which appeared in the *Chronicle* of yesterday and to-day. It is couched in much the same terms as his Manifestos usually are; he advocates a complete *hartal*, fasting and abstention from violence in any shape or form and he concludes by inviting Government to join in the demonstration.

In addition to this manifesto, Gandhi published a notice in bold type in his paper *Navjivan* advising Hindus and Mahommadans to fast for 24 hours, to suspend business and to pass the day in prayers in their own homes. He advised labourers, servants and hospital attendants not to strike. 30,000 copies of this manifesto are being prepared in the form of a handbill by the *Satyagraha Sabha*, but the time of fasting in these handbills is being curtailed to 12 hours.

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"A".

Page 929—

From the Bombay Chronicle, dated the 13th October, 1919.

THE KHILAFAT DAY.

MR. GANDHI'S APPEAL TO HINDUS.

To

THE EDITOR OF *THE CHRONICLE*.

Sir,

The Khilafat Conference at Lucknow has decided to observe Friday next, the 17th instant, as a day of fasting and prayer. There can be no doubt about the intensity of Muslim feeling on this very important matter. There is no doubt also that the intentions of the League are distrusted. In one's darkest hour, God is the only refuge and it is to Him that millions of Muslims all over India are expected to turn for comfort, guidance, and relief. Millions of mouths will, that day, ask the Almighty if it be His will to avert the impending doom. A true Muslim can no more contemplate with equanimity the dismemberment of Turkey than a Christian can so contemplate the desecration of what is dearest and nearest to him.

What are the Hindus to do ? I feel that they could do no less than their Mahommedan brethren. Their fast and prayer will be the truest test of friendship and fellow-feeling. I hope that every

Hindu, man and woman, will observe the 17th instant and thus put a sacred seal on the Hindu-Mahommadan bond.

There is also to be a hartal. It is intended to impress upon His Majesty's Ministers the seriousness of the position. But in order to be impressive it has to be absolutely peaceful and voluntary. Any exercise of force will make it thoroughly useless for the purpose for which it is intended. If the Mahommedans really feel, and if the Hindus are sincere in their professions of frindship, naturally they will both voluntarily stop work on the 17th. I have ventured tenderly to adivse that in view of past experience, there should be no processions, no meetings. Everyone must remain indoors except volunteers, and the Mahommedans who will visit the Juma Masjid. Any breach of the peace will simply mar a most excellent cause. I have, therefore, further suggested that the mill-hands should in no way be encouraged to stop work, nor those who are engaged in the interests in public health.

I venture to hope that the Government will rise to the occasion. Indeed, they could make common cause with the people and, thereby, tell His Majesty's Ministers that we consider the Khilafat question as a sacred trust which must not be betrayed. But whether the Government go so far or not, they can at least issue instructions to all the officials not to interfere either directly or indirectly with the forthcoming peaceful demonstration. I am yours, etc.

M. K. GANDHI.

The Ashram,

Sabarmati, 10th October 1919.

Page 943, paragraph 1381—

C. I. D., Bombay Presidency, October 20th.—Mr. Gandhi, in a letter to the *Bombay Chronicle* of the 20th instant, thus comments on the cancellation of the order prohibiting his entry into the Punjab : —

I am naturally thankful for it in that it enables me to visit the Punjab and to render such service as I may be capable of rendering. At the same time I cannot help saying that it was not with unmixed pleasure that I received the release order. The order of Internment and Externment was no discredit to me, my conscience was absolutely clear. When it was served upon me it appeared to me to be an act of criminal folly on the part of the Government. And now, though the release order is creditable to the Government, it cannot recall the precious lives for whose loss the prohibitory order must be held responsible. Moreover, so long as the Rowlatt Act remains on the statute-book, the release order can be no joy for me. In the Internment order I had a ready-made weapon for offering civil resistance.

I hear people saying that *Satyagraha* is as dead as Queen Anne and that Mr. Montagu will never repeal the Rowlatt Act, although he is quite sure that the Act will never be enforced. Those who make the first statement do not know what *Satyagraha* is and how it works. Those who make the second do not know the power of *Satyagraha*- He who runs may see that *Satyagraha* is slowly but surely pervadeing the land. So far as Mr. Montagu's supposed declaration is. concerned, the strongest man of South Africa had to yield to that matchless force. It was in 1909 that General Smuts, backed by General Botha and the European opinion of South Africa, said that although the Transvaal Asiatic Act would not be enforced, he would never formally repeal it, but in 1914 he proved his strength by repealing that Act and removing the legal racial bar from the Immigration Law. I have not the slightest doubt that Mr. Montagu and the Viceroy will yield to the same ancient force and repeal the Rowlatt Act long before the expiry of its time-limit. But Whether they do or not the lives of the *Satyagrahis are dedicated* to securing among other things the repeal of that Act.....I am etc.

M. K. GANDHI.

Khilafat Day, Bombay.

Page 958, paragraph 1400—

Ahmedabad, October 17th.—Shankarlal G. Banker bought the Manohar Printing Press at Pankore Naka, Ahmedabad, for Mr. Gandhi.

Page 964, paragraph 1412—

(a) *C. I. D., Bombay Presidency, October 30th.*—The following is an extract from the *Bombay Chronicle*, dated 30th October 1919.

Mr. Gandhi's visit to Amritsar, abandoned owing to unavoidable circumstances.

Amritsar, October 27th.

Monday was a veritable Gandhi day for the whole of Amritsar as it had become known the previous day that Mr. Gandhi was coming to Amritsar by the Calcutta Mail to-day. No arrangements were organized for his reception nor any formal announcement was made yet the whole town was on tiptoe of expectation and from the earliest hour of the morning preparations were made by the citizens to accord a befitting welcome. The town wore a gala day appearance. Business houses and shops were decked with rich clothes and tapestries and every street and shop had laid its store of rose petals and garlands to shower on the distinguished guest of the city. Hours before the time, streams of humanity were moving to

the railway station. Hindus, Mahommadans and Sikhs had suspended business in honour of the event. In their determination to honour Mahatma Gandhi, women lined the roadsides, crowded windows and balconies and thousands of rupees worth flowers were purchased and carried in cartfuls to the station and stocked en-route.

At noon a message arrived on the telephone that the Mahatmaji had abandoned the visit and was proceeding direct to Delhi to attend the Enquiry Committee. An endeavour was made to get the Mahatmaji to stay a few hours on the way to Delhi passing via Amritsar. Even this was found impossible. When the message was communicated the crowds would not believe, thinking they were being sent away to avoid rush. They waited and waited hoping against hope until the train came and left, but no Gandhiji came.

Mr. Gandhi's Message.

Mahatma Gandhi sent the following message to the disappointed people of Amritsar on Monday night : " Please tell the public that I have simply been unable to go because the mission on which I have come requires my presence in Lahore. I hope to see the friends in Amritsar shortly."

(b) *Ahmedabad, October 26th.*—Gandhi left for Lahore on the 22nd October via Baroda. The Superintendent of Police, Lahore, was informed by wire.

(c) *Kathiawar Agency, October 19th.*—The Superintendent of Police writes :—"Mr. M. K. Gandhi visited Bhavnagar on the 12th instant. In the morning he gave a lecture on *Swadeshism* at Victor Square. W. C. Tudorowen, Esquire, presided.

"At midday he visited the Dhed Wada and gave them a lecture on handweaving. In the evening he addressed a female audience on the subject of spinning and weaving in their spare time, after which he left for Ahmedabad. Flowers were thrown on him by some Dhed women which was not relished by some of his admirers.

"His visit was not a great success and his departure was a tame one."

(d) *Darbhanga, September 27th.*—The Inspector Khajouli, reports a rumour is current in his Sub-Division that Mr. Gandhi has been invited by the villagers of Narar to look into cultivators' grievances.

Page 965, para. 1413—

Bombay Presidency, October 25th.—The following appeared in the *Servant of India*, dated the 23rd October 1919 : —

The withdrawal of orders passed against Messrs. Gandhi and Tilak will cause satisfaction throughout the country. Those orders, which were by no means necessary or justifiable when they were

issued, have no semblance of excuse in the present circumstances. The release of Mr. Gandhi is particularly welcome, because no one can render more valuable assistance in collecting and marshalling evidence before the Disorders Committee than he. It is to be regretted that the Punjab Government does not yet see its way to cancel the orders prohibiting Mr. Tilak from entering the province or forbidding the entry of the *Hindu* and the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*.

Page 972, para. 1430—

Bombay, October 18th.—" At 9 p.m. Gandhi attended a meeting at the *Satyagraha* Office. About 30 *Satyagrahis* were present. Gandhi explained that the idea had got about amongst *satyagrahis* that the *Satyagraha* movement was dead. He said that *Satyagraha* was something that could not die. He intended to carry on the movement until the Rowlatt Act had been abolished. He was questioned about his attitude towards the Indemnity Bill. He said that now that the Punjab order had been cancelled he would lead evidence before the Punjab Commission to show that there had been no necessity for Martial Law, and thus no necessity for the Indemnity Bills. But the audience made it clear that they considered that he had made a great mistake in publicly supporting the Indemnity Bill. Gandhi then said that he was sorry to hear it and asked their pardon (*maf karo*).

Page 993, para. 1465 (c)—

C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, November 5th.—The following appeared in the *Bombay Chronicle* of the 3rd instant : —

India cannot celebrate peace until Khilafat question settled.

Mr. Gandhi's Letter. Delhi, November 1st :

Mr. M. K. Gandhi has addressed the following letter to the press : —

" Several friends have enquired what should be the position regarding the forthcoming Peace celebrations. On the Khilafat day, I know that resolutions were passed at some meetings to the effect that the Mahommadans could not participate in the celebrations if the Khilafat question was not satisfactorily settled, as there can be no peace in Indian estimation. So long as the great question remain unsolved and the Mahommadans sentiment is in danger of being lacerated and millions of Mahommadans remaining in suspense or grief, it is hardly possible for the Hindus, Parsis, Christians, Jews and others for whom India is the land of their adoption or birth, to take part in the forthcoming rejoicings. I venture to think that His Excellency the Viceroy can, if he will, tell His Majesty's

Ministers that Indians cannot participate in the celebrations so long as the Khilafat question remains unsettled, and I do hope that His Majesty's Ministers will recognise the necessity of securing and publishing an honourable settlement of the question before asking us to take part in the Peace celebrations," and the following telegrams were noticed in the censorship :—

(1) From Gandhi, Delhi, to the address of the *Satyagrdha* Ashram, Sabarmati, dated the 31st October 1919 : —

" No peace celebrations until Khilafat question satisfactorily settled."

Page 1005, para. 1474—

S. B., Punjab, October 21st.—The following wire was sent by Mr. Gandhi on the 13th October 1919 to Mr. Andrews (supra) : —

"C. F. Andrews, Ferozepore Road, Lahore.

Just returned from Kathiawar, won't be too late if you start middle November even later.

Note :—This presumably refers to some proposed visit of Andrews to South Africa. (*S. B., Punjab*).

Page 1005, para. 1475—

Kaira, November 4th.—The departure of M. K. Gandhi for the Punjab is a topic of much interest in Nadiad and it is said that his visit will greatly benefit the Punjabis.

Page 1008, para. 1486—

C. I. D., Bombay Presidency, November 8th.—The following appeared in *Young India*, dated the 5th November 1919 :—

"Mr. Gandhi's Punjab Letter.—In a letter which he has sent to the *Navajivan* from the Punjab, Mr. Gandhi gives an idea of the lines on which the leaders working there are proceeding. He says: " We are thinking of making three requests to the Committee: '(1) That the leaders should be released pending the enquiry of the Committee, (2) that one of the two Revision Judges should be from outside the Punjab, and (3) that the Revision Judges should also have power to receive and call further evidence where they think necessary. It is rumoured that our counsels will not be allowed to appear before the committee, but it is hoped that they will be. If these things are not conceded I am afraid we could not lead any evidence before the committees. If it is decided to lead evidence, it will be led very probably by Mr. C. R. Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru. Mr. Navel, a barrister from England, is also expected to arrive in about a fortnight to help Messrs. Das and Nehru.

Pandit Malaviyaji and Pandit Motilal are by common consent said to have rendered unique services to the Punjab. They brought solace and strength to the terror stricken Punjab. Pandit Motilal has cared little for practice. Swami Shraddhanandji belongs to the Punjab and has naturally given of his best to the land of his birth. Some lesser-known leaders of the Punjab are also doing their share of the work. It is impossible to estimate Mr. Andrews' services. He has been so silently and unpretentiously toiling on that no one knows how much and what he is doing. He has been a veritable Sir Gibby in the Punjab (sick). Of him it may be truly said that his left hand knoweth not what the right is doing. His work has thus naturally told, and he has been able to reach places and people in the Punjab whom other workers have not reached. Towards the conclusion he says that he has already seen the Deputy Commissioner and the Lieutenant-Governor and that he expected ere long to visit the incarcerated leaders of the Punjab.

Page 1011-12, para. 1490 (b, c, d,)—

(b) *Bombay, November 10th.*—"There is a good deal of comment as to what success is likely to attend Gandhi's fresh campaign, namely, abstention from taking part in the Peace celebrations. Many sympathise with him and consider the suggestion a good one. So far as I can see at present the programme of the Peace celebrations does not lend itself to effective action by way of protest in any form of passivity. It will not mar the success of the Peace celebrations; for instance, if Gandhi's friends and admirers turn their backs on the fireworks, nor is it likely that Gandhi himself would desire to interfere in any way with the feeding of the poor. The only danger, therefore, is that Gandhi and his followers will not be content with abstention pure and simple. It is quite likely that they may organise some counter-demonstration in the shape of giant public meeting. I do not consider that Gandhi will be able to do much without the co-operation of Chhotani. Chhotani has not yet shown his hand and we have no means of judging his views upon this point. He is being wooed by one or two staunch supporters of Government and I have seen a good deal of him myself in the hope that he may be influenced not to take part in a movement that is so open to misconstruction. *Police Commissioner.

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(c) *Panch Mahals, November 8th.*—The District Magistrate writes :—"I fear that there may be some holding back in the spontaneity of the Peace Celebrations on December 13th,—16th in view of Gandhi's pronouncement. I am not aware whether the Government of India purports extending any clemency to the Punjab or

other rioters on the occasion, but if they do so the fact should be announced soon enough to allow news to get through by December 15th at latest."

(d) *Surat, November 3rd.*—Local *Satyagrahis* and Home Rulers have been secretly advising the public not to take part in the Peace Celebrations. Of course this is in consequence of M. K. Gandhi's desire which appeared publicly in the papers.

Page 1017, para. 1497(f)—

Kaira, November 10th.—Gandhi has recently given it as his opinion that unless the Khilafat question is settled, both Hindus and Mahommadans should refrain from taking any part in the Peace Celebrations. Upon this hint, it is rumoured, in the Nadiad bazar that the majority of the people will act in accordance with Gandhi's views.

Pages 1021-23, para. 1503—

S. B., Punjab, October 27th.—A C. I. D. Officer reports : " As announced in the Tribune on the 23rd October 1919 Mahatma Gandhi arrived at Lahore to-day the 24th by the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Mail at 9-20 a.m. There were between two and three thousand people on the platform to receive him. The crowd outside numbered about five or six thousand. There were many students (from almost every local college) and pleaders, etc."

" The people were very eager to get access to the platform so much so that when the Railway authorities stopped the issue of the platform tickets, several people purchased tickets for Lahore Cantonment and Amritsar and a considerable number went in without any such tickets. All the overbridges, the roof of the enquiry office near the 1st and 2nd class booking office and in short every available place was crowded with people. Even the Railway menial staff jumped on to the top of the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Mail train (in which Mahatma Gandhi travelled) in order to have a look at Gandhi. The Railway authorities were quite helpless and could do nothing to check the crowd. The train arrived amidst a tremendous clapping of hands and loud cheers. Pandit Malaviya and Lala Dharam Das Suri forthwith went into Mahatma Gandhi's compartment. The crowd surrounded the carriage and it took about five minutes before Mahatma Gandhi could get out. His appearance on the platform was hailed by a prolonged shout of *Mahatma Gandhi ki jai*. He was dressed in a plain dhoti, a *kurta* and a *topi*, all of *khadar* cloth (rough country cloth) with bare feet and had a *chadar* under his arm. All were anxious to touch Mahatma Gandhi's feet, but only a few strong persons, who could manage to cleave a way through that compact mass of people were

able to reach near him and touch his feet. Efforts were made to garland him on the platform, but he did not permit it to be done. Mahatma Gandhi several times requested the people to make a way for him, but they would not. At last it was with the utmost difficulty that he was able to move, but was again detained at the overbridge for about ten minutes and further on in the porch where the crowd was enormous. There were shouts of *Mahatma Gandhi ki jai* all along. Mahatma Gandhi was then seated in a motor car along with Malaviya and Dharam Das Suri and two or three others whose names could not be ascertained. At first the people did not allow the car to move at all and when they permitted it to start they would not allow it to go to its destination by way of the civil station as was intended originally, but compelled the occupants to proceed through the city. The procession went along through Landa Bazar, Delhi Gate, Kashmiri Bazar and Dabbi Bazar to Bazar Hatta where the people compelled Mahatma Gandhi and others with him to turn back and proceed through Shahalmi Gate Bazar to Paper Mandi and thence via Lohari Gate and Anarkali towards the Commercial buildings and the Mall on to the bungalow of Pandit Ram Bhaj Datt, where he is putting up. The crowd went on increasing as the procession progressed through the bazars. The shopkeepers were extremely enthusiastic in according a suitable reception to Mahatma Gandhi whom they called a 'God'. There was showering of flowers wherever flowers could be had. Mahatma Gandhi had his hands folded and the people also bowed before him and folded their hands at seeing him. In the Anarkali there were cries of *Hindu-Mussalman ki jai*, *Pandit Ram Bhaj Datt ki jai*, *Duni Chand ki jai* in addition to *Mahatma Gandhi ki jai*. Some of the passengers, who arrived by the same train, were heard saying that from Kasur onwards lots of people came to see Mahatma Gandhi at every station, wherever the train stopped."

S.B., Punjab, October 27th.—Mr. Gandhi did not go out anywhere the day he arrived; remained in Chaudharani Sarla Devi's house. Pandit Malaviya went to see him and during the course of conversation remarked that when he first started work the people were very fearful, but latterly they were picking up courage and were ready now to come forward with their evidence. It had been arranged that those who wanted to give evidence should forward their written statements in sealed covers; that their own workers should not question anyone as to the nature of the evidence he had given, but should go on with their own work quietly and smoothly.

In the afternoon many people (chiefly students and shopkeepers) came to see Mr. Gandhi who came out and sat on a chair, but

Sarala Devi told them that *Mahatmaji* was tired and they must excuse him. Mahatma Gandhi spent the day studying Lala Harkishan Lal's case.

S. B. Punjab, October 29th.—On Sunday the 26th, batches of people, including women, went to Chaudhari Ram Bhaj Dart's house to see Mahatma Gandhi but he sent word through Chaudhrani Sarala Devi that it was not the time for interviews, he would send for anyone he wanted to see. After this he wrote to Dr. Nihal Chand to say that he would come to his house between 1 and 3 O'clock in the afternoon and asked that his visit be kept quite secret, and that Hem Raj Shahdara (who was arrested by the Police during the Martial Law and afterwards released) and certain other persons, about whom he had already spoken to him should be sent for to his house. When these people were summoned by Dr. Nihal Chand and when other arrangements (the spreading of darries, etc.) were made, the people guessed (or else some one let the secret out) that Gandhi was coming and a huge crowd had gathered by 1 O'clock. Many had garlands of flowers in their hands to throw. Gandhi accompanied by Raghunath Sahai and Dharam Chand, B.A., LL.B., arrived at 1-30. He was received by Dr. Nihal Chand, Jai Gopal Tandon, Dr. Gopi Chand and Amir Chand of the Swadeshi Stores, some distance from the house. There was loud cheering, showering of flowers, and cries of *Mahatma Gandhi ki jai*. Hundreds of Indian ladies were sitting on the roofs of the houses. When he arrived within about 40 yards of Dr. Nihal Chand's house, he stopped and issued clear orders (*Mera hukam hai*) that no one was to move until he had entered the house of Dr. Nihal Chand. He had hardly gone two paces when with a shout the crowd rushed after him. Mahatma Gandhi flushed with annoyance, but went on. He entered Dr. Nihal Chand's house and there found Seth Kanahaya Lal, Hem Raj of Shahdara, Salig Ram of the Arorbans Press and a number of Indian ladies, relative of persons injured or otherwise afflicted during the Martial Law days. All had been specially called there to have their evidence recorded by Gandhi. The crowd, however, also forced its way inside, so that Gandhi himself had hardly room to stand. He tried to speak, but had only uttered the word "Friends", when there was a rush and he was pushed back against the wall. He gave up his attempt to speak, but said that if the people were so anxious to kiss feet, it would be much better for them to cut them off and then they would have them always available. Such scrambling and pushing was useless and the real work for which he had come was being prevented. However, the turmoil continued and Gandhi told Dr. Nihal Chand that he would neither address the people nor do any work there ; he

would call those he wanted to see to Ram Bhaj Datt's house. He then took his leave and went away without interviewing anybody. He drove in a car with Dr. Nihal Chand, Jai Gopal Tandon, Raghunath Sahai and Dharam Chand, B.A., LL.B., through the Shahalmi Bazar, Bazaz Hatta and Chuck Surjan Singh to Hira Mandi and stopped at the spot where the firing took place during the riots on the 12th April. He wanted to inspect the site, but an enormous crowd had gathered there already and Gandhi refused to get out. He went on to the Badshahi Mosque and thence back to his house. From there he went to Harkishan Lal's Bungalow on the Feroze-pore Road to see Malaviya. Later on they came together to the Commercial Buildings and met Mr. Shanti Lal Malvi, a Gujarati, Proprietor of the New Medical Hall, where Mr. Godbole of the Dyal Singh College and Mr. Omkar Nath of the Gandharv Maha Vidyalaya were there to meet him. He wanted to get a new warm coat made for himself whereupon Durga Das of " Cheap John " brought a piece of some thick *Swadeshi* cloth. Gandhi gave special instructions that it was not to be sewn with foreign thread or by machine but with country thread by hand. Shanti Lal asked him to dinner; but he said that he was going to Amritsar the next day and thence to the Ahmedabad Political Conference after which he would see if he could accept the invitation. Mr. Godbole then said that he had left his post in the Dyal Singh College and was shortly going to the Hindu College, Benares ; in the meantime he offered his services. Gandhi accepted them and asked him to accompany him to Amritsar.

Gandhi and Andrews intended to leave for Amritsar by the Hardwar passenger on the 27th. They would not travel by the Mail because there was no third class accommodation on it. The journey was, however, postponed.

Pages 1038-39, para 1535 (a and b) —

S. B., Punjab; From Abstract dated November 8th(a) S. B., Punjab, November 3rd.—A C. I. D. Officer reports : " Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Andrews left Lahore for Delhi on the 28th October 1919 by the 4 Down (Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway)."

"He arrived at the station about half an hour before the mail's departure. The following persons accompanied him : —

- (1) Chaudhrani Sarla Devi.
- (2) An Indian lady. (Her name could not be ascertained, but she seemed to be a Brahmo lady.)
- (3) Jawaharlal Nehru.
- (4) Jiwan Lal, son of Lala Harkishan Lal.
- (5) Amal Ch. Home, Assistant Editor of the *Tribune*.

(6) Hari Mohan Chatterji (reporter of newspapers).

(7) K. Santanam, Bar-at-Law.

"Before getting into the compartment Mr. Gandhi took his seat on a bench in front of the second class refreshment room where some of the passengers and railway employees surrounded him and bowed before him with folded hands. He then got into a second class compartment, and his servant in a third class compartment, and he took leave of his companions. The train left at about 9 p.m. There was no crowd at the station to see him off as probably people were not aware of his departure."

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(b) *S. B., Delhi.—From Abstract, dated November 8th.*—Gandhi and C. F. Andrews left for Amritsar on the 3rd November 1919.

Pages 1039-40, para 1536—

S. B., Punjab, November 3rd.—M. Gandhi is busy in these days in hearing the judgments and the evidence (both prosecution and defence) in the Martial Law cases through his secretaries and local pleaders such as Mr. Ganpat Rai, Santanam, etc., etc. After hearing each case he selects the statements which he intends to put before the Commission. When hearing Harkishen Lal's case he is said to have remarked that Mr. Fyson's statement would help them to show that the situation in the Punjab was really not so serious as the Punjab Government represented it to be. The local workers have come to know that, if M. Gandhi discovers that there was the least coaching of witnesses in the collection of evidence or if he comes to know from the evidence that the Punjab Government was justified in taking the action it did, he will forthwith withdraw himself in representing the cause of the Punjab. They (the workers) are therefore trying their best to avoid all suspicion, and to show that great *zulum* was practiced in the Punjab during the Martial Law days. M. Gandhi is also busy in hearing the evidence that is being collected and has given the people to understand that he will announce his opinion in the course of two or three days and will publish the same in the papers as well. On one point he has already expressed his opinion, viz., that he would ask the Disorders Committee to allow them to cross-examine the prosecution witnesses produced by Government in the Martial Law cases, because he was sure that lots of facts would be elicited in this way in favour of their case, and that in return he would be quite willing to allow their own witnesses to be cross-examined. If Government did not permit this, they would produce no evidence at all before the Commission, but would print the non-official enquiry proceedings and distribute the same broadcast.

S. B., Punjab, November 5th.—On the 28th M. Gandhi sent word to the various local Colleges inviting the students to come and see him at 3-30 p.m.. In response to this message about three hundred and fifty students from different Colleges (mostly D. A. V. College students, with a few from the Government College, but including no Mahom-madan students at all), gathered at the house of Ram Bhaj Dutt. M. Gandhi came out an hour later with Sarala Devi. He addressed the students and said that he had sent for them to give them an opportunity of seeing him which they were doubtless longing to do, and also because he wanted to give them a little advice. " When you students, he said, pass your B. A. examination you begin to consider how you will earn your living. In most cases you take to service where you get very small pay on which it is impossible to live properly. The result of this is that you try to earn more by underhand means and with the money thus acquired you begin to indulge in extravagance in the matter, of dress, etc. You thus become hopelessly corrupt. I would advise you to give up all thoughts of going into service and to take to trade instead. You should, moreover, make up your minds to lead simple lives, wearing ordinary cheap clothes and avoiding all extravagance in dress. Imitate me in this respect and have *khaddar* cloth made in your own homes. Only thus will you command real respect and learn the value of money. I would further ask you never to deviate from the truth." He then added that he intended approaching the Government to ask for more openings to be made for Indians in trade and dismissed his audience.

M. Gandhi has sent for an ordinary Indian *charkha* (spinning wheel) and whenever Indian ladies go to see him, he sits down and works it with his own hands to show them that he and his wife spin their own cloth and they should do the same. The ladies agree heartily at the time, but do not trouble about the advice when they come back to their houses. Probably not one of them will imitate M. Gandhi in this respect. They remember the incident as a piece of curious gossip to be talked about to other ladies. However, in spite of this they all treat M. Gandhi as an *Avatar*.

Pages 1040-41, para 1537—

S. B., Delhi—From Abstract, dated November 8th.—A public meeting was held at Pataudi House on the 1st November under the auspices of Mr. Gandhi to commemorate the Delhi martyrs. The audience was of unparalleled size. Mr. Gandhi, speaking in very broken Urdu, began to refute some of the lies current about the Enquiry Committee, but the howls of the mob and its violent endeavours to come within earshot of him so exasperated him that in spite of the entreaties of Shardhanand, Shankarlal and others he

broke off the meeting and departed. The proceedings lasted 15 minutes and were a complete fiasco.

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The abortive meeting of the 1st November was held again on the 2nd. The audience was a good deal smaller but still very large. There was no disorder.

Hasrat Mohani was proposed for the chair by Shankar Lal who said that he, as the martyr of the nation, was obviously the most suitable man to commemorate the martyrs of Delhi. Khaliq and Sadiq then read poems on Gandhi and martyrs. Qari Abbas Hussain, editor of the defunct *Qaum*, recommended the building of a memorial hall to show the public confidence in their leaders, and to give their enemies no chance of sneering Mr. Gandhi arrived in the course of this speech and was heartily applauded. Mr. Gandhi made a speech sitting. He condemned the rowdiness of the previous meeting and exhorted the people to persevere in their intention of building a memorial hall. He refuted some lies current about the Enquiry Committee and warned his audience against their habits of untruthfulness. He intended to persevere in *Satyagraha* against the Rowlatt Act. No Hindu would join the Peace Celebration unless the Khilafat question had been previously settled to the satisfaction of Mahommadans. The Delhi Martyrs' Week will probably be held during the official Peace Celebrations as a countershow.

Page 1042, para 1539—

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S. B., Punjab, November 2nd.—The Lahore Hindus have named him " Sudama Bhagat", a rishi of olden days, who was held in great reverence.

The above-named anniversary (Dayanand's—Divali Day) was followed by M. Gandhi's* arrival in Lahore on the morning of the 24th instant. Though no demonstration or public reception of any kind was organized by any one, yet there were not less than 6 to 7 thousand persons of all castes and creeds and professions, barring the raees class, to receive him at the Railway Station. Future events will show what his arrival, as also those of other extra-Provincial leaders, to Lahore and this province would mean. The politicians have, for some years past, been nibbling at the question as to how to arouse Political activity in the masses of this " Sword arm ", but " educationally backward province of India. " So far they had met with unstisfactory results from their point of view, but the general impression now is that their object has been achieved, and at least the disturbed districts have shaken off their political lethargy and in the very near future they would make no fuss in demanding

to quote the wording of the politicians as to the right of " free British citizenship ". M. Gandhi is simply adored and the following remark or remarks similar to it made by several persons, both Hindus and Mahommadans, will give an idea of the reverence in which he is held.

" God sent many a Prophet to this world, each of them representing a particular community, and as such he was worshipped and adored by that very community. Look at this prophet with clothes not worth five annas in all on him and with the top button of his shirt gone, before whom followers of all religions in India bow. Those who have been loud in condemning the order of the late Lieutenant-Governor prohibiting the entry of M. Gandhi into the Punjab now say, " See how peacefully everything has passed off". If this saint had been allowed to come then without any police or *fauji intizam* he would have not only calmed the then atmosphere but hundreds of lives would have been saved and also hundreds of families from ruination. This view, however, is not shared by all as those differing from it say that the horizon then was heavily overcast and to restore law and order drastic measures were needed.

Page 1049, para. 1555—

S. B., Delhi.—From Abstract, dated November 8th.—A tea party was held on the 31st October 1919, under the auspices of the Home Rule, Volunteer Corps at the residence of Ratan Lai Hazari Lai, jewellers.

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A practical demonstration of Hindu-Muslim unity was given by Gandhi, Ajmal Khan, Ansari and Munshi Ram partaking of sweets from the same dish.

The party broke up on Gandhi's departure amidst shouts of *Gandhi-ki-jai*.

Pages 1095-98, para. 1609—

S. B., Punjab—Amritsar, November 1st.—In connection with Gandhi's visit to Lahore, there is a general belief here that as a result of his interview with His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, orders have been passed by the Government directing the release of Doctors Kitchlew and Satya Pal of Amritsar. Messrs. Harkishen Lall and Duni Chand of Lahore and other respectable lawyers of Gujranwala, all of whom will be set at liberty before the arrival of the Commission at Lahore.

Ferozepore, November 1st.—All police stations report that the coming of Gandhi to the Punjab is causing a deal of talk and the educated local public are of the opinion that his coming here will make a big difference in the coming Commission of Enquiry.

Popular rumour further has it that the Punjab Government are uneasy at his arrival and are in communication with His Excellency the Viceroy over the matter.

Montgomery, November 1st.—A Sikh gentleman met me the other day and said that some of the people who attended Gandhi's speech in Lahore were heard saying *woh bat nahim hai*. This sentence has two meanings : (1) that they found him below their expectation, (2) that he appeared afraid of Government and did not speak in the manner they expected him.

Note.—Other reports also tend to show that Gandhi has not a real grip on the political classes or masses at any rate up here. He is, however, a man whose popularity is always waxing and waning and the slightest incident may restore all his prestige.—(S. B., Punjab.)

Lahore, November 1st.—An informer reports that Mahatma Gandhi's praises are still being sung. During his short stay here he was visited by persons of all castes and creeds. Those who had been hard hit by Martial Law he advised to make a true statement of their grievances and to entertain no fears of harassment by the police or any other officials or non-officials. He advised students to be fearless and bold and to tread in the path of truth and to the women he commended the use of the spinning wheel.

Before the Commission of Enquiry he is expected to work miracles. By the illiterate masses he is simply adored, but the cultured class appear to assign a second place to him in political circles, the first being reserved for Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya who is said to be equally prepared to yield where it suits his purpose and to stand as firm as a rock when he thinks by doing so he will reach his goal, whereas Mahatma Gandhi is like the *Sadhus* of yore who clung through thick and thin to what they had once uttered. The news that counsel will be permitted to appear and cross-examine before the Commission has been hailed with joy and the general impression is that with Lord Hunter there will be nothing but fair play. The politicians of the extremist type say that Government is yielding inch by inch and when the history of martial Law in the Punjab comes to be written it will be found the Government had to undo all that it had done, and that the unarmed and defenceless masses who, they allege, were made targets for machine-guns will have come out victorious.

The "*Khalkat*", however, ascribes the above reaction to Sir Edward Maclagan's clemency and it is said that he has prolonged the life of British Rule in India by giving a patient hearing to persons like Gandhi, Malaviya, etc. To put the thing in a nutshell the whole city is ablaze with political and *swadeshi* fire.

The influence of the *raees* class is on the wane and will probably continue so. The politician dubs men of this class traitors to their

motherland whereas the masses consider them worthless *sajed poshes* who can be of no help to them even in the ventilation of their grievances.

Before entering the temple, Gandhi advised the people to refrain from shouting ' Jais' inside it, but they continued to do so. This excited the feelings of a Nihang, named Nand Singh of Anandpur, who was sitting in the Akal Bunga, and had a hatchet in his hand. When Gandhi passed near him, he began to abuse him badly, as well as the Hindus and Mahommadans, remarking that the people of the Punjab were killed for the sake of this "*Haramzada*". Churches and banks were burnt, Europeans were killed, railway lines and telegraph wires damaged. He also shouted " Hindu-Musalman Ki Khai ", Gandhi ki Khai " and " Guru Ram Dass Ki Jai." Some of the crowd were enraged at the Nihang's remarks, but their feelings were pacified by others, who called him a mad man. Gandhi made an offering of Rs. 11 (ten being handed over to him by Girdhari Lall). When the usual ' Saropa' was presented to him by the Pujaris, he wore the turban on his head then and there, whereupon the people cheered him and a few touched his feet This was objected to by the Pujaris, who regarded this a disgrace for the 'Granth Sahib'. On his way back from the temple he asked the people to make way for him, but none listened to him, as everyone was attempting to come near him. Being thus disturbed, he remarked that as they would not listen to him, it was therefore evident that their previous sufferings were due to their similar conduct in disobeying his instructions. The Congress volunteers then brought ropes and made way for him. After offering Rs. 5 at the Akal Bunga, he came out of the temple at 11-30.

The procession reached the Flour Mills at 12-30, through Bazar Mai Sewan, Guru Bazar, Katra Hari Singh, Majith Mandi, Dal Mandi, Lachman Sar and Chauk Muni. The same Nihang was present in Chauk, where he again abused Gandhi, the Holy Prophet, the Hindus and others.

From the Clock Tower to the Flour Mills the streets were decorated, and flowers were showered on him.

Gandhi all along the rout kept his hands folded humbly.

Everything passed off quietly. The following verses were placarded on the shop of Ismail Mushtak Katra Jaimal Singh : —

" *Na kiyon hogi Sarkar men Tawir Gandhi ki,*"

" *Mussar har tarah sabat hui Taqrir Gandhi ki,*"

"*Jo Muchtaq-i-Ziarat hain unhe Muzda suna dejae,*"

"*Dhali hai Nur ke sanche men, kiya Taswir Gandhi ki,*"

Translation.—Why not should the Government respect Gandhi whose words proved effective in every way. Those who are anxious

to see him, give them the tidings that how beautifully he has been moulded.

While passing through Bazar Katra Hari Singh, some of the Ahmedabad shopkeepers living there met Gandhi, who took into his lap one of their children.

Gandhi stayed all the day at the Flour Mills. Crowds of people of both sexes went to see him there. Most of the members of the Bar and local workers of the Congress visited him. Sardar Nihal Singh, Barrister-at-Law, paid frequent visits and accompanied him from the station to the Flour Mills, asking people to make way.

He left for Lahore by the evening train accompanied by Mr. Andrews, his two companions, one of whom was said to be a Maulvi of Delhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Dev Rattan Sharma and Girdhari Lal. At the time of departure from the Flour Mills several people were present, and wanted to accompany him to railway station. To avoid this, some men were sent out in carriages, the crowd mistook them for Gandhi, and followed the carriages. Later on Gandhi and Mr. Andrews drove in a tonga quietly to the station and consequently there was no gathering at the railway station.

In connection with his visit to Amritsar it is said by ignorant people that he had come to judge the public feeling with which he was favourably impressed, and that Kitchlew and Satya Pal would be shortly released. Girdhari Lal was heard telling the people that they would be given ample opportunity of interviewing Gandhi on the occasion of his next visit. Some of the mischiefmakers have also availed themselves of this opportunity by giving out that he had come here to impress upon the people that they should not take part in the Peace Celebrations if the Khilafat question was not favourably decided.

S. B., Punjab, November 10th.—The Superintendent of Police, Amritsar, writes : —" On the afternoon of the 3rd November 1919 Girdhari Lal of the Flour Mills received a telegram from Delhi about the arrival of Gandhi on the 4th November 1919 by the Up Bombay Mail. This was announced in the city by beating a tin canister. When the train arrived at the station, there was a crowd of from 500 to 1,000 people outside the railway station, and cries of *Mahatma Gandhi ki jai* were raised by them. Gandhi came out of a second class compartment with Mr. Andrews and two others. Gandhi was received on the platform by Lala Girdhari Lal, Sardar Nihal Singh, Barrister-at-Law, Dewan Chand, Barrister-at-Law, Pandit Sarup Narain, Rozdon, Abdul Rahman, son of Mian Muhamud Sharif, skin merchant, Kanhaya Lal Kapur, pleader, Keshab Chander, of the

Arya Samaj, Mahatma Party, and Daya Ram Suri, clerk, Hegerly Sulzer Company. Before the arrival of the train, the authorities had arranged with the volunteers for the Congress to undertake the duty of preventing people from entering the platform, but in spite of all this there was a crowd of about 250 persons.

Gandhi, after being garlanded, was taken to the carriage, belonging to Mian Muhammad Sharif, which was standing outside the station. He got into it with Girdhari Lal, Nihal Singh, Abdul Rahman, Sarup Narain, and Jawaharlal Nehru, who was also present at the Station with Dev Rattan Sharma. The people wished to take out the horses, but he would not consent to this.

The procession started from the station and reached Sheikh Khair Din's Mosque in Hall Bazar at 9-15. On their way Girdhari Lal pointed out to him the places where the mob was fired upon on 10th April 1919. Gandhi entered the mosque, followed by the crowd consisting of Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs. He made an offering of Rs. 11 to the Imam Masjid, and shook hands with the Muslims, some of whom, touched his feet. He was shown the place where the bodies of Hindus and Muslims, shot on the 10th April 1919, were placed.

He was wearing a dhoti, *kurta* and a *topi*, and had no shoes on. As the people could not have a proper view of him in the carriage, at their request he took his seat on the coach-box with Girdhari Lal who drove the carriage. The procession again stopped in front of Bugga's shop whose photo was shown to him by Chakar Dhari, nephew of Kishen Chand, member of the defunct Shining Club. Further on, Ismail Mushtaq, who was discharged in the Main Conspiracy Case, read a poem composed by him in praise of Gandhi in front of his shop, and presented an appeal (said to have been written by Kitchlew's wife) for the release of Martial Law convicts. In Chauk Karmon Deori, Krishen Dayal Kanpur, of the *Swadeshi Stores*, made a free distribution of the photos of political leaders in honour of his visit. The procession arrived at the Clock Tower Chauk, via Katra Ahluwalian, and Gandhi went inside the Golden Temple, followed by the crowd. It may be mentioned here that all along the route, flowers were showered upon him by the people and the crowd. The balconies and roofs of houses were crowded with persons of both sexes, and many shops in Katra Ahluwalian were decorated with shawls, etc. From the station to the Clock Tower the crowd shouted "Mahatma Gandhi ki Jai", "Hindu-Musalman ki Jai", "Kitchlew Satya Pal ki Jai", "Ratto Bugga ki Jai", "Lala Lajpat Rai ki Jai", "Editors ki Jai", and "Jholichukon ki khai" (Defeat to flatterers.) The streets were so thronged that several people lost their shoes, and great enthusiasm prevailed.

Page 5, paragraph 7—

S. B. Punjab. From Abstract, dated December 6th, 1919, Gujranwala, November 22nd, 1919.—Gandhi visited Gujranwala on the 20th November. Some hundreds of people were on the platform and the crowd outside ran into thousands. There followed a triumphal procession through the City, with Gandhi seated in Hakim Rai's phaeton with Khushal Singh. Everyone was eager to see the Mahatma, and a shower of flowers accompanied his progress. There were shouts of "Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jai" "Hindu-Mussalman Ki Jai", and most significant of all, "Mangal Sen Ki Jai". Even the women joined in these cries. Number of students of the Khalsa and Hindu High Schools were among the spectators.

Banke Dayal announced by beat of drum that Mr. Gandhi would deliver a lecture near the Gurukul premises at 4-30 p.m. Some four thousand people flocked to hear him, and the proceedings were opened by Lal Khan, whose remarks were briefly as follows : —

"Gandhi has come to apply ointment to the wounds which we received in the disturbances. All should listen attentively to what he says. Our brethren treated us badly, gave false evidence against us and got us arrested. If our brethren had not mentioned our names, the authorities would have known nothing against us. Those who sent us up for trial were our brethren, Chaudhri, Ghulam Rasul Khan (Deputy Superintendent of Police), Bhag Singh (late Court Inspector) and Hakim Ikram-ul-Haq. Our guards in the Jail were Bhai Dyal Singh and Mirza Hakim Beg. All the blame brought falsely against us was the work of our brothers, who acted in consequence of some small threat from the authorities."

Gandhi followed Lal Khan. His speech was briefly to the following effect:—

"India is *Tirath* (a sacred place of pilgrimage) to me. I am for its service. I have read in history that Indian soldiers are brave, but according to the gentleman who has spoken I do not find Indians brave, as they have given wrong statements. Why did they not speak the truth ? At Amritsar an unarmed crowd was fired upon, and many of my brethren were killed there. I wish I had been there, and been one of the killed. I do not say that Government is to blame: we too have committed many mistakes. The Church, the Post Office, the Railway Station and Courts were set on fire. This was your mistake, and it was not a manly act. It would have been better if you had remained on the side of truth. One should not shirk from going to the gallows when he is on the side of truth. The officials, too, have committed mistakes, but their mistakes are greater than those of the people. They fired on unarmed people. We requested the Government to let off the principal leaders so that we might be

able to place the people's case before the Commission, but Government has not acceded to our request. We have therefore decided not to produce evidence. But at the same time it is necessary that we should have all the evidence before us. All communications should therefore be sent to my Ashram. Facts should be truly represented, and there should be no falsehood. Those who have come to Gujran-wala with me should be given true facts, which they will record. The British also are our brethren and are not our enemies. We want to live as brothers with them and not as slaves. The country is ours as we have been born here. The statements which you will make will be presented before the Government."

Banke Dayal announced that the recording of Statements would begin at 8 a.m. on the following morning and the meeting then dispersed at 6 p.m.

Next morning Parshotam Das, Pars Ram, Banke Dayal, Nathu Ram Sachdev, Lal Khan and others began recording statements, which lasted up to 4-30 p.m. The house of Mangal Sen, where Gandhi was putting up, was used for the purpose. Gandhi had fixed a time for an interview with the pleaders. At 4-30 he went to Ralia Ram's house, where Mela Ram and Hakim Rai were awaiting him. At 5 p.m. he addressed a meeting of women at the same place. He advised them to go back to the old method of spinning and use charkhas, and to wear Swadeshi clothes. He said that the mothers, sisters and wives of those in jail should weep in their hearts and have faith in God, for their dear ones would soon be released. Earlier in the day the men and women of Gujranwala visited Mr. Gandhi in hundreds. The Hindu shopkeepers and their wives predominated.

On the evening of the 22nd, Gandhi left for Delhi, where, it is presumed his presence at the Khilafat meeting is necessary. Some 200 people saw him off and all did homage, including the station staff.

It is said that one object of his visit to Gujranwala was to inaugurate a new Sewa Samiti, but this is not yet evident.

Note by Deputy Commissioner.—No previous notice of Gandhi's visit was received and I did not hear of it until after he arrived. He did not come to see me on the 20th, and on the 21st morning early I left Gujranwala on tour with the Financial Commissioner. Dr. Charles, a Christian and private medical practitioner in Gujranwala, went to hear what Gandhi had to say but was asked to leave.

S. B., Punjab.—From Abstract, dated December 6th, 1919, Amritsar. November 29th. 1919.—It is said that Gandhi has informed the people at Lahore that he will stay in the Punjab for a year and will tour in villages in order to bring about a change in the present oppressive policy of the Punjab Government.

THE DISORDERS ENQUIRY COMMITTEE.

Page 91, paragraph 112—

Ahmedabad, January 12.—Gandhi arrived at Ahmedabad from the Punjab on the *4th January* and gave evidence before the Disorders Enquiry Committee on the 9th idem. The General public took little interest in the work of the Committee.

Page 112, paragraph 140—

S. B., Punjab.—From Abstract, dated December 20th, 1919, Gujran-wala, December 6th.—On the *29th of November* Mahatma Gandhi, accompanied by Banke Dayal, Dr. Pars Ram and Chote Lal, left Gujranwala by the Calcutta Mail and proceeded to Akalgarh, where he received a cordial welcome. The party moved towards the town amidst a shower of flowers and cheers for Gandhi, Malaviya and Hindu-Mahommadan unity, the Mahatma being seated in Bansi Lal's phaeton. He put up in the Baithak of Diwan Sri Ram.

On the 30th a meeting was held in the Sarai Shivala, attended by about 600 men and women. Gandhi addressed the audience and told them that both the public and the Government were at fault during the April disturbances. He said that he had heard many complaints of high-handedness against officials, but that this was due to disunion among the people themselves, which led them to give false evidence. He also delivered his usual homily on the merits of *Swadeshi* movement. Some statements were then recorded in which complaints against the police, Sahib Khan, late Revenue Assistant and Ghulam Qadir, Zaildar, figured largely. Banke Dayal delivered some what excited speech in which he declared that people had been giving false evidence against their brothers in order to please the authorities and obtain the titles of Khan Bahadur and Rai Bahadur. He urged the Hindus and Mahommadans to unite. Dr. Pars Ram at the meeting recited a poem in which he said that the approvers were bound to suffer tribulation, and that those who had given false evidence would also reap their reward.

In the afternoon Gandhi went to the Ramnagar in Bansi Lal's phaeton. Daulat Ram stood behind the phaeton with a *chauri* in his hands. The people of Ramnagar were waiting for the Mahatma at about a mile from the town, and on his arrival there were the usual demonstrations. The procession entered the town with the crowd following the Mahatma, who, on reaching the Chauk Kalan, was placed on a *takhtposh*. He was then taken on to the Damdama Sahib, where he was given an elevated seat. Karam Chand first addressed the gathering, which numbered about a thousand. He congratulated the people of Ramnagar on the Mahatma's visit. As for himself, the fact that he had been in jail did not trouble him, but

he was very sorry that his brethren had given false evidence against him and others. He had gained much in jail, far more than he would have gained had he spent four years at Hardwar. Daulat Ram followed and thanked the Mahatma for visiting the town. He said that he had no time to mention his own troubles and those of his brethren ; everything would appear in the newspapers. Ganahi then spoke. He said that he had come to seek for alms and did not want the plaudits of the crowd. What he wanted was the true facts of what happened during the recent troublous days : they should tell him the truth and fear nothing. He also urged the people to live in unity, and, addressing the women, requested them to work the *charkha* and use only country-made cloth. After a similar speech by Banke Dayal, the recording of statements began in the Dharmasala Kalan and continued up to midnight.

On the following day Gandhi went into the bazars and in the after-noon left for Hafizabad, where he was received at the station by a crowd of about five thousand people. He put up at the house of Moti Ram Kapur, Inspector of Police. During the night statements were recorded, and on the following morning Gandhi delivered a speech to the public in the school grounds near the railway station. He said that he had been informed that *badmashes* and boys had been the source of all the trouble at Hafizabad. It was the duty of the guardians of such boys to control them, and in failing to do this they were to blame. He had come to know that certain persons had given bribes. In this also they were themselves to blame. They should not have given bribes when they were in the right, but should have preferred to go to jail. He urged his listeners to tell him the truth regarding the incidents at Hafizabad. In the afternoon the Mahatma addressed a meeting of women at Tirath Ram's Mandi and in the evening left for Sangla.

Apparently a large number of Zamindars came into Hafizabad to see the Mahatma, doubtless influenced by Hafizabad Khatri who own land in the surrounding villages. A Zaildar, who was present, tells me that Gandhi did not make a very great impression, his insistence on the truth, and nothing but the truth, being unpalatable to the Hafizabad folk.

Gujranwala, December 13th, 1919.—The following is a more detailed account of Mahatma Gandhi's visit to Hafizabad on the *1st December*. He arrived accompanied by Chote Lal, Karam Chand of Ramnagar, Ganesh Das of Akalgarh and Dr. Pars Ram. There were big crowds both on the platform and outside the station, a large number of women being present. Seated in a waggonette drawn by his admirers, the Mahatma was taken as far as the Mandi of Joti Ram, where he got down and went on foot to the house of Lala Moti Ram,

Inspector of Police, Lyallpur, of which one B. Singh, a factory manager, is tenant. Here Gandhi was visited by members of the public, whose statements he recorded one by one. It was also announced that at 9 a.m. on the following day Gandhi would give a public lecture.

This lecture, which was delivered in the Government School premises, adjacent to the railway station, was something as follows :—

"I intended to visit Punjab earlier in order to explain to you the principles of *Satyagraha*, but I am sorry that I could find no time before. Now you see me united with you in your griefs and sorrows. You quite misunderstood the meaning of *Satyagraha*; you acted without restraint and lost your lives for nothing. There is no doubt of course, that Government committed more excesses than you did ; but you should have treated Government just as you would put to shame a man who abuses you. I have been told that the men of the Punjab were drunk when they committed mischief, and that they were mere boys ; but even so you are to blame for failing to restrain them and failing to keep them away from liquor. I am still more sorry to learn that drinking is the usual practice here. Most probably you have picked it up from the Europeans, but you ought to understand that their position is quite different from yours ; they being rulers and you the ruled. You should adopt their good habits and avoid their evil ones. I hear that you are giving exaggerated accounts of your grievances. Pandit Malaviya's message to you is that you will please tell me the exact truth. I am still more sorry to hear that you gave bribes to the officials in order to save yourselves. This you should never have done. A man must not be afraid of being arrested, imprisoned or flogged. Those who took bribes are also our brothers, and you gave them bribes simply out of cowardice. *Satyagraha* taught you to become just like a conducting metal, but you proved yourselves to be a non-conducting metal. The one gets hot very quickly, but also soon gets cold; the other takes time to become hot, but cools gradually. The people of Bombay got hot like brass pots which have a layer of earth underneath them, but the men of the Punjab got hot like pure brass pots and were cold in no time. It was probably due to the bad effects of liquor. I ask you to teach your children to speak the truth, and not to be afraid of the jails, or confinement or whipping. You must not fear the authorities, nor any one but God. You should always be ready to endure hardships. If we have truth in our hearts, no nation and no kin, can frighten us. You are sure to remain slaves as long as you do not prove yourselves to be true. You must love even those among you who are of bad repute, as they are your brothers ; but you should

shun their company, otherwise it may harm you. If you keep their company, do so with the object of putting them right. I put before you three precepts which I want you to take home with you : —

- (1) Satyagraha—endure hardship willingly and fear nothing.
- (2) Speak the truth and feel sympathy.
- (3) Teach your children to speak the truth and fear nothing."

This lecture lasted about three-quarters of an hour. At 2-30 p.m. Gandhi addressed a meeting of females and urged them to work the Chakki and the Charkha and to use country-made cloth. He declared that sixty crores of rupees were sent annually overseas for the purchase of cloth only. His audience presented him with some country-made cloth. The Mahatma then went to the schools and urged the boys to speak the truth and fear nobody. He was taken by motor to the railway station and left by the evening train for Sangla. At Sukheke, a small station, quite a crowd was present to give him an ovation,

Sheikhupura, December 6th, 1919.—On the 2nd of December 1919 Gandhi arrived at Sangla with Karam Chand of Ramnagar, Dr. Ram of Ferozepore and Banke Dayal of Gujranwala. On his arrival large crowd met him and flowers and garlands were given to him and 21 bombs were fired in his honour. He stayed at the Sanatan Dharm *Thakurdwara* and secretly took evidence of people who suffered in the disturbances. On the 3rd of December he made a speech insisting on the use of *Swadeshi* clothes and Hindu-Mahommadan unity. Students of the Khalsa School were among those receiving him on his arrival. He left at 4 p.m. on the 3rd of December for Lahore. He is also said to have forbidden people to attend the peace celebrations on account of the Khilafat question. Gandhi also visited Sheikhu-pura and Chuharkhana on the 5th and 6th, respectively, but I have not yet received detailed reports from the Police Stations concerned.

Note by Deputy Commissioner.—During his visit to Sheikhupura, statements were recorded regarding the administration during Martial Law. A crowd of 400 or 500 met him at the station, but only a few people saw him off when he left for Chuharkhana.

(a) *S. B., Punjab, December 12th, 1919.*—Gandhi arrived at Lahore on the morning of the 9th of December from Lyallpur.

(b) *S. B., Delhi—From Abstract, dated December 13th, 1919*—M. K Gandhi arrived here on the 11th of December from Lahore. He was met at the station by Shri Ram Barrister, Bishen Sarup, coal merchant, Hukam Chand, and 25 or 30 others. He proceeded to the residence of Mr. Rudra, Principal, Mission College, where he stayed. He returned on the 11th of December.

(c) *S. B., Punjab.—From Abstract, dated December 20th, 1919, S. B., Punjab, December 17th, 1919.*—Gandhi arrived at Lahore from Delhi on the 12th of December by the Bombay Mail. Jayakar, a Barrister of Bombay travelling from Colaba, also accompanied him. They were received at the railway station by Jiwan Lal, son of Laid Harkishen Lal.

(d) *S. B., Punjab.—From Abstract dated January 3rd, Sheikhpura. December 13th, 1919.*—On the 5th of December Gandhi arrived at Sheikhpura at 12-30. A large crowd met him at the station and garlanded him. He stayed at the house of Hoshnak Rai, pleader. He lectured on Hindu-Mussalman unity and the use of *Swadeshi* articles. With him were Dr. Pars Ram and Banke Dayal. He took down evidence of witnesses in the disturbances in secret. On the 6th he left by the same train for Chuharkhana where a large crowd met him and he was garlanded. He lectured to the same effect as at Sheikhpura. A sweeper woman came forward to speak to him and when people wanted to keep her at a distance Gandhi summoned her to him and made her sit by him. People were much impressed by this. In the course of his lectures he stated that if people wore *Swadeshi* cloth, it would prevent the yearly drain to England of sixty crores of rupees. He told people not to fear Government or officials but to stick to the truth even at the cost of their lives. He left for Lyallpur on the 7th of December.

Lyallpur, December 13th, 1919.—Gandhi arrived here on the 7th of December by the evening train. He was met and welcomed by crowds at all the railway stations of the District; namely, Salarwalla, Jhumra, Gatti and Lyallpur. At Jhumra railway station, where the crowd was particularly large and enthusiastic, he made a brief speech from his second class compartment and advised people to support the *Swadeshi* movement and Hindu-Mahommadan unity and to become true *Satyagrahis* which was a direct means of achieving *Swaraj*. He also expressed sorrow at the fate of people during the period of Martial Law. The total number present at the station was about one thousand. There was an eager crowd of from 10 to 12 thousand people at the Lyallpur railway station waiting to meet him. On alighting from the train he was garlanded, enthusiastically cheered and strewn with flowers. He drove off in a carriage, after refusing to allow the people to take out the horse and drag the carriage. He was taken to Master Gurudatta Ram, pleader's house, where he was to put up. Thousands of people of Lyallpur and the neighbouring villages followed carriage shouting "*Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jai*". Gandhi was as usual, wearing a *swadeshi dhoti, kurta* and topi. All along the route people were awaiting him. On his reaching the clock tower, it was announced by Sant Singh, pleader, that

after an hour's rest Mahatma would examine the people who had suffered hardships in connection with the recent disturbances and that, on the following day, a public meeting would be held on the Dushera fair ground at 4 p.m.. The procession passed through the rail and kutchery bazars and on reaching Gurudatta Ram's house, dispersed. During the night and throughout the following day, except when he went to attend a meeting of ladies held in Arya Samaj, Gurukul section, at 12 noon and the public meeting at 1 p.m. Gandhi was visited by sufferers who gave him their detailed statements regarding their troubles and those of their relatives now in jail. These visitors numbered from 70 to 80 and belonged to different religions and to different localities of the district; there were many who had to go away disappointed on account of their late arrival. These were advised to send in their written statements to Lahore Banke Dayal, late editor of the Jhang Sial, the Warat, etc., and Dr. Pars Ram who had come with him, helped him in his work. There was another individual in his company who belonged to the *Satyagraha Ashram*. During his stay, Gandhi was visited by most of the adults of Lyallpur, both educated and uneducated. At both the meetings the subject of his lecture was the same as that at Jhumra railway station, but the lecture was more lengthy. The evening meeting was opened by a poem composed and read by Banke Dayal.

"Gandhi explained the folly of the people in burning and dismantling their own public and religious places and thereby departing from the true path of *Satyagraha* and annoying the authorities who had then exceeded their legitimate powers and had adopted drastic measures. He said he would not criticise the actions of the Government, but it was his duty to tell them the power of *Satyagraha* which came to them on the 6th of April, but was wasted by their foolish actions. But for this the Rowlatt Act would certainly have been withdrawn by that time. He had visited places like Ramnagar and Lyallpur and was convinced that the officials concerned had used their powers wrongly. The best solution would be for the people and the officials at fault to repent of their doings and understand what the true *Satyagraha* is. He added that if, in the face of being a true *Satyagrahi*, one had to be imprisoned, one should bear all hardships and go on passively resisting and never ask for mercy as long as one is fighting for right. He did not care for shouts of "*Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jai*" or "*Hindu-Musalman Ki Jai*", but would like to see some thing practical from them on the lines of the advice he had given them, if they really had any regard for him. This meeting was attended by men of all classes, numbering ten to twelve thousand. The Indian ladies meeting was attended by 500 to 600 women.

Lahore, December 13th, 1919.—M. K. Gandhi arrived from Lyallpur on the 9th and stayed with Chaudhrani Sarala Devi, leaving for Delhi on the 10th.

Jullunder, December 13th, 1919.—An absurd and most reprehensible, but at the same time significant, attempt was made the other day to threaten the police here with a visit from Gandhi. Lala Har Sahai, a pleader of Phillaur, in discussing the Sidhwan railway station case (the station was burnt during the April disturbances, the case has now been traced and most if not all, of the criminals recently arrested);—threatened the Deputy Superintendent of Police that he would bring Gandhi down here in the interest of these poor(!) people.

Lahore, December 13th, 1919.—Gandhi's lecture to the ladies with regard to cloth-weaving appears to be bearing fruit. Several ladies have begun to work on the " *Churkha* ". Chaudhrani Sarala Devi is encouraging the movement.

Lahore, December 20th, 1919.—Gandhi's recent article "*Swaraj* in *Swadeshi*" has been greatly appreciated by the public and many people are now wearing Swadeshi clothes.

Ferozepore, December 20th, 1919.—The sayings and doings of Gandhi are gaining a lot of local importance, especially amongst the Hindus, and he is being styled in places as the " Uncrowned king of India." As I have already reported, he is supposed to be visiting Ferozepore some time early January next.

(e) *S.B., Punjab—From Abstract, dated January 3rd, Ferozepore, December 13th, 1919.*—The removal of the order against Tilak visiting the Punjab is causing a lot of rejoicing, whilst the proceedings of the Inquiry Committee are still the main topic of conversation amongst the educated. The local opinion is that the committee are convinced that the authorities are to blame and are against the application of Martial Law. Gandhi is being considered more than ever as a popular hero and Saviour of the country. To show how far the feeling is going, I may mention the case of Jowahar Singh returned "emigrant and murderer, who was hanged the other day at Lahore in the murder case of this district. This man's last will when going to the gallows was to dedicate all the money found on him at the time of his arrest (sum of Rs. 100 in all) to Gandhi for the cause of "National Work". The money was to be sent to Gandhi by money order.

(f) *S. B., Punjab—From Abstract, dated January 10th, Jullundur. December 27th, 1919.*—The bazars have been decorated in honour of Gandhi and several arches have been erected. Boards have also been affixed containing the following mottoes : —" *Swaraj* ", " Home

Rule ", " Gandhi, Tilak, Kitchlew and Satya Pal *Ki Jai*", " Go and tell the Emperor that we are not satisfied", "India for Indians", " Victory is Ours", " Good Government is no substitute for Seli-Government." "The Hindus and Mahommadans should lay down their lives at the command of the person who loses his life for them ". The contract between the decorations this week and those of the days of the peace celebrations needs no words of mine to emphasize the real political significance. If illuminations are made on this occasion, the disloyalty of the people on the occasion of the Peace Celebrations will stand out in even bolder relief.

Page 124, paragraph 160—

(a) *S. B., Punjab—From Abstract, dated December 20th, 1919, Amritsar, December 6th, 1919.*—Funds are being vigorously collected in the city for the Sewa Samiti and the Congress. Gandhi paid a surprise visit to Amritsar on the *4th of December* by motor. He visited the Congress Pandal which is under construction and interviewed Ganga Ram, chief goods clerk of the railway station, in connection with the murder of Guard Robinson. Ganga Ram is encouraging brokers and others to give evidence before the non-official Committee. So far the statements of about 1,000 persons are said to have been recorded, Several refused to make statements, but they have induced to come forward on the grounds that, under the new Reform Scheme, the police will come under the control of the Legislative Assembly, and need not be feared. Statements are transferred to various headings, such as : —

- (1) The Jallianwala Bagh incident.
- (2) The firing on the mob on the 10th of April.
- (3) The application of Martial Law to Amritsar.
- (4) Threats of General Dyer at the Town Hall on the 15th April 1919.
- (5) The handcuffing of respectable persons and marching them through the city.
- (6) Their treatment in Jail.
- (7) The salaming of all European.
- (8) The crawling order at Chah Kaurianwala.
- (9) Whipping in public.
- (10) The treatment of piece-good merchants by the Police.
- (11) Atrocities committed by the Police and other officials, etc.

(b) *S. B., Punjab—From Abstract, dated January 3rd, Lahore, December 13th, 1919—* Mr. R. C. R. Nevill arrived here from Bombay

on the 2nd and is staying at Faletti's Hotel. He has come here in connection with the Disorders Inquiry and is assisting the Congress Committee in their work. He is reported to have accompanied Gandhi to Chuharkhana and other places. His address in England is 25, Victoria Street, Westminster.

Amritsar, December 20th, 1919.—Gandhi and Pandit Malaviya accompanied by Mr. Nevill, Solicitor, arrived by motor from Lahore on the *16th of December*. They visited the Khalsa College, Congress Pandal Chah Kaurianwala and the Jallianwala Bagh and inspected the damaged buildings. They were joined here by Swami Shradhanand and Girdhari Lai. A large number of citizens collected at the Jallianwala Bagh and Chah Kaurianwala and cheered Mahatma Gandhi and Madan Mohan Malviya. Photos of the Jallianwala Bagh and Chah Kaurian Street were taken by Mr. Nevill, and the people were made to explain the position at the time of the firing and crawling. The party stayed for some time at the flour mills and returned to Lahore by the evening train. A number of persons, including Parkash Chand, son of Lala Ratan Chand, Honorary Magistrate, went to the railway station to see them off. It is said that the photos taken will be published in the non-official inquiry report, and that Mr. Nevill is being instructed to institute a case against General Dyer for "General Massacre."

Gujranwala, December 20th, 1919.—Banke Dayal left for Lahore on the 13th of December and returned on the 20th. Lal Khan returned from Lahore on the 14th December. He again went to Lahore on the 17th and returned on the following day. He has given out that the report of the Sub-Committee regarding the disturbances will be submitted to Parliament through Mr. Nevill, Barrister, who will be paid a fee of Rs. 25,000. He stated that the report would be published in every language, distributed and broadcast in India, and that about 25,000 copies would be sent to England.

(c) *Ahmedabad, January 19th.*—Gandhi left for Delhi on the *15th* instant in connection with the non-official report on the Punjab disorders. It is stated that the report will not be made public until the Hunter Committee report is published.

Page 126, paragraph 162 (c) (d)—

(C) S. B., *Punjab—From Abstract, dated December 20th, 1919—Lahore, December 6th, 1919.*—A private political meeting was held on the *4th* instant in the house of Harkishen Lal and was attended by Motilal Nehru, Gandhi, Dharm Chand, pleader, Ganpat Rai and Umar Bakhsh, pleader. A resolution was passed to the effect that notice should be taken of the Punjab affairs by the All-India Congress

at its next session. It is not known what other matters were discussed at the meeting.

(D) S. B., Punjab—*From Abstract, dated January 10th, Lahore, December 27th, 1919*—A private meeting took place in Lala Harkishen's house on the 22nd and the following persons were present:—Gandhi, Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya, Motilal Nehru, Jawaharlal Nehru, Ganpat Rai, Umar Bakhsh, Dharm Chand, pleader, Fazl-i-Hussein, Ghulam, Mohai-ud-din and Mohsin Shah. The assembly discussed the report of the Sub-Committee which was to have been ready on the 23rd and also the Khilafat question, which they said would be taken up at the Congress.

Page 136, paragraph 168 (h)—

GANDHI IN ALL INDIA KHILAFAT CONFERENCE

S. B., Delhi.—*From Abstract, dated November 29th* :—The first meeting on the 23rd lasted from 2 to 4-15 p.m. Elaborate precautions were taken to prevent the entry of unauthorised persons. Some 300 were present. Gandhi, Ajmal Khan, and Fazlul Haq arrived together in a decorated car. The crowd raised cries of " *Mahatma Gandhi-Ki-Jai.*" Ajmal Khan as President of the Reception Committee thanked the delegates for coming to attend the Conference. Turkey had been partitioned for selfish purpose to an unparalleled extent. Islam, however, was a religion and no Power or Powers could extinguish it. The Powers on the contrary were temporal institutions and liable to destruction. Ansari then proposed Fazlul Haq to the chair. Raza Ali of the United Provinces seconded, and was supported by Kifaitullah of Delhi, Abdul Bari of the United Provinces, Sayed Ali Nabi of United Provinces probably, Abdul Majid, and editor in Madras, Abdullah Haroon of Bombay, Syed Hassan of the United Provinces, Sanaullah of Amritsar and one other. Fazlul Haq then took the chair (amid applause). Sanaullah recited a portion of the Quran.

Fazlul Haq then began his presidential address. This had been composed by Abdul Ghaffar of the United Provinces, the speech written by Asaf Ali and Rauf Ali of Delhi having been considered unsuitable. Fazlul Haq very soon handed the manuscript over to Abdul Ghaffar, who read it to the end. The speech thanked the audience for the honour conferred on the speaker. He prayed that God would shield Islam. For thirty years since the days of Mr. Gladstone, England had sought to expel Turkey from Europe. In 1908 England hindered the honourable policy of the young Turks. In the Tripoli War she prevented the Turkish army from crossing Egypt. At this point Abdul Ghaffar took over the reading. Constitutional protests were, he read out, made ; but so far without

avail. Now the supreme question of the Khilafat had been raised. The Muslim League and especially the Bombay Muslims had protested. The Viceroy refused to receive deputations. The deputation to England met with but scant courtesy. Muslims fought against Muslims in the war on the assurance that their religion would not suffer. Now the funeral of Turkey was in progress and yet men talked of rejoicings and celebrations. Mr. Balfour's speech shattered the illusion of self determination and of righteousness. Muslims, were preparing for suitable action in face of such treatment. Hindus were with them. They had no faith in England and should see what they could do themselves.

Asaf Ali read out telegrams of regret for non-attendance from M. M. Malaviya, Motilal Nehru, Jinnah and others. He then proposed the formation of a Subjects Committee and suggested giving Delhi ten representatives, the major provinces except Madras four each, Madras three and Bihar, Sind and Nagpur none. The proposal met with violent opposition. Finally, Syed Jalib of the United Provinces, editor of the Hamdam, soothed the meeting and the following allocation of seats was accepted : —Bombay, Punjab, Bengal — Six each ; the United Provinces—Five ; Madras—four ; Delhi, Bihar and Sind—three each; the Central Provinces and Central India—two each; and Mysore one. The names of only the following members of this Committee were noted by my officers:—

Bombay	Chotani and Ahmad Sadiq Khatri.
The Punjab	Sanaullah Ibrahim Dawood, Din muham-mad, Agha Haidar Safdar (?) Maulvi Ismail Ghaznavi.
Bengal	Abdul Qasim, Amin-ud-Din Akram Khan, Gulam Rasul.
United Provinces	Syed Hassan of the Independent, Raza Ali, Abdul Bari, Syed Zahur Ahmad and Hasrat Mohani.
Madras	Abdul Ahad, Haji Muhammad Saghib Ullah, Haji Usman Seth, Abdul Aziz.
Delhi	Ansari, Ajmal Khan, Kifayatullah.
Bihar	Amir-ud-Din (? Asar Din). Abdul Hakim, Abu Zafar.
Sind	Taj Muhammed. Abdul Jabbar.
The Central Provinces.	Taj-ud-Din of the Taj of the interness Bureau and Arif Hussein of the Delhi Congress.

The selection of the Delhi members led to a most unseemly wrangle between the gentlemen finally chosen and the minor leaders such as

Asaf Ali, Arif Hussein, Qari, Abbas Hussein and Abdula Churiwala. Asaf Ali, whose pride is overwhelming at having at last introduced himself into the Society of Ansari and Ajmal Khan by being Secretary of the Khilafat Committee, was furious at Kifayatullah being chosen as the third member. He rallied the malcontents and had a severe struggle with Ansari and Ajmal Khan. These were so irritated that they left the meeting and would not return until submission was made. This was reached by arranging to fill the Central Provinces seats with a representative of the rebels, an arrangement subsequently criticised, but unsuccessfully, by the general meeting.

Fazlul Haq's speech as composed by Asaf and Rauf Ali was extremely violent. It was sent to the National Printing Works, Delhi, to be printed but was later cancelled. I have obtained a copy which is under examination.

From 7 to 9 p.m. The Subjects Committee and certain selected members were engaged in discussing and framing the resolutions. At 9 p.m. the main body of the delegates was admitted and speeches continued until 2 a.m. The reports of this meetings have not yet been fully examined. Fazlul Haq was absent and was stated to be ill. Raza Ali took the chair at the suggestion of Abdul Bari. The proceedings were altogether dominated by the United Provinces representatives whose influence for the time being overruled that even of Gandhi. The first resolution was one thanking Gandhi and our Hindu brothers for their sympathy in this critical time in regard to the Khilafat and the Holy Places. This was passed after various effusive speeches had been made. The second resolution proposed the boycott of the peace celebrations if the Khilafat and Holy Places were not treated in accordance with Indian Muslim's desire. Vigorous speeches were made. Gandhi vouched for Hindu cooperation. The resolution was passed unanimously. The third resolution proposed the boycott of all English goods as an extension of previous resolution. This was proposed by Hasrat Mohani and led to prolonged debate. Gandhi, Raza Ali and Chotani opposed the proposal on the grounds of its impracticability. Gandhi laid special stress on his being an expert in this respect. Syed Hassan said that no particular love for the British Government but suggested that the boycott should only be instituted when its success was assured. Abdulla Haroon supported Gandhi. An amendment was proposed to substitute gradual boycott for boycott. Abdul Ghaffar demanded a total boycott and scouted Gandhi's pose as an expert on boycotting. He was an expert on *Satyagraha* and on nothing else. A total boycott would bring influence to bear on Government. If it were followed by a rebellion the responsibility would not attach to this meeting. Sanaullah and Muhammad Daud of Amritsar

supported the boycott as did Mumtaz Hussein Fakhar of Allahabad and Mahatma Anand of Bareilly. The resolution was finally carried. The fourth resolution was moved by Syed Hassan of the Independent to the effect that if Government would pay no heed to their grievances they should refuse to co-operate with Government. He received the support of Ajmal Khan who explained that it involved the return of all personal titles and decorations. The resolution was carried, but a sub-committee was formed to consist of Syed Hassan, Fazlul Haq, Abdul Bari, Ajmal Khan, Sanaullah and others to examine the question further and to propose effective action. The fifth resolution proposed to send a deputation to England and if necessary to America. This was moved by Ajmal Khan, and after discussion carried but referred to a sub-committee consisting of Ansari, Chotani, Raza Ali, Syed Hassan, Hasan Imam, Abdul Bari, Jinnah and others. The final decision was to be made by the Bombay Khilafat Committee and funds should be raised at once. A suggestion to send the deputation to France was negatived. The final resolution protested against the Anti-Khilafat agitation in Sind.

It is evident that Gandhi regained a large measure of his dominance during the morning of the 24th. The resolutions opposed by him at the 2nd meeting on the 23rd and those carried in spite of his opposition did not appear in the proceedings on the 24th.

Before the public meeting on the 24th there was a further struggle with Mr. Gandhi. Swami Shradhanand, Hasrat Mohani, Shankar Lai and others pressed strongly for the combination of the Punjab atrocities with the Khilafat propaganda. Thus only, they urged, could Hindu co-operation be ensured. Gandhi maintained his vote. The opposition then said that the principle of deciding by a majority vote had been admitted at the meeting on the 23rd and should apply to this question as well. Gandhi replied by a categorical statement of his intention to resign the whole campaign if any attempt was made to call for votes or even if any amendment to his decision was suggested. This threat cowed his opponents into submission.

The meeting on the 24th was open to the public by tickets, though a number of persons got in without paying. Some 1,600 persons were present, of whom rather less than one-third were Hindus. Cheers greeted the entry of Gandhi, Shradhanand, Fazlul Haq, Abdul Bari and Ajmal Khan. The last named was distinctly late in arriving. Gandhi was proposed to the chair in terms of hyperbolic eulogy and on rising to take the chair received a shower of rose petals that lasted for an extraordinary time. My Deputy Superintendent considered the ovation unnaturally excessive and

thought it was organised by Gandhi's supporters in order to defeat the opposition that had already shown its teeth.

The speeches will presumably be reported at length in the press and need not be detailed here. The only speeches of importance were those of Gandhi and of Abdul Bari. The former insisted on the Khilafat being a Hindu question. Because it was a Mahommadan question, there should be no idea of exchanging Hindu interest therein for Mahommadan abandonment of cowkilling. He approved of the policy of refusing co-operation with Government but to boycott English goods was a form of revenge and therefore improper. He could not agree with the proposal to bring the Punjab atrocities into combination with the Khilafat agitation as they were entirely distinct from and unrelated to the Peace Celebrations. Abdul Bari's speech was the most violent. He was careful to avoid the word *jihad*, but his meaning was unmistakable and was voiced in constant interruptions by the less diplomatic of his audience. Gandhi had converted him to opposition to cow sacrifice. However the Khilafat was at present of even greater moment. Even if all the Powers of Europe combined to try to destroy Turkey, they themselves would be destroyed. He did not take the *Satyagraha* vow because that movement was only concerned with dying if the need arose. Where, however, one might have to kill, every step would have to be taken. A choice had now to be made between becoming a Kafir by killing Muslims and being true Muslims, Government compelled them to become infidels. Personally he preferred death, but before proceeding on a deputation to Europe he wished to know how many of the seven crores of Indian Muslims were true Muslims. Only two resolutions were passed, the one to boycott the Peace Celebrations and the other to thank Gandhi and the Hindus for their sympathy. As before, the United Provinces delegates "bossed" the proceedings to the almost complete exclusion of all others except Gandhi.

NATIVE PRESS.

Page 140, paragraph 172—

C. I. D., Bombay Presidency, January 26th.—On the 4th October 1919 the District Magistrate, Ahmedabad, passed an order on Indulal Kanayalal Yajnik, publisher of the '*Navjivan*', exempting him from the deposit of security for the following reasons:—"It is stated by Mr. Indulal Kanayalal, that the paper will be issued under the supervision of Mr. M. K. Gandhi" Having regard to the character of this gentleman, the District Magistrate considers it unnecessary and inadvisable to take security from him. The District Magistrate will, however, feel it his duty to take such

security if in the future Mr. Gandhi decides to recommence, his *Satyagraha* campaign which involves breaking the law and inciting others to do so.

Similar orders were passed on Mahadev H. Desai, publisher of *Young India*, and M. K. Gandhi, keeper of the *Navjivan Mudranalaya* (Navjivan Press), dispensing with the deposit of security for the same reasons.

Page 183, paragraph 242—

S. B., Punjab—From Abstract, dated January 31st, S. B., Punjab, January 27th.—The 12th session of the All-India Muslim League was held in the Bande Mataram Hall, Amritsar, under the presidency of Hakim Ajmal Khan of Delhi on the 29th December 1919. The hall was decorated with various mottos, one of these being "Islam is being scattered. How long will the infidel tempest rage." The management is in the hands of the Reception Committee. Dr. Kit-chlew had been selected as its President, but owing to his being in jail at the time, M. Sanaullah of Amritsar had been appointed to carry on his duties. The former, however, was released in time to take part in the function. The first sitting opened at 10-45 a.m. on the 29th of December, but the hall was filled to overflowing long before the appointed time. The audience amounted to about 1,500 persons, including a few Hindu gentlemen, who, however, did not remain long as the Congress Session was also in progress. Conspicuous among the non-Muslims were Mrs. Annie Besant, Messrs. Mala-viya, Motilal Nehru, Gandhi, Jagat Narain and Shastri.

Page 192, paragraph 243(o) (1)—

S. B. United Provinces—From Abstract, dated November 29th, 1919, C. I. D., November 26th, 1919.—Five resolutions framed by the Subjects Committee were taken up by the Honourable Syed Raza Ali at the night sitting from 11 p.m. to 1 a.m. : —

(1) The first resolution expressed gratitude to Mr. Gandhi and the Hindus for their sympathy. The speakers were Mumtaz Hussein, Barrister-at-Law, Lucknow, and Sanaullah of Amritsar.

Mr. Gandhi replied saying that the Hindus had only done their duty and he would always be proud to support the Mahommadans.

Page 193, paragraph 243(o)(7)—

S. B. United Provinces.—Anand Prasad, representative of the Hindus of Bareilly, moved that the proceedings of the conference should be sent to Lala Lajpat Rai who was doing national work in America. This was carried.

There were two important points in Mr. Gandhi's address (1) Expression of a hope that the Khilafat Committee would cancel the boycott of British goods resolution and (2) Advice that the Khilafat question alone should be taken as the reason for refraining from the Peace Celebrations. He said that to bring in the Punjab grievances would show want of proportion.

Syed Hussein repeated his views on the Peace Celebrations, Mr. Bomanji of Saharanpur said that the Prime Minister had given assurances that Turkey would not be divided. It was the duty of every Parsi to join hands with his Hindu and Mahommadan brethren and to refrain from Peace Celebrations.

Mr. Gandhi said, that the Anti-Peace Celebrations Committee which had been formed would issue instructions from time to time. People should ask their neighbours to refrain from taking part in the celebrations and carry this message from home to home. The main resolution at the meeting, which had been moved by Hakim Ajmal Khan, to the effect that owing to the Khilafat question not being settled it was not possible for Indians to participate in the Peace Celebrations and they further requested His Excellency the Viceroy to postpone the celebrations, was thereupon passed, the entire audience standing. Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, Madhusudan Dayal and Swami Shradhanand were amongst those present.

The following donations for the Anti-Peace Celebrations Committee were announced :—

M. Abdul Bari	
H. Ajmal Khan	
Mr. Chotani	Rs. 100 each.
M. Wilayat Hussein	
Dr. Ansari	
Mr. Asaf Ali	
Leather Merchants	Rs. 500

Mr. Gandhi contributed a pice, which was put up to auction and bought by Mr. Chotani for Rs. 500.

Page 195, paragraph 243(q)—

S. B. United Provinces, January 28.—On January 22, Mr. Gandhi was given a sumptuous reception at Meerut. There was a procession of various bodies of volunteers, and other citizens wearing resplendent uniforms. An address couched in superlatives was presented by the Municipality and a number of addresses were presented by other bodies. Several districts report efforts to secure visits from the national leaders.

C. I. D., *United Provinces, January 23rd*.—Mr. Gandhi arrived at Cawnpore that day (*January 21st*) about 4 p.m. and was also given a reception. He opened the *Swadeshi* stores on the A. B. Road.

Meerut demi-official letter No. 195-C of January 24th.—Mr. Gandhi arrived in Meerut at 9-30 by motor car and received a rousing welcome by a large crowd which was awaiting his arrival at the Devanagiri school. He alighted here and went inside and was decorated with flower garlands. A decorated carriage was in readiness and he got inside. In front of the procession a Brahmin clerk rode on a horse, beating a drum and reciting the following couplets: —

" *Britania ki azmat phir dekhna jahan men,
Jis dam buland hoga, qaumi nishan hamara.
Britania ka says sar par qubul hoga,
Ham hoenge aish hoga aur Home Rule Hoga.*"

He was followed by a band, and then volunteers, some on cycles, some on foot and some on horses. The volunteers were divided into various corps, emblematic of (1) Egypt, (2) Arabia, (3) Turkey, and these youths were wearing uniforms representing these various countries. The crescent was universally worn. There was a special body of volunteers styled *Gandhi-ki-fauj* and the youths were dressed in country-made garments (*Garha Pagri, Kurta* and dhoti) and were barefooted and carried long *lathis*. These volunteers carried a flag "on which were the photographs of Gandhi and Tilak. Another flag had the inscription *Satyagraha Mandali*. The volunteers consisted mostly of Meerut College and other school boys and Sadar Bazar people. Boys of the Vaish Orphanage marched with the *Gandhi-ki-fauj*. In front of the carriage there was a guard-of-honour of nine men.

These people wore a uniform consisting of white breeches, light blue turbans and long dark blue coats, which were heavily embroidered in gold. They also had shoulder badges of rank, viz., stars and the *hilal* (Crescent). There was also a Camel Corps, but this was dismissed owing to difficulty of progress through the crowds. It is worth noting that the Mahommadan volunteers were all wearing the yellow (ochre) *chandan* on their foreheads. The procession halted at the Kamboh Gate and an address on behalf of the municipality was read by Muhammad Yamin, nephew of Nawab Asadullah, the Chairman. Mr. Gandhi replied to the address in Urdu. The procession then proceeded in Waili Bazar, Sarraf Bazar, Guzri Bazar, Sippat Bazar, Budhana Gate, Khairnagar and returned to Kamboh Gate. The whole route was lavishly decorated and an awning was spread over a portion of it near Kamboh Gate. Mr. Gandhi went to Mustafa Castle at 12-30 and had a meal with Mr. Ismail Khan, Barrister-at-law, and at 2-30 p.m., he attended a women's meeting at the Sanatan

Dharam Hall. He advised his audience to live the simple life and to eschew jewellery and fine linen and to wear cloth woven by themselves as by so doing they would improve the industrial condition of their country and prevent money going to England. He drew their attention to the former greatness of India and advised them to adhere to their Indian mode of life. Mr. Gandhi was fairly mobbed by the women. When he had completed his address to the women, he went to Lala Sita Ram's house, where he stopped till 3-30 p.m., when he proceeded to attend the public meeting at the Sarraf Khana. At this meeting he was presented with two addresses one on behalf of the Khilafat committee and another on behalf of the citizens of Meerut. Muhammad Hussein, Barrister-at-law, read the Khilafat address, which he dramatically put into a black bag saying it was a symbol of the state of Islam at the present moment. The other address was read in English by Pandit Ghasi Ram, M.A., and in Urdu by Muhammad Aslam Sain. Two poems were also recited. The national song Vande Mataram was sung by four Bengalis. About seven thousand to eight thousand people attended the meeting, and an Indian military officer tells me there was ' *bahut josh*'. After the proceedings terminated, Mr. Gandhi went to the Meerut College by special request and lectured to the students. Gandhi left Meerut about 6-30 p.m. for Muzaffarnagar by motor car. Pamphlets containing an account of Gandhi's life were sold among the crowd. A large number of people came for the day from neighbouring villages and towns. There is no doubt that people's minds have been unsettled by these visits of Gandhi and the Ali Brothers. Gandhi's doctrines of *Satyagraha* and *Swadeshi* are largely anti-British and the Ali Brothers are supplying the fanatical flame of Islam.

Note by C. I. D., United Provinces.—The following are extracts from the address of the Municipal Board ; the other addresses contained nothing remarkable :—

(Copy)

Page 199—

Welcome Address presented to Mahatma Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi.

Sir,

We the chairman and elected members of the Meerut Municipal Board, beg to offer you a very cordial, affectionate and respectful welcome on this auspicious occasion of your first visit to this historic town.

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Commercial business is rather dull but the greatest stimulus to it is bound to come by the *Swadeshi* movement, which with your characteristic foresight and farsightedness you have been pushing on of late with a vigour and energy which are your own and which ensure steady and sure success to it.

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Who among us that can forget the noble part you have been playing in the arduous struggles of our brethren in South Africa for a just and righteous cause, entail though it did a series of undeserved sufferings on you and even those dearest and nearest to you ? Who will forget the spirit in which you organized and lead the corps of stretcher-bearers in the wars of the Empire ? Who that does not remember the skill and perseverance with which you triumphed in easing out the difficulties of agriculturists in Kaira and Champaran ? Who again that will forget your nectar-like help to the Punjab in the moment of her gloom and misery ? Will history ever forget your notable efforts in laying the foundations of Hindu-Muslim unity on a firm basis and in successful grappling with a problem which has eluded the grasp of so many eminent Indians and their friends before ? In short, who that is not deeply moved by your whole life a compendium of " plain living and high thinking ", a living light, fountain and a " beacon star of piety and saintliness ? "

(2) In reply to the Khilafat Committee's address Mr. Gandhi said that he was sure that if the Turkish question was not settled impartially, India would be seething with discontent. In that case *Satyagraha*, not arms, should be used.

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Page 215 paragraph 280 (a)—

*S. B., Punjab—From Abstract, dated January 17th, Jullunder, December 27th, 1919.—*Mr. Gandhi was expected on the 29th of December but on the morning of 29th information was received that he had postponed his visit till the afternoon of the 30th. Great preparations were made by the towns people for his reception. Proclamation by beat of drum was made asking the people to decorate and illuminate the bazars, as it was expected that he would move in procession through the Naurian Bazar via Chauk Imam Nasir-ud-Din to the Devi Talab, where the Sangit Sabha is held, and thence possibly to the Kanya Maha Vidyalaya. Arrangements were also made to meet him near the Burlton Park Mandi on the Amritsar Road and to transfer him from the motor, in which he was expected to travel to a carriage and to have the carriage drawn by his admirers through the bazars. Day after day he was expected, and day after day his visit was postponed. Eventually, on the 31st, his son, Devadas, was sent here to explain to the people Mr. Gandhi's extreme regret for

his inability to pay his promised visit. Much respect was paid to the boy and every effort was made to induce him to persuade his father to come; and the boy promised to do his best. Consequently Mr. Gandhi is expected to come here to-day and to leave by the Bombay Mail this evening for Ahmedabad. Whether any other politicians will accompany him or not is rather doubtful. At one time it was expected that Mr. Tilak and Mr. B. C. Pal, would accompany him. Rumours also said that Motilal Nehru, the Honourable Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Dr. Kitchlew would accompany him, while the latest report says that the Ali Brothers may also come and make an appeal for subscriptions with a view to representing the Khilafat cause in England.

Jullundur, January 3rd.—Mr. Gandhi eventually visited Jullundur on the 2nd instant. Great preparations had been made to receive him. Pictures of Mr. Gandhi, the Honourable M. M. Malaviya, Tilak, B. C. Pal, Mrs. Beasant, the Ali Brothers, Gokhale, Jinnah, Motilal Nehru and several other political " Leaders" had been supplied by one Sant Ram, bookseller and placed outside shops. In addition to the boards with mottos which I mentioned last week was one with the following advice : " Pray for the men who have lost their lives for ' the nation that they may be given places in Heaven." Arrangements for decorating the Bazars were made by Lala Dev Raj, Honorary Magistrate, Lala Basant Rai, Municipal Commissioner, Dr. K. N. Sondhi, Hari Singh, book merchant, Joti Ram Tanon President of the Sewa Samiti, etc.

Mr. Gandhi had been expected by motor; but news was received that instead he would come by the Calcutta Mail. As soon as the news spread, an enormous crowd flocked to the railway station. About 5,000 reached the platforms. Numbers took up a position on the roof of the station buildings and sheds. About 7,000 collected outside the station. Among others who received Mr. Gandhi on the platform were (1) the Honourable Mr. Bhagat Ram, (2) his brother, Lala Dev Raj, (3) his brother, Lala Hans Raj who had travelled from Amritsar by the same train, (4) Dr. Maharaj Kishen, (5) B. L. Mehta, (6) M. Muhammad Amin, retired Deputy Superintendent of Police of the United Provinces, (7) Quazi Mahbub Alam, (8) Ata Ullah Shah, Barrister, (9) Mr. Yusaf Jamal-ud-Din, Headmaster of the Mission School, and (10) Bawa Hari Das Bedi, Barrister. The hustling inside the station was so great that some people even climbed underneath the train and great difficulty was experienced in starting it. The crowd outside included the Civil Surgeon, Major Shamsheer Singh.

After the usual ovation and fuss, Mr. Gandhi was seated in a landau drawn by two horses. The Honourable Mr. Bhagat Ram and Ata

Ullah Shah sat on the coach-box, the former driving. Mr. Yusuf Jamal-ud-Din (a Christian), headmaster of the Mission School, also climbed up with the evident intention of taking a seat on the coachbox, but owing to lack of room he had to get down. Qazi Mahbub Alam was the only local man who sat in the carriage with Mr. Gandhi. An imposing procession was formed and taken through the main bazars of the city, which were illuminated, Mr. Gandhi everywhere receiving a tremendous ovation. The procession eventually reached the Devi Talab, where a special meeting of the " Sangit Sabha " was held in Mr. Gandhi's honour ; but Mr. Gandhi was ill, apparently suffering from fever. The Honourable Mr. Bhagat Ram, therefore, with difficulty rescuing Mr. Gandhi from the people, took him in a motor to his house in the Civil Station, and he stayed there until he left for the railway station the same night to proceed to Ahmeda-bad by the Bombay Mail. While he was in the railway waiting room, people kept entering the room to touch his feet. The Ali Brothers happened to be in the train, and they were greeted with shouts of " *Hindu-Mussalman Ki Jai.*" Few knew that Mr. Gandhi would go by that train and only some 50 or 60 people therefore saw him off.

Those who arranged all the fuss in honour of Mr. Gandhi were ' chiefly—The Honourable Mr. Bhagat Ram and his brothers Lala Dev Raj and Lala Hans Raj and Hari Singh, B. Hari Das, Dr. Mr K. Dondhl, Lala Basant Raj, Municipal Commissioner, Lala Nihal Chand, pleader and to a certain extent, Lala Joti Ram Tandon. A prominent feature of the arrangements to receive Mr. Gandhi was the number of " Volunteers ", who were supposed to be a sort of honorary police force and who attempted, but with most indifferent success to

control the crowd.

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Page 217, paragraph 280 (c)—

S. B., Punjab—Gurgaon, January 17.—On 16th instant Mr. Gandhi passed through Rewari *en route* for Delhi. News of his coming had preceded him, and there was a crowd of about 500 at the station waiting to cheer him. As soon as the train stopped, he was greeted with cries of " *Gandhi Ki Jai* " repeated again and again and flowers were thrown on him by some of those standing near. The train stopped its usual twenty minutes.

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Page 218, paragraph 283 (a) and (b)—

(a) *S. B., Rajputana and Ajmer-Merwara—January 16.*—Mr. Gandhi passed through Ajmer on the morning of the 16th on his way to the Punjab. He says he will visit Ajmer when he has time; but he is too busy just now.

(b), S. B., *Rajputana and Ajmir-Merwara*—January 18.—Mr. Gandhi passed through Bandikui railway station on the 13th from Ahmedabad on his way to Delhi. There was a gathering at the station and some cries of *Mahatma Gandhi ki Jai*.

Page 218, paragraph 284—

S. B., *Delhi*.—*From Abstract, dated January 24*.—Mahatma M. K. Gandhi arrived here from Ahmedabad on the 16th January 1920 and left for Allahabad on 19th January 1920. He was accompanied by a girl who is believed to be a daughter of S. K. Rudra, Principal of the Mission College, with whom he stayed. He was seen off at the station by Muhammad Ali, Tafazzul Hussein and few others. It is reported that Muhammad Ali kissed Gandhi's feet at the station.

Page 223, paragraph 297 (c) *Third paragraph*—

The Indian National Congress, Amritsar (from 27th December to 1st January).

The third sitting of the Congress, which took place on the 30th was devoted entirely to the discussion of Punjab affairs.

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Four resolutions were passed in all. The first which was moved by Mr. B. Chakrawarti, supported the action of the Congress Committee in refraining from leading the evidence before the Hunter Committee. In the second, which was moved by Mr. Gandhi, the Congress, while fully recognising the great provocation that led to sudden outburst of mob frenzy, deeply regretted and condemned the excesses committed during the month of April last in certain parts of the Punjab and Gujarat, resulting in loss of life and injury to property.

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The Congress re-assembled at 11 O'clock on the 1st of January. Mr. Gokaran Nath Misra read further messages received by the Congress, including one from the British Congress Committee which was as follows: —

"Congratulations, wish success, cable Congress resolutions demanding powers of self-government making impossible repetition recent horrors."

Mr. C. R. Das then moved resolutions on the Reforms. The prominent features of the resolutions were declarations (a) that India was fit for full responsible Government, (b) that Congress was of opinion that the Reforms Act was inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing and (c) that Parliament should take early steps to establish full responsible government in India in accordance with, the principles of Self-Government. Mr. Das said that, in view of the

fact that there were a number of amendments, he would merely move the resolution and reserve his right of reply. Mr. Tilak, seconding the reforms resolution, proposed by Mr. Das, said that this was a very important resolution, for the reason that the demands made in the motion were, according to the Congress scheme, the minimum that the people of this country demanded. Mr. Gandhi then moved his amendment which omitted the word "disappointing" and added that "pending such introduction this Congress begs loyally to respond to the sentiments expressed in the Royal Proclamation and trusts that both the authorities and the people will co-operate so as to work the reforms to secure an early establishment of full responsible Government and this Congress offers its warmest thanks to the Right Honourable E. S. Montagu for his labours in connection with them". This was followed by a heated discussion, Messrs. Das, Tilak, Satyamurti and several others being on one side and Messrs. Gandhi, Jinnah and Malaviya on the other. Gandhi, moved apparently at the ungrateful attitude of the people, betrayed some excitement and appealed to them to thank Mr. Montagu for his efforts and to remove the word "disappointing". He actually *took off his cap in making his entreaties*, but there was no response from the audience, who, it appeared, with the exception of a very few, were filled with the extremist ardour. A compromise was, however, arranged by which Mr. Gandhi consented to the retention of the word "disappointing" and the other party agreeing to add the amendment proposed by Mr. Gandhi to clause(c) above of the resolution.

Page 230, paragraph 302—

(a) C. I. D., Bombay Presidency, February 16.—The following appeared in *Young India* of the 11th Instant :—

Mr. Gandhi's message.—In the meeting held in Bombay on Saturday 31st January, Mr. Hayat, Secretary to the Khilafat Deputation, read a telegram from Mr. Gandhi addressed to Mr. Shaukat Ali from Lahore in which it was stated:—

"Deputation has sacred mission. It has to appeal not merely to Imperial Government and British opinion but has to win world opinion. Its strength lies in its ability to appeal to reason and justice. It must therefore be moderate in presentation and firm in demands. Odds from a wordly stand-point seem heavily against us but in Prophet's words minority of two when it has God on its side can face overwhelming numbers with confidence and hope. In my opinion Hindu India solidly on your side for your cause is not merely scripturally true but it is morally just and presently England will be on our side when through Deputation Englishmen learn that British honour is at stake in this question for we are asking nothing

more than what British Ministers have pledged themselves to give. May God guide Deputation."

Page 234, paragraph 307—

S. B., Punjab—Amritsar, January 3.—The All India National Social Conference was held in the Congress Pandal on the 28th of December. Mahatma Hans Raj, late Principal of the D. A. V. College, presided.

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Resolution VIII on Depressed classes was proposed by—Mahatma M. K. Gandhi.

Page 286, paragraph 393—

Ahmedabad, February 29.—Gandhi returned to Ahmedabad from Delhi on the night of the 23rd February. He was accompanied by Sarala Devi, wife of Rambhuj Dutt Chowdhri, Dr. Parshuram Sharma of Firozpur, Mathradas Trikamji and his son Devidas.

Page 286, paragraph 395—

S. B., Punjab—February 14.—The following appeared in the *Tribune* of the 10th of February 1920: —

Mahatma Gandhi has decided to leave Lahore by Bombay Mail at 9-45 a.m. on Wednesday, the 11th instant, for Gujarat where he will detrain at 12-30 p.m. He will pass the night there and visit Jalalpur Jattan on the 12th, leaving for Sargodha the same day by motor. On the 13th he expects to visit Shahapur and Malakwal and will return to Lahore on 15th instant. In this tour in addition to Dr. Mehta, who has been sent for from Bombay on account of Mahatmaji's delicate health the following will accompany Mahatmaji:—

(1) Mr. Devadas, son of Mahatma Gandhi, (2) Lala Mathra Das, Secretary to Mahatmaji, (3) Mr. Pars Ram, Personal Assistant to Mahatmaji, (4) Pandit Ram Bhuj Dutt Chaudhri, and (5) Chaudhrani Sarala Devi.

Page 291, paragraph 409—

THE PUNJAB DISTURBANCES.

Ahmedabad, February 29.—Sarala Devi, wife of Pandit Rambhuj Dutt Chowdhri, addressed a meeting of about 3,000 persons in the river bed on the 27th February on the Punjab Disorders. Rao Bahadur Ramanbhai presided and among those present were Mohan-lal K. Gandhi, Jivanlal V. Desai, Vallabhbhai J. Patel, Kalidas K. Jhaveri, Indulal K. Yajnik, Rao Saheb Harilal D. Desai, Jadavji Z. Gandhi, Sir Chinubhai and 30 of the leading ladies of Ahmedabad. She read her lecture, which was in Hindi and lasted 20 minutes.

The tone was moderate. After she had finished, Gandhi gave the substance of the lecture in Gujarati as few people had been able to follow it. In thanking Ramanbhai for presiding, Gandhi said that Ramanbhai was like a football which could be kicked about and made to roll in any direction, but that he had many good qualities which were worth imitating.

Page 308, paragraph 416—

Ahmedabad, February 29.—Gandhi performed the opening ceremony of a night school for *Mochis* in the Mochiwada, opposite the Civil Hospital on the *26th February*. About 1,200 persons were present. He spoke to them on the advantages of education and urged them to give up drink.

Page 313, paragraph 424—

Ahmedabad, February 29.—There were partial strikes in the Ahmedabad New Cotton Manufacturing Co. Mill, the Ahmedabad Laxmi Cotton Mills Company's Mill, the Sarangpur Mill Rajnagar Mills, Pathra Mill, the Asarva Mills Company's Mill, the Advance Mill, the New Manek Chowk Spinning Company's Mill and the Ahmedabad Industrial Mill Company's Mill during the week. The binders also have sent an ultimatum to the mill-owners for increased wages.

Ahmedabad.—Shankarlal G. Banker addressed a meeting of about 800 millhands on the 22nd on the subject of a Labour Union.

Gandhi addressed a meeting of about 3,000 spinners on the *25th February* in the compound of Anusuyabai's Bungalow in Mirzapur on the formation of a labour association. He was accompanied by Mrs. Sarala Devi and Miss Esther Faring. The meeting dispersed amid shouts of *Vande Mataram*.

Gandhi addressed a gathering of about 7,000 millhands in the compound of Anusuyabai's bungalow in Mirzapur on the 26th. He advised them to select a committee, consisting of a President, a Vice President, two Secretaries and two members, which would consider all their representations and safeguard their interests. If they agreed to do that, steps would be taken to send a millhands' representative to sit in Council and work on their behalf. Resolutions would be passed requesting the Governor of Bombay and the Viceroy to reserve a seat for a Labour representative.

Gandhi addressed a gathering of 150 mill clerks on the *27th February*. He advised them not to go on strike, but to put their case before the Committee that was being formed and they would receive justice.

Page 324, paragraph 447—

S. B., Punjab—Gujarat, February 14.—On the 11th of February Mr. Gandhi, who had for some time past been urged by some of the local malcontents to visit Gujarat, arrived here by the Bombay Mail from Lahore.

Har Gopal, Bar-at-Law, who was implicated in the April disturbances, Seth Chiragh Din, dismissed Honorary Magistrate, Mufti Muhammad Din, Ghulam Shah and Ishar Das, pleaders, Ram Chand, Ex-Municipal Commissioner, and a few others organised a reception at the railway station and Mr. Gandhi, after being profusely garlanded, was taken through the city in procession escorted by a dozen riders on horse-back, and several "*Jais*" were raised on his honour *en route*.

At the meeting which followed, an address was presented to him on behalf of the citizens which was prepared and read by Mufti Muhammad Din pleader. As far as I have been able to ascertain the address was couched in moderate and unobjectionable terms.

Mr. Gandhi, on rising, received a tremendous ovation and in his speech dwelt chiefly on three main points, viz.—

- (a) *Satyagraha*,
- (b) Hindu-Muslim unity, and
- (c) *Swadeshism*.

In discussion (a) he regretted that the Punjab had misunderstood the basic principles of *Satyagraha* and condemned the excesses committed by the mobs which had to be so severely dealt with by the Government.

In regard to (b) described himself as a staunch supporter of Hindu-Muslim unity and exhorted the audience to sink all communal differences and to live and work together in perfect harmony. He strongly deprecated the idea prevailing in some quarters that inter-dining and inter-marrying were necessary adjuncts to Hindu-Muslim unity. In this connection he cited the example of the British and the Germans who, he declared, in spite of these social privileges, have proved to be the deadliest enemies.

In dealing with (c) he laid stress on encouraging home industries and advocated, as usual, the use of home made cloth, to turn out which he appealed to all Indian women to take to the spinning wheel.

Loud and incessant "*Jais*" including one for the Ali Brothers which, however, received a comparatively cold response, marked the close of Mahatma Gandhi's lecture. His imperfect knowledge of the Urdu language, in which he spoke, however, marred the lucidity

of his expositions and M. Sardar Khan, pleader of Sialkot, who was present, was asked to explain the points raised by Mr. Gandhi, which he did.

Lal Khan, who belongs to this district and is now making himself notorious in Gujranwala, then rose and rebuked the Gujaratis for their inactivity in political matters. He drew pointed attention and grew contemptuous over the readiness and enthusiasm with which despite the appeal of Muslim leaders, the local gentry participated in the last peace festivities. He also deplored bitterly the absence of a Khilafat Committee in Gujarat.

After the meeting Mr. Gandhi visited two local Muslim Shrines, namely Shah Doula and Shah Jehangir, at each place presented Rs. 10 to the caretakers.

At night the non-official enquiry commenced and some statements were recorded in connection with the alleged Martial Law excesses and the high handed treatment of certain Police and Civil officials. It is further reported that Mr. Gandhi took with him copies of photographs of three lads, namely Faqiria, a Musalman, Prithvi Chand and Kundan Lai, all aged about 13-14 years, who were arrested and sent up for trial but acquitted in the Gujarat *Satyagraha* cases.

On the 12th of February, Mr. Gandhi motored down to Jalalpur Jattan (another troublesome spot in the district) and found the town lavishly bedecked in his honour. A meeting arranged for the occasion was so thoroughly mismanaged by the local politicians and proved so noisy that Mr. Gandhi apparently got disgusted with his surroundings and after a few hurried remarks quit the meeting leaving immediately afterwards for Gujarat. S. M. Habib, editor of the "*Siyasat*" and an ex-internee, took a prominent part in the Jalalpur show and read an address which I understand, was anything but moderate in tone and dwelt chiefly on the grievances arising from the Martial Law regime.

On the afternoon of the 13th, Mr. Gandhi accompanied by his son, Chaudhrani Sarala Devi, wife of Pandit Rambhuj Dutt, who had come with him from Lahore, left for Sargodha by train. On his way back he is expected to see Malakwal and deliver a short lecture at Lalamusa.

Gujarat, February 22nd.—In continuation of my previous note on Mr. Gandhi, it is further reported that on Mr. Gandhi's return journey from Sargodha, the railway stations on the Malakwal-Lalamusa line were thronged with spectators of both sexes from the neighbouring market places including a good proportion of country folk. At Lalamusa a large crowd gave him a rousing reception and at a meeting which followed, Mr. Gandhi's lecture was listened to with

rapt attention. In the course of his speech Mr. Gandhi mentioned, *inter alia*, that he proposed to visit the Frontier in order to preach to the border tribes and persuade them to give up molesting innocent Hindus living in British territory. He also included Kabul in his programme.

A leading Zamindadr told me that he (Mr. Gandhi) was also advising the people to disobey any orders emanating from subordinate Government officials which they considered illegal or unjustifiable.

Mr. Gandhi's visit has undoubtedly given impetus to political agitation in Gujarat. The City is full of rumours about the Government intention to take action against individual Police officers who are alleged to have acted dishonestly during the Martial Law period. S. Fazal Hussein, late Deputy Superintendent of Police, Gujarat, is said to be one of the officers involved.

Shahpur, February 14.—Mr. Gandhi arrived here on the 12th of February by train from Gujarat. His original intention had been to come by motor. Great enthusiasm was shown at the Phularwan and Bhalwal stations where the people pressed him to alight and stop. Some four thousand persons were at the railway station to meet him.

With Mr. Gandhi were Chaudharani Sarala Devi, Dr. Mehta, Pars Ram, his secretary, Mathra Das, his personal assistant, and Gandhi's son Devadas. The Party was received with fireworks, and band playing " Home Sweet Home " and cries of *Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jai, Hindu Musalman Ki-Jai, Shahidani-Hind Ki Jai, Shaukat Ali Muhammadali Ki Jai, etc.* The town was illuminated in his honour.

Next morning (13th February) he started taking the statements of the people of Lak, Bhail Lurka, etc., regarding the recruiting matters out of which grew the riot and the murder in 1918. The villagers appeared to be under the impression that Gandhi would be able to secure the removal of the punitive police and the release of the convicts who are still in jail. They appear to have been summoned to attend and give their statements ; but I do not yet know through what agency. Large numbers of villagers came in, not merely from the villages affected by the punitive police but also from practically the whole colony and jangli area.

In the afternoon there was a meeting in the Municipal Gardens at which Gandhi spoke. He said that this was first visit to any of the areas outside of those which had been under Martial Law. Mr. Andrews was to have come to Shahpur but had to go to Africa and so he had come himself. He had heard from time to time about oppression practised in the Shahpur District in regard to recruiting and his heart had been wrung by the news. The blame in this matter did not all lie with Government for what had been done had been done

by their Indian brethren with the permission neither of Government nor of Law and the injustice of these Indian officials had been abnormal. He had been amazed to see the strapping young fellows who had come to tell him of the pressure put upon them through insult to their womenkind and wondered how they had endured it. He was ashamed that they had borne it in silence, had not defended the honour of their women with their lives, and had not availed themselves of the road to complain that was open to them. What had taken place at Lahore and Amritsar was through the folly of the people there. Had they abided by *Satyagraha* this would not have occurred. Banks were burned, Churches were burned, people were murdered and Martial Law was put in force ; this would never have happened if *Satyagraha* had been followed. Union between Hindus and Mahommadans did not lie in inter-dining. There should be no outward fraternity and inward antagonism. Until there was union there could never be success in India. The union could not be at the expense of religious observances. Turning to matters of trades, he said that such a poor country as India imported seven crores worth of cotton cloth. This was a loss ; and at the same time their own *Swadeshi* cloth was better than the English article. If all were to interest themselves in the matter the benefit to the country would be untold. For himself he considered the best cloth to be that woven by an Indian brother from thread spun by an Indian sister. He exhorted his hearers to lay stress on *Swadeshi* Manufactures.

He expressed his disapproval of the way in which people embraced his feet and greeted him with cries of *Mahatma Gandhi ki Jai*, and asked his audience not to come to the train to see him off. In spite of his desire, some thousand persons accompanied him to the station ; but there was no fuss. During the course of his address he found it difficult to make himself heard because of the hum of the crowd, which seemed to annoy him a little.

The Canal Department employees waited on him with a deputation to ask his help to secure an increase of their pay. The managing of the reception and procedure at Sargodha appears to have been in the hands of local *Arya Samajists*. They had the town decorated, met him on arrival, and had a body of volunteers to regulate the crowds at the station and at the meeting.

He left by the afternoon train on the 13th of February for Malakwal.

Before the meeting in the Municipal Gardens there was one of women—some three or four thousand—at the *Arya Samaj Mandir*. Mr. Gandhi exhorted them to use *Swadeshi* cloth and to bring up their children worthily as it was the younger generation which would have the care of India committed to its hands and it must be worthy of the charge.

Page 331, paragraph 453(f)—

Bombay, March 8th.—On the 3rd instant a mass meeting of about 5,000 Bombay Mahommadans, leavened with few Hindus, was called to consider the situation. It was attended by a strong contingent of Khojas, attracted doubtless by the presence of the Aga Khan, and by most of the Mussalman leaders. Baptista and other Bombay Tilakites together with Jinnah, Umar Sobani, M. K. Azad, Sheriff Devji Kanji and a few other Mussalman notabilities were again, as they have been on most precious occasions during this Khilafat agitation conspicuous by their absence.

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Gandhi delivered an address. He called upon the Viceroy to place himself at the head of Indian Mussalmans in the same way as Lord Hardings made the Indian cause in South Africa his own. He strongly disapproved the boycott, regarded the proposed resignations as justifiable and exhorted his audience to direct their action to the Khilafat alone, without confusing the issue with irrelevant matter.

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On the 6th Gandhi wired as follows to Shaukat Ali at Calcutta : —

"Preparing appeal regarding nineteenth giving conditional adherence. Advice you temper firmness with moderation and express truth in language love not hate then only shall we win."

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Gandhi's appeal, referred to in his telegram of the 6th, is now to hand. It contains nothing unexpected. He deprecates as usual any violence in thought, word or deed ; and makes it clear that should there be any manifest violence he will withdraw all Hindu Co-operation. He approves as an immediate measure the *hartal* proposed for the 19th which must however be a purely voluntary and pacific manifestation, and must make no attempt on the mill population. As an ultimate measure, should need arise, he advocates the slow and gradual stoppage of co-operation with Government. He strongly disapproves the boycott, and also any tampering with the army, which he says should be the last, weapon to employ and not the first. Withdrawal of co-operation must not affect private employers, but must be confined to Government. The appeal refers with approval to the Prime Minister's latest speech and with disapproval to the tone of some of the Calcutta resolutions.

Page 337, paragraph 453 (j)—

C. I. D., Bombay Presidency, March 13th.—The English newspapers of the 12th instant contain telegrams from various prominent people such as Tajuddin (Calcutta), Satyamurti (Madras), Syed Nabiala (Lucknow), Dr. Munje (C. P.) Gandhi, Pandit Motilal Nehru and

Baptista, supporting the proposed hartal on the 19th and wishing the movement success. Abul Kalam Azad is reported to have signed a manifesto to the effect that the work of the 19th March ought to be performed with unity and zeal, but it must be peaceful.

The *Dnyan Prakash* of the 11th March gives what purports to be the general sense of Gandhi's manifesto regarding the hartal proposed for the 19th March.

Page 358, paragraph 490—

Bombay, March 17th.—The following telegram has been noticed in censorship from Andrews, Laurence Marques to Gandhi, Ahmedabad:—

"Unionist twentyone, Labour twentyone, Independents five, country seats unfinished Smuts probably gaining victory small majority, have seen Labour leaders somewhat hopeful final result. Meet Karagola April second, Bombay."

Page 361, paragraph 492 (i)—

C. I. D., Bombay Presidency, March 19th.—Under the auspices of the Central Khilafat Committee of India, a public meeting of the Mahommadans of Bombay held on the night of the 3rd March at Mustanashah's Tank, of Bellasis Road, Bombay, attended by several thousands, to protest against the anti-Islamic agitation now being carried on by a certain section of the British public.

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Mr. Gandhi said he had read certain resolutions passed at the Khilafat Conference in Calcutta. While he approved some of them, he disapproved of others. Moulana Abdul Bari had done a perfectly loyal duty at Calcutta in saying what he said there. When some of the clergy had said the war was a crusade, Moulana Bari was justified in replying to them in the manner he did. He acquiesced in the resignations of the Moslem members of the Legislative Councils if the Turkish question were not decided equitably and in this, he said, the Mahommadans would have the support of the Hindus. But he differed from them in the resolution of boycott as he was opposed to boycott for many reasons. He asked them not to mix up the question of Khilafat with other things. He deeply sympathised with the legitimate aspirations of the Egyptians but they should not mix it with the question of Khilafat. He asked them to stick to their minimum demands and the Hindus would be with them. Their cause was righteous and they would succeed in it.

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Page 368, paragraph 492 (m)—

Bombay, March 16th.—Kidwai and Gandhi arrived in Bombay to-day.

Page 373, paragraph 493 (a)—

Bombay, March 8th.—On the 5th instant a mixed assembly of about 2,500 persons met under the presidentship of Sir Narayan Chanda-varker to press for the repeal of the Press Act, and for the withdrawal of the restrictions upon Horniman. The Principal speakers were Sir Narayan, Gandhi and M. R. Jayaker. I attach a copy of the resolution passed. The proceedings were fully reported in the press.

Page 401, paragraph 524 (l)—

Bombay, March 20th.—The *hartal* passed without incident. It was complete in the purely Mahommadan locality between Crawford Market and the Bhendi Bazar, and fairly general throughout the centre of the Island.

The advertised mass meeting commenced at about 10 p.m. It was attended by 7 or 8 thousand Mahommadans, 2 or 3 hundred Hindus and a handful of Parsis, Khojas, Moghuls and Arabs. Chhotani was in the chair, supported by Shaukat Ali, Khatri, Kidwai, Zafar Ali Khan, Rafiuddin Ahmed, Gandhi, S. R. Bomonji, Neki Ram Sharma, S.,G, Banker and other local stalwarts.

Resolution as passed at the meeting.

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 Empire to prevent such a severe strain being put upon Indian 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 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 authorised 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.

In this form the resolution was finally put to the meeting by Mr. Gandhi and passed.

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The tone of the speeches is reported to have been somewhat violent, though on this point judgment must be reserved till the verbatim report now under preparation is available. Gandhi's speech as reported in the *Times of India* was remarkable. It approved the Mahommadan programme as embodied in the resolution i.e., strictly peaceful non-co-operation, should need arise ; followed up, in the event of its failure, by *Hijrat* and *Jehad*. He frankly recognised that non-co-operation, however peaceful must lead to "excitement" and that *Hijrat* and *Jehad* might include "bloody revolution." He did not believe however that if all communities held together any need would arise for extreme measures. It is noteworthy that the *Chronicle* report of this pronouncement omits its strongest passages. The other speakers of importance were Chhotani, Shah Suleman Phulwari, Shaukat Ali, Kidwai, Zafar Ali Khan, S. R. Bomonji. Raffiuddin Ahmed, Pandit Neki Ram Sharma and Khatri. The meeting evoked no remarkable enthusiasm and came to an end about 1 a.m. During the latter half of the proceedings the audience gradually melted away.

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Page, 433, paragraph 549 (x)—

Ahmedabad 23rd March.—Mr. Gandhi, either because he anticipated trouble or because he resented his own particular weapon being wielded by anyone else, asked the millhands not to take part in the *hartal*, and in article to that effect appeared in the *Navajivan* of the 14th. On the following day a deputation of Mahommadan leaders went to him to induce him to change his mind. He refused to cancel his instructions, but left it to Anusuyabai to decide what part the millhands should take in the observance of 'Khilafat day' A telegram was received on the 17th from Chhotani to the effect that he, Gandhi and Shaukat Ali desired that the millhands should go to work on Friday and should only attend the meeting held after the prayers. It was obvious on the 17th that the leaders were

getting nervous. The local Khilafat Committee issued instructions as to how the day was to be observed. Special emphasis was laid on the necessity of peaceful behaviour.

Page 476, paragraph 596 (j)—

Karachi, April 1st.—The following from a Calcutta journal is interesting : —" The Friday *hartal* passed off quietly, and we don't care whether the Sultan of Turkey feels any the better or any the worse for it. Whether the Turk stays or goes, the *hartal* has been a great political success in this sense that it marks a step forward in the politic schooling of the crowds.

This is the first successful effort in collective self-restraint, and if repeated it is bound, whether for good or evil, to prepare for Home Rule a people thoroughly disciplined and trained to follow its leaders.

This aspect should not escape the notice of students in politics. A hartal is only a bit of political drill and it matters little to what object the drill is applied. At the first trial, Drill Sergeant Gandhi coached his people on the Rowlatt Act, and the pupil broke down; this time he has made them practise on the Sultan, and may be the Sultan will break down, but the pupil has been broken in. It promises for the future."

Page 490, paragraph 596 (x)—

Ahmedabad, March 29th.—Gandhi had a long article in the *Nava-jivan* of the 21st instant on the Khilafat question. He pointed out the futility of having recourse to the force of arms if the question was decided against them. The quarrel he said, would not be against the English people alone, but against the united forces of Christainity. The moral weapon of *Satyagraha* was their only means of securing victory. If the Arabs wanted to be independent, it should not be denied to them, but they must recognise the authority of the Khalifa. The holy places should be left under the control of the Khalifa. If this were not agreed to he could not fight, but he would refrain from assisting in this injustice. What would happen if every Hindu and Mussalman were to leave Government service ? The English would either have to leave India or yield. It was necessary to wait patiently till public opinion was trained in the right path. He prayed that God would give the Mussalmans the good sense to act in the right manner so that the Hindus would be able to help them.

Page 500, paragraph 601(b)—

Ahmedabad, April 6th.—Some 5,000 men went out on strike between the 2nd and 3rd April when M. K. Gandhi (for the labourers) and

Mangaldas Girdhardas (for the mill-owners) were appointed arbitrators for the grievances of the spinners who consequently returned to work.

Page 557 to 559, paragraph 643 (c)—

Bombay, April 12th.—The week was celebrated in Bombay according to the programme laid down by Gandhi and published in the papers two or three weeks ago. Its chief outward and visible effects were the three meetings, the distribution of leaflets and posters, and house-to-house collections for the Jallinwala Bagh Fund by volunteers, who sometimes marched in procession headed by a band and attended by kitson lights. The normal life and appearance of the city were otherwise undisturbed. There were no public prayers. About 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ lakhs of rupees were subscribed to the Punjab funds. The resolutions passed at the three meetings were substantially those drafted by Gandhi and published in the newspapers some time ago.

Extract from the "*Bombay Chronicle*."

In connection with the National Week, a public meeting, under the auspices of the Bombay Branches of the Home Rule League and the National Union, was held on the open space near the French Bridge, Bombay, on Tuesday night, Mr. M. A. Jinnah presiding. There was very large attendance, among those present, besides, the Chairman, being Mr. M. K. Gandhi, the Honourable Mr. Abdul Kassim, Mr. Mia Mahomed Haji Jan Mohmed Chhotani Mr. Ram-bhuj Dutt Chowdhry, Mr. C F. Andrews, Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Mr. Ahmed Haji Siddick Khatri, Mr. C. V. Vaidya, Mr. Kanji Dwarkadas, Mr. Jamnadas K. Mehta, Moulvi Raffiuddin Ahmed, and others.

After the message of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, who was unable to attend the meeting, was read by Mr. C. F. Andrews, Mr. M. A. Jinnah rose to speak.

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Mr. M. K. Gandhi moved the following resolution : —

" 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 seething 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 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 any other part of the British Empire. It was their minimum demand that these officials should be dismissed. They admitted that some people in the Punjab committed bold 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 revere the memory of the innocent dead. Malice never entered into their thoughts.

The Honourable Mr. Abul Kassim, seconding the resolution, said he hoped Government would punish the perpetrators of those crimes.

Mr. Rambhuj Dutt Chowdhary said he thanked Mr. Gandhi for infusing a spirit into the hearts of the people of the Punjab and he also thanked the other members of the Sub-Committee who prepared the report.

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Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas, further supported the resolution.

The resolution was further supported by Rao Bahadur C. V. Vaidya and passed unanimously.

Page 561, paragraph 643 (d)—

Thana, April 4th.—Slaughtering was carried on as usual at Bandra on the 5th, so presumably there will be no *hartal* in Crawford Market

on the 6th instant. No definite information of the proposed *hartal*, beyond various rumours, and Gandhi's letter (reproduced below) to the *Times of India* about the *Hartal* on the 6th, 9th and 13th instant, could be obtained.

Gandhi's letter to the *Times* :—

" SATYAGRAHA RESOLUTIONS."

"Sir,

I submit for adoption the following three resolutions during the *Satyagraha* week i.e., for the 6th, 9th and 13. I take it that there will be no two opinions about the first and the third resolutions. But I have heard criticism about the Khilafat resolution. I suggest that without the non-co-operation clause the Khilafat resolution, will be insane. 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.

Laburnum Road, Gamdevi.

Bombay 3rd April 1920.

M. K. GANDHI.

RESOLUTION.

For the 6th April—

(1) This meeting of the citizens of hereby places its complete opinion that there will be no peace in the land until the Rowlatt Act is repealed and thereby appeals to the Government of India to introduce, at the earliest opportunity, a bill repealing the act.

For the 9th April—

(2) This meeting of Hindus, Mahommadans and others, inhabitants of India, trusts that the Khilafat question will be solved consistently with the just demands of the Mussalmans of India and with the solemn pledges of His Majesty's ministers, and this meeting records its opinion that in the event of an 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 Mussalman 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 massacres 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 not to render possible 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 made by the Punjab Sub-Committee of the Indian National Congress will be carried out in their entirety."

Page 574, paragraph 646 (N)—

GANDHI'S TELEGRAM—

Bombay, April 14th.—The following telegram was addressed by Gandhi "to the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy on the 13th April 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, should like facilities for passage by earliest steamer for self and a company not exceeding seven."

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Page 576, paragraph 646 (o)—

C. I. D., Bombay Presidency, April 12th.—The following is extract from the *Times of India* dated 10th April, 1920 .—

" Under the auspices of the Central Khilafat Committee of India, Bombay and in connection with the National Week, a very largely attended public meeting of Mahommedans and Hindus was held last night at about 10 p.m. in the open ground at French Bridge. The proceedings commenced with the reading of a verse from the Koran. Mr. Mia Mohomed Haji Janmohomed Chhotani presided. The proceedings were in the vernacular.

Mr. Gandhi moved the following resolution:—'This meeting of Hindus, Mahommedans and others, the inhabitants of Bombay, trust that the Khilafat question will be solved consistently with the just demands of the Mussalmans 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, in moving the above resolution said they had met that night not exclusively in connection with this question of the Khilafat but rather to look back on what had happened in India during the last twelve months. The most prominent two events were the inauguration of *Swadeshi* and the laying of the foundation of genuine Muslim-Hindu 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 help the Mahommedans in this question and thus cement the unity for good. Muslim hearts were aggrieved as they were never before over the threatened, dismemberment of the Turkish Empire and over the question of Khilafat. Mr. Gandhi said he never blindly supported a cause, and would never support one. He exhorted them to support the Mahommedans because he felt the cause of the Mahommedans was just. Referring to the interview of the Khilafat Deputation with the Prime Minister Mr. Gandhi said there was no demand urged by the deputation that was not just. They naturally expected the Prime Minister to 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 *status quo ante helium* 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 there should be Turkish suzerainty over the Jazirat-ul-Arab. 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 Turkish suzerainty over the Arabs. When they in India asked for self-government, it did not mean that they did not want British rule. There was no Hindu or Mahommedan who was against the British flag waving over India. Similarly, Arabia might be granted self-government, but Turkish suzerainty should be maintained. In conclusion Mr. Gandhi earnestly entreated his Mahommedan brethren to refrain from violence. Their cause was just and with God's help it was bound to triumph, and if they trusted in God, they should cease co-operation with Government.

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Page 580, paragraph 646 (s)—

(s) S. B., *United Provinces, March 26th*.—Mr. Gandhi arrived at 4-45 p.m. with the other leaders. The people asked Abdul Bari

to speak, but he said that Mushir Hussein Kidwai had forbidden him to speak.

Mr. Gandhi announced the decision of the Delhi leaders. In the event of an unfavourable settlement three steps should be taken : (1) Resignation of honorary posts; (2) Resignation of Government servants ; (3) Refusal to pay taxes. Everybody from the Cook to the Chief Justice should be asked to resign. A date will be fixed and announced by the Khilafat Committee. If the Civil Servants did not resign, they would ask the police and the army to become " our police and our soldiers". Their arms might be returned to Government. If this was not successful, the cultivators would be advised to pay no taxes. Cultivators have more courage than other people. He warned the audience against bloodshed, saying that if one European was killed the Government will shed the blood of ten thousand persons. He said that the country should become *Swadeshi* and thus let Europe and America know that India has still got some spirit. He did not advise boycott of foreign goods. Abul Kalam Azad spoke of non-co-operation and said that there are only two ways open, the way of God and the way of handful of men who in their pride wish to destroy the truth of God. Shaukat Ali appealed for money.

(*Note.*—An officer of U. P. C. I. D. notes that Mr. Gandhi's remarks concerning Indian soldiers were to the effect that they would be persuaded to use their weapons in tilling the soil and producing corn. Mr. Gandhi also spoke of people being requested to withdraw their subscriptions to the War Loan).

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Page 616, paragraph 678(1)—

C. I. D., Bombay Presidency, April 20th.—Khilafat Day meeting held in Bombay on the 19th March under the auspices of the Central Khilafat Committee of India. President Mian Jan Muhamad Chhotani. Audience about 20,000.

M. K. Gandhi moved the first resolution, after a brief introductory speech complimenting everyone on the orderly way in which the day had been observed. Among other things he said that his gladness knew no bounds when he saw that not a single hack victoria was plying for hire.

The resolution embodied (a) an emphatic protest against the violent and irresponsible agitation going on in the United Kingdom which was likely to wound the deepest susceptibilities of the Muslims and therefore of the whole of India, and a hope that the English ministers and statesmen, who desired the retention of India in the

Empire as a free partner, would disassociate themselves from that agitation and reassure Indians of the fellow feeling of the people of the United Kingdom by a settlement of the Khilafat question compatible with the just and religious sentiments of the millions of Muslim subjects of His Majesty, (b) the conviction that any other solution would result eventually in a complete withdrawal of co-operation, (c) a hope that Indians would realize that any resort to violence in speech or deed would seriously injure the cause, (d) a reservation that, in the event of a failure of the joint movement, Muslims would reserve the right of taking such steps as the exigencies of the situation might dictate, (e) a decision to send a copy to the Viceroy to be forwarded to His Majesty.

In a speech explaining the resolution he said that Mr. Montagu should be asked to settle the question without delay and told that if it were decided against Indian opinion it would become necessary for Indians to take steps to withdraw their help from the administration and they would stop that help at once. "We will withdraw our loyalty as a matter of duty."

Further on he said: " If, however, we do not get what we want from our Rulers, then we shall consider what remedy will suggest itself to us or will be suggested by the Koran. On that remedy we will act. If it becomes necessary to draw the sword we shall do that also. We shall be ready to draw the sword. Therefore I will tell you that this ' Din' is an important subject. It is so important that even, though we may not raise the sword against an enemy in another cause, still for religion's sake we will draw the sword, aye (yes), we will die as it is our duty to do. But under ordinary circumstances we will not use force or commit anarchical deeds as we shall shortly gain our object without doing so by being prepared to sacrifice life property and wealth. If we do not gain our object we should say nothing, but for the sake of our religion should draw the sword without hesitation if we think it our duty to do so."

He, however, asked them not to get overexcited owing to what appeared to be taking place in England and to avoid anything tending towards anarchy. He did not think the Muslims' hopes would be blighted, but should this happen and they decided to draw the sword then the Hindus could not deny their right to do so. At the same time Hindus should unite with Mahommadans to prevent anarchy and murder, without which it should not be possible to defend their homes and their honour. He concluded with an exhortation to work in the name and under the orders of their God, so they would not be disappointed.

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Page 620, paragraph 678 (n) 1. 2. (a) (b) —

Bombay, April 20th.—(1) The Second Khilafat Deputation, which was to have sailed for England today, has postponed its journey and released the passages we secured for it. A copy of the Central Committee's letter on the subject accompanies. Gandhi was one of the two additional persons mentioned. The other was either Abul Kalam Azad or Chaudhrani Saraladevi, wife of Rambhuj Dutt.

(2) The three following telegrams throw some light on the decision to hold up the deputation for the present:—

(a) Telegram from Gandhi, Ahmedabad, to Chhotani, Bombay, dated 18th April 1920—

"Impossible leave without full discussion. Cancel passages twentieth. Reaching Tuesday."

(b) From Abdul Kalam Azad, Calcutta, to President, Khilafat, Bombay, dated 17th April 1930: "Gandhi now differs any more delegates to be sent to England without his consultation. Gandhi not sailing twentieth. In my opinion no one should sail by twentieth. Letter follows."

Page 625, paragraph 691—

Bombay Presidency, May 1st.—On the 29th April M. K. Gandhi arrived in Poona by a morning train and motored out to Sinhgad Fort, picking up B. G. Tilak, who has a bungalow in the Fort, while passing through the city.

This is the second unobtrusive visit Gandhi has recently paid to Sinhgad, and the presence of Tilak is interesting at present in view of the rumour that Gandhi has accepted Tilak's leadership and the recent announcement that Gandhi has become President of the All-India Home Rule League.

Owing to the private nature of the visit and the secluded venue, no information is as yet forthcoming as to the subjects discussed, but it is suggested that Gandhi may be consulting Tilak about the allied decision with regard to Turkey.

The *Times of India* and the *Bombay Chronicle* of the 30th April publish the following press communique issued by Gandhi:—

"DONT BE DISHEARTENED."

Greatest Self-Restraint Necessary.

Mr. Gandhi and Turkish Peace.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi sends the following to the press for publication:—

The cablegram regarding the decision of the Conference at San Remo is most disquieting. The decision is bound to greatly disturb

the Mahommadan mind. I hope, however that the Mahommadan 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.

Page 652, paragraph 705 (K) (1) (2)—

Bombay, April 27th.—(1) The Central Khilafat Committee met on the 21st. After some discussion of the Viceroy's reply to Gandhi's wire, Gandhi abandoned for time being at least his projected trip to Europe. The Committee however has since applied for seven more passages to Europe at a very early date and for a still more urgent separate one for Kidwai. Meanwhile Gandhi has cabled to the Secretary of State as follows :—

"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 to bring their notice disastrous consequences of decision adverse to overwhelming Mahommadan opinion Stop Before taking any serious step I would like personally to place before ministers my feeling In this important matter and understand ministers view point I therefore applied for permission for self and party to His Excellency the Viceroy and approval my mission Stop Viceroy whilst willing to grant permission not prepared to give option regarding expediency mission Stop Can appreciate Viceregal disinclination give opinion same time am unwilling proceed without encouragement from Government is difficult task could you please favour me ministerial view."

The committee has also cabled to the Prime Minister and to the Peace Conference asking that their deputation shall be heard before a decision is reached.

(2) The Propaganda Sub-Committee appointed on the 13th instant has done nothing so far. A meeting which should prove interesting is in contemplation for May 7th. It is said that the Moderates are increasingly asserting themselves. Chhotani is known to be shaky and is believed to be anxious to tone down the programme of non-co-operation adopted at Gandhi's instance. A re-action against Gandhi's dictatorship may in fact already be in progress. His refusal to go to England has somewhat shaken the confidence of the Khilafat leaders in him. It is being whispered that he never really intended to go. The following telegram adds force to this suggestion of wanting confidence in the Mahatma :—

To Gandhi from Abul Kalam Azad, Calcutta.—" Why decision so sharply been changed we should appear in public very soon public became much anxious from silence I am ill if you think necessary I would come."

Abul Kalam Azad intends, by the way to come down at once to Bombay and stay indefinitely "for work". An office and a house are being taken for him. Gandhi has returned to Ahmedabad. He is however expected to return very soon *en route* to Sinhgad (Poona), where he hopes to have a rest. It is said that he does not propose to take any further action till after the declaration of the Turkish Peace terms.

Page 663, paragraph 713—

Ahmedabad, April 27th.—The celebration of " Labour Day " on the 18th instant passed off without incident. The millhands were anxious to have a procession through the city, but as Gandhi refused to take part in it, the idea was abandoned. A large meeting of mill-hands, about 7,000 men and 250 women, was held in the river-bed outside Shahpur Gate in the evening. It lasted 50 minutes. Gandhi addressed the meeting. He said it was the second occasion on which they had met to celebrate the Victory of Labour, and he was glad that they had achieved success by fair means. Shradhanandji had attended last year's celebration and many events had taken place since then. Last April the millhands in the excess of their love for him and Anusuyabai had committed outrages which he deplored. He advised them against violence, because in violence he saw India's ruin. They were lacking in the spirit of *Satyagraha*. They had lost their temper and he hoped they had repented and had decided not to commit such mistakes in future. Labourers were now earning good wages, but many of them were spending their money in drinking and

gambling. They should co-operate with the millowners. They wanted a ten hours day but they should do more work than they were doing at present in 12 hours in those ten. They should have their union and disputes should be referred to arbitration. They must not go on strike and they must abide by the rules of their unions. The millowners could do much to save their operatives from bad habits by providing them with food and milk at cheap rates and by opening reading-rooms and places of amusement. The labourers should keep their children in school up to the age of 16, and their home were the proper places for their wives. If the wives were obliged to work, it was sign of poverty. Religious instruction was required so that they might learn to love one another and to know God.

Seth Mangaldas Girdharlal, the president of the Millowners Association, then addressed the millhands. He said that they had got very good advice from Mahatma Gandhi. He hoped that they would not have recourse to the violent methods of western countries. It was their duty to join their unions and to put forward their demands through them. If the Association did not accede to their demands, the matter should be referred to arbitration. The millowners would look after their comfort and deal with their demands in a satisfactory manner.

Seth Ambalal Sarabhai thanked them for inviting him to the meeting. He regretted to say that on inspecting one of the model chawls which he had built for the convenience of his operative, he found that goats were being kept in it. The millowners had realised that it was to their advantage to provide for the comfort of the labourers. He advised them to join the Union which had recently been started.

Page 692, paragraph 745 (L) III—

Bombay, May 4th.—Gandhi is reported to have written to Abdul Bari to the effect that action should now take the place of words, at the same time announcing his intention to start a non-co-operation league. In consequence of the declosures from San Remo, Gandhi has sent to the press a message of encouragement to Muslims. He exhorts them to keep calm and to pin their faith to non-co-operation. Let those who distrust that policy, he adds, indicate some other equally effective, but less dangerous, means to the same end.

On the 27th of April, apparently in consequence of Abul Kalam Azad's wire reported last week, Gandhi published in the *Sanj Vartaman* a statement about his proposed deputation to Europe. A translation is attached marked " C ".

Why am I going to England ?

Page 694, paragraph (Accompaniment) "C"—

Sanj Vartaman, 27th April 1920.—The following explanation has been published by Mr. Gandhi:—

Several readers take so much interest in my action that it becomes impossible for me to satisfy their curiosity always, not out of carelessness, but because I do not get sufficient time to reply to every person, I am not in a position to occupy sufficient space in the *Navjeevan* to publish the explanations of all questions. However, I deem it necessary to explain certain public matters, and my going to England is one of such questions.

Several readers have been thinking as to how I am prepared to go to England while I had always been against the leaders going to England. As they are well aware of my opinion the suspicions are natural. I have never held that nobody should go to England on any occasion. I expect such a time when it will be an offence if one does not go to England. I do not think like this with regard to the Khilafat question. It is not that I must go, but as it is possible to get some good by my going. I have left this matter entirely to the choice of my Mahommadan brothers. If they so desired I should be prepared to go; and as they expressed their wish I became ready to go on two conditions, namely, the first that our arrangements here must be completed and the other that I must get an approval and permission from the Viceroy. The permission has been received but the Viceroy is doubtful in giving his opinion regarding qualification. I therefore again approached the Khilafat Committee and asked it to decide on its responsibility as to what I should do in such condition. The Committee is divided in its opinion, but the general opinion is that I should not go to England for the present and so I have postponed my going.

The object of going there is not merely to get some decision, but in case if an unfavourable decision is given, also to give a warning as to what will happen in India. Non-co-operation is not an ordinary thing; and if it is properly tried, perfect justice can be obtained through it. Therefore before the use of such a heavy weapon I think it essential to give a clear warning to the Government, so I prefer to go to England to give a warning, provided I get favourable conditions. The Viceroy's approval has not been received and as we are not well prepared, I think it better for me not to go. However if it is the wish of the Mahommadan brothers or, if I find the Government approving of my going, I shall positively, think of going.

M. K. GANDHI.

Page 699, paragraph 751(b)—

Bombay, May 3rd.—Gandhi has informed the North-Western Railway Association that he is unable to help or advise the strikers but urges them to use moderation.

Page 702, paragraph 758—

(a) *Ahmedabad, May 3rd.*—The spinners of thirty mills went on strike today. They had resumed work a month ago and agreed to accept the arbitration award of Messrs. Gandhi and Mangaldas which was to be announced on the 1st May. The negotiations between Gandhi and Mangaldas reached a deadlock. Mangaldas refused to go as far as Gandhi wanted him to go. Banker and Anusuyabai broke the bad news to the representatives of the Spinners' Union last night. Banker asked them to wait till the 1st June before taking any action, but they would not agree. Anusuyabai asked them to wait until the 6th instant at least (I presume she expects Gandhi back from Sinhgad by then), but they refused and said they would go on strike at once. Banker and Anusuyabai then threatened to sever their connection with them if they went on strike ; but this had no effect. Anusuyabai was very upset and telephoned to the District Magistrate that the spinners were going on strike in the morning, and that as she had no control over them he had better take precautions. Both sides today say they are going to fight to the finish this time. At a meeting of the leading spinners in the river bed, today, it was decided not to resume work till their demands were granted. They resolved to cut their liquor as a measure of economy and to sell their ornaments if necessary. They said that strikers should be forbidden to gather in crowds in the city or to carry even a stick. It was decided to elect a leader among themselves as Anusuyabai had refused to lead them. Two of them volunteered to induce the spinners of the remaining mills to strike in sympathy.

There is certain to be a complete cessation of work unless the millowners yield. It is impossible to say yet whether they will or not.

Bombay. May 3rd.—The following is a copy of a telegram from S. S. Banker, Ahmedabad, to M. K. Gandhi at Poona :—" Exceedingly grieved. Men refuse accept award. Ask for ten hours tomorrow. Urge come immediately."

Note.—Gandhi left Poona on the 4th and arrived in Ahmedabad on the 5th May.

(b) *C. I. D., Bombay Presidency*.—Extract from the "*Times of India*" dated 7th May 1920 : —

Ahmedabad Mills Working.

(From our own correspondent).

Ahmedabad, May 6.

According to arrangements made on Wednesday between Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Mangaldas, Mr. Gandhi advised the spinners to resume work and to-day they have done so and the mills are working as usual. Negotiations are still going on between Messrs. Gandhi and Mangaldas and a favourable decision is expected this evening both in regard to wages and hours of work.

(c) *Extract from the "Times of India", dated the 8th May 1920.*

No Settlement at Ahmedabad.

Ahmedabad, May 7.

The negotiations between Messrs. Mangaldas and Gandhi have been going on for the last three days. There was some likelihood of a settlement being arrived at on Thursday evening but unfortunately did not come about. The matter will therefore be referred to an umpire. On Thursday all the mills were working but today the spinners of many mills have not turned up for work.

Page 736, paragraph 777(n)—

May 15th.—The *Young India* has the following in its issue of the 5th May 1920 :—

" YOUNG INDIA ".

Ahmedabad, Wednesday, 5th May 1920.

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 organisers propose to give effect to the whole scheme at once. The fact however is that the organisers have fixed definite, progressive 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 of the police and the military—the third stage is a distant goal. The organisers however wanted to be fair, open 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 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 organising 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 that those who talk and 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 Mahommadans is deeply hurt and if the Hindus entertain neighbourly regard towards their Muslim brothers 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. They say that it ill becomes me, a friend of the British 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 say that the ordinary Mahommadan entertains today no affection for Englishmen. He considers, not without some cause, that they have no cause that they have not played the game. But if I am friendly towards Englishmen, I am no less towards my countrymen, the Mahomma-dans ; 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 with him if it became necessary, as I had withdrawn from my own brother (now deceased) when it became necessary. I serve the Empire by refusing to partake in its wrong. William Stead 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 risked his life in opposing that war and did everything he could to obstruct his own Government in its prosecution. And to-day I have thrown in my lot with the Mahommadans, 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 Mahommadans 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 Mahommadan 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 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 Mahommadans of India are carrying. Theirs is admittedly a just fight. The Viceroy, the Secretary of State, the Maharaja of Bikaner and Lord Sinha have testified to it. Time has arrived to make good the testimony.

People with a just cause are not satisfied with a mere protest. They have been known to die for it. Are a high-spirited people like the Mahommadans expected to do less ? "

Page 740, paragraph 781(b)—

Ahmedabad, May 10th.—The District Magistrate writes : " I received a letter from Gandhi on Saturday night (May 8th) stating that in spite of his efforts he had been unable to come to terms with Mangaldas and the majority of the mill-owners with regard to the demands of the spinners, and that in consequence there would be a strike of the spinners in all Mills but the 12 which follow Ambalal. (These have come to a separate agreement with Gandhi). The strike begins from today (Monday, the 10th) and so far as I have heard only the 12 mills are working. There are crowds of millhands about on the roads, but their behaviour is quiet and the millowners seem to have no apprehensions as none have applied for police protection. The liquor shops have been closed as a precautionary measure.

" Mangaldas and his followers talk boldly and have signed an agreement to stand out against the spinners for two months if necessary. Considering their weakness of character and the defection of Ambalal and the 12 mills, I do not think that they will maintain this attitude long. Mangaldas shifts like a weather-cock and takes short views ; yet he is the man of greatest influence and has the rest of his group in his pocket. A few days of strike will bring both parties to a more sober mood. The present question in debate is after all one of detail how the relative rates and wages in Bombay and Ahmedabad should be calculated.

" I should state that Gandhi demanded of Mangaldas that the question should be referred to me as umpire. Mangaldas consulted me but was plainly unwilling to submit to arbitration on account of the large number of spinners who are outside the union and would therefore not be bound by the award. I told him that this was a point for the Association to decide; and that I would only consent to make an award if (1) Gandhi's union men made it plain that they followed him in wishing me to do so, and (2) Gandhi agreed to sever his connection with any who, after agreeing, refused to be bound by the award. The millowners rejected the proposal when Mangaldas put it before them, on account of the large number of non-union men. The fact was that they had no desire for me as umpire. Probably the mill-hands would have been equally dissatisfied. It was a despairing effort of Gandhi to arrive at some agreement. The situation is not ripe yet for arbitration, neither side being seriously united in any common determination upon certain definite points. There is rather a vague discontent on the

one side and desire to make whatever they can out of the owners; while the latter are perplexed and doubtful whether any amount of yielding at the present moment would settle the dispute."

The Commissioner, Northern Division, adds : " I have submitted separate notes on the Mill strike. To-day 35 mills are closed. All the others including the Ambalal group are working. I am enquiring if any mill not belonging to the Ambalal group is working or not."

Page 753, paragraph 792—

Ahmedabad, May 3rd.—Mr. Gandhi presided over public meeting held in the Manik Chowk on the 26th April under the joint auspices of the Home Rule League and the Gujarat Sabha at which a resolution was passed condemning the deportation of Horniman and requesting Government to permit him to return to India. The audience numbered about 1,200. Among those present were Vallabhbhai J. Patel, Gajanan K. Mavalankar, Jadavji Z. Gandhi, Kuber Hargovan, Laxmishanker Devashanker and Mrs. Sarala Devi, wife of Rambhuj Dutt Chaudhri.

Page 792, paragraph 811(c)—

(c) *Ahmedabad, May 13th.*—As Gandhi and Seth Mangaldas, the arbitrators, were unable to agree, the spinners, with the consent of Gandhi, have decided to go on strike from the 9th instant.

Ahmedabad, May 12th.—The Gomitpur Spinning and Manufacturing Co., Ltd., Mill resumed work this morning as the Agent accepted the terms of Gandhi's award ; otherwise the situation is unchanged. The strikers are well in hand and there are no signs of restiveness yet.

Two hundred of the strikers assembled in Anusuyabai's place yesterday evening and were addressed by Gandhi. After exhorting them to remain firm, he stated that he has opened a Temperance campaign and that already 100 labourers had signed the pledge. Anusuyabai issued leaflets daily which they all read and digest as they contain excellent instructions and advise. Their aim was to get more pay and thus save their wives and children from having to work in the mills. If the millowners had sense, there would be no trouble Hindus and Mussalmans were the sons of one mother; they should all work harmoniously. They should pray to God and keep away from vice.

Gandhi left for Bombay last night and returns tomorrow morning.

It has been reported that arrangements are being made to keep the Ambalal group of mills working the whole 24 hours so as to provide employment for as many strikers as possible. This is not verified yet.

Gandhi is evidently taking advantage of the compulsory closure of the liquor shops to start his temperance crusade.

Ahmedabad, May 19th.—The strike has been settled. A compromise has been effected by which the Ambalal—Gandhi award has been accepted with slight alterations. The strikers have not yet resumed work. They are expected to do so tomorrow.

Ahmedabad, May 20th.—Eighteen out of thirty one mills on strike resume work this morning. The remainder want the mill-owners to state in writing that they accept the terms.

***(2)**

Page 825, paragraph 843(s) 4—

Bombay, 25th May.—In an interview which took place a few days ago, Gandhi stated that the Secretary of State had at last replied to his cablegram asking for permission to visit England as a representative of the Khilafat Committee. Montagu appears to have said that though the Peace Terms were now a settled fact he would be very glad if Mr. Gandhi would come and discuss with him the effects of the treaty. Gandhi would like to go, and thinks that if he does, his journey is likely to be successful as were his two previous errands on similar business. He thinks the most favourable time for his departure will be early in June, so that he may have his say before the Allies decision upon the Turkish reply is reached. Not being a Mahommadan, however, he will not go except at the urgent request of his Mahommadan friends, and with a renewed pledge that there shall be no violence. He added that no decision had yet been reached as to the inauguration of non-co-operation. He hoped that the next three months would be devoted to preparation, in order that the actual inauguration might take place after his return from England.

Page 867, paragraph 879 (x)—

Ahmedabad, May 29th.—The District Magistrate writes: " Gandhi and Vallabhbhai Patel came to me on the morning of the 18th with Mangaldas Girdharidas in connection with the settlement of the Spinners strike. That business was soon settled and Mangaldas left. I asked Gandhi to remain. He did so and Vallabhbhai did so likewise. Gandhi held forth for more than an hour upon the Khilafat campaign and many other matters, while I listened. He went rather far afield in his discourse, even to discussing the relative methods of Christianity and Hinduism, but the gist of it was this :

"He cared nothing for Turkey as such, but the Indian Mahom-madans did, and as Government was breaking their clear promises to the Indian Mahommadans, he considered that their cause was

a good one and felt justified in championing it. Incidentally it was a glorious opportunity for unifying Hindu and Mahommadan sentiment, without which nothing great could be achieved in India. But the fight was really a bigger one than a mere struggle with the Government of India or Great Britain. It was a fight between soul-force and brute-force and in waging it he had the good of England and Europe as much in mind as that of India. His object was to prove that a new force had been born into the world before which fleets and armies and all the methods of a material civilization would prove useless. He believed that India was better fitted than any country in the world to receive this new teaching, and if he could carry the country with him he believed that the victory of soul-force over brute-force was assured; and that this victory would open the eyes of the world and ultimately convert them to his way of thinking. Soul-force consisted practically of passive resistance to wrong and injustice: to force it opposed not force but suffering. India could hope for nothing from force and violence. If a single act of violence were committed by his followers he would consider the cause lost and acknowledge defeat—that is, he would abandon his campaign about the Khilafat. It was not only that he realised how easily violence could be put down, how helpless" the Eastern world was, confronted with the material resources of the West. But violence was opposed to his creed and was a betrayal of India's mission. If he could transform India, by wishing, to a sort of Japan he would not do so. Japan was on the same evil road as Western nations, and India had a higher destiny.

" I asked him if he did not think that the masses when roused would proceed to violence as they did last year. He admitted the danger, but said that but for his influence with the Mahommadans there would have been violence already. Besides nothing great was ever done without risk. He had been on four battle-fields and seen life thrown away for mere chances of some advantage. If the believers in force were willing to do that why should he not also risk lives in a sacred cause ?

" I asked him what he proposed to do. He said: make a representation to the Home Government fixing a time limit of three months within which they would take no measures except 'sounding the country'. I asked whether this meant stirring up the country, and he admitted that he meant this. He would probably tour the Punjab with this object.

" I told him that this would certainly end in blood-shed ; but he was very cocksure about his ability to control the Mahommadans there or anywhere, and boasted that he had already succeeded in doing so in Sind."

Page 912, paragraph 914—

Ahmedabad, June 3rd.—Representatives of Capital and Labour met at Anusuyabai's residence on the 23rd May to celebrate the termination of the Spinners strike and to demonstrate once again the happy relations that exist between the mill-owners and the mill-hands when the latter get what they want.

Gandhi, in addressing the gathering, said that the relations between the mill-owners of Ahmedabad and their workmen were in reality cordial though some difference of opinion occurred recently on the occasion of the strike. Fortunately everything ended well: the Shethias kindly consented to give good rates of wages, and a system of arbitration had been established to settle any disputes that might occur in the future. If the labourers made any unjust demands, he would adopt " *Satyagraha* " against them just as readily as he took action against the mill-owners.

In accepting a purse of Rs. 700 from the mill-hands, he said that he would hand it over to Anusuyabai for the education of the poor.

At Gandhi's suggestion Seth Mangaldas Girdhardas said a few words to the mill-hands. He requested them to work honestly and behave politely to the mill officials, and he hoped they would work hard to compensate the mill-owners for the loss they sustained during the strike.

Some of the leading politicians of Ahmedabad attended the meeting. There were about 5,000 mill hands present.

Page 926, paragraph 932(i) 1, 6, 7—

C. I. D., Bombay Presidency, June 19th.—The following is a summary of the proceedings at Allahabad furnished by a Bombay City C. I. D. Officer who was present: —

(1) The programme of proceedings was as follows : —

1st June—

8 a.m.

Meeting of Central Khilafat Committee.

3 p.m.

Conference of Ulemas.

9-30 p.m.

Meeting of Hindu-Mahommadan Leaders.

2nd June—

8-30 a.m.

Meeting of Hindu-Mahommadan Leaders.

3 p.m.

Ulemas Conference.

9 p.m.

Central Khilafat Committee.

(6) *The Second Joint Meeting.*—Representatives of Sind and Madras explained that their provinces were ripe for action, but Fazlul Haq urged that Bengal where sentiment was still backward should be left out of the scheme for the present. Hasrat Mohani

then made a speech in the course of which he promised to join any Afghan Army that might invade India to drive out the British. The Hindu leaders promptly demanded explanations, whereupon Shaukat Ali, Azad, Sobhani and Zafar Ali Khan made it clear that they heartily agreed with him. This outburst provoked the Hindu leaders to some plainness of speech. Lajpatrai warned the Muslims that at the first sign of any such danger Hindus would not only cease to help, but would actively oppose them. Kidwai indulged in some sophistry in the hope of smoothing over the ruffled surface and Gandhi* again assured the Mahommadans of his support so long as they refused to adopt violence or other "insane" methods. The discussion then turned to non-co-operation, on which the more moderate Musalmans once more asserted themselves. The Conference finally broke up without reaching a decision ; but leaving it to be understood that the matter must await the consideration of the Special Congress to be summoned to Calcutta in August.

(7) *The Second Meeting of the Central Khilafat Committee.*—Only 30 members of the C. K. C. attended, together with Gandhi, Malaviya, and few other Hindus. The seven resignations from the Committee were considered; eight resolutions were passed of which the most important are :

(1) Reaffirmed the adoption of non-co-operatipn in all four stages ; and appointed a Sub-Committee of Extremists under Gandhi, with Headquarters at Bombay to give practical effect to that policy;

(2) Decided to extend all over India the Khilafat Volunteer Organization both to collect funds and to prepare the masses for non-co-operation; and

(3) Established a Sub-Committee under Chhotani to give effect to the *Swadeshi* movement.

The other resolutions referred to the Nizam's *firman*, the Khilafat prosecutions, and the Turkish terms.

The features of the meeting were Gandhi's astounding assumption of dictatorship and the Muslim leaders' acquiescence therein. Gandhi explained that if the four stages of non-co-operation failed, and the Mahommadans still wished to go further, he would stand aside and watch in silence their progress. The members of his Sub-Committee are Shaukat Ali, Khatri, Hakim, A. Y. Ispahani, Mahomed ATi Dharavi (all of Bombay) together with Ahmed Hasan of Gaya, Hasrat Mohani and Dr. Kitchlew. Chhotani's name was in his absence accepted at Shaukat Ali's suggestion hut Chhotani subsequently refused to accept the nomination.

*M. K. Gandhi was in Bombay and attended the funeral of Late Lokmanya B. G. Tilak. He also spoke in the meeting.

Page 927, para. 932 (L) 1, 2, 3—

Bombay, June 14.—(1) Jairamdas Daulatram of Hyderabad, Sind, has addressed to Shaukat Ali a letter which throws further light upon the proceedings at Allahabad. He accuses Shaukat Ali of having issued to the Press a one-sided version of them, of having omitted all mention of the discussion relating to Afghanistan and of ignoring not only Gandhi's claim to dictatorship and his proposal to transpose the third and fourth stages in the scheme of non-cooperation already accepted, but also his threat to abandon the movement if the Moslem response to the second stage were unsatisfactory. Jairamdas himself attended the Allahabad meeting. He has since taken steps to ensure that at least the readers of his own journal shall not be misled by Shaukat Ali's misrepresentations.

(2) Gandhi's journal *Young India* of the 9th instant published an article (Appendix A) upon these conferences containing the only reference that has yet appeared in the Bombay papers to the discussion about the feared Afghan invasion of India. Notwithstanding the cautious language he uses Gandhi makes it clear that the discussion upon the Afghan invasion was accurately reflected in my report last week.

(3) It appears from letters addressed to Shaukat Ali by Khilafat leaders in Oudh that Chhotani's conduct of the Chair gave serious offence to those who are dissatisfied with the rate of progress permitted by Bombay. The writer was especially annoyed at Chhotani's refusal to allow his opponents to speak.

The members of Gandhi's New Sub-Committee, with the exception of Abul Kalam Azad, who is said to be ill, have assembled at Bombay and are said to have authorised Gandhi to draft two letters to the Viceroy on the subject of non-co-operation. The first, signed by Mahommadans alone, is said to give notice that non-co-operation is to begin, and to call upon the Viceroy to join the movement. The second will be a personal letter from Gandhi. The latter has not yet been drafted but signatures are being collected on the former, the terms of which are still uncertain. The *Chronicle* advises the new Committee to take no action pending the decision of the Special Congress to be held a month or two hence.

APPENDIX A.

C. I. D., Bombay Presidency, June 18th.—The following is an extract from *Young India*, dated the 9th June 1920 :—

THE MAHOMMADAN DECISION.

The Khilafat meeting 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-Mahommadan meeting at which Hindu leaders were invited to give their views. Mrs. Besant, the Honourable Pandit Malaviyaji, the Honourable Dr. Sapru, Motilal Nehru, Chintamani 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 Mahom-madans 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 Mahommadans welcoming an Afghan invasion of India. The Mahommadan 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 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 Mahommadan position. In my opinion the best way to prevent India from becoming the battleground between the forces of Islam and those of the English, is for Hindus to make non-co-operation a complete and immediate success ; and I have little doubt that if the Mahommadans 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 the Mahommadans in promoting an armed conflict between the British Government and their allies and Afghanistan. British forces are too well organised to admit of any successful invasion of the Indian Frontier. The only way, therefore, the Mahommadans 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 in injustice done by an individual or 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 wrong-doer, 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 Mahommadans

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.

Page 931, paragraph 932 (m, n, & o)—

S. B., Bihar and Orissa.—From Abstract, dated June 5th. Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operation proposal is being severely criticised, and it seems to be the general opinion of both Hindus and Mahom-madans that this method of opposition is likely to do more harm than good to Indian Mahommadans.

Maulana Shaukat Ali has also written to several leading Mahommadans that the non-co-operation movement will be fully explained and advertised in the weekly English paper *Young India* and that the public should be encouraged to subscribe to it, Enquiries show no great increase in the sale of this paper in the city yet.

*(n) C. I. D., Bombay Presidency, June 16th.—*The following is an extract from the Delhi Press Abstract, dated the 5th June 1920. Mr. Gandhi has advised the public to conduct a silent and calm agitation, but it seems probable that ultimately this will develop into a violent disturbance leading to shootings and the loss of life. Participation in the agitation there should be, because even in defeat there is moral victory, but calm must be maintained. Patriotism is still a feeble and frail growth needing to be strenghtened by tribulation. Further bloodshed will further increase the patriotism of Indians (*The Hindi Samachar*).

*(o) C. I. D. Bombay Presidency, June 18th.—*The *Lokasangraha* of the 12th June comments as follows on the attacks recently made on non-co-operation : —

The Moderates are attacking Gandhi and the Mahommadan leaders for passing the non-co-operation resolution at the Allahabad Khilafat Conference.

Some people are laughing at the decision to give one month's notice to the Viceroy.

It has been finally decided that the first stage, viz., renunciation of titles, should be introduced.

On the other hand, certain Mahommadans of Hyderabad, Sind have declared that the Khilafat movement is not supported by their religion as there has been no Khilafat for many years. They also say it is contrary to their religion to deal with such questions in the company of Hindus.

Some wise men are asking why steps should be taken against the Indian Government when the British Government is to blame, but they should remember the old saying that to force open the mouth it is necessary to squeeze the nose and realise that pressure is being indirectly brought to bear on the British Government through the Indian one.

It concludes by saying that those who sympathise should help and those who don't should at least refrain from mocking those who do and prophesying evil results.

Page 933, paragraph 932(u)—

S. B., United Provinces, June 2nd.—The following is a letter recently written by Mr. Gandhi to Shah Hafiz Alam of Allahabad : —

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.

I wish our friends will understand that the whole struggle consists in suffering imprisonment and all the other hardships that 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 30th instant 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.

Page 974, paragraph 970—

S. B., Sind, Karachi, June 25th.—The following letter from Mahatma Gandhi was published in the *Hindu* of the 24th instant : —

"I am not loyal to such a king who goes against the wishes of his subjects. The king himself is a " *Ghulam*" (slave? Servant) of his subjects as his appointment depends upon the approbation on his subjects (*rayat*)".

Page 979, paragraph 982—

Bombay, June 28th.—Under the auspices of the Home Rule Leagues a public meeting, attended by three or four thousand people of all creeds, was held on June 26th to discuss the Hunter Report. The hall was densely packed two hours before proceedings began. M. A. Jinnah presided. The speakers included Gandhi,

Madan Mohan Malaviya, Shaukat Ali, Kitchlew, Jamnadas Dwarkadas and Dr. N. D. Savarkar. Except for the hostility displayed by the audience to Jamnadas Dwarkadas, there was nothing remarkable about the proceedings. A complete list of the resolutions is appended:

Resolution 1.—This public meeting of the citizens of Bombay enters its emphatic protest against the Report of the Majority of the Hunter Committee, as being biased, one-sided and deliberately devised to condone official inhumanities and unwarranted by the evidence of the officials themselves.

This meeting deeply regrets that the Government of India and the Secretary of State have accepted the findings of the Majority and have been party to exoneration of Sir Michael O'Dwyer* and practically even of General Dyer.

This meeting calls upon the Government of India and the Secretary of State to give effect to the recommendations of the Congress Sub-Committee, viz.,—

(a) Repeal of the Rowlatt Act.

(b) Relieving Sir Micheal O'Dwyer of any responsible office under the Crown.

(c) Relieving General Dyer, Colonel Johnson, Colonel O'Brien, Mr. Bosworth Smith, Rai Sahib Shri Ram Sud and Malik Sahib Khan of any position of responsibility under the Crown.

(d) Local enquiry 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 the 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 the punitive police.

And further calls upon His Majesty's Government, in view of the fact that General Dyer has been manifestly guilty of murder, to take such steps as may be necessary to put him on his trial and to take similar steps regarding Colonel Jackson, Colonel O'Brien, Mr. Bosworth Smith, Rai Sahib Shri Ram Sud and Malik Saheb Khan, and in as much as Sir Michael O'Dwyer has been proved to have been guilty of gross irregularities and facts have leaked out

* For further light on Punjab affair see the Biographies of Sir O'Dwyer and General Dyer.

both in the evidence before the Hunter Committee as also at the Congress Sub-Committee about his gross mal-administration, this meeting calls upon His Majesty's Government to deal with Sir Michael O'Dwyer by way of impeachment or otherwise.

Proposed by Mahatma Gandhi.

Seconded by the Honourable Pandit Malviya.

Supported by Messrs. M. R. Jayakar, Shaukat Ali, Munshi, Jamna-das and Dr. Kitchlew.

Resolution II.—This meeting resolves that the copies of this resolution be sent to the Government of India, the Secretary of State and Prime Minister.

Page 989, paragraph 985(s)—

Non-co-operation.—The Mahommadan ultimatum, signed by ninety Sunnis, on the subject of non-co-operation, together with Gandhi's personal letter, was despatched to the Viceroy on the 22nd June. The last issue of *Young India*, dated the 23rd June contains an article by Gandhi explaining the functions of his new Committee and denning his own position in reference to the agitation. Gandhi sizes up the Khilafat leaders with refreshing candour, explains that his Committee's function is not to "execute" the decision of the Central Khilafat Committee on the subject of non-co-operation, but to "ascertain and enforce the wish of the Nation" in reference to it. He repudiates the dignity of leader of the movement and says he has been called in to advice as a specialist in non-co-operation.

Bombay opinion has not yet asserted itself in reference to these latest developments. *The Mahratta* of the 27th June, however, heartily endorses Gandhi's action which it describes as the only sure remedy of troubles connected with the Khilafat and the Punjab. But the same paper looks askance at Lala Lajpatrai's decision to boycott the Reform Councils, and thinks that individual action in this matter should be deferred until the Special Session of the Congress has discussed, it.

Page 1032, paragraph 1012 (o)—

Bombay, July 5th—Non-co-operation.—The leading event of the week has been the publication throughout India by Gandhi's Committee of a manifesto giving immediate effect to the policy of non-cooperation. This document, a copy of which is attached, marked "A" officially inaugurates action as opposed to words. The programme outlined is described as forming part of the first step. Its chief items are : Boycott of Government schools, of the Reformed

Councils, and by lawyers as well as by litigants, of His Majesty's Courts. It is to take general effect on August 1st; but recruiting for the civil and military services and subscriptions to Government loans, new or old are to be suspended immediately.

Page 1034—

ACCOMPANIMENT " A ".

The following is a statement issued by Non-co-operation Committee for public information and guidance :—

" Many questions have been asked of Non-co-operation Committee as to its expectations and the methods to" be adopted for begin-ing non-co-operation. Committee wish it to be understood that while they expect every one to respond to their recommendation to the full, they are desirous of carrying weakest members also with them.

The Committee want to enlist passive sympathy if not active cooperation of whole of country in method of non-co-operation. Those therefore who cannot undergo physical sacrifice will help by contributing funds or labour to movement. Should non-co-operation become necessary Committee has decided upon following as part of the first stage :—

- (1) Non-participation in Government loans.
- (2) Surrender of all titles of honour and honorary officers.
- (3) Suspension by lawyers of practice and settlement of civil disputes by private arbitration.
- (4) Boycott of Government schools by parents.
- (5) Boycott of Reformed Councils.
- (6) Non-participation in Government parties and such other functions.
- (7) Refusal to accept any civil or military post in Mesopotamia or to offer as units for army, especially for service in Turkish Territories now being administered in violation of pledges.
- (8) Vigorous prosecution of *Swadeshi*, inducing people at time of this national awakening to appreciate their national duty to their country by being satisfied with its own productions and manufacturers. *Swadeshi* must be pushed without waiting for the 1st of August, for it is an eternal rule of conduct not to be interrupted even when settlement arrives. In order not to commit themselves people will refrain now from taking service, either civil or military. They will also suspend taking Government loans, new or old. For the rest it should be remembered that non-cooperation does not commence before the 1st August. Every effort is being and will still be made to avoid resort to such

serious breach with Government by urging His Majesty's ministers to secure revision of Treaty which has been so universally condemned. Those who realise their responsibility and gravity of course will not act independently but in consort with Committee. Success depends entirely upon discipline and concerted non-co-operation, and latter is dependent upon strict obedience to instructions, calmness, and absolute freedom from violence."

Page 1064, paragraph 1043 (v)—

Bombay July 12th.—Non-co-operation.—Most of the provincial reports as to the prospects of success of the first step in non-co-operation are still awaited. So far the plan of Gandhi's sub-committee has received little support. As indicated last week Yacub Hassan has come down in the hope of securing the abandonment of the proposal to boycott the schools and the Reformed Councils. The United Provinces committee now reports serious difficulties in those parts. The secretary of the Meerut Khilafat Committee, himself a rabid fanatic, Khilafat extremist and Barrister-at-law, has informed the C. K. C. that only two lawyers in the U. P. are willing to relinquish their practices, and the public opinion is opposed to the boycott of any but Mission schools and colleges. In two other communications on the same subject he pleads for the postponement till September 15th on the surrender by lawyers of their practices on the first on the grounds that the vacation commences on that date, and the second because of news (unspecified) received from Home by the last mail. The Punjab also appears to be strongly opposed to Gandhi's programme. Harkisanlal, Rambhuj Dutt, Santa Ram, Tek Chand Dhuni Chand and Girdharlal all urge suspension of "judgment and action" pending the sessions of the special Congress. Rambhuj Dutt asserts that "most Punjab workers" are opposed to the boycott of the Councils; and Girdharlal is personally prepared to follow Gandhi's lead but holds that the "Best and Most" in the Punjab are either against or hesitating.

Gandhi has wired the following to Khwaja, Delhi :—

" Non-co-operation impossible in Native States without local guidance."

Khwaja on his part is not disposed to accept this pronouncement as finally disposing of the proposal he has apparently made but has since wired to Tilak, Shaukat Ali and others stating the facts and asking their opinion.

The Bihar Provincial Committee reports that there are in the province hardly 10 or 12 Hindus and Mahommadans willing to adopt non-co-operation.

Page 1089, paragraph 107 2 (z)—

Bombay, July 19th.—Central Khilafat Committee.—On the 14th instant Shaukat Ali, Dr. Kitchlew, Gandhi, Anusuyabai, Zahedali and Akbarali left Bombay for the Punjab whence they intend to proceed to Sind and possibly afterwards to the U. P. and Calcutta for the Special Congress. Their sudden departure is due to the Punjab's apathy on the subject of non-co-operation.

Page 1106, paragraph 1098 (b)—

Karachi, July 27th.—Copy of intercepted telegram from Gandhi, Hyderabad, Sind, to Khilafat workers League Delhi : —

" You should not break law breach harmful".

Page 1107, paragraph 1103 (b.c.)—

S. B., Sind, Karachi, July 23rd.—Gandhi, Kitchlew, Shaukat Ali and Sarladevi passed through Rohri by the Lahore Mail on the 22nd July. They were met at Rohri by about 800 people headed by Virumal Begraj and Taj Muhammad, editor *Al-Haq*. Virumal Beg-raj, after considerable struggling, managed to reach Gandhi's compartment and garlanded him. The crowd welcomed Gandhi with shouts of "*Mahatma Gandhi ki Jai*;" which Gandhi himself stopped, evidently being fed up with the din. After the trains departure, Virumal Begraj told the crowd that Gandhi asked them to make the *hartal* on the 1st August a success and that Gandhi might come to Sukkur some time next month.

The Lahore Mail arrived at Hyderabad in the morning of the 22nd at 5-15 a.m. Nur Muhammad, pleader, Jairamdas, Aminuddin N. Munshi and a few others only were at the station.

Owing to the derailment of goods train the Lahore Mail did not reach Karachi until 8-30 p.m.; thus cancelling the whole of the programme arranged for the day by the Khilafat Committee. The city station was crowded and the crowd may be liberally estimated at not more than 5,000. The crowd here was so unruly as to prevent Gandhi getting out of the train. Gandhi was asked by the station officials to order the crowd to disperse ; but he refused. Then he was approached by Mr. Williamson, Station Superintendent to leave the station and get the crowd away. This he refused to do, until the crowd had dispersed. The crowd was eventually dispersed by the Railway servants and Railway police and the entreaties of Seth Chel-laram, whereupon Gandhi and Sarladevi with Haji Abdulla Haroon, Waswani and others left the station. Thence they were taken in procession, the crowd still unruly, following, through the Bombay Bazar, Juma Market, Bunder Road decorated here and there, to the Idgah, where a meeting was held at about 12 p.m.

(c) S. B., *Sind, Karachi, July 23rd.*—The Khilafat meeting at Karachi was held on the 22nd July at the Idgah, with Professor Waswani, as President, the following spoke : Professor Waswani Gandhi, Dr. Kitchlew, and Shaukat Ali, Lokamal Chellaram Seth of Karachi. Waswani opened the proceedings and was followed by Gandhi, who, feeling unwell (and apparently peevish), spoke sitting down.

Gandhi : " Before coming to the reasons of my visit to Karachi, I wish to refer to the scene at the railway station. We were to arrive this morning, but owing to an unfortunate railway accident and subsequent blocking of the line, we did not arrive till 9 pan. The Karachi City Station was overcrowded ; many were in the sheds and many were whistling. What impression did I get from this? I realised your affection for me, but affection does not mean obstructing the platform and preventing me, the one you love, getting out This is the result of lack of education and knowledge. What is the use of volunteers if they are unable to control crowds and do not obey the orders of their officers. Work cannot proceed under those circumstances. The Railway station incident being finished, I bring to your notice the fact that our Mahommadan brothers are suffering for the Khilafat. The British Parliament and the Viceroy have forgotten their pledges. I ask all Hindus to help Mahomma-dans in this time of trouble. If this is not done then the Hindus must bear in mind that slavery will be at the door of not only seven crores of Mahommadans but at the door of twenty-two crores of Hindus also. We have held meetings, delivered speeches, passed resolutions, and sent deputations to request that the feelings of Mahommadans be respected. Nothing has resulted from this. Turkey has been forced to face difficulties and hardships. To obtain a decision on the Khilafat question, you will have to give your own blood. What do you understand by giving blood ? It does not mean that you should kill the British in whose hands the Khilafat decision is, but that you should be ready silently to sacrifice your own lives. To attain this, manly power is necessary. What is manly power? The power full of spiritual strength. What spiritual strength ? To become a Khatri. What is Khatri ? A sepoy. We do not want to become Waswannis or Professors, but soldiers with spiritual power ; soldiers who stand their ground and do not run away. I want you all to be soldiers with such force of will that you will stand in your place and never retire. All pressure should be firmly but silently opposed. The killing of others, burning of Government buildings, is not bravery. Government buildings are as your own houses. The shedding of your own blood is true bravery. My brother, Shaukat Ali says that he comes of a martial

family. His father and grandfather and he himself is a soldier, but I am ready to pit my soldiers against theirs. One lakh of British govern 30 crores of Indians, if you prove this manly power, you can free the motherland. This is necessary to obtain (1) freedom for the motherland, (2) justice for the oppression of the Punjab, and (3) revision of the Khilafat decisions. If you have no spirit then you are weaker than women. If you have it, make use of it and you will be able to secure these three things ; otherwise it means slavery for ever. By shedding English blood, the Khilafat agitation will never succeed. We cannot oppose them. They have arms, aeroplanes and machine guns. If you have the spirit then non-cooperation can be properly carried out. Hindus should not think that Mussalmans will afterwards oppose them. Islam is a pure religion and will never mislead Hindus. Non-co-operation is a weapon above all others. The only way of meeting the unjust terms of such a Government is by non-co-operation. Non-co-operation begins from the 1st of August, and it is the duty of every Indian, man, woman and child, to make it successful. Shops should be closed, prayers offered in the mosques and temples and every man should fast. Huge meetings should be organised ; not meetings like this. No force should be used.

Note.—At the conclusion of the speech the audience bellowed " *Mahatma Gandhi ki Jai*"; to which Gandhi replied; " This is not the time to shout and make a noise."

Page 1109, paragraph 1103 (d)—

S. B., Sind, Karachi, July 24th.—In the morning of the 23rd, between 8-30 and 9-30, Gandhi attended a meeting of Kutchi men and women in the Tikamji Temple Nanakwara. Gandhi spoke for about half an hour, chiefly about *Swadeshi* and asked the women to use *Swadeshi* cloth.

He with Shaukat Ali, Sarladevi and the prominent agitators of Karachi left for Hyderabad by the Quetta Mail.

Page 1118, paragraph 1103 (z) "Poster"—

God is great.

Bombay City, July 26th.—In the name of God the merciful and compassionate. One who becomes the friend of the enemy of Islam he may be considered as one of them.

Third day of Khilafat has come.

Come along, the field of work is before us. Give the testimony of our strength of faith.

The work of non-co-operation is open and this is the first stage of test. Keep regard and reputation of Islam, God and His prophet and never do any such work by which your weakness of faith might come to light and thereby the enemies of Islam will be overpowered.

1st August 1920 is the beginning day of the non-co-operation movement. On that day offer prayers to God, observe fast, stop business, hold committees and promise to God that you will suffer every sort of trouble for the sake of righteousness. Renounce the titles and honorary posts. Remember this also that disturbances and breach of peace are not in any way profitable to you. Be aside from disturbance; but stick to the right path.

Detailed instructions are being published separately Obtain further information from your district or provincial Khilafat Committee ; but remember that if you step ahead don't retreat. This is the only secret of the success in your life.

Publishers :—M. K. Gandhi, Abul Kalam Azad, Shaukat Ali, Ahamad Haji Siddik Khatri, Saifuddin Kitchlew, Fazl-ul-Hassan Hasrat Mohani, Muhammad Ali, Members of the Non-co-operation Committee, Mount Road, Mazagaon, Bombay.

Free translation of the objectionable instructions:

God is Great.

Inauguration of Tark-e-Mawalat

of

Adam-e-Ishtrak amal

or

Non-co-operation.

Which means severing all connection with the pledge-breaking Government and the test of self respect and respect for the community of the Mussalmans of India and the test of the perseverance of the prestige of the nation and country of the Hindu brethren.

Non-co-operation is a glorious act of the Mussalmans the foundation-stone of which was laid for the first time in the year 9 A. H. and which is once more being revived (put into practice) by Islam now. The Romans, who were the strongest people of the time were making preparations for an attack on the Mussalmans and the Holy Prophet also collected an army. Kaab Bin Malik, Hilal Bin Umayya, and Marara Bin Rabina did not join the Islamic army only on account of laziness and carelessness. This laziness and carelessness on their part condemned them for punishment in the eyes of God and His Prophet, and when they presented themselves before the Prophet for begging his pardon, their request was not acceded to and the

result was that all the Musalmans severed co-operation with them. When Kaab Bin Malik went to see his cousin Abu Katada, he too turned away his face from him. Hazrat Kaad was a very respected Sahabi (friend of the Prophet), was one of the Ansaris (those who were prepared to sacrifice their lives for the Prophet at any time), and had served the cause of Islam in many ways, but he had to suffer these consequences for a little indiscretion in performing the duty enjoined by the command of God. He used to roam about in Medina like a mad man but not a single soul accosted him or paid any attention to him. He himself narrated that though the whole of Medina was full of human beings, there was not a single eye which turned towards him or a single tongue which accosted him (Bokhari Shariff-tradition).

But at the time this non-co-operation was resorted to by Mussal-mans against Mussalmans; now we are forced to resort to it with people who have struck a vital blow to the cause of Islam, who have done all in their power to snatch away the Holy Places (of Islam) from the control of the Khilafat-ul-Musalmeen, who have left no stone unturned to bring the Jaziratul-Arab (the Arabian Peninsula) under the suzerainty and control of the Christian Powers, and who have finally decided to deprive the Khalif of Islam of all his religious and worldly powers. In short, according to (Arabic quotation, meaning ; Spite and hatred is in their speech but whatever is concealed in their hearts is many times greater than that) this, they have done whatever they could do to destroy and ruin Islam and they are still trying.

Under the circumstances, in accordance with the command of God (Arabic quotation, meaning) O ! Musalmans, do not make friends with those hypocrites and enemies of Islam who leave no stone unturned to bring about your downfall and disgrace, and that (Arabic quotation, meaning) God forbids you to make friends with those who opposed you in religious questions, those who turned you out of your country (Houses) or those who helped the people who were trying to turn you out, it is the bounden religious duty of us Musalmans and it is a friendly obligation on our Hindu brethren, that we should resort to non-co-operation with those above-mentioned people who have given a proof of their being the bitterest enemy of Mussalmans and Islam, among the other nations of the world. And consequently should act according to those instructions which have been approved of with due deliberations and discussion and which have already been published and thus prove that we practise what we preach and act in conformity with what we make up our minds to do, and this to such an extent that we may come out

successful. Till now we resorted to making appeals and did not make up our minds to restart to actions ; but now we are prepared for it. May God give us success in our enterprise. Ameen.

May God forbid, but if we do not resort to it fully and if in spite of all efforts and propaganda the co-operation with them still remained, then we would be condemned like (Arabic quotation meaning) those who keep friendly relations with them are themselves cruel (tyrants). We should keep in mind the fact that when Hatib bin Yalbaa, who was a Muhajir, and a brave man, through a view to save his family and relations, who were in Mecca, from the danger, and when this secret was revealed and the letter seized and placed before Hazrat Omar, he deemed it advisable to execute him and said that he (Hatib) was a *munafiq* (hypocrite) and that he broke the trust of God and His Prophet.

If they fail they should remember that the Mussalmans of India in particular and the Indians in general, will not be in a position to claim anything or to give proof (of their stability) or to show their face to other self-respecting nations, and will be condemned to suffer all calamities and difficulties in this world.

In short, non-co-operation is a religious obligation and a kind of *Jihad*. The Mussalmans, therefore, and the Hindu brethren for the sake of prestige unity and brotherhood, should commence non-co-operation from the 1st August 1920 in accordance with the decision of and the instructions issued by the Non-co-operation Sub-Committee and should observe the following instructions in a peaceful and quiet way, because though every effort is being made to get the peace terms revised, there is no ray of hope or success during the short period allowed.

(Then follow the instructions, which are mostly similar to the instructions published).

Published by M. K. Gandhi, Abul Kalam Azad, Shaukat Ali, Ahamad Khatri Saifuddin Kitchlew, Fazl-ul-Hassan Haxrat Mohani, Muhammad Ali.

Members of the Non-co-operation Committee, Maher Mansion, Mount Road, Mazagon, Bombay.

Printed at the Mustafai Press, Kumbharwada."

It is reported that Abul Kalam Azad had recently shown much jealousy of Gandhi's leadership of the movement. It will be noticed that Abul Kalam's signature appears beneath Gandhi's on the posters and instructions above mentioned.

Page 1131, paragraph 1125—

S. B., Sind, Karachi, July 30th.—Copy of a telegram dated the 24th July, from Gandhi, Hyderabad, Sind, to Amritlal Thakkar, Famine Relief, Puri : —

" You may not leave your great work there in jeopardy you can therefore only go British Guiana after finishing famine work."

Page 1131, paragraph 1126 (b)—

Bombay City, August 2nd.—After an abortive attempt the previous day the Central Council of the All India Home Rule League met at Bombay on the 29th July and resolved that in the present state of feeling in India the Prince's visit would be inopportune. Gandhi was in the chair, Jinnah, Banker, Tairsee and Jawaharlal Nehru were also present.

The news of the postponement has been little discussed so far; because the reported decision still lacks confirmation. Most of the Bombay papers have reserved comment. Rumour finds a possible explanation in the apprehended new war : an explanation to which colour is lent by the appeal issued to released reserved officers to rejoin the army when necessary.

Page 1133, paragraph 1131 (d)—

S. B., Punjab.—From Abstract, dated July 31st Jullundur, July 16th.—Mahatma Gandhi with his two sons, Dr. Kitchlew, Maulana Shaukat Ali and Chaudhrani Sarala Devi arrived here to-day by the Bombay Mail and were received with enthusiasm. About 1,000 people, including most of the local politicians, were at the railway station, where the arrangements were undertaken by the Sewa Samiti Sabha.

At 4 p.m. some 6,000 people assembled at the Gandhi Hall. Messrs. Shaukat Ali and Kitchlew arrived at about 4-45 p. m., when Mr. Ghulam Muhammad was placed in the chair.

Shaukat Ali explained that he had been permitted by Mahatma Gandhi to announce the decision made by the Khilafat Committee. He exhorted both the Hindus and Mahommadans to stick to the truth and to abide by the injunctions of their religion. If anyone, whether a pauper or a king, interfered with religion, he should be considered an enemy. At this stage Mahatma Gandhi and Chau-dharani Sarala Devi appeared and there were general confusion and cheering. It took about 15 minutes for the audience to settle down again.

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Mahatma. Gandhi spoke as follows :

" Hindus, I shall address you and advise you. You should cooperate with the Mahommadans as long as you find that they are acting sincerely and are adhering to the truth. In the furtherance of a true and righteous cause, you should even die side by side with them. I believe the Khilafat to be a righteous cause, and I consider it is an opportunity for us Hindus to prove faithful to the Mahommadans and to bridge the gap that once existed between the two communities. It is for this reason that I have taken up the Mahommadan cause. I am prepared to walk side by side with my Mahommadan friends in the Khilafat agitation; for I consider this to be a true and sincere religious cause of theirs. I am even prepared to submit to death, but am not prepared to kill anybody. I ask you Hindus to follow me. You may sacrifice your lives, but you shall not kill anyone. Our Hindu religion does not permit it. The Mahommadan religion may permit it, but ours does not.

On the 1st of August 1920 you should keep a fast and suspend work for one day, provided you can afford to do so. Those Government servants who cannot easily do so need not suspend work, but the shop-keepers who can afford it must do so. Spend the whole of the day in praying for the Khilafat, the Hindus in temples and the Mahommadans in Mosques. Hold big meetings to pass resolution declaring that in the event of the Government not deciding the Khilafat question according Muslim sentiment you will cease to co-operate with them. You should not offer any violence. You should not burn any public places, nor kill any Englishman. This is not our object. Our object is to demand justice. Non-co-operation will also do us another good, viz., it will revive and promote any favourite scheme of *Swadeshi*. You should stick to Indian-made clothes, and in the long run you will gain considerably."

The meeting dispersed at 5-30 p.m. and the visitors left by the 5-45 p.m. train to Amritsar.

Lahore, July 17th.—Mahatma Gandhi and Maulana Shaukat Ali arrived in Lahore on the morning of the 17th of July and were received at the railway station by the more important leaders of Lahore and a fairly large crowd. They then went in motor cars to the house of Pandit Ram Bhuj Dutt in Mozang. Both Gandhi and Shaukat Ali are to speak at meetings to be held on the even-ings of the 17th and 18th of July. Sarala Devi accompanied the party on their arrival.

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(f) *Karachi, July 23rd.*—The following are copies of telegrams intercepted by the Censor :—

To

Mahatma Gandhi,

C/o Secretary, Khilafat Conference, Hyderabad, Sind.

" Wire time date Multan arrival."

Kewalkrishna, Secretary, Congress, Multan.

To

Ghulamrasool, Khilafat, Multan.

Kewal Kishin, (Kewalkrishna) Secretary, Congress, Multan

" Find impossible for me to attend absolutely necessary go Ahmedabad immediately hope visit Multan later pray forgive Shaukat Ali, Kitchlew leaving to-night reaching there to-morrow five evening."

Gandhi, Hyderabad, Sind.

To

Satyagraha Ashram, Sabarmati,

" Cancel preceding wire accompanying Panditji, Saraladevi, reaching there Monday night."

Gandhi, Hyderabad, Sind.

To

Shankarlal Banker, Chaupati, Bombay.

"Living tomorrow for Ahmedabad with Jawaharlal wiring Moti-lal Nehru Punjab will likely accept non-co-operation."

Gandhi, Hyderabad, Sind.

Page 1137, paragraph 1131 (m)—

Hyderabad, July 25th.—The District Magistrate writes : The Khilafat Conference to be held from the 23rd to the 25th July began on the 23rd. Owing to a breakdown on the line from Karachi to Hyderabad the procession from the station timed for 10-30 a.m. did not take place as M. K. Gandhi arrived at 3 p.m. School children from all the English schools met Gandhi at the station.

The Conference started in the pandal at 9-30 p.m. on the 23rd and the sitting went on till 11-45 p.m. About 10,000 persons were present.

Gandhi advised 23 crores of Hindus to help 7 crores of Moslems as the latter's religion was in danger. Union between them should exist. No physical assistance or power would help but soul power.

They would live faithful to a Government only when religion is not endangered. Government had more physical power and a heavier sword. They must not assist a tyrannical Government.

He advocated non-co-operation and explained it. He knew Moslems would be violent and use the sword; but General Dyer had proved he could be more violent and use a heavier sword. He advocated unconditional sacrifice, when Government with guns and aeroplanes would be helpless. The Secretary of State had said that he, Gandhi, had become a great fool and would not have the freedom he had last year but he did not feel free. The Khilafat and Punjab disturbances made him feel in prison. He preferred to die for Mussulmans, and if he was sent to the gallows, they should congratulate him. Use no violence, do not resist, follow non-co-operation which was to begin on August 1st. If too weak to follow non-co-operation, do *Hijrat*.

Third sitting.—Commenced at nearly 7 p.m. Lasted till between 10-30 and 10-45 p.m. Attended by more than 10,000 men, the major portion of whom was Mussalmans from the Mofussil.

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(4) Resolution 5, *moved by Haji Abdulla Haroon*.—"This Conference accepts the non-co-operation policy of Gandhi and is prepared to follow the instructions of the Central Khilafat Committee in regard to it."

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Gandhi supported it in strong terms. He explained the four stages of non-co-operation in all its aspects, enjoined on all Khilafa-tists to put into practice all the commandments of the first stage on the 1st of August 1920. He advised *hartal*, fasting and convening of a meeting on that day. He enjoined union between the Hindus and Mussulmans. He explained that *Hijrat* was the last stage of co-operations, and that those who were prepared to leave the country could also non-co-operate or else their *Hijrat* was a sham, an expression of weakness. He ended as usual.

Page 1143, paragraph 1131(n)—

S. B., Sind, Karachi, July 31st.—On the 25th July in a public lecture in the Citizens Association, Hyderabad, Mahatma Gandhi recommended Swadeshism as a weapon for the protection of the Khilafat, as thereby the Lanchashire Mills will sustain great losses and consequently these influential millionaires will enquire into the cause of the boycott of their manufactures. When they learn the true facts of the unrest, in the interest of their trade they will take steps in England towards the satisfactory settlement of the Khilafat and Jallinwala affairs.

He went even to the extent of recommending the boycott of Indian Mill Textiles as they were hampering his cottage spinning industries, for the welfare of which he was so anxious. He said that all women should sit in their cottages with their spinning-wheels to earn a respectable living, and those women who resorted to mills should not be married as they, in many cases, lose their chastity under the influence of immoral overseers. He complained of his wife for using cloth manufactured in Mills instead of entirely sticking to home-spun materials.

He said that he was taking Sarala Devi all over India with him as she had better understood his *Swadeshi* principles than his wife, though he complained that she too did not practise the use of *Swadeshi* cloth to his entire satisfaction.

Page 1149, paragraph 1131 (z)—

S. B., Sind, Karachi, July 29th—The New Times, dated the 29th July.—M. K. Gandhi, writing on *Hijrat* and non-co-operation, draws the attention of those who are opposing non-co-operation to the fact that unless they find a substitute for it they should either join the non-co-operation movements or prepare to face a disorganised subterranean upheaval, the effect of which no one can foresee and the spread of which it would be impossible to foresee or regulate.

Page 1156, paragraph 1131 (Q)—

Bombay City, August 3rd.—On 2nd August 1920 being apprised of disturbances caused by volunteer corps pressings shops to be closed. Gandhi went round Bombay to maintain peace.

Page 1157, paragraph 1131 (S)—

Bombay City, August 3rd.—On July 29th a meeting of the Central Council of the All-India Home Rule League, with Gandhi in the Chair, recommended to the serious consideration of the Special Congress "the principle of non-co-operation by stages". On the same day Khatri presided over a public meeting of about 2,000 people at which it was resolved to observe the *hartal* fixed for the 1st August. Though at times anti-Christian in tone, the speeches on the whole were moderate. The feature of the meeting, however, was the absence therefrom of Chhotani and the bulk of the leading Khilafatists of Bombay. The Chief speaker was Gandhi.

In response to an eleventh hour enquiry from Dr. Satyapal. Gandhi has informed him that there is no need for members of Municipalities to resign at present

Particular attention is invited to an article written by Gandhi published in *Young India*, dated the 28th July and entitled "Mr. Montagu on the Khilafat Agitation". This frankly seditious

article, a copy of which is appended for the information of Government, was reproduced in *the Chronicle* of the 30th July. No other Bombay paper has so far ventured to print it. It has not even appeared in the *Navajivan*, Gandhi's Gujarathi organ. *The Mahratta* mentions it with approval and *the Jam-e-Jamshed* with disapproval; but neither paper enters into details. (*The Lokasangraha* also welcomed the article.—S. B., Bombay Presidency Poona.) *The Gujarathi*, *Bombay Samachar*, *Kaisar-i-Hind* and the *Mufid-e-Rozgar* do not mention it at all. It is not yet known what papers of other provinces have reproduced the article, but the following telegram was immediately despatched by Shaukat Ali to the editors of the chief up-country Extremist journals :—" Kindly publish Gandhi's reply to Mr. Montagu published in *Bombay Chronicle* of 30th ".

YOUNG INDIA.

Ahmedabad, Wednesday, 28th July 1920.

MR. MONTAGU ON THE KHILAFAT AGITATION.

(By M. K. GANDHI.)

Mr. Montagu does not like the Khilafat agitation that is daily gathering force. In answer to questions put in the House of Commons, he is reported to have said that whilst he acknowledged that I had rendered distinguished services to the country in the past, he could not look upon my present attitude with equanimity and that it was not to be expected that I could now be treated as leniently as I was during the Rowlatt Act agitation. He added that he had every confidence in the central and the local Governments that they were carefully watching the movement, and that they had full power to deal with the situation.

This statement of Mr. Montagu has been regarded in some quarters as a threat. It has even been considered to be a blank cheque for the Government of India to re-establish the reign of terror if they chose. It is certainly inconsistent with his desire to base the Government on the goodwill of the people. At the same time if the Hunter Committee's finding be true, and if I was the cause of the disturbances last year, I was undoubtedly treated with exceptional leniency. I admit too that my activity this year is fraught with greater peril to the Empire as it is being conducted to-day than was last year's activity. Non-co-operation in itself is more harmless than civil disobedience but in its effect it is far more dangerous for the Government than civil disobedience. Non-co-operation is intended so far to paralyse the Government as to compel justice from it. If it is carried to the extreme point, it can bring the Government to a standstill.

A friend who has been listening to my speeches once asked me whether I did not come under the sedition section of the Indian Penal Code. Though I had not fully considered it, I told him that very probably I did and that I could not plead 'not guilty' if I was charged under it. For I must admit that I can pretend to no 'affection' for the present Government. And my speeches are intended to create such that 'disaffection' as the people might consider it a shame to assist or co-operate with a Government that had forfeited all title to confidence, respect or support.

I draw no distinction between the Imperial and the Indian Government. The latter has accepted, on the Khilafat, policy imposed upon it by the former. And in the Punjab case the former has endorsed the policy of terrorism and emasculation of a brave people initiated by the latter. British ministers have broken their pledged word and wantonly wounded the feelings of the seventy million Mussalmans of India. Innocent men and women were insulted by the insolent officers of the Punjab Government. Their wrongs not only remain unrighted, but the very officers who so cruelly subjected them to barbarous humiliation retain office under the Government.

When at Amritsar, last year, I pleaded with all the earnestness I could command for co-operation with the Government and for response to the wishes expressed in the Royal Proclamation, I did so because I honestly believed that a new era was about to begin, and that the old spirit of fear, distrust and consequent terrorism was about to give place to the new spirit of respect, trust and goodwill. I sincerely believed that the Mussalman sentiment would be placated and that the officers that had misbehaved during the Martial Law regime in the Punjab would be at least dismissed and the people would be otherwise made to feel that a Government that had always been found quick (and rightly) to punish popular excesses would not fail to punish its agents' misdeeds. But to my amazement and dismay I have discovered that the present representatives of the empire have become dishonest and unscrupulous. They have no real regard for the wishes of the people of India and they count Indian honour as of little consequence.

I can no longer retain affection for a Government so evilly manned as it is nowadays. And for me it is humiliating to retain my freedom and be witness to the continuing wrong. Mr. Montagu however is certainly right in threatening me with deprivation of my liberty if I persist in endangering the existence of the Government. For that must be the result if my activity bears fruit. My only regret is that in as much as Mr. Montagu admits my past services, he might have perceived that there must be something exceptionally bad in the Government if a well-wisher like me could not longer give his

affection to it. It was simpler to insist on justice being done to the Mussalmans and to the Punjab than to threaten me with punishment so that the injustice might be perpetuated. Indeed, I fully expect it will be found that even in promoting disaffection towards an unjust Government I had rendered greater services to the Empire than I am already credited with.

At the present moment, however, the duty of those who approve of my activity is clear. They ought on no account to resent the deprivation of my liberty, should the Government of India deem it to be their duty to take it away. A citizen has no right to resist such restriction imposed in accordance with the laws of the State to which he belongs. Much less have those who sympathise with him. In my case there can be no question of sympathy; for I deliberately oppose the Government to the extent of trying to put its very existence in jeopardy. For my supporters, therefore, it must be a moment of joy when I am imprisoned. It means the beginning of success if only the supporters continue the policy for which I stand. If the Government arrest me, they would do so in order to stop the progress of non-co-operation which I preach. It follows that if non-co-operation continues with unabated vigour, even after my arrest the Government must imprison others or grant the people's wish in order to gain their co-operation. Any eruption of violence on the part of the people even under provocation would end in disaster. Whether therefore it is I or anyone else who is arrested during the campaign, the first condition of success is that there must be no resentment shown against it. We cannot imperil the very existence of a Government and quarrel with its attempt to save itself by punishing those who place it in danger.

In reply to a communication from Abdul Jabbar Khan, intimating the prosecution at Hyderabad, Sind, of a local Pir, Gandhi has wired warmly congratulating the Pir on being the first man to be arrested in the consequence of non-co-operation, and applauding his decision not to make any defence. He has since received a telegram from Abdul Jabbar Khan informing him that "Huge number" of the Pir's followers are flocking into Hyderabad, stating that other arrests are expected, and urging either him or Shaukat Ali to come back to Hyderabad at once.

Page 1185, paragraph 1163 (VI)—

Karachi, August 8th.—Copy of an intercepted telegram to Abdul Jabbar, Hyderabad, Sind, from Gandhi, Ahmedabad:—

" Shaukat Ali self were on way Hyderabad received countermand wire here thank you now returning Bombay propose going Madras wire situation Bombay advise whether we may proceed Madras hope Pir Sahib taking food."

Page 1189, paragraph 1163 (XXIII)—

Bombay, August 10th.—The Khilafat Situation. Development up to Midday, Tuesday, the 10th August 1920 (1) *The Central Khilafat Committee* :—For today's meeting of the C. K. C. Abdul Bari, Hazrat Mohani, Shaukat Ali, Gandhi and other minor members have collected in Bombay. To a special wire of invitation sent by Gandhi to Zahur Ahmed and Mumtaz Hussein, Vakils of Lucknow, Zahur Ahmed, who is also Secretary of the local Muslim League, wired the following reply :—

" Regret unable attend meeting earnestly urge non-insistence on boycott of professions, services, and Councils such boycott not practicable and if insisted on will amount to political suicide of backward minority community particularly when non-Muslims not boycotting them."

Pandit Rambhuj Dutt tried to obtain a postponement of the meeting until his arrival tomorrow.

(II) *Non-co-operation.*—(1) In order to calm the situation which has developed at Hyderabad, Sind, since the arrest of Pir Mahbub Shah and in response to urgent appeals from that town, Gandhi, and Shaukat Ali left Bombay hurriedly for Sind last Saturday night (7th August). On arrival at Ahmedabad however they received from Hyderabad a wire informing them that their presence was no longer necessary. In consequence, they abandoned their journey and returned to Bombay on Monday (9th August). During the few days immediately preceding their abortive journey they despatched to Hyderabad wire after wire urging the people there to refrain from violence. After this evening's meeting of the C. K. C., Gandhi, Shaukat Ali, Kitchlew and three others will leave for Madras, where they propose to spend three days in consultation and discussion before embarking on their tour through that province. Their present intention is to return to Bombay in time to attend a conference to be held at Ahmedabad on the 27th August and to stop if possible at Belgaum on their return journey.

Shaukat Ali has cabled to Mahomed Ali the following account of the results of his tour in the Punjab and Sind :—

"Just returned with Mahatmaji, Kitchlew, Sarala Devi from Punjab, Sind, tour procession Hindu, Mussalman, Sikh masses adopted non-co-operation. Sind Khilafat Conference thirty thousand delegates adopted non-co-operation."

Pages 1192-98, paragraph 1163 (XXIV)—

Punjab, from Abstract, dated August 7th, S. B., Punjab July 31st.— Mr. Gandhi, M. Shaukat Ali and party visited Amritsar on the 26th of July. They were received at the railway station by about two

thousand people of all classes and were accorded a hearty reception. A meeting was held in the Anjuman Park at 8-30 p.m., the audience numbering about 15,000.

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Gandhi delivered his speech after Shaukat Ali and Dr. Kitchlew had spoken. He said: —

" It was a serious mistake to forget the memorable month of April and criticized the behaviour of the Amritsar people on the arrest of Drs. Kitchlew and Satya Pal in 1919. He advised Hindus to co-operate fully with their Mahommadan brethren in the matter of the Khilafat and declared that if the first step of non-co-operation proved a success, the second would be taken up. He detailed the four stages of non-co-operation. He was fully aware that he was termed mad by many public men in India who had forgotten the incidents of last year. He considered the public excitement like the effervescence of Soda-water. He believed that only incidents like the Jallianwala Bagh affair would secure liberty for the country. He predicted that another similar incident would occur if people showed any excitement on being fired upon by the soldiers in connection with the Khilafat and therefore advised them not to lose their tempers. He believed that, if the movement of non-co-operation were carried out on right lines, the wrongs in connection with the Khilafat would be righted within six months. He said that some of the Hindus had told him that the Punjab village people had no idea of the Khilafat question, but he thought it was their duty to acquaint them with this important question. In conclusion, he strongly advocated the pursuance of the policy of non-co-operation, as their object could not be gained by fighting with the English people. He also advocated the adoption of *Swadeshi*.

Lahore, July 24th.—The most important event of the period under report has been the arrival in Lahore, on the 17th of July, of Mahatma Gandhi, Maulana Shaukat Ali and Dr. Kitchlew. They were accorded a great reception at the railway station. In the evening, a public meeting was held outside Delhi Gate, Mahatma Gandhi spoke after M. Shaukat Ali had eulogised Mahatma Gandhi.

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Mahatma Gandhi then commenced his speech. He said that by Muslims crying like babies the Khilafat question would not be decided. They should act like men and be prepared for any amount of sacrifices, but should commit no excesses. Non-co-operation was the best remedy by which to have their wrongs redressed. He was not in favour of *hijrat*, but did not condemn it. He criticised the

Punjabis for not agitating sufficiently to get Colonel O'Brien, Mr. Bosworth Smith, Lala Sri Ram and Malik Sahib Khan punished for their oppression during the period of Martial Law and exhorted them not to rest until they had succeeded. He added that he and his colleagues were not afraid of being imprisoned or hanged, as he was sure there were others, who would step into their shoes by hundreds. He suggested *hartal* for the 1st of August, which he said should be voluntary. Mass meetings should be held on that day to pass necessary resolutions, and prayers should be offered in mosques and temples. He assured the Hindus that they would never feel sorry for helping the Mahommadans, as the latter would always befriend them.

During their stay here, Messrs. Gandhi and Shaukat Ali visited the Zamindar office and on the 18th attended a private meeting of the local politicians. They left for Rawalpindi on the same evening 18th July, and on return broke their journey at Lahore for a few hours.

Lahore, July 24th.—A private meeting took place in the house of Chaudhri Ram Bhuj Dutt on the 18th of July. Some 40 persons attended, among them being Gandhi, Shaukat Ali, Zafar Ali Khan and others.

The recent announcement of the Secretary of State regarding Mr. Gandhi was discussed. It was decided to pass resolutions condemning this announcement in public meetings. It was further decided that the 1st of August should be observed as *hartal* and that on this date meetings should be held and resolutions on the Khilafat passed. There should be continued agitation for the release of all political and Martial Law prisoners and also for the punishment of such officers as Colonel O'Brien and Mr. Bosworth Smith. Special efforts should be made to ensure the success of the non-co-operation movement.

Lahore, July 24th.—Mr. Gandhi, Maulana Shaukat Ali and Dr. Kitchlew, who arrived on the 17th of July from Amritsar, left for Rawalpindi on the 18th of July, accompanied by Sarala Devi. They returned from Rawalpindi on the 20th of July and left next day for Multan and Karachi.

The party, which included Mr. Gandhi, Shaukat Ali, Saif-ud-Din Kitchlew and Lal Khan, arrived at Gujar Khan by the morning train of the 19th of July. While the train stopped at Gujar Khan, Kitchlew made a speech which was to the effect that Hindus, Sikhs and Mahommadans should unite and sever all connection with Government as Government was trying to harm the Mahommadan religion and was settling the Khilafat question against the wishes of

Mahommadans. If the Mahommadan religion were to be disgraced now, the Hindu religion would similarly be dealt with next. Shaukat Ali spoke in the same strain. Lal Khan corroborated what these two had said. Mahatma Gandhi being in bad health did not speak. Dr. Kitchlew called upon the public to hold a *hartal* on the 1st of August and to spend the day in prayers in Masjids, Shiwalayas and Mandirs.

The party went on by the train to Rawalpindi. During the halt of the train at Gujar Khan, Teja Singh, pleader, had induced Gandhi to pay a longer visit to Gujar Khan.

The same night, the 19th, it was proclaimed by beat of drum at Gujar Khan that Mahatma Gandhi would arrive next morning from Rawalpindi at 6 a.m. and would attend a meeting. Arrangements were made for his reception at the camping ground.

At. 7 a.m., on the 20th, Shaukat Ali, Kitchlew and others arrived by motor-car. They were received with enthusiasm by a considerable assembly of local people. Agha Safdar Khan made a speech from the platform. He said that Hindus, Mahommadans and Sikhs should unite or there would be no hope of improving their position.

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While he was speaking Mahatma Gandhi arrived by car with Sarala Devi. They took their seats on the platform and Gandhi proceeded to speak. He said that the British Government had taken possession of Mahommadan Holy Places, that the British wished to destroy the Mahommadan religion, that Mahommadans and Hindus lived in one country, that it was the duty of Hindus to help their Mahommadan brothers when the latter were in distress, and that if the Mahommadans were destroyed there was no help for the Hindus. He corroborated what Safdar Ali had said.

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Note by Deputy Commissioner—Lahore, July 24th.—The visit of Mahatma Gandhi and his party to Rawalpindi and Gujar Khan has caused a good deal of excitement locally among the more irresponsible classes and has had a bad and disturbing effect on the public generally. The reception was organised by the local Khilafat Committee and the Congress party, but the more responsible and respectable classes in the city held aloof from the reception and the meeting. The attitude of Government in allowing these agitators to travel over the country and to make anti-British speeches and openly accuse the British authorities of bad faith and of breaking their promises is not understood by the more peaceful and law-abiding portion of the population and is only looked upon as weakness. It has encouraged the appearance of a number of

unscrupulous notoriety hunters. No good is likely to result by taking action against these tools while the leaders are not touched. The original intention of Gandhi and his party in coming to Rawalpindi appears to have been only to break their journey there for a night and then to proceed to Peshawar, where it is believed that they intended to hold an enquiry into the affray which resulted in the death of a Muhajir. They were, however, induced by the local Khilafat Committee to spend a whole day in Rawalpindi. The sudden change of plan on arrival at Rawalpindi and their decision to return to Lahore is attributed to an order they are said to have received from Government informing them that they would not be allowed to go to Peshawar or enter the Frontier Province. They are, however, regarded as men who can defy Government when they care to do so.

Rawalpindi, July 19th.—A notice was issued under the signature of Mirza Qutb-ud-Din, Secretary of the Khilafat Committee, announcing to the public that Mr. M. K. Gandhi, M. Shaulat Ali and Dr. Saif-ud-Din Kitchlew, would arrive in Rawalpindi on the 19th of July. Triumphal arches were erected in the main streets of the city in honour of the occasion.

The party, together with Chaudhrani Sarala Devi, arrived at about 10-30 a.m. Shouts of *Allaho Akbar, Mahatma Gandhi ki jai* and *Shaukat Ali, Saif-ud-Din Kitchlew ki jai* were raised. The leaders were seated in the Landau. It was drawn by hand up to the Octroi Post. Thence a procession was formed and the leaders were seated in a motor car. A noteworthy feature of the reception was that no local Hindu leaders met Mahatma Gandhi and party at the station or joined in the procession on account of the feeling caused by the abduction of a Hindu girl of Kahuta by some Mahommadans.

At about 3 p.m. the Hindu and Mahommadan members of the Congress Committee were sent for by Mahatma Gandhi and Shaukat Ali. The Hindu leaders on enquiry stated that, as no sympathy was shown by Mirza Qutb-ud-Din and other Mahommadan leaders in the abduction affair, they too had abstained from sympathising with the Mahommadans. It was eventually decided that two on one side and two on the other should arbitrate in the matter and that the case should be dropped if the girl was restored. In case of failure to come to a decision by arbitration, the matter should be referred to Mahatma Gandhi or Maulana Shaukat Ali.

There was a huge gathering in the Municipal gardens at 6 p.m.— the time fixed for a public meeting. The leaders arrived at about 7 p.m. Hafiz Allah Rakha of Sialkot first of all recited a poem expressing sorrow at the death of the Muhajir at Kacha Garhi. This was followed by a poem on the Khilafat by Rajab Ali.

Mahatma Gandhi rose amidst loud cheers and spoke on unity amongst Hindu, Mahommadans and Sikhs on the Khilafat question, which he said, was the only way of regaining the sacred places of the Musalmans from the hands of the non-Muslims. To attain this object sacrifices would have to be made. The Kacha Garhi incident was an example. He enjoined on the audience not to use any sort of violence towards any Englishman. This was not the way to success, nor were they able to oppose the Government in that manner. Their only weapon lay in the unity of Hindus and Mahommadans. If they possessed genuine unity and had firmness of mind, they should tell the Government that as long as the Khilafat question was not decided to the satisfaction of the Muslims they would keep aloof from the Government. The speaker went on to say that, as already announced by him, the 1st August should be observed as a day of fasting and *hartal*, and prayers should be offered in all mosques and temples. The speaker expressed his determination to sympathise with the Mahommadans until such time as the Khilafat question was decided in their favour. The Mahommadans were sometimes found to give way to anger and to the use of their swords. This was not needed at the present juncture and was likely to do more harm than good. He next dwelt on non-co-operation with Government, which, he said, should begin on the 1st of August. Government should be definitely told on the 1st of August that since the Khilafat question had not been decided in their favour they were no longer prepared to remain faithful. Titles and honorary posts should be given up. Pleaders should cease to practise, as it was better to live on manual labour than to practise in the Courts of this Government. *Khansamas*, too, should give up their employment, as one who serves oppressors partakes in the oppression exercised by them. The Councils should also be avoided. If this failed, the speaker would go to the soldiers and tell them that they should not serve a Government regardless of their religious sentiments. If this too failed, he would go to the peasants and ask them not to pay any land revenue to Government. This, however, would be resorted to only when he was satisfied of the unity between them.

Mr. Gandhi went on to say that Mr. Motagu was of opinion that the speaker had done his duty, but his Deputy was of opinion that Gandhi had gone mad. The speaker said that he was firm and resolute in his determination and was not afraid of being hanged or deported. He asked the audience not to create any disturbance if he, Shaukat All and Dr. Kitchlew were hanged or deported, as they had done on the occasion of the deportation of Dr. Kitchlew and

Satya Pal last year. He was always ready to help his brethren, whether in jail or outside it. Jail was after all better than freedom under the oppressors. They should regard their own houses as jails and jails as palaces. All that was wanted was firmness of the mind. He set no store by cheering and the holding of large meetings. It was time for practical work. Mahatma Gandhi delivered his lecture while sitting and, as he was somewhat indisposed, he asked leave of the audience when his speech was finished. On this four Campbellpore men stood up and said they had come to take him to Campbellpore. The Mahatma asked them to come to the place where he was staying.

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The meeting broke up at 10-15 p.m. and the leaders left by motor-car *en route* for Lahore on the 20th of July, intending to halt at Gujar Khan and Jhelum.

Jhelum, July 24th.—At 2 a.m., on the 19th, the crowd went to the station to see Mr. Gandhi, who was passing through Rawalpindi, but to their disappointment he did not stir from his compartment. Later in the day, it was announced that Gandhi and Shaukat Ali would reach Jhelum by car next morning at 7-30 and great preparations were made to receive them. Crowds from other parts of the district came to Jhelum to listen to Gandhi. Early on the 20th, thirty Sikh volunteers, wearing kirpans and mounted, were drawn up as escort. About 9 a.m. Gandhi, accompanied by Shaukat Ali, Dr. Kitchlew and Sarala Devi put in an appearance and shouts of *Gandhi ki jai* and *Shaukat Ali ki jai* were raised. Contrary to expectation and in spite of the entreaties of the local leaders, Gandhi did not stop to make a speech and with his son moved on slowly through the crowds towards the railway station. It is said that whilst standing in the car Gandhi advised and directed the people (1) to resign Government posts, (2) to refuse to pay taxes and (3) to return titles and other honours awarded by Government.

The people, who had been put to much trouble and expense in arranging this great welcome for Gandhi, were thoroughly disgusted at his refusal to deliver a lecture and terms of open abuse were flung at him. A day which was to have given fresh vigour to the local agitation turned out on the contrary to be an utter failure and thoroughly damped the spirits of the people.

Montgomery, July 24th.—On the 21st of July, Mr. Gandhi, accompanied by his son, Maulana Shaukat Ali, Dr. Saif-Ud-Din Kitchlew and Chaudhrani Sarala Devi, passed through Montgomery on his way to Sind by the Karachi Mail. Between 2,000 and 3,000 people of all classes were present at the station to greet the party. Arrangements

for food had been made for them at the station. Flowers were showered on them and they were enthusiastically cheered. Mr. Gandhi and Lala Harkishen Lal of Lahore were seated in a separate coupe and the remainder of the party in another 2nd class compartment. About five minutes after the train had stopped, Shaukat Ali stood at the door of his carriage and delivered the following lecture in vernacular :—

" It is Mr. Gandhi's order that should the Peace Terms with the Turks not be revised and a settlement made in accordance with our wishes, we should sever connection with the Government. Hence, all of you, Hindus, Mahommadans and Sikhs, are requested to fast and observe hartal on the 1st of August and to pray according to your respective religions. Besides the public in general, all Government servants, whether Police Inspectors, Military Officers, Deputies or Judges, are requested to join with us and adopt the policy of non-co-operation with the Government. So long as the atrocities perpetrated in the Jallianwala Bagh are not avenged and the officers responsible for the murder of our children are not removed we will not rest."

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The party, after receiving interviews from 8 to 10 a.m. on the 26th of July, left for Lahore by the Karachi Mail.

The enthusiasm displayed throughout the city was unprecedented and generally spontaneous. Anti-British feeling is developing rapidly and even the most sober seem to think that some serious crisis must come within the next few months. Among the very few loyal people left, the feeling is that it is time Government began to govern. An increase of British troops in India at once is imperative. It is also to be hoped that the increase of pay of the Indian Army Sepoy, which it is understood is under the consideration of Government, will be sanctioned before thing come to a head.

Pages 1275-83, paragraph 1238—

(1) *S. B. Madras—From Abstract, dated August 28th.*—M. K. Gandhi and Shaukat Ali arrived in Madras on 12th August from Bombay. All available space in the Central Railway Station was packed with people and even the approaches to the station and the open yard in front of the station were full of expectant crowds. Representatives of various Labour Unions with banners, showing their names, etc., were present in large numbers. The employees of the Government Press, Madras, exhibited a placard in bold characters which ran as follows:—"Government Press Union, Madras, Gilbert's Greatness 25 men unjustly dismissed. Pay of hundreds of others withheld— Men taunted and teased." A number of youth attempted to keep

order among the huge crowds. The absence of Mrs. Annie Besant or any prominent person of the Adyar Party and of the leaders of the Moderate party was commented on.

At the meeting on the beach the same evening the largest held in Madras, it is estimated that 20,000 persons attended. There were many adverse criticisms of the Moderate leaders for not attending the meeting or discussing the various aspects of the non-co-operation movement with Gandhi in person.

Gandhi's speech was regarded as clear, strong and bold, but it was not violent. A large number of people seem to believe that the adoption of the policy of non-co-operation would bring about the redress of all their grievances.

The next morning an informal conference of some of the leading men of Madras was held under the auspices of the Khilafat Committee at its office in Broadway. Messrs. Gandhi, Shaukat Ali, Yakub Hassan, Abdul Khuddus Badsha, S. Kasturiranga Ayyangar, C. Rajagopalachari, S. Satyamurthi, George Josheph, Dr. T. S. S. Rajan and others were present. Also, at the invitation of Gandhi, leaders of the "Moderate Party" attended the conference. The object of the meeting was to discuss the feasibility of working non-co-operation in Madras. On being questioned by the "Nationalist Party" Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar, on behalf of the "Moderate Party", said that Gandhi's scheme of non-co-operation was impracticable. Gandhi said that Shaukat Ali was prepared to draw the sword against the Government to achieve his object, but he (Gandhi) prevented him from doing so by announcing the scheme of non-co-operation. Ramaswami Ayyar observed that the lawyers in this country could not afford to abandon their practices as they have got the responsibility of supporting their families. Gandhi rejoined that in England, European Barristers served as gutter-cleaners. Ramaswami Ayyar replied that the Madras lawyers were not trained or strong enough to become gutter-cleaners. Satyamurthi stated that the Nationalists would stand as candidates for election as members of the Legislative Council and then refuse to co-operate with Government so that the Moderates might not have their own way. Ramaswami Ayyar appears to have said that they should either wage war or give up non-co-operation, and that they could not wage war because they had neither strength nor wealth, and strongly protested against non-co-operation. The final decision was adjourned to the next meeting of the Provincial Congress Committee.

Yakub Hassan asked Khuddus Badsha Sahib to give up his title and there was a hot discussion between them. Khuddus Badsha left the meeting in anger. Gandhi urged on the Mussalmans the

necessity of taking to non-co-operation at once, not only to give a lead to others but also to show by example that their religious fervour was not merely skin-deep.

Meeting in the Jumma Mosque, 13th August.—A public meeting was hurriedly got up in the compound of the Jumma Mosque, Triplicane, on the 13th instant to hear Gandhi on non-co-operation. There was no time to print the notices. Hand-written notices were pasted on the doors of the principal mosques after the Friday prayers. In spite of the short notice about 5,000 people attended. It appears that no permission was obtained from the representative of the Prince of Arcot to hold the meeting in the mosque. Shaukat Ali did not come. The private conference held at the Khilafat office in the morning had given rise to suspicion in the minds of Gandhi and Shaukat Ali that the local Muslims are not prepared to take up non-co-operation, so this meeting was proposed in order to educate and convince them. The audience was mostly Muslim.

Abdul Kuddus Badsha was absent.

Khan Bahadur Hakeem Muhammad Abdul Aziz Sahib, brother-in-law of Khan Bahadur Abdul Khuddus Badsha, also of Khan Bahadur Abdul Aziz Badsha, ex-Turkish Consul, on whom the title was conferred on the King's Birthday was proposed to the chair.

While discussing titles, Gandhi wished the Chairman, Hakeem Aziz, would give up his (title).

He explained the second step in non-co-operation i.e., resigning Government appointments.

Then he went to the third and fourth steps—withdrawal from Military service and refusal to pay taxes respectively.

He said that by the time they got to the third stage they will be practically the rulers of India; but unless the title-holders give up their titles and the Honorary Magistrate give up their posts, and lawyers their practices and children are withdrawn from Government and aided institutions, Councils boycotted and Swadeshism practically encouraged, and the leaders go to the people like fakirs in hand-made clothes and walking barefooted after giving up their motor cars, they cannot request Government servants and sepoys to resign their posts or the rayat to refuse to pay taxes. They should not think that if they give up their appointments they will become helpless. The Khilafat Committee would come to their aid If non-co-operation is successfully worked up, it will be impossible for Government to carry on its administration.

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Gandhi, Yakub Hassan and Rajagopalachari arrived at Ambur railway station on the night of the 13th August from Madras. Crowds of people had collected on the platform from early in the evening,

and by the time the train arrived, the platform and the waiting rooms were packed. The party received a great ovation from the crowd.

The president-elect, Yakub Hassan, and Gandhi arrived at the Conference Pandal on the 14th instant. T. S. Tiruvenkata Achari of Salem and Subrahmanya Siva supported the resolution electing Yakub Hassan as President. Yakub Hassan then delivered a speech in Urdu

After the president's speech Gandhi addressed the audiences in Urdu.

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The Party motored from Ambur to Vellore on 14th August. About eight thousand persons had assembled on the maidan.

A European lady named Miss Peterson in Indian costume was on the dais. Gandhi spoke on non-co-operation.

Note.—The party returned to Madras on the 15th Instant

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M. K. Gandhi and Shaukat Ali left on 15th August for Kumbakonam. C. Rajagopalachari, Syed Murtaza Sahib of Trichinopolly and Gandhi's son accompanied them.

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An extract from a speech by M. K. Gandhi at Kumbakonam, 16th August. Subject—non-co-operation.

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The last thing in the first stage of the programme is the boycott of the visit of the Prince of Wales. We have no quarrel with His Royal Highness. We do not want to insult him, but he may not come to India in order to strengthen them—the hands of a wicked Government and gain honours and gain welcome from us. His is not a non-political, but a deliberate political, visit.

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Shaukat Ali and Gandhi arrived at Nagore on the 16th August. Elaborate arrangements had been made for their reception, and the workmen of the South Indian Railway shops were granted leave at 3 p.m. The moving spirit was Malim Sahib, B. A. B. L., of Nagore, who is opposing the Honourable Khan Bahadur G. M. Tambi Marak-kayar at the forthcoming election. The latter was away from Nagore, so an elaborate programme was drawn up with a view to discredit him, as he has not shown much sympathy with agitation so far. The procession arrived at the Nagore Durga at 8 p.m. About four thousand people had assembled, but title-holders generally were conspicuous by their absence.

Gandhi appealed for funds and said that he would have preferred garlands of Sovereigns instead of flowers. Some Mahommadan women were at the durga on a pilgrimage, and Gandhi and Shaukat

Ali, thinking that they were in sympathy with the movement commended their examples to all other Mahommadan women. Gandhi and Shaukat Ali spoke on non-co-operation, and the latter also appealed for funds for Muhammad Ali to visit America. So far Gandhi is disappointed as the movement has not been so productive as expected. The *Vakils* have no intention of giving up their practices.

Extracts from M. K. Gandhi's speech at Nagore on the 16th August (audience about 4,000).

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" The great reception that you have given us shows that Mussal-mans of Nagore from a very prosperous community. You go to-morrow, if you have the will, take possession of all your schools, give notice to the Government that they are no longer under their control, do not any longer require their aid. You can conduct your schools under your own supervision.

It is my settled conviction that Hindu-Mahommadan unity — not merely in name but in deed is more essential than the British connection.".....

The party arrived at Tanjore on the 17th August. Mussalman opinion is divided there. One Mahommadan Honorary Magistrate resigned his office, where-upon another of the opposite party promptly accepted it.

The party proceeded to Trichinopoly on 17th August, at the residence of Dr. T. S. S. Rajan whose guests they were. At 4 p.m. they held an informal conference to which about 170 leading Mahom-madans and others had been specially invited, about half the number invited being present. The question of non-co-operation was freely discussed, and there appears to have been considerable opposition.

The proposal to keep boys and girls away from Government colleges and schools was also strongly opposed as a suicidal policy. The scheme of holding aloof from the new Reformed Council was also opposed by several of the local politicians, who pointed out that the field would thus be left clear for the moderates, and non-co-operation in this respect on the part of the extremists and nationalists would simply mean self-destruction and not self sacrifice.

P. Kalif-ul-lah, M.A., B.L., Municipal Chairman, who was present was then requested by Gandhi and Shaukat Ali to resign his chairmanship. Mild argument producing no effect, Shaukat Ali adopted bullying tactics, and is reported to have said : Are you not ashamed to call yourself a Mahommadan etc. ? Khalif-ul-lah remaining silent, Shaukat Ali invoked curses on him.

The total result of the informal conference seems to have been a split in the camp, most of the local politicians deciding, much against the will of Gandhi and Shaukat Ali, to draw up a more practical scheme of non-co-operation.

Gandhi and Shaukat Ali advised the members to get into the confidence of the Police and Military and gradually persuade them to sympathise with the movement.

After the conference, the visitors went in procession through the main streets of the town to the Chowk, where a public meeting was held. About 10,000 people assembled there to listen to the speeches. Before the speeches were finished the audience had dwindled to about 3,000.

Gandhi and Shaukat Ali left by the night train for Calicut. It is yet too early to speak about the results of the visit to Trichinopoly.

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Gandhi and Shaukat Ali arrived at Calicut on *the 18th August*. Generally speaking there is little sympathy with the non-co-operation movement at Calicut, and were it not for a few fanatical Mappilla youths headed by P. Moideen Kutty and briefless vakils led by K. Madhavan Nayar, Gopala Menon and P. Achutan, no notice would be taken of it.

In the afternoon there was a private conference at Gandhi's residence. Nearly all the vakils and a few Mahommadans attended. Gandhi advised the vakils to suspend their practice and withdraw the children from Government aided schools; but apparently he failed to convince his audience, most of whom thought his scheme unworkable. At the evening meeting Rs. 2,500 was presented to Shaukat Ali; but he was disappointed and expected more. The Seths (Bombay Merchants) were responsible for the reception; the local leading Mahommadans took very little interest in the visit. The money was chiefly collected on Gandhi's behalf, more as a personal matter than anything else. The result of the visit generally may be regarded as a failure.

Extract from speeches delivered by Gandhi and Shaukat Ali at Calicut on the 18th August. Subject — Non-co-operation. Audience-ten to fifteen thousand.

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Mr. Gandhi said, "I am here to declare for the tenth time before this great audience that in the Khilafat matter the British Government have wounded the Moslem sentiment as they have never done before, and I say without fear of contradiction that if the Mussalmans of India had not exercised exemplary self restraint and if they had

not accepted the gospel of non-co-operation preached to them, and if they had not accepted the spirit of that gospel, there would have been blood-shed in India by this time I consider the eternal friendship between Hindus and Mussalmans as infinitely more important than the British connection. I would prefer any day anarchy and chaos in India to an armed peace brought about by the British bayonet between the Hindus and Mussalmans.

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Gandhi and Shaukat Ali passed through North Malabar District *enroute* to Mangalore on the 19th August and returned on the 20th August. Train stopped at most stations. On the 19th there was great enthusiasm at Tellicherry and Cannanore and to a lesser degree at Badagara and Tallparamba Road. A large crowd had assembled at the first two places; some people were evidently full of zeal, but the majority were curious sight-seers. Of course there were garlands, flowers, etc., flung about, and at both places the usual speeches by Gandhi at Tellichery and Shaukat Ali at Cannanore were received with cheers. The crowds were good humoured and rather enjoyed the squash at the railway stations. The people were curious to see what the leaders were like, and treated them as a huge joke—at least this was the conclusion drawn from their faces, demeanour and conversation. The interpreter did what he could to exaggerate every sentence uttered. Every caste and tribe in Malabar was represented at the stations on the journey to Mangalore.

On the return hardly anybody came to see Gandhi at the many stations stopped at. A more unsatisfactory tour so far as North Malabar District is concerned from their point of view could hardly be described. The Khilafat agitators have failed miserably to carry the public with them along the road to non-co-operation, and Gandhi has broken or will break the spirit of these very agitators by his unswerving devotion to the full spirit of the idea. He cannot carry these people along the straight way he had laid down for their guidance. He may be a semilunatic, but these people are not.

At Cannanore they got Rs. 500 and Shaukat Ali said it was not enough.

A rumour went round in Tellichery that the Government has forbidden the Mahommadens of Baghdad to perform "*Mowlod*" i.e.. to sing poems regarding the Prophet's life. This worries the Map-pilah, and that is about all.

It is also reported that one feature of the tour is the sympathetic attitude of Government servants. At Karur, one Narasimha Achari. District Munsif who is known as ' Home Rule Munsif', came to the railway station in the middle of the night to see the patriots and

conversed with C. Rajagopalachari; also one Balasubrahmanya Ayyar, additional District Munsif, Kasargod, took a garland to the railway station.

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At Salem, 20th *August*, the party stayed with P. Varadarajudu Naidu. At the Khilafat Conference, Gandhi publicly expressed his disappointment at the result of the tour. He said that he had been led to expect much more enthusiasm from this Presidency. He also said that Salem had done better than other places visited. Shaukat Ali announced the resignation by Kazi Muhammad Khan of his office of Honorary Magistrate of Kaveripatnam. Every endeavour has been made to get delegates who will support non-co-operation to go to Calcutta for the ensuing Congress, as doubts have been expressed as to whether it is likely to be approved there. After the party had left Salem by motor for Bangalore, the conference continued. Syed Murtaza Sahib presided. C. Rajagopalachari, Abdul Majid Sharar, Krishna Ayyar and Varadaraju Naidu spoke on the resolutions. Sharar delivered a vehement speech in Urdu and referred to the Labour ultimatum in England and to the Connaught Rangers' incident and remarked that it would be justifiable for the Muslims of India to protest against the unjust Peace terms with Turkey. C. Rajagopalachari, G. Joseph, Jajee Usman of Bangalore and Murtaza Sahib were responsible for the arrangements in connection with the tour.

Gandhi and Shaukat Ali at Madras, 22nd August.—Gandhi addressed the Law students on the 22nd August in the Khilafat office compound. About three to four hundred attended, among whom were only half a dozen Mahommadans.

Gandhi spoke on Khilafat, Islam and Hindu-Muslim unity. He exhorted the students as to their duties and responsibilities in the non-co-operation movement. While speaking on Islam, its glories and past rule, it appears, he said, that he would prefer Muslim rule in India to British rule, because the Mussalmans are his brethren. He is also reported to have said that should the Muslims turn against the Hindus he would willingly allow Shaukat Ali to cut his (Gandhi's) throat.

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Gandhi and Shaukat Ali left Madras for Bombay *via* Bezwada, Hyderabad and Wadi on the 22nd August. There was no one of much importance to see them off.

Page 1283, paragraph 1238 (L)—

Ahmedabad, August 15th.—Shaukat Ali and Mr. Gandhi left here for Bombay on the 8th (night) by mail.

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Page 1332, paragraph 1286 (i)—

" PIONEER " ON GANDHI'S INFLUENCE, 1920.

S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona September 14th.—The following extract from the *Pioneer* of the 12th instant is published for information :—

Mr. Gandhi has shown at Calcutta that he is by far the most influential man in the Congress — a fact which must be particularly pleasing to his vanity. Other leaders who were supposed to exercise great influence ranged themselves against him, and used all their persuasive powers to induce the meeting to vote down the Gandhi plan. But their efforts proved fruitless, and the Congress is now committed to a programme which, unless all experience is falsified, must inevitably lead to violence. If people like to renounce their titles, that is their own affair, and if they do not wish to become candidates for the Legislative Councils, they have a perfect right to stand aloof. The prospect of lawyers refusing to practice is anything but an awesome one indeed, this country has long been suffering from too much litigation. As for the withdrawal of children from Government schools, that may injure the children themselves, but it is not calculated to impress lookers-on the fitness for self-Government of parents who resort to this procedure. The boycott of foreign goods is a matter for the individual; none need purchase imported articles unless he wishes to do so. For our own part we do not suppose that the country will give a large measure of support to the Gandhi plan, yet it has the elements of danger to peace and good order. Notwithstanding the bloodshed in the Punjab, Mr. Gandhi still prates of peaceful methods; but he must know fully well that among the ignorant people to whom his programme is addressed there are men who will not hesitate to resort to intimidation and to violence in order to compel others to participate in the movement which has now been inaugurated. The attempt to boycott foreign goods in Bengal as a protest against the partition led to crime and outrage against shop-keepers who, in the exercise of their rights, refused to take part in it. More recently riots at Delhi, involving loss of life, arose out of an attempt to coerce a tradesman into keeping *hartal*. Again, only the other day at Karachi we had the spectacle of mob attacks on cinema theatres the proprietors of which had the temerity to keep their establishments open when the disciples of Mr. Gandhi had decided they should be closed. We have here pertinent illustrations of the situation with which the authorities are likely to be faced, and it ought to be definitely notified that Government are prepared to afford the fullest protection to law-abiding people who may be threatened or coerced

by the exponents of non-co-operation. The fact that a successful boycott of foreign goods, and especially of imported cotton cloth would enhance the cost of living of the poor is a consideration which it is useless to suggest to Mr. Gandhi and his followers. Their object is to create unrest and to embarrass the Government, and no appeal to reason or to commonsense will deter them from carrying out, as far as they can their mischievous schemes. There is one point that will no doubt have struck those who read the report of the final speech of the President of the Congress. Now that the country had been committed to non-co-operation, he hoped, he said, the Moslems would give a lead in the movement. We doubt, however, whether in view of their previous experience Mahommadans of India will again allow themselves to be used as cats-paws.

Page 1342, paragraph 1292 (K)(L)—

(K) *S. B., Delhi—From Abstract, dated July 17th.*—Shaukat Ali, Gandhi, Dr. Kitchlew and three others passed through Delhi on the 15th July 1920 by train on the way to the Punjab. Shaukat Ali gave some leaflets to Quari Abbas Hussein and delivered a short seditious speech to a party of Indian soldiers said to belong to the I-25th Punjabis who were proceeding on leave to the Jhelum District. One soldier, named Abdul Ghani, prostrated himself at Gandhi's feet.

(L) *S. B., Madras—From Abstract, dated September 4th S.B., Madras.*—A large committee of Mahommadans representing both the Civil and Military station and the city was formed to make the necessary arrangements for their reception. A number of volunteers were enrolled and received some elementary instruction in drill from Indian ex-non-commissioned officers. Many of them from the civil and military station were of a low class, consisting of Jutkawallahs, bullock drivers, vegetable sellers, etc., but many withdrew when they learnt that they were not to be paid for their services and had to provide their own uniforms, consisting of white coats and trousers and Turkish caps, while the Khilafat Committee provided "Crescent" badges. The officers, comprising a Captain, in Chief Command, and a Lieutenant for every 25 men, provided their own uniforms of Khaki, with Sam Browne belts and badges.

The volunteers drawn from the city consisted chiefly of students.

Abdul Rahman, Editor of the *Hilal*, was in chief command of all the Volunteers; he first of all declined to have anything to do with those from the Civil and Military station, objecting to the riff-raff got together by Hajee Usman. One Busheer of the Indian Institute of Science, who stands appointed to a post in connection with soap making in Hyderabad. was appointed to command them, but he decamped without informing the committee, evidently fearing that

he might lose his appointment if the Hyderabad authorities discovered that he had been associated with this agitation. Finally, Abdul Rahman took over charge of the Civil and Military Station Volunteers also.

There was a good deal of resentment among military officers at the display of these pseudo-military uniforms in the streets. The leaders were personally warned that the display of Turkish emblems and badges would be resented by soldiers who had fought and suffered at the hands of the Turks ; this warning had a good effect and the volunteers on the 21st confined their activities to the place of meeting in the Idgah on Millers Road. A special train conveying about 450 passengers was run from Mysore to Bangalore, arriving on Saturday morning. The tickets for this train were purchased by the Mysore Khilafat Committee and stamped by them " K " on the back.

Gandhi and Shaukat Ali arrived from Salem by motor on the 21st. As soon as the party arrived rain came on and the people began to stream away from the meeting. The speeches could only have been audible to a limited number of people in the vicinity of the speakers and enthusiasm was confined to those few. The Volunteers were the first to take shelter from the rain and failed to keep the way clear for the agitators who had difficulty in reaching the platform, which supposed to be reserved for the ticket holders.

Gandhi and Shaukat Ali arrived at Bezwada on 23rd August. A meeting of agricultural labourers was held at 9 a.m. Gandhi presided. As the mills and factories were working, the attendance was not so large as expected. An address was presented to Gandhi, who pointedly referred to the omission of Shaukat Ali's name in it. As he was informed that this was due to a mistake, he accepted the address in both their names. Shaukat Ali said that England is Islam's worst enemy and every Mussalman is bound to sacrifice his life and property for the cause of Islam.

Regarding the old dispute over processions in Bezwada between Mahommadans and Hindus, Shaukat Ali sent for the leaders of both sects and advised the Mahommadans to allow the Hindus to go in procession and play music past the mosque. They agreed, but doubt was expressed as to whether the proposals of Shaukat Ali would have any effect after his departure. C. Rajagopalachari prevailed on Gulam Mohideen to resign his office as Honorary Magistrate, and A. Kaleswara Rao agreed not to stand for the Legislative Council.

A public meeting was held in the evening, and about five thousand persons attended. Comment was made on His Excellency the Viceroy's speech in the imperial Legislative Council, and non-cooperation urged.

The District Superintendent of Police, South Kanara, reports that the general impression in Mangalore is that these leaders may preach any kind of sedition as Government are afraid of them.

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Page 1366-70, paragraph 1317—

S. B., Bombay Presidency, September 25th.—The fourth Gujarat Political Conference was held at Ahmedabad from the 27th to the 29th August:—

President:—Mr. Abbas Tyebji, retired Chief Judge of Baroda.

Chairman of Reception Committee : Mr. Vallabhbhai J. Patel.

The following persons of interest attended in addition to the above:—

Mr. M. K Gandhi, Swami Satyadev, Devadas M. Gandhi, Mahadev Desai, Shaukat Ali, Dr. Kitchlew, Moulvi Ishtekhan Hussein, Herjivan Kalidas Mehta, and Somdeo Sharma. Audience about 6,000 on average.

Proceedings commenced at 1 p.m. on the 27th with patriotic songs, followed by the address of the Chairman of the Reception Committee which touched on a variety of topics of general interest.

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Gandhi then proposed the election of the President. He admitted that the selection was his own and then he had undertaken to overcome any scruples Mr. Abbas Tyebji might have in the matter of accepting. He added that though in a letter Mr. Tyebji had declined the honour on the plea of ill-health, he has reconsidered the matter and finally consented when Gandhi made a special journey to see him.

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Then followed the President's speech.

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The next day (August 28th), the following resolutions were passed:—

(1) Regret at Tilak's death.

(2) Accepting the Congress Sub-Committee's report on the Punjab disturbances, condemning the Hunter Committee's report, expressing dissatisfaction at the very limited and mild disciplinary action taken by the Government of India and the Secretary of State against officials condemned in the Sub-Committee's report and suggesting the action that should be taken.

This was moved by Ramanbhai and seconded by Dr. Kitchlew, both of whom spoke forcibly and the latter somewhat wild, strongly recommending India to follow Egypt's method of opposing such oppression by non-co-operation.

Dayalji Nanubhai Desai and Waman Sitaram Mukadam supported with similar speeches.

(3) Condemning the Turkish Peace Terms.

Moved by Syed Ahmed Edroos, seconded by Syed Iftexhan Hussein, and supported by Swami Satya Dev, with speeches on the lines of those recently delivered by them at various places.

(4) Gandhi who had hitherto been very much of invalid, here electrified the audience by skipping across the President's table and mounting the rostrum to move his non-co-operation resolution.

Dr. Kharsukha Vora of Surat, interrupting, asked the President if the resolution could be constitutionally put before the Conference after what had occurred in the Subjects Committee the previous night. He wished to tell the audience of this; but the President ruled that the motion was constitutional, and the audience called upon him to sit down; so Gandhi began his speech, which was on the usual lines—be impartial, **gravely consider the matter**, give a fair hearing to all, but remember that things have reached a **crisis** and non-co-operation without violence is the easiest and the only possible weapon left against a **hopelessly recalcitrant Government**.

Shaukat Ali seconded from the Mahommadan point of view and advocated unity between Hindus and Mahommadans in making it a success.

R. B. Ramanbhai then rose to **move an amendment** and was met with a mixed reception. He had hardly commenced, when the bulk of the audience rose and left the meeting, which had to be adjourned for about half an hour to give the people a rest. When it reassembled at 4-15, the speaker again resumed, but was interrupted by the audience and prevented from speaking, till someone, on behalf of the President, remonstrated and restored order. He was then permitted to speak and moved his amendment, which was in effect an appeal to Government to redress the grievances of the people, to allay their discontent, and restore their belief in the sense of the justice of the present Cabinet.

Maganbhai Chhaturbhai seconded the amendment with difficulty owing to interruptions. He concluded by saying that non-co-operation was excellent in principle but impossible in practice.

It was supported by Nagindas Sanghavi, who declared that though he considered himself an advanced extremist, he could not support non-co-operation as he considered it impractical.

Dr. Vora, supporting, said that when he had originally interrupted Gandhi he had meant to point out that the Advocate-General of Madras had declared the movement to be unconstitutional and he had wanted this point to be discussed as had been arranged in the Subject Committee. The audience however, soon, became impatient and the speaker had to retire.

Swami Satya Dev then spoke caustically criticising the speeches of the seconder and supporter of the amendment as frivolous. He spoke of the sacrifices which the mover and seconder of the original resolution had undergone and were prepared to undergo for their country and the good they had done it. His speech advocated liberty for India, and he called upon the sons of India to say—

" O give us death or give us self-respect, *Swaraj*, security of life and religion."

He drew an analogy between America at the time of the revolution and India, saying that if America had declared for a continuation of the connection with England, she would not have now stood free before the world. India must act in the same way now by accepting the non-co-operation movement.

The amendment was then put and lost and the original resolution carried.

On the 3rd day the following resolutions were moved :

- (5) Protesting against the use overseas of Indian troops and demanding their recall.
- (6) Protesting against the treatment of Indians in the Colonies.
- (7) Advocating the use of Swadeshi articles (moved by a lady Miss Ganagabai Majumdar).

(a) Advocating boycott of foreign goods (this resolution, it was announced, had been thrown out, in the Subjects Committee, but the mover, G. V. Mavlankar, was allowed to place it before the meeting. Gandhi opposed it, and when put to the meeting, opinion seemed to be equally divided. A poll was, however taken the result of which was 1,220 against and 161 for).

(8) Appointing an executive committee to carry out the resolutions passed by the Conference.

- (9) Recommending the formation of national schools.
- (10) Also Courts of Arbitration.
- (11) National Volunteer Corps.
- (12) A resolution of purely local interest regarding rights to the water of a river.

(13) Against the export of cattle.

(14) Drawing the attention of the people (but, in pursuance of the non-co-operation resolution, not the attention of Government) to various longstanding grievances.

(15) Boycott of the Royal visit.

(16) Vote of thanks to the chair.

(17) Congratulating Egypt on attaining Independence.

(18) Inviting the Conference to Broach next year.

Page 1372, paragraph 1319 (f) (g)—

(f) *Bombay City, September 20th.*—Gandhi has returned from Calcutta to Ahmedabad.

(g) *S. B., Hyderabad Residency.*—From Abstract dated September 4th. Messrs. M. K. Gandhi and Shaukat Ali accompanied by six followers, passed through Raichur on their way from Bombay to Madras on the 11th August 1920. No person of consequence came to see them either at Wadi or at Gulbarga. At Raichur several persons came to meet the party.

Messrs. Gandhi and Shaukat Ali, arrived at Secunderabad from Bezwada about noon on the 24th August 1920. They were accompanied by their secretaries and two sons of Gandhi. About 3,000 people comprising both Hindus and Mahommadans, gathered on the platform of the Secunderabad railway station to welcome them. The majority of the people came from Hyderabad, and these were mostly students. The rest were spectators from Secunderabad and other places. They left for Bombay via Manmad by the after-noon train.

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Page 1396-97, paragraph 1339 (s) 1, 2, and 7(a)—

(s) *Bombay City, September 28th.*—(1) The report of the Congress Sub-Committee, Gandhi, Motilal Nehru and V. J. Patel appointed to make recommendations for starting non-co-operation appears in to-day's *Chronicle*. An immediate start is to be made under all heads of the authorised programme, but for the time being attention is to be largely concentrated upon the boycott of the Councils. Social pressure is the weapon with which the scheme is to be enforced.

Appended to this report is a note of dissent by V. J. Patel, which draws attention to serious misstatements on fundamental issues contained in the report, which he himself signed; and drawing attention to the divided counsels which already exists in the inner ring of the non-co-operators. Gandhi has simultaneously issued a manifesto to voters calling upon them to have nothing to do with

the new Councils; and the Home Rule League, of which he is the President, has issued a manifesto to the same effect. (Accompaniment " A " and " B ".)

(2) A plan for countering the repressive action which Government is expected to take against non-co-operating newspapers is outlined in a letter (Copy attached marked "C") which Gandhi has caused to be sent to Shaukat Ali. The general idea is that every reader of an " important" article shall make and distribute several copies of it in manuscript; the recipient of each such copy repeating the process, and so on. A copy of another interesting letter, addressed to Shaukat Ali by the same Mahadev on behalf of Gandhi, is marked " D ". Shaukat Ali's fanaticism and violence of language appears to have done him more harm than good in Bengal.

ACCOMPANIMENT " A ".

THE DUTY OF VOTERS, 1920.

The Special Session of the Congress by an overwhelming majority has decided in favour of complete boycott of the Reformed Councils. It is therefore your duty not to vote for any candidate for election to the Reformed Councils. It is however necessary for any candidate who wishes to stand in your name to know that you do not wish him or anybody else to represent you. For that purpose you should sign the form that has been prepared for your signature. It is your duty also to tell your co-voters what they should do.

You know why it is wrong to enter the Councils. The Government have declined to grant justice to the Punjab. British Ministers have broken their pledged word to the Mussalmans and otherwise ignored the deepest Mussalman sentiments regarding the Khilafat.

We must get these wrongs righted, and in order to prevent a recurrence of such injustice or bad faith we must obtain full *Swaraj* and must get rid of the badge of inferiority. We cannot do this by going to the Councils, nor can we gain *Swaraj* by going there. On the contrary, although our representatives may vote against unjust Government measures, they will still be regarded as authors of those measures and thus be unwilling instruments of injustice. The best way therefore for conserving our honour, hastening the advent of *Swaraj* and righting those wrongs is for the voters not to send any representatives to the Councils.

All India Home Rule League,
Masjid Bunder Road, Mandvi, Bombay.

M. K. GANDHI.

ACCOMPANIMENT " B ".

BOYCOTT OF REFORMED COUNCILS, 1920.

To

THE PRESIDENT AND SECRETARIES,
Branch Home Rule League.

Dear Sirs,

In accordance with the Resolution passed at the general meeting of the All India Home Rule League at Calcutta, we beg to send the following instructions for carrying out the Non-co-operation Resolution passed by the Special Sessions of the Congress :—

All Branches of the All-India Home Rule League are requested in accordance with its objects to enforce the Non-co-operation resolution of the Special Session of the Congress in so far as it advises action on the part of the people. And with a view to effective action all the branches are for the time being requested to concentrate their attention for the next two months principally upon complete boycott of the Reformed Councils. For that purpose all the branches are requested to canvass signatures on the following form on the part of the voters : —

" In view and in virtue of the resolution of the Special Session of the National Congress and the All-India Muslim League, we, being voters in the electoral district of——— for election to the Reformed Councils, hereby place on record our desire that we do not wish to be represented at the Provincial Legislative Councils (or the Legislative Assembly or the Council of State) and hereby inform all candidates for election that if they seek election in spite of our wish to the country they will not represent us. We do not desire to be represented in the Reformed Councils till justice has been granted in the matters of the Khilafat and the Punjab and *Swaraj* is established in India."

Too much stress cannot be laid on the fact that before the signatures are taken the voters should be made to understand clearly what they are doing. No pressure of any kind should be exercised upon the voters. Candidates too should be requested to withdraw their candidature in obedience to the expressed wish of the voters, wherever more than half the number of voters have signified their wish in writing.

Further instructions as to the other items adopted by the Congress for immediate enforcement will be forwarded in due course.

M. K. GANDHI,

President.

UMAR SOBANI, JAWAHARLAL NEHRU, RAJAGOPALACHARI,

General Secretaries,

All India Home Rule League.

(Copy)

THE ASHRAM,
September 22.

My dear Shaukat Ali Sahib,

I have sent you two wires to-day, one in respect of Siyassis' security and the other in respect of Zafar Ali Khan. In the one case Bapu (Gandhi) has advised that security can be paid, and in the other that no defence by lawyer is possible. Bapu wants to emphasise once more that we have now passed the stage when we at all questioned ourselves as to whether a security should be paid or not. In every case that arises in future we can give no other advice but that no security can be paid. Every Editor, if he is capable enough ought to be able to persuade the readers or subscribers of his paper to copy, say, a dozen copies of his manuscript article, the readers of those copies to copy in their turn from those copies, and so on. In this way we can hope to be able to give our reader matter that is really first rate and avoid newspaper padding. Bapu, for instance, has never despaired that he can any day persuade his readers to copy his editorial articles for him. I know it is not possible for every editor to compel his readers to copy his articles by the sheer value of his material. But it is high time that we familiarised journalists with this idea, so that we may be prepared to meet any contingency.

But I shall not dilate on this matter any more. It is only because Bapu wanted me to put this idea before you that I do so probably you have already thought the same way in this matter.

With Salams,

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) MAHADEO.

SATYAGRAHASHRAM, SABARMATI :

September 21.

My Dear Shaukat Ali Sahib,

The Nadiad visit has been fixed to the next week, as Bapu does not feel inclined to stir out for a few days. Here is an extract from a letter received from Calcutta :—

" Feeling against Shaukat Ali and party's fanaticism threats to non-fanatics is rising high among the Bengal Moslems and through them among the Bengal Hindus. Fazlul Haq and other leading Bengal Moslems were present at private Malaviya's Conference and spoke bitterly against Shaukat Ali's tactics and threats of violence to those who did not follow him."

Bapu is not at all worried by this, but he really wants us to protect ourselves against mistakes. All our tactics, he firmly believes, must consist in our truth and fearlessness and must be free from threats of any kind whatsoever. Could Fazlul Haq have spoken as he has been reported to have said ?

The Maratha friends seem to be doing exceedingly nicely. Bapu is writing to-day to Kelkar as promised by him. You will please let him know if you want him to write to anybody else. He is not writing to Deshpande as he thinks it unnecessary. He will be coming here in a day or two. Bapu does hope you have got the holders of titles to withdraw their titles.

Hoping you will send an early reply to Bapu.

With Salam,
Yours sincerely,
MAHADEO.

Page 1426, paragraph 1359 (8)—

Ahmedabad, October 3rd.—On the 28th September, V. J. Patel presided at a meeting held in the river-bed when M. K. Gandhi addressed the students of the Gujarat College on the boycott of schools and colleges maintained by Government. Patel pointed out that under the present system the student's only aim was a degree and after he had obtained it he had to beg for employment. He pointed out that the country had great need for the rising generation and begged them to leave the college and help their country which would respond to their call. (The District Superintendent of Police comments : —" How, in what way, and by what means, the country would do so, the speaker did not definitely say. I note Patel invariably makes these statements, but never definitely commits himself.").

Gandhi stated that he wished to invite the students' attention to the conduct of the authorities in the Punjab to the students there. They were made to walk many miles daily to salute the Union Jack. If they failed they were punished. Schools and Colleges, he said, merely prepared clerks for Government. If students left the Colleges there would be no one for Government service. He could not live under such an unjust Government. If the Punjab students had never entered Government Colleges they would never have been subjected to such treatment. Finally, he called upon the students present to ask questions regarding any difficulties or doubts they might have. Many were put, and replies given. In one of these he said that the Gujarat College was theirs, but they had handed it over to Government. Some day however, it would be theirs again and then they could rejoin it. Many asked about the national schools and colleges. To these Gandhi replied that

the scheme was under consideration. Nevertheless, they should not wait, but leave the present institutions at once. This action on their part, he said, would greatly impress Government. Some ten students thereupon announced their withdrawal from the Gujarat College. Finally, in one reply he likened the present position in India to a state of war and said that the beginning of the struggle had taken place. About 3,000, mostly boys, were present.

On the 29th September Gandhi addressed the teachers in the same place under Vallabhbhai Patel's presidentship. During the course of his speech he said that Arabs were superior to Indians; though not so well educated and less wealthy, they were more patriotic. Though their country was a barren waste they loved it and desired to rule it themselves. Indians, on the other hand were in a position of slavery. People might say that they were happier thus as they had more luxuries. They were, however, deceiving themselves. For himself, if anyone were to come to him and say that *Swaraj* would be obtained if he gave up travelling in a motor car he would be ready to do so. He agreed, however, that education was essential, and called upon them to give up their present employment and devote themselves to teaching in the national schools.

At the conclusion many questions were asked, to most of which he replied that if they resigned they would be provided for. (The District Superintendent of Police notes : " I learn that Professor Godbole of the Gujarat College has resigned from the 13th September.").

I K. Yajnik and K. G. Masharuwala are the Secretaries of the Committee appointed under Gandhi's Presidentship to arrange for National Education. At the first meeting held on the 19th September a sub-Committee was appointed to correspond with the managers of the schools in respect of Government grants to persuade them to give this up and sever all connection with Government and its Universities. A committee was also appointed to prepare rules and regulations for a National University. It was proposed, for the present, to establish one school and one college in Ahmedabad in connection with the proposed National University.

Page 1443, paragraph 1359 (41)—

Bombay City, October 4th.—A meeting of the All-India Congress Committee was held at Bombay on Saturday, the 2nd instant, at 3-10 p.m. Motilal Nehru was in the chair.

(a) Attendance 35 out of the total of 177. The Chief Provinces were represented as follows :
Bombay 17 out of 20, Bengal 2

out of 25, Punjab 1 out of 20, Madras 14 out of 14, United Provinces 5 out of 24, Central Provinces 1 out of 12.

(b) *Chief absentees*.—Mrs. Besant, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Lajpat Rai, C. R. Das, Chakravati and Vijayraghav-charya.

(c) *Business done*.—(1) Arabindo Ghose having declined the honour, election of President for the December Congress held over *pro tempore*.

(2) *All India Tilak Memorial*.—Sub-Committee's report recommending raising of a large fund—15 lakhs—to be devoted to propaganda, chiefly abroad and amendments considered. Gandhi wanted to devote the whole fund to the purposes of non-co-operation. Strongly supported by Shaukat Ali. Opposition from Jinnah, Umar Sobani, and others.

Question finally held over for decision in Nagpur Congress.

(3) *Report of Sub-Committee on non-co-operation*.—Adopted in substance after deletion of Gandhi's unauthorised criticisms and comments. Very warm debate. Gandhi started by repudiating Patel's dissenting minute. Nehru and Shaukat Ali supported him and demanded enforcement of boycott of schools and courts. Kelkar said even Gandhi had no right to handle the Congress decision in the manner adopted in his Sub-Committee's report. Baptista, Khare, Maji, Satyamurti and others continued the attack, strongly objecting to boycott of schools and establishment of national courts. Nehru said far better keep the children ignorant or strangle them than let them go to Government schools.

Note.—The net result of all this talk was the practical triumph of Gandhi. Jinnah and Jamnadas took practically no part in the proceedings. It is believed that in consequence of the decisions taken, they together with Mavji Govindji, Telang, N. G. Paranjpe and D. N. Gustin will resign.

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On October 3rd Gandhi presided over a public meeting convened by Sobani, Banker and Pawar with the evident object of introducing to the working classes the programme of non-co-operation. About 5,000 persons, mostly mill-hands and labourers, attended, and were addressed by Gandhi, Shaukat Ali, Dr. Sawarkar, Jinwala, Dattatraya R. Mayekar and others; a combination of oratorical talent, which is as significant as it is unusual. Gandhi stigmatized Government as bad and treacherous.

After attending a few minor functions of welcome during the day, the returning delegates attended a meeting got up in its honour at the Mastan Tank, where Gandhi presided over a crowd of five thousand

or more, almost exclusively Mahommadans. Pickthale, wearing a fez, was seated by Gandhi's side ; and Mrs. Gandhi, Anasuya Ben and Saraladevi Chowdhari were well to the fore.

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Page 1451, paragraph 1360—

Bombay City, October 4th.—A general meeting of the All India Home Rule League was held at Bombay on Sunday. Gandhi was in the chair.

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Page 1470-71, paragraph 4382 (8)—

Kaira, October 10th.—The District Magistrate writes : " The meeting at Nadiad on the 30th September which was addressed by Gandhi was the largest that has been held up to now in connection with the non-co-operation movement. The audience numbered over 12,000 and included people from all parts of the district. Gandhi was accompanied by Mrs. Gandhi, Miss Peterson and Mr. V. J. Patel. The latter presided over the meeting.

Gandhi then addressed the meeting. He thanked the audience for having assembled in such numbers, referred to the Punjab and Khilafat question and advised the Muhammadans not to consider the Turkish Peace terms as unalterable. But they could be altered only by observing the conditions he laid down. Their courage was not to be manifested by cutting the throats of a couple of Englishmen. By doing such things they become sinners in the sight of God. Self-Government was not to be obtained by committing murders and removing rails. He referred to the Arab rising, and said that they were ready to die and knew how to use their swords. That was not the case in India. However, Indians too could get victory. To co-operate with the British Government would be to share in their sins. India too will draw the sword when the occasion arises. But he could not advise it now. He then urged Hindus and Mahommadans to unite and work together. He denied the Government allegation that dacoities and robberies in the Kaira District were due to the Home Rule agitation. He then urged pleaders to give up practice, advised people to boycott Government schools, and not to resort to courts. He finished up by telling the Moulvis to curb their anger and their tongues.

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Gandhi and his party left Nadiad the same night. (30th September)

Page 1474 „ paragraph 1382 (11)—

Broach, October 9th.—Gandhi and Ali brothers passed through Broach on their way to Ahmedabad on 6th October.

Page 1548, paragraph 1430(20)—

Surat, October 10th.—On the 6th October, M. K. Gandhi and his wife, accompanied by the Ali Brothers, arrived from Bombay. About 500 people assembled at the railway station to receive them and they were taken in procession through the city. Gandhi and his wife put up at the Patidar Boarding House at Naupura and the Ali brothers at Narmawalla's at Shahapur.

The first item of the day's programme was the opening of the "National School". About 1,000 people assembled near the old Armenian Church. Gandhi and the Ali Brothers delivered speeches relating to the Khilafat Mission in Europe. In the afternoon the party visited Rander and delivered speeches in the Gymkhana on the above subject.

A procession was formed again in the evening from the Castle to the Tilak maidan and the whole party passed through the gathering in carriages. Flags and bunting were displayed along the route. About 10,000 people assembled on the Tilak maidan.

Syed Ahmed Edroos was elected to the chair. Gandhi and the Ali Brothers delivered lectures on the Khilafat Mission to Europe and non-co-operation, and said that, as had been decided in the Special Congress at Calcutta, the people should open "National Schools" and boycott Councils, pleaders should relinquish their practice, and private disputes should be settled by reference to Panchayats.

The District Magistrate remarks : " I would draw attention to the highly objectionable statements in the speech delivered by Gandhi to students of the Sarvajanik High School and College, of which a pretty full report is given by the " *Guzerat Mitra* " of 10th October 1920, pages 16 to 16-2. Gandhi told the boys to disobey their parents if the latter did not allow them to leave their schools. The Patidar Students Boarding House, where this gathering took place and where Gandhi had put up, has become a regular centre for corrupting the rising generation and turning them into seditious channels."

Two teachers of the A. K. V. (A. V.) School at Abrama, Jalalpur taluka, viz., Patel and Vitha, have joined the non-co-operation movement and hence their services have been dispensed with since the 6th October. .

Page 1583, paragraph 1450 (15)—

S. B., Sind, Karachi, October 29th.—The following is a copy of leaflet issued by Gandhi which is being distributed in Sind in English and vernacular : —

"Boycott of Councils—Voters' duties.—The Special Congress has decided with an overwhelming majority to completely boycott the

New Councils. It is, therefore your duty not to give votes to any of the candidates for the New Councils. Further, you are required to inform candidates standing as your representatives that you do not wish to send them or anyone else as your representatives. You must, therefore, sign the forms prepared for your signatures, and you are bound to inform your brother-voters as to what they are required to do in the matter.

You know why it is sinful to go to the Councils Government have refused to give justice in connection with the Punjab, British Ministers have broken their pledges to the Mussalman brothers in connection with the Khilafat and have otherwise disregarded their deepest religious feelings. We must get these injustices removed ; and in order that such injustices and breakage of pledges may not recur, we must get complete *Swaraja*, and avoid the state of bondage.

We cannot do this by going to the Councils ; similarly we cannot get *Swaraja* by going there. On the other hand, even if our representatives would vote against the unjust actions of the Government, they would be considered as participants of those actions and thus against their will, they will be the tools of the injustice of the Government. Therefore, in order to protect our self-respect and to establish *Swaraja* first, and to get the injustice remedied, the best and only way is not to send representatives' to the Councils.

MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI,
All India Home Rule League, Bombay.'

Page 1586, paragraph 1450 (18)—

Kaira, October 31st.—The District Magistrate writes : " Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Andrews visited Dakore on the 27th during the *Maneck-thari Punam* fair. Gandhi addressed a big meeting in the evening advising people to withdraw their children from Government schools, and not to vote for candidates for the Councils. Jivabhai. the Manager of the Dakore Temple, took a leading part in all the proceedings. Gandhi and Andrews both left Dakore on the morning of the 28th. Before going to Dakore both of them visited Anand. Gandhi spoke to the teachers and students of the Charotar Educational Society's High School but did not address any public meeting. On his way back to Ahmedabad some men from Mehmedabad met him at Mehmedabad station and asked him to stop there for a short time. He refused on the ground that Mehmedabad had up to now been very backward in the matter of non-co-operation, and promised to visit Mehmedabad another time if the town people took some decisive step in the direction of non-co-operation. Next day a meeting was held and a resolution passed that no one should send his

ing. Gandhi began by urging the necessity of unity between children to the schools and that anyone doing so should be fined Rs. 1-4r0 by the Mahajan. As a result of this no children attended any schools on the 30th. Gandhi is to visit Mehmedabad on the 1st November and will then go on to Nadiad."

Page 1614, paragraph 1471 (12)—

Kaira, November 8th.—District Magistrate writes : " On the 1st November Gandhi visited Nadiad and addressed a meeting of about 5,000 persons. Vallabhbhai Javerbhai Patel also spoke at the meeting. Gandhi began by urging the necessity of unity between Hindus and Mahommadans. In this connection he referred to Moulvi of Ahmedabad (*Note.*—Very probably Mushtaq Ahmed, Secretary, S. D.) who had been creating a breach between Hindus and Mahommadans. He said the man had not been authorised to speak on their behalf by himself or by the Khilafat Committee. He announced that he intended asking the Khilafat Committee and the Swaraj Committee to issue certificates to persons who were authorised to speak on their behalf. He then went on to say that Government intended taking repressive measures and that it was likely that he himself, Shaukat Ali, and Mohamed Ali would be arrested. In case they were arrested there should be no violence, no bloodshed, no *hartals* and no lifting of rails. Government belived that the agitation in the country was due to the fact that he and the Ali Brothers were free. It should be proved to Government that it was not he or Mohamed Ali or Shaukat Ali who demanded *Swaraj* or justice for the Punjab or the Khilafat, but the whole people. No representations should be made to Government in case they were arrested. He then advised people not to send their children to Government schools as the education given there was impure, not to vote at the elections, and to make use of home-made cloth. People were advised not to celebrate Diwali this year. The festival is supposed to express the joy of the people at the success of Ram over Rawan. But at present there is the rule of the Rakshas and people have no right to celebrate Diwali till Ramraj is established. He concluded his speech by saying that till then he had scrupulously avoided asking for money as he was afraid that the money collected by his men might be misappropriated. (I think this part of his speech has not been correctly reported.) But circumstances had arisen which compelled him to ask for money. They wanted to have national schools and the work could not be accomplished without money.

Gandhi and his party left Nadiad the same night.

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Page 1615, paragraph 1471(13)—

Broach, November 7th.—The District Magistrate writes : " The event of the week was Gandhi's visit to Broach on the 2nd instant. He showed great energy. Arriving at 2-30 a.m. from Ahmedabad, he delivered a lecture on the river-side at 7-30 to some 2,500 people on National Education. He later proceeded to Ankleswar, addressed a meeting of 2,000 or so and opened a Swadeshi shop and a National School. He then addressed a meeting of some 5,000 on non-co-operation, in the course of which he told the people that they were at war—non-violent—with Government. He had an interview with Mr. N. N. Anklesaria, of which the latter's account is that he told Gandhi he was willing to accept his doctrine if Gandhi could convince him by argument of its reasonableness. Thereupon Gandhi asked him what his views were. On his stating them Gandhi said : " If those are your views, I have nothing to say ". Anklesaria summed it up to me by saying " I think he is a humbug ". Gandhi was told by Motilal Dalai (President, Ankleswar Municipality) that his campaign was foolish.

Gandhi publicly rebuked I. K. Yajnik for the non-co-operationist behaviour at the co-operation meeting of 24th October. In the evening Gandhi returned to Broach, held a meeting of 2,000 women, and then addressed a mass meeting of 10,000 or more. In the course of this last speech he strongly deprecated *violence*; at the same time that he emphasised the pressing necessity for *action*, as opposed to applause, ovations and lectures. What he means perhaps his followers know—it seems beyond any ordinary logical intelligence. He deprecated wild speaking on the part of Moulvis, and indiscriminate and irresponsible collections of money. At the end of his speech he called for collections, and about 3,000 of the audience left immediately. He collected at most about Rs. 800 in the course of the day.

He addressed total audience of about 21,000 altogether, of whom some 4 or 5,000 might be duplicates. Of the net 17,000 or so some, 7 or 8,000 belonged to other villages or towns, and the balance were of Broach City. People came, at least in fours or fives, from even most distant villages of the district. I think that on the whole his speeches delivered in Broach may have had perhaps a rather calming effect, owing to the stress he laid on non-violence.

The Mamlatdar, Ankleshwar, says: " The immediate result of Gandhi's visit will be, I fear, that very few voters will exercise their franchise at any polling stations. No sign of any violent action yet."

Page 1618, paragraph 1471(19)—

S. B., Punjab, Lahore, October 23rd.—The students of ail the colleges, together with their professors, went to Ram Bhuj Dutt's house on the 20th October to hear what Gandhi had to say to them. They numbered about 1,500. The professors present were: Gulshan Rai of the Sanatan Dharma College, Gowardhan Das and Amar Nath of the D. A. V. College, Sant Ram of the Dial Sing College and Abdul Kadir of the Islamia College. The leaders present were : Chaudhri Ram Bhuj Dutt, Bakshi Tek Chand, M. Ghulam Muhai-ud-din, Mr. Santaram, M. Shaukat Ali, Mahammad Ali and Swami Satya Dev.

Mr. Gandhi said that he was interested in the students because the future of the country depended upon them. He spoke of the hardships they had had to undergo during the period of Martial Law and said that they had suffered great degradations. He asked all the students present to give up their studies, as this was part of non-co-operation scheme. They should all be willing to sacrifice themselves for their country, as at present they were learning the art of slavery. Several points were raised by the students in this connection which were answered by Mr. Gandhi. Great excitement prevailed among the students, and it is expected that a number will follow Gandhi's advice. The Medical College and Technical College students were told to go on with their work.

Next morning, students and professors again collected at Ram Bhuj Dutt's house and Mr. Gandhi asked those to put up their hands who had decided to leave their work. About 30 hands went up. Gandhi then asked all those who had not put their hands up to leave the compound. He then spoke to those who remained. It is not known what he said to them, but I am inclined to believe that he asked them to help him in getting the others to strike.

Mohammad Ali called upon the other students to consider the matters as it was serious and spoke to them for a while. The other leaders present also tried to get round them and Ram Bhuj Dutt asked those present who had decided to stick to the cause to pat up their hands. Some 70 persons did so. The people then dispersed.

Page 1619. paragraph 1471(20)—

S B.. Bombay Presidency. Poona. Nonember 13.—The following is a cutting from the *Young India*, dated November 10th :—

WHAT TO DO ON THE 16th OF NOVEMBER.

In connection with this, Mr, Gandhi writes in *Navjivan* as follows:—

The 16th of November is somewhat of a day of trial for the people. because on that day members for Legislative Councils will

be elected throughout the Bombay Presidency. What will the voters do on that day ? What is their duty ?

(1) I hope that no voter will go to the polling booth to record his vote.

(2) That all the voters will remain indoors.

(3) In the case a meeting is held away from the polling booth, voters will attend it and express themselves against being represented on the Council.

(4) The work of canvassing signatures and of asking voters not to vote will cease for 24 hours from the night of the 15th instant.

(5) Volunteers too will not do anything on the 16th instant to dissuade voters from voting.

(6) In short, those who choose to vote should have the day wholly at their disposal.

How can we hope to convert voters whom we have not been able to persuade till the 15th ? Surely we do not want to prevent anybody from voting by physical force. There can therefore be no persuasion on the 16th.

Our campaign is one of educating public opinion. When we have succeeded in doing that, then, and only then is, Swaraj within easy reach.

Page 1630, paragraph 1491(11)—

Thana, November 9th.—Meetings were held on non-co-operation at Umergaon, Moakhada, Wada, Kurla and Bassein. None were important except those of Kurla and Bassein.

The meeting at Kurla was attended by 1,000, mostly uneducated millhands. Gandhi and Ahmed Siddik Khatri were present. Gandhi spoke in his usual way on non-co-operation, and likened the British administration to the rule of Satan and Ravan. He said that before December last he was all for co-operation with Government, but at that time he had no idea that Government would be treacherous. He urged his audience not to use violence and to sit quiet in their homes on the 16th November (Election day) and not to vote for any candidate.

Page 1631, paragraph 1491(13)—

Nasik, November 12th.—M. K. Gandhi accompanied by Pandit Motilal Nehru and Manjumali Rahimatali Khatri came to Nasik by the morning train from Bombay on the 4th November. There was a show in their honour, though, I believe the news of their coming did not reach Nasik till late on the evening of the 3rd. A procession was formed at the entrance of the City and went right through the

City to the Godaveri. Wasudev Bapuji Akut was given a seat of honour in the same car as the trio. The trio visited first Kurtakoti in his *math*, and with him went down to the river where a meeting was held. There was an audience of 3,000 to 4,000 and Kurtakoti was in the chair. About 100 Mohammadans were present. Many of the audience came out of curiosity to see the Mahatma rather than from any interest in non-co-operation. Gandhi, Nehru and Khatri made brief speeches on the usual topics.

A meeting was arranged at Gora Ram's temple for the women to hear Gandhi, but there was no audience as the women were otherwise engaged. Gandhi and company then left by the Punjab Mail for Poona. Thus ended the long-promised visit of the Mahatma. His arrival train was nearly two hours late, so Nasik did not see very much of him.

Some 100 students of the Government High School who were at the meeting were late for school. The Head Master fined all latecomers.

Page 1635, paragraph 1491(21)—

Poona, November 12th.—The great event of the week was the visit of M. K. Gandhi and Shaukat Ali on the 5th November. Everything passed off quietly and there was no trouble. Gandhi arrived late and had a small procession around Kirkee Bazar and then went to the Deccan Gymkhana. The crowd broke into the arena and there was a great deal of noise, so that he was not very well heard. After speeches there, he went in procession round the town and through Cantonments. The streets were decorated but the procession was not large—about 1,000. It was also noticed that the Poona Extremists were not present in large numbers. Two Turkish flags were carried in the procession.

On the 5th evening a meeting was held in Bhavani Peth, attended by about 20,000 people. The volunteers created a good deal of noise and trouble, as is usually the case.

Gandhi's speech was fairly moderate in tone, though he and the other speakers referred to the devil-like character of the British Government.

Shaukat Ali arrived on the 6th November and put up with Chhotani. He and Gandhi held a meeting in front of the Shanvar Wada that morning. Both Gandhi and Shaukat Ali referred in their speeches to the imminence of their arrest by Government and stated that they would refuse to be released by Government, but that the people were not to embark on violence.

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Page 1639, paragraph 1491(29)—

Bombay City, November 15th.—On the 14th instant a student's meeting attended by about 1,000 students and four times that number of outsiders was addressed by Gandhi, Shaukat Ali, Sathaye and others on the subject of non-co-operation. At Gandhi's instance, Nimbkar publicly expressed regret at having broken up Mrs. Besant's recent meeting.

Diwali illuminations were disappointing this year though it is not easy to say that part of this result was produced by Gandhi's exhortations. On the 13th instant Gandhi visited the Mulji Jetha Cloth Market, where he is said to have received promises of a lakh and a quarter of rupees for his fund. On the 14th 150 volunteers went out in procession, and raised another Rs. 2,000.

The following exchange of telegrams have taken place between Girdharlal of Amritsar and Gandhi. From Girdharlal—

" Home Rule Conference fixed 19th—21st November. Seditious Meetings Act applied Amritsar City. Should obey postpone or break and hold Conference, Wire your Pandit Motilalji's opinion. Lajpatrai and Kitchlew in favour." Gandhi's reply—

" Obey order prohibition. Motilalji not here. Inform Lajpatrai others."

Page 1663-64, paragraph 1523(14)—

Ahmedabad, November 9th.—On the evening of the 31st October M. K. Gandhi presided over a meeting of women only. No outside man was allowed to be present. But the meeting appears to have been of the usual kind.

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Ahmedabad, November 24th.—Diwali passed off quietly here. There were not so many illuminations as last year, nor were fireworks used to as great an extent. This is said to be due to a message from Gandhi, who advised giving the money instead to *Swaraj* and Khilafat.

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Kaira. November 9th.—On the morning of the 1st November M. K. Gandhi arrived at Mehmedabad and was met at the station by about fifty Home Rulers, etc., and ten volunteers, and taken in procession through the town. Handbills containing the following phrases were fixed up on the roadsides : "If we have no voice in ruling our own country, we should not pay taxes", " We should fear the detectives of God far more than those of Government"

India is for the Indians ", " Home rule is my religious motto and it is what I desire", "By the sins of kings, calamities fall upon the subjects, and if the subjects will not oppose them they invite more calamities by adding their own sins thereto", " If you have no courage keep silent and see result of the fight of others", "When slaves forget their slavery there is no remedy for releasing them from their bondage."

Gandhi first addressed a gathering of about 300 women and urged them to do their bit towards non-co-operation. He then addressed a gathering of about 3,000 persons in his usual style and language. A purse of Rs. 300 was presented to him. From Mehmedabad he went on to Nadiad the same day.

On his arrival at Nadiad he put up at the Santram temple. At 5 p.m. he addressed a gathering of about 3,000 women in the Mogalkot dharamshala in South Bazar, and at 8 p.m. addressed an open-air meeting of about 10,000 persons outside the Anmeaabadi Gate, under the presidency of Vallabhbhai J. Patel. The main object of Gandhis visit was to collect funds. He evidently thinks that there is something in the wind, for he urged the people not to commit any acts of violence in case he or any of the local agitators— he named Mohanlal K. Pandya, Gopaldas D. Talati and Kalyanji Mehta of Surat—were arrested. As usual he referred to the present Government as a devilish one. He referred to a Moulvi in Ahmedabad (Moulvi Mustaq Ahmed) and condemned his manner of speech. He seems to have given up the idea of requiring pleaders to suspend practising in the law courts, as he said that that question should be postponed. He urged the withdrawal of students from Government schools, the boycotting of the councils, celibacy, viz., not to increase and multiply, the use of swadeshi cloths and to celebrate the Diwali according to his article in the *Navjivan*. He entreated volunteers not to misappropriate public money and the people to see that their subscriptions went to properly authorised collectors.

Gandhi and party left Nadiad by mail for Broach on the 1st November.

Page 1665, paragraph 1523(18)—

* *Broach, November 10th.*—The main feature of interest in the non-co-operation campaign this week was the visit to the district on the 2nd November of the leader himself, M. K. Gandhi. Accompanied by Indulal Kanaiyalal Yajnik and five or six other satellites, he arrived at about 2 a.m. from Nadiad and was welcomed by some eight or ten local enthusiasts.

* Please ref. to page 1615, para. 1471(13) DM's reports giving a/c of Gandhi's visit. The reports vary in details.

The first meeting was held from about 7-30 a.m. on the bank of the Narbada river and was attended by some 4,000 people, including about 100 women, Ganahi arrived at the meeting with a procession headed by school-boys of the "National School" Flags were carried bearing various mottoes, such as "Bande Mataram" "Help National Schools" "Peace is necessary for obtaining Swaraj", "Self-Government is my birthright", etc. Gandhi was introduced by Haribhai J. Amin at the outset and then began his speech, seated, for which he apologised. He commenced by apoloising the paucity of attendance on the part of the Mahommadans—a fact which he regarded as auguring a lack of unity between the two communities. He was pleased to hear that people had abstained from the consumption of tea, toddy and liquor, in public at any rate, and he had hopes that the same attitude was being maintained in their private life. He then referred to the fact that a difference of opinion with regard to the prosecution of the non-co-operation campaign had resulted in the estrangement from his cause of Madan Mohan Malaviya and Shastri. We went on to discuss the present system of British rule in India, stamping it as "Devilish" and "Conducted on the lines of slavery". He did not thereby mean to insinuate, he explained, that all Englishmen are necessarily bad, for it was possible to find some sympathetic men, such as Lord Hardinge, Lord Ripon and Mr. Chatfield. He then touched upon the inter-community relations - of Hindus, Mahommadans and Parsis. Considering that non-co-operation was not an innovation and had been practised successfully by Pralhad, Harishchandra and others, and in view of the fact that it was sanctioned by the religious tenets of Hindus, Mahommadans and Parsis alike, he deprecated the lack of friendship between the Parsis and the other two communities. The speaker subsequently entered on his main discourse, viz., National Education, which he conducted on the usual lines.

The last subject the speaker touched upon was *Swadeshi* and he urged both men and women to use *Shadeshi* cloth, which was hand-woven and hand-spun.

At the close of the meeting volunteers went round with their caps for contributions towards the National Education Fund. A few words were then addressed to the audience by Moulvi Sadraddin. who had come from Bombay in connection with the Broach contributions to the Khilafat Fund. After an announcement that a second meeting would be held in the evening, the crowd dispersed.

M. K. Gandhi and his party, together with some 50 people, then travelled by the 10-30 train across the river to Ankleshwar. In his retinue were noticed the following people :— (1) Indulal Kanaiyalal

Yajnik, (2) Haribhai Amin, (3) Bai Gangabai, (4) Manilal Chhatrapati of Jambusar and (5) Syed Ahmed Edroos of Surat.

The party was received at the station by Chhotalal Ghelabhai, tobaccowala of Ankleshwar, and having formed a procession headed by some two dozen local volunteers eventually reached Kachiwadi at about 11-30 a.m. There a meeting, attended by about 3,000 people, was held. The number was swelled by an influx from neighbouring villages to the extent of about 200 to 300. No Parsis were present.

The first ceremony performed was the opening of the new National School in Ankieshwar, styled the Tilak Rashtriya Shala. Introduced by Chhotalal Ghelabhai, Gandhi said it was a happy omen to have the school named in memory of Tilak, who was the first man to inculcate in India the idea of *Swaraj*. Gandhi's speech was very much like the one he had delivered in the morning in Broach.

A few words were specially addressed to the women. His advice to them was the boycott of foreign articles and the substitution of hand-spun and hand-woven cloth. He urged women to withdraw their children from the grant-in-aid schools and to give up jewellery, as the country was in mourning. He appeared to indicate that the money thus saved should be devoted to the national university and schools. And a last word was addressed to the volunteers, to whom an appeal was made not to defraud the people, presumably by misappropriating the funds. After the opening of the schools, Gandhi went off to the house of Seth Hiralal Kalidas.

A second meeting was held in Ankieshwar, at about 3 p.m., with Hiralal Kalidas in the chair. It was attended by an audience of some 5,000, including about 300 women. Approximately 1,000 people had come in from the neighbouring villages. The subject was non-co-operation. Nothing new was introduced.

After the meeting a collection was made by the local " Volunteers ".

At this meeting two men from the local Mission were noticed, viz., Messrs. Arnold and Litchy. To begin with, they were standing on the outskirts of the crowd ; but when they were noticed, they were invited to a place of honour by Gandhi on the raised platform.

Before the principal meeting in the evening in Broach itself, Gandhi addressed about 1,000 women in Desolad's Wadi, giving them his customary advice. At the end of speech, collection had the effect of scattering about 200 of the audience. It is reported that very little response was made to the appeal for funds.

The meeting in the evening was a monster one for Broach, and it is reported that it was the largest of its kind in the annals of the town since the visit of Tilak. It is estimated that there were

10,000 people, consisting for the most part of middle class men and labourers. Some 2,000 people are reported to have come in from the village, even from places like Kaira and Sarod in the Jambusar taluka. In view of his protracted programme, Gandhi was some what late than the scheduled time. Before his arrival, the people were addressed first by Moulvi Sadruddin of Bombay who had visited Broach in connection with the Khilafat fund. He was followed by Indulal Kanaiyalal Yajnik of Ahmedabad, who advocated Hindu-Mussalman unity and asked the people not to vote in the coming elections. Every effort should be made to carry on their present propaganda until the 16th November, when not a soul should visit the polling stations. Even if a candidate were elected, Government was to be informed that the successful candidates were not the people's representatives. Gandhi introduced nothing new into his speech.

He laid special emphasis on the conduct of non-violent campaign, and he gave out that it should not be believed that he advocated nonviolence on the platform and in reality wished that violence should be the order of the day. He asked them also to beware of bogus Khilafat workers, and referred to one Moulvi in Ahmedabad (Moulvi Mustaq Ahmed) who made violent speeches to the public and then appeared before a Government official with a request for pardon.

I think there is little doubt that the visit of Gandhi to Broach has added not inconsiderably to the enthusiasm for the most part of the ignorant and illiterate members of the various local communities. But one fact appears patent, viz., that he endeavoured to impress deeply on the minds of his audience the non-violent conduct of his campaign. At the same time, his appeals for funds seem to have met with but little support, it is perhaps worth noting that a comparatively rich town like Broach subscribed very little more than Rs. 500 a sum that could hardly be called satisfactory.

As far as the district is concerned, efforts are being made to prosecute the non-co-operation campaign as vigorously as possible. In Jambusar itself there was a meeting on the 27th October attended by some 2,000 people and also on the 3rd November with an audience of some 500 people. There is nothing of special interest, however, to report with regard to them.

The District Magistrate remarks : " I think it is important to know the extent of the district propaganda, and have asked the District Superintendent of Police for details."

Page 1674, paragraph 1523 (37)(3) (a)—

Bombay, November 27th.—Islamic (a) Last week, a deputation from the Anjuman-i-Attiba, a society of Mussalman Hakims, asked

Gandhi to include in his programme the boycott of foreign doctors and drugs. Gandhi refused on the ground that long continued strife between Hakims and Vaidyas had ruined the science of oriental medicine.

Page 1675, paragraph 1523(39)(c)—

Gandhi arrived from Ahmedabad on November 17th, and two days later left with Shaukat Ali for Allahabad via Jhansi.

Page 1675, paragraph 1523(40)—

Special Branch, Bombay Presidency, November 20th.—Gandhi came to Wai, at about 6-30 p.m. (6th November), in a private motor from Poona, accompanied by his Secretary, Movazamalli, Barrister, of Muradabad and brother-in-law of Mohamed Ali, and N. S. Marathe of Poona. On arrival they were garlanded in Damodhar Ashram outside the town. Some 600 men were awaiting their arrival at the Damodhar Ashram. R. P. Karandikar and Rambhavoo Soman, pleaders and leaders of Satara, had especially come there for the occasion. Gandhi and his party were then taken to the place of meeting and Karandikar was elected to the chair. Gandhi and Movazamalli addressed the audience in Hindi and Urdu respectively. The purport of the lecture was the furtherance of non-cooperation and union and sympathy with the Mahommadans.

The audience numbered nearly 5,000 consisting of all castes. There were nearly 700 women and about 200 Mahommadans. Men from surrounding villages had also attended the meeting. They were about 50 volunteers, the majority of them being students of the *Prajna Pathashala* of Wai.

There was enthusiasm throughout the proceedings; Gandhi's personality rather than his speech appeared to impress the audience, as the latter was in Hindi and not closely followed by all.

Gandhi and his party afterwards went to the Jumma Masjid, where they were garlanded. Thence they visited the *Goshala* and went to Satara by motor about 10 p.m. (6th November) with Karandikar and Soman.

A purse containing Rs. 500 was then offered to Gandhi—a sum which had been collected by subscription.

The following is a *resume* of Gandhi's Speech.

At the outset he expressed his regret that out of 3,000 Mahommadans at Wai only a small number should attend the meeting. He then referred to the current dissensions between the Brahmins and non-Brahmins at Wai and in other places in Maharashtra. It was his belief that as long as the non-Brahmins called themselves Hindus they were bound to observe the commands of the Hindu Holy Scriptures and of these Varnashrama Dharma or observation

of the four main Divisions according to the Scriptures was a most important one. The Brahmin community had done in the past, and also were doing at present, much good to the public. Ramdas Tulsidas and Gokhale and Tilak were Brahmins. Although a non-Brahmin himself he could not overlook the services of the Brahmins in the national interest. Hence he advised that all disputes between Brahmins and non-Brahmins should be settled amongst themselves amicably.

These internal disputes, he remarked, were helping the Government with whom he wanted to non-co-operate. Internal co-operation would assist non-co-operation with others. The Hindu religion was founded on spirituality. The present Government (Saltanat) was demonish; Satan and God would never co-operate. Shri Ram and Ravana never co-operated. The speaker remarked that they were in need of " Ram Rajya " or the rule of Rama, which is interpreted as " Swarajya ".

Non-co-operation was recognised in Hindu religious books.

When Sita was under confinement in the Kingdom of Ravana both Rama and Sita had to observe non-co-operation with Ravana.

Whatever eatables were offered by Ravana to Sita were refused by her. Even if Sita had co-operated in one item of Ravan's request Rama could never have won her back and established his rule. Hence in the opinion of the speaker, non-co-operation with Government was essential. He then referred to the Punjab atrocities and the Khilafat question. He declared that Hindu women had been insulted, men of education and status made to creep on the ground, and men, women and children mercilessly shot. Still, to err was human. The chief drawback in the present rulers was that they never repented of their action but continued in their haughty defiance. With such non-co-operation was the only remedy. He had been co-operating with the Government for the last 30 or 40 years. How could the public receive Western education from such bloodstained hands ? Could they seek for justice in the courts of such a Government ? The present method of education was deluding both Hindus and Mahommadans from the true principles of their religions. The speaker then repeatedly cautioned the audience against any violence whatever. He had no malice against the present mode of administration. Slight violence on the part of the public would ruin the cause undertaken. The object of this movement was to teach the public to control their temper. The speaker then expressed his gratitude as the large number of ladies present and requested them to use only *Swadeshi* goods and weave clothes for their household during leisure hours and by handlooms.

In conclusion, the speaker requested the audience not to stand for the next Council election nor to vote for any candidate.

Gandhi and Shaukat Ali, who arrived in Satara in the morning, (7th November) addressed an audience in Hindi and Urdu respectively. The subject was non-co-operation. The audience numbered about 6,000 and consisted of all castes. There were about 200 Mahommadans and 500 students. The speeches of both the speakers appeared to make a considerable impression on the audience. Ahmad Siddik, after a short speech announced that a Khilafat Committee was formed at Satara and its office bearers were duly appointed, Abdul Aziz and ex-Sub-Inspector of Police, being its president. Soman of Satara thanked Gandhi and his party and offered a purse of Rs. 1,000 to Gandhi.

At about 11-30 a.m. Gandhi and his party left Satara for Chikodi.

Gandhi and Shaukat Ali motored throughout the Belgaum and Dharwar district, and at nearly all roadside villages people assembled in groups to have a look at Gandhi and garland him. At Belgaum and Hubli he delivered lectures to females. It is said that he advised them to use *Swadeshi* clothes and to spin and weave in their houses.

He also gave special interviews to the students of Belgaum and Hubli. As the schools were closed owing to the Divali holidays the result of his advice could not be gauged. Two National Schools were opened by Gandhi at Belgaum and Halyal.

It is rumoured that Gandhi had an interview with the pleaders of Belgaum and the merchants of Belgaum and Hubli, but the result of the interviews is not known.

At Belgaum and Hubli many well-to-do persons, including students, were present dressed in plain clothes, specially prepared for the occasion.

At a meeting at Nipani, on *8th November*, one Marutirao Ravan said that on behalf of the non-Brahmin party he would like to assure Gandhi that his party accepted Gandhi's programme of non-co-operation in principle, but was afraid that it was not possible for his party to work it out, as the non-Brahmins were very badly treated by the Brahmins in religious matters. He would however assure Gandhi that his party would follow any settlement that would come about as a result of Gandhi's discussion with the non-Brahmin leaders in Belgaum.

In reply Gandhi told the audience that the Brahmins of the present times and even of the olden times might commit blunders in their dealings with the non-Brahmins, but on the whole such cases were few. The present times required a united front to combat the bureaucracy. If they succeeded in that conflict it would not be difficult for them to get their just demand from the numerically weak Brahmins.

Shaukat Ali also reassured the non-Brahmins on behalf of the Mahommadan community, stating that they would give all assistance to the non-Brahmins to redress their wrongs after they secured *Swaraj*.

A sum of Rs. 700 was then presented to Gandhi on behalf of the people of Nipani.

After the speech of Gandhi a few ladies presented him with ornaments. A small sum was also collected in the meeting and handed over to Gandhi.

Gandhi informed the audience that the money collected there would be handed to G. B. Deshpande of Belgaum to carry on a national school or such other programme of non-co-operation.

At a meeting at Belgaum Gandhi again broached the subject of Brahmin and non-Brahmin antagonism. He said that he had discussed the controversy between the Brahmin and non-Brahmin leaders, and had come to the conclusion that the main cause of that controversy was not religious subjugation of the non-Brahmin classes, but was due to a desire on the part of the non-Brahmins to attain political supremacy. Were the quarrel on religious matters he would have used his influence with both the communities to bring about a settlement. But as the non-Brahmins desired to make use of the present opportunities by entering the Councils and to gain political ascendancy, and as it is against his principle of non-co-operation, he could not interfere. He, however, would once again request the non-Brahmins to forget the present position of the non-Brahmins and unite in a common struggle against a third party. The non-Brahmins desired to co-operate with Government and with their assistance to put down the Brahmins. In the end their fate would be the same as that of the Brahmins and the Mahommedans—they would remain slaves.

Gandhi and Shaukat Ali also held meetings at Chikodi, Hukkeri and Hubli. They employed the usual arguments and the proceedings were a repetition of what has already been set down. They were undoubtedly anxious to effect a reconciliation between the Brahmin and non-Brahmin communities.

Gandhi and Shaukat Ali reached Dharwar on 10th November. The following is an account of a speech delivered by the former there the same day : —" Brothers and sisters,—A time has come now when every man and woman ought to understand his or her duty. Our Sultanat (Government) has given a great blow to our Moslem Brethren. It has massacred our innocent brethren in the Punjab. Students have been unjustly treated, innocent women outraged of their modesty by this Sultanat, and above all the Government is not yet prepared to admit its errors. I call such a Government a Satan

Government. I call this a Demonish Government. I call this Ravan's Government. If we want to get this Ravan's Government changed into that of Rama, if we want the Government to repent of its deeds, if we want to seek for justice in the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs, only one way is now left to us, and it is non-co-operation. (Here followed a statement of what non-co-operation means.) The Hindus and Mahommedans are now one. As far as Maharashtra is concerned, I do not doubt the unity. But this has not cleared our way. In this sacred Maharashtra there is a great dissension between Brahmins and non-Brahmins. It has become worse than the Hindu and Moslem struggle. I for one don't know what grievances the non-Brahmins have. I have received a letter from a non-Brahmin brother in which he says non-Brahmins cannot support this non-co-operation movement." Here the speaker made his usual appeals and employed his most persuasive arguments to reconcile the Brahmins and non-Brahmins. The rest of his speech was taken up in this effort. There were not many non-Brahmins present at the meeting however.

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V. N. Joshi, pleader of Hubli, then put up for public auction a mason's trowel of silver used by Gandhi at the time he laid the foundation-stone at Tilak's Goshala at Keligeri, and one Daulat Rao Jehangir of Hubli made the highest bid, purchasing it at Rs. 400. Rao Bahadur Vinayak Babaji Joshi then thanked the guests and after garlanding Gandhi and Shaukat Ali the meeting dissolved. Collections were made on the spot, and amounted to nearly Rs. 100.

Gandhi declared that he was not going to carry the money with him but would leave it at Dharwar for the use of starting schools, etc.

The speeches appeared to make a great impression on the audience. The feminine part appeared to take the utmost interest in the proceedings.

It was apparently Gandhi's original intention to proceed to Bijapur and Sholapur, but he suddenly proceeded from Gadag to Sangli State on a special invitation ; thence through Poona to Bombay without stop.

A public meeting was held at Gadag on the 11th November, when some 10,000 persons were present to hear Gandhi and Shaukat Ali speak on non-co-operation. They were presented on arrival with a purse containing Rs. 2,800 from the Gadag people, Rs. 500 of which were meant specially for the Khilafat Fund. Gandhi spoke in Hindi, which was translated into Kanarese, and dealt mainly with the existing dissensions between Brahmins and non-Brahmins. He regretted that so much of the Karnatak's energy was wasted in internal

disputes. If there were true grievances of the non-Brahmins they should be placed before the National Congress at its next sessions at Nagpur and settled amicably. In the concluding portion he exhorted his audience to act up to the non-co-operation programme as passed by the National Congress.

Belgaum, November 20th.—The event of the week was the visit to this district of Gandhi and Shaukat Ali. They arrived at Nipani in two motors at 8 p.m. on the 7th November. I passed through Nipani just before their arrival, and found large crowds waiting to receive them. On the approach of my car, it was obviously mistaken for Gandhi's and cheers were raised and a band present commenced to play "God Save the King" which added a further touch of humour to the situation. However, on the mistake being discovered, the band stopped playing and nationalist cries were raised. On arrival, Gandhi and Shaukat Ali were taken in procession to Shri Venkoba's temple. About six thousand people took part. Subsequently a public meeting was held and there was an audience of about 8,000.

Of the meeting held at Belgaum, on the 8th November, the District Superintendent of Police writes that when Gandhi declared that funds were required for the national cause, a woman took a gold ring off her finger and presented it to Gandhi. Others followed suit and gave articles of jewellery which they were wearing. They were all praised by Gandhi, who declared that the women of Belgaum exhibited a most extraordinary national spirit. The attendance at this meeting of women was about 4,000. No Mahomadan woman was present. The value of the ornaments offered was about Rs. 2,000.

At about 8-30 p.m. Gandhi and Shaukat Ali proceeded to the Habibia Library, where *pan-supari* was given to them by the Anjuman Islam. Afterwards both proceeded to the Fort Maidan, where the big open-air meeting was held. The speeches were of the usual nature. Both Gandhi and Shaukat Ali were presented with addresses in Silver Caskets. The latter were sold by auction the next morning at the Shahpur meeting and fetched Rs. 1,600.

There were about 15,000 people present at the meeting. A purse of Rs. 3,200 was handed to Gandhi.

On the 9th instant Gandhi was visited by about 40 students and the latter were advised to leave school and enter the National School when opened.

He was also visited by the majority of the pleaders and they were advised to give up their practice. On several of them pointing out that they had no other means of livelihood, Gandhi promised to allow them from Rs. 40 to Rs. 100 a month according to their requirements.

Kolhapur, November 20th.—The Resident, Kolhapur, and Political Agent, S. M. C. States, writes : —" M. K. Gandhi, Shaukat Ali and G. B. Deshpande arrived at Miraj at 11-45 a.m. on the 12th instant. Their intention was to proceed at once to Sangli by motor, but the Miraj *Durga* people tried to get them to stop at Miraj. A squabble arose between the Miraj and Sangli parties which ended in Gandhi and company driving to Sangli where they arrived at about 1 p.m.

A number of pleaders, merchants and leading people received them with a large crowd of men and women of all castes and communities, many of whom had come in from the neighbouring villages. Gandhi and party were then taken to the house of K. R. Chhapkane pleader. At 2-30 p.m. a number of students assembled and Gandhi addressed them. He asked them to leave colleges and schools affiliated to the Universities or which received Government aid, as he wished to destroy Government, which only produced slaves.

He wished to establish free education, by which he did not mean *gratis* education, but education which would give freedom and liberty. Education should be in Hindi or Urdu with English as a secondary language.

Although Aurangzebe was a religious fanatic he preferred him to the present Government, as he did not disarm the people.

The present Government was a godless one with no heart, whose only objects were money and power.

He asked students to beg their parents on their knees to allow them to leave Government schools and become farmers or weavers. Cricket, football and tennis had been introduced to make them forget their proper method of exercise in the fields.

A student asked Gandhi how they could get national education before they had national Government. Gandhi replied that the questioner was putting the cart before the horse, as national education must precede national Government. He then promised *Swaraj* within a year.

The Kolhapur C. I. D. reports that a number of people from Shahapur (Belgaum) and Hindus, Bhoras, Kulkarnis and students from Kolhapur went to Sangli for Gandhi's visit.

At 3 p.m. Gandhi saw the proprietor of Gajanan Mill who invited him to visit the mill. Gandhi refused on the ground that there were no hand-loom there.

At 4 p.m. Gandhi and Shaukat Ali went in procession from Chhapkane's house to lay the foundation stone of a free library. A silver casket, and trowel were presented to Gandhi, who then addressed, a meeting of women. There was nothing new in his speech, which

consisted chiefly of attacks on the present system of Government, education and exhortations to the women to take the *Swadeshi* vow, to go in for spinning, and not to wear imported clothes.

He said that money was needed for the cause, and suggested that the women of Sangli should follow the example of those of Ahmedabad, Bombay, Belgaum, Poona, Gadag and Shahapur by giving their ornaments. He added, apparently as a novel idea, that the money thus collected would be spent on the objects for which it was given — these he stated to be the advancement of their country and the education of their sons.

Chhapkane then made a few rapid remarks.

At 4-45 p.m. the party went to the *Masjid*, where Shaukat Ali addressed the Mussalmans on the Khilafat question.

At 6 p.m. the party went to the open ground in front of Maruti's temple, where the mob received them with cheers. About 10,000 people are said to have been present. V. K. Joshi then proposed that Gandhi should take his seat on the platform and that Chhapkane should take the Chair. The latter then asked Gandhi to advise the meeting as to the best means of perpetuating the memory of Tilak with the money which had been collected.

Gandhi then asked all the educated people to leave Government service and serve the people. He explained that he did not mean them to give up earning their livelihood, but they must do nothing for Government—titles must be surrendered and merchants must not be agents for Western goods. Everyone should patronise *Swadeshi* products. Students must refuse Western education which made them irreligious, unpatriotic and weak. He said that the fact that religion and holiness still existed in Maharashtra was due solely to the Brahmins, and that the Khilafat question had been sent by God for the purpose of uniting the Hindus and Mussulmans. Recently non-Brahmins had been trying to get up quarrel with the Brahmins, and he had reproved them for it and had told them that they would ruin themselves without hurting the Brahmins, as progress would only be expected with the Brahmins and with Government.

He then made an appeal for money, which he said would be spent in the interest of Maharashtra.

The silver casket and trowel were then auctioned and fetched Rs. 526.

Some Bohras of Kolhapur, headed by one Hassan Ali, presented Gandhi with a purse of Rs. 101. Gandhi and party left Sangli for Miraj at 7-45 p.m.

The Chief of Sangli, in furnishing me with this report, remarks that Gandhi was not satisfied with his visit, nor were the people much struck with him.

The collections did not come up to Gandhi's expectations, and as his speeches were inaudible to the majority of the people they made little impression.

From what I can gather the majority of them came in much the same way as they would have gone to a circus and left disappointed with the performance.

At Miraj a meeting was held at the *Durga*. Gandhi and Shaukat Ali spoke on the Khilafat and non-co-operation questions. They told pleaders to give up their practice in the Courts and students to leave their schools and colleges.

Gandhi and Shaukat Ali left Miraj by the Poona Mail at 9-10 p.m.

I hear that a movement is on foot to get His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur to allow Gandhi to visit Kolhapur. If he comes I fancy he will get a reception which will lead him to leave Kolhapur alone in future.

S. B., Bombay Presidency, November 27th.—The following is an extract from the *Mahratta*, dated the 21st November 1920 :—

Mahatma Gandhi and Moulana Shaukat Ali had a successful tour in Maharashtra. Leaving Poona in the afternoon of the 6th last Mahatmaji motored down to Wai, where he addressed a large gathering of Hindus and Mahommedans. He next visited Satara, where he was joined by Moulana Shaukat Ali. In their speeches, both of them laid particular stress on the present political situation endangered by the Punjab and Khilafat questions and exhorted all to join and help the movement of non-co-operation. They also took an impassioned and non-partisan view of the Brahmin and non-Brahmin controversy in Satara District and asked the people to close their ranks against the Government.

THE KARNATAK'S SPLENDID RESPONSE.

Mahatma Gandhi and Moulana Shaukat Ali left Satara and visited Nipani, Sankeshwar, Chikodi, Belgaum, Shahapur, Dharwar, Hubli, Gadag and, on their way back to Bombay, the Native States of Sangli and Miraj. Since they entered Karnatak they could see how the spirit of non-co-operation has permeated deep down to the masses and how the people welcomed them as personifications of that spirit. In all places they were taken in processions and they addressed big gathering of men and women. It was a sight for gods to see, when, in response to their appeals for funds, the ladies showered on him their ornaments and their dear personal treasures. Nothing was to be denied to the leaders in their war of liberation. Mr. Belvi, the leader of the Karnatak and the representative of the Karnatak in the Bombay Legislative Council for more than nine long years, had already withdrawn from his candidature to the Councils and he, now convinced of the efficacy of non-co-operation, declared

at Belgaum that he suspended his legal practice also. Mr. Belvi was the leader of the Belgaum bar and enjoyed a very lucrative practice. By his sacrifice he has already won a corner in the heart of the people and will serve as example to others. Messrs. Deshpande, Mazali, Karguppikar and others had already suspended their practices, and now to this band have been added Messrs. Belvi — both the father and son—and Shesagirirao Datar of Athani. We heartily congratulate them all on their splendid sacrifice and assure them of the support of their countrymen in all their efforts to win *Swaraja*. This band of young men, with Messrs. Mazali, Soman and Yalgi at their head, are already carrying forward the flag of Nationalism under the able and spirited leadership of Mr. G. B. Deshpande and signs are not wanting that Karnatak will soon outstrip other parts in their solid work. Mahatma Gandhi and Shaukat Ali could well see the spirit of this part of the country. The only rift in the lute was the spurious and engineered movement of the so-called non-Brahmins, of whom both of them must have taken a full measure. Mahatmaji received their special deputations, spoke to their exclusive meetings, and after hearing their arguments could not but say that they could not be considered wholly honest and radical in their views. He exhorted them all to make a common cause in the great national struggle for freedom ; and we hope his appeal will not go unheeded.

Page 1682, paragraph 1523(41)—

S. B., Punjab—Gandhi's visit to the Punjab—Amritsar, October 23rd.—Gandhi with his wife and two sons, Muhammad Ali, Jan Muhammad, Barrister-at-Law, Maulvi Taj-ul-Muhmud of Sindh and Mr. Hayat, Secretary of the Khilafat Deputation, arrived by Calcutta Mail on the 18th of October. They proceeded to Lahore the following day.

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Ferozepore, October 23rd.—On the evening of the 21st October, Gandhi, together with the Ali Brothers, Abul Kalam Azad, Satya Dev, Ram Bhuj Datt and his wife Sarala Devi, passed through Ferozepore *en route* to Bhiwani. Some 300 persons waited for the train at Ferozepore city. Gandhi was garlanded and flowers were thrown over the whole party with the usual shouts of *Gandhi-ki-jai*. When asked to speak, Gandhi refused, saying he was too tired. He, however, stood up in his compartment to enable the audience to have a good view of him.

Page 1707, paragraph 1555(26)—

Ahmedabad, November 21st.—The owning ceremony of the Gujarat National University by M. K. Gandhi took place on Monday morning, the 15th November. The University for the present is located in the bungalow of one Dahyabhai near the Ellis Bridge.

The following was the programme :—

- (1) Prayers (Vaidic and islamic).
- (2) Bande Mataram.
- (3) Singing.
- (4) Appointment of the Registrar and Chancellor.
- (5) Opening ceremony by M. K. Gandhi, the Chancellor, and advice to professors and students.
- (6) Speech by A. T. Gidwant, the Principal.
- (7) Guest's offerings and blessings.
- (8) Song (Bharat Hamara Desh Hai).

M. K. Gandhi, who arrived from Bombay by the Mail, which was half an hour late, drove straight to the building. The programme as laid down was faithfully carried out up to item (4). At that point Kishorilal Ghansyam Masharuwala said that that day they were performing the opening ceremony of the National College, which was meant for giving free education to its students. They were separating from Satanic education. There were only 59 students at the time, due to lack of accommodation, but they hoped to make arrangements and admit more.

M. K. Gandhi said that, although unworthy, he had been appointed Chancellor and in the absence of a better man he had been obliged to accept. In comparison with the Gujarat College, their institution was very poor. There were no laboratories, no playing grounds, no good building; but still therein they would obtain the education which was required for the free country. The seed of freedom was sown that day and he hoped it would bear fruit. They had good professors and it depended on the students to utilise properly their services and make the career of the College a success. He hoped the people of Gujarat would respond to the call for the country's need.

The Principal, Professor Asudamal Tekchand Gidwani, said he was Principal of the Ramgar College at Delhi and had worked there for four years. It was hard work severing the tie, but he had come to Ahmedabad with the sole idea of serving Gujarat and his country. He could not have stayed at Delhi as the College was not a National one. He referred to the slavery of the people and the Punjab wrongs, and requested the people to join the National Institution.

Sarala Devi Choudhari made a few remarks and said that the new College would lead them along the path of *Swaraj* and freedom.

Programme then continued to the end. About 3,000 were present, including 1,000 boys.

The staff of the college is as below :—

Principal

Asudumal Tekchand Gidwani.

Religious Teacher

Vinayak Narahar Bhawe.

Gujarati Teachers	Ramnarayan Vishwanath Pathak and Narahari Dwarkadas Parikh.
Sanskrit	Ramchandra Balwant Athavale and Rasiklal Chhotalal Parikh.
English	The Principal and Pranjivan Vishwanath Pathak.
Mathematics	Maheshwar Shankar Godbole.
History	Lala Jugalkishor Agrawal, M.A.
Economy	Jekishan P. Bhanasali, B.A., and Dattatray Balkrishna Kalelkar.
Logic	Sitaram Pandurang Patwardhan.

Ahmedabad, November 28th.—Muni Maharaj Jin Vijayaji has been appointed lecturer for the Pali and Magadhi Languages and the old History of Gujarat in the National College here.

Page 1716-17, paragraph 1555(64-65)—

Bijapur, November 22nd.—It is said that when S. V. Kowjalgi, pleader, went to Hubli on the 10th November and requested Gandhi to visit Bijapur, Gandhi refused to speak to him unless he renounced his practice as a pleader, and that Kowjalgi thereon consented to cease practice from the day on which Gandhi visited Bijapur.

Belgaum, November 17th.—The District Magistrate writes : —

"The Honourable Mr. D. V. Belvi has resigned his practice at last, after a deal of pressure from the local Extremists.

When Gandhi came to Belgaum, Belvi sent the car to him to bring him to his house for *pan-supari*, but he refused to go saying he was a moral leper.

On the party's return from Dharwar, Belvi informed Gandhi that he suspended his practice from that day (12th November).

As his son has just become qualified as a pleader the sacrifice is not as great as it looks."

Page 1728, paragraph 1584(10)—

Nasik, November 30th.—M. K. Gandhi and Shaukat Ali passed through by the Punjab mail on the 18th November. At Manmad, at the request of one Tyeb Arab, Gandhi addressed a meeting of about 500 persons on the station platform. Shaukat Ali was given a purse of Rs. 350 collected by this Tyeb in Manmad. At Nandgaon another purse of Rs. 50 was to have been presented, but the train did not stop. It was handed over later on.

Page 1762, paragraph 1622(20)—

S. B., United Provinces, November 24th.—An officer of this department reports that about fifteen thousand persons attended the meeting addressed by M. K. Gandhi and Shaukat Ali at Jhansi on November 20. Sheo Shiva Pada Ghosh, vakil, took the chair on the motion of Babu Dhuleykar, vakil and Khadim Ali. Mr. Gandhi's speech is said to have been violent. It is being translated. A collection was made by volunteers, about Rs. 500 being realized, half in promises. The collection money, mostly in paisa, was brought to Mrs. Sarala Devi, who taunted the audience with the absence of rupees or currency notes. In this respect she mentioned the gallant conduct of the Rani of Jhansi. On this Muhammad Hadi Khan, Secretary, made another appeal; but without much effect. The students of the 9th and 10th classes went to see Mr. Gandhi after the meeting.

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Page 1767, paragraph 1623(11)—

The following is taken from the 'Independent' of November 23rd.

Resolution No. 11 :—

This meeting expresses its appreciation at the action of members of Nadwat-ul-Ulema who refused to accept Government aid.

The meeting on Sunday was a public one. The attendance was over 10,000 and great enthusiasm prevailed. Mahatma Gandhi and Maulana Shaukat Ali attended and addressed the meeting. Many Ulemas addressed the audience on non-co-operation.

The Second All-India Ulemas Conference was held here on November 19th to 21st. Maulana Mahmud-ul-Hasan of Deoband presided. About 375 delegates from various parts of India attended.

The conference was not open to public on the first two days, and on the closing day about 4,000 people were present, amongst the prominent being Messrs. Gandhi, Muhammad Ali, Shaukat Ali, Kitchlew, Maulanas Abul Kalam Azad, Sanauallah, Abdul Majid, Badauni, Azad Subhani, Hazrat Mohani, Hasan Nizami and Hakim Ajmal Khan.

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Page 81, paragraph 82(1)—

Hyderabad, January 20th.—The Sub-Inspector on Special Duty at Hyderabad was sent to Nagpur to attend the Congress. He reports that the Sindhis held a meeting to discuss, inviting the Congress to Sind. A hot discussion ensued between the delegates from Hyderabad and Shikarpur and while this was in progress Gandhi came to the meeting and told them that Sind had been so backward

in its support of non-co-operation that the Congress could not be held in that province. The Sindhi delegates then took an oath to work hard for the cause and make Sind worthy.

Page 85, paragraph (12) (a)—

Bombay City, January 25th.—Non-co-operation developments up to 5 p.m., Tuesday, January 25th.

1. *National Education.*—(a) Spinning will be shortly introduced into, and regularly taught, in the Gujarati National School, Bombay. Great efforts are being made to induce the Bombay students to follow *en masse* the example set by Calcutta. During the week four non-co-operation meetings were held for their special behalf. The first of these took place on the 20th instant at Shantaram's Chawl where Gandhi, supported by the Ali Brothers and the usual array of non-co-operative talent, presided over an audience of six or seven thousand, practically all students. Much disappointment was expressed by the speakers at the political backwardness of the students of Bombay.

Page 88, paragraph 82(15)—

Ahmedabad, January 25th.—Gandhi invited certain 'mahajans' of Ahmedabad to meet him in the office of the Gujarat-Rajkiya Mandal on the 16th January. He asked them for a donation of five lakhs for the National Education Fund and an annual subscription of 30,000. He also exhorted them to send their children to National Schools, and to sell off whatever foreign goods they had in stock as early as possible, even at a sacrifice, and to sell only *Swadeshi* articles afterwards. The 'mahajans' promised to consider his suggestions.

He met them again on the 18th idem when they agreed to pay Rs. 45,000 per annum. The yarn merchants' 'mahajan' said it had not yet been decided what amount they would pay. Gandhi asked them to reduce the price of *Swadeshi* cloth ; this they promised to do on condition that the Millowners lowered their prices. He met the Millowners' Association later in the evening and requested them to help the National Education Fund. They said that they were only agents and that it would be necessary to consult the shareholders. They were also requested to reduce the price of cloth so that the poor might be benefitted.

Page 94, paragraph 88—

Ahmedabad, January 17th.—The District Magistrate on the 10th January received an anonymous communication, the writer of which asserted that he was tired of Gandhi and what was being done in his name, and had decided to take Gandhi's life within 15 days. He very kindly promised to surrender himself after he

had accomplished the deed. Under instructions from the District Magistrate, I sent the document to Mr. Gandhi and enquired whether he had received a similar letter. He replied that he had received such letters 'before now' from Ahmedabad, and added that he had been favoured with similar threats from other places also.

Page 98, paragraph 94—

S. B., Sind, Karachi, January 17th.—Copy of an intercepted telegram from Jairamdas to Mahatma Gandhi, care of Pandit Motilal Nehru, Allahabad:—

"Uderolal affair become serious on 4th about 200 Mahommadans brought cow for slaughter. Hindu worshipper offered himself for slaughter. A Hindu pleader casually on scene threatened Mahommadans with criminal proceedings asked for names of Mahommadans who at intervention of other people turned away next day they damaged engraved picture of Uderolal. Hindus observed three days' hartal. Matters now in Police hands. Things threaten to become worse and may lead to actual fight. Making last attempt to settle by local effort. Kindly be prepared to come at once. Kindly wire your address for next week."

Gandhi wired in reply to Jairamdas from Ahmedabad on the 12th January : —"Your wire. Am here till nineteenth, then Bombay. Try, not draw me there for present."

Page 123, paragraph 128(20)—

Kaira, January 22nd.—M. K. Gandhi arrived at Nadiad on the 19th and proceeded at once to the High School, where he saw the hand-spinning of the students and encouraged them, saying it was a national duty.

He then went to Mogul Kot, where the school teachers had been summoned by Goculdas Talati, President of the Municipality. After a speech by Goculdas, Gandhi addressed the teachers, telling them to have no fear about their pensions when *Swaraj* comes. However, inspite of Talati's efforts and this speech of Gandhi, the teachers are still very much "on the fence." The present situation is that the Municipal President (Talati) has served them with notices that they are to be considered as Municipal servants, whereas the teachers have addressed the head of the Educational Department to continue as Government servants. Gandhi then addressed 500 merchants asking them to speed up *Swaraj* by dealing only in *Swadeshi* goods. He also asked them to contribute a portion of their profits to the National Education Fund. After a visit to Uttersanda, Gandhi motored to Vadthal, where he held a meeting of 12,000 to 15,000 persons who had been gathered together by the efforts of 50 or 60 Home Rulers of Nadiad and Ahmedabad.

Page 125, paragraph 128 (31)—

S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, January 31st.—Translation of an extract from the "*Sandesh*" of the 23rd January 1921 : —

" A new Trumpet of Swaraj." " New Order of Gandhi."

" It gives me pleasure to hear that the movement to refrain from liquor is in progress. If this vice is abandoned it will give purity to our non-co-operation movement: it will help towards obtaining swaraj. Notices will come out shortly for the sale of liquor shops. Nobody should attend the auction nor take out a licence. If anybody takes out a licence, none should visit his shop to buy liquor. By this means the wicked vice will be everywhere destroyed. Yours, etc., M. K. Gandhi."

Page 137, paragraph 153(4)—

Kaira, January 26th.—M. K. Gandhi addressed a meeting of some 12,000 to 15,000 persons at Vadthal, Nadiad taluka, on the 19th January. His general address was more or less along the usual lines, but two particular exhortations to the Sadhus and Dharalas in the assembly call for special notice. To the former he said that it was their duty to mix with Dharalas and the public in general, to visit their villages and to preach on religious and social duties, pleading with them to refrain from committing crimes and indulging in vice and to educate them in all matters. If they failed to do this they were not fit to be called Sadhus. They had nothing to fear and nothing to lose." To the Dharalas he said that they claimed to be Kshatriyas and they really were so. They were not coolies. They were brave and intelligent, but somewhat deteriorated and fallen away from their ancient manhood. They were Thakors, which meant Kshatriyas and therefore their duty as such was not to rob or to commit dacoities and other offences, but to protect the property and lives of others, and particularly of women and weak villagers who had no other source of protection. Dharalas were armed with dharias and lathis, they were brave, and it were better that they used these things for the good of the public instead of looting poor persons who required their protection. It was for them to safeguard the interest of villagers. He had heard, moreover, that patidars were receiving stolen property, utilizing Dharalas for this purpose and for satisfying their grudges against their so-called enemies. It was shameful of them to receive stolen property and to instigate the Dharalas to commit offences if they at all claimed to be respectable and intelligent gentlemen. He advised them to think over his advice and to try and improve matters as far as possible.

The District Magistrate remarks:—" Gandhi's mass meeting of Dharalas on the 19th idem was ostensibly to check them from dacoities and drink. However the real object of the meeting is

shown by the fact that not a word was said about assisting the police by giving information. The abusive and provocative language used in the presence of a collection of potential and actual criminals can only have the worst result."

Page 157, paragraph 153(49)—

Bombay City, February 9th.—During the week Mr. Shrinivas Shastri's three lectures on political subjects were all wrecked by non-co-operators. At one of the meetings, the Honourable Mr. Paranjpe was in the chair. The following wire indicates the attitude assumed by Mr. Gandhi in this connection.

" Please wire Benares description behaviour Bombay students towards Shastri, Kanji. We must prevent these scenes and dissociate ourselves therefrom."

Page 175, paragraph 167(21)—

S. B., Sind, Karachi, February 8th.—Copy of an intercepted telegram, dated the 1st February, from Jairamdas, Hyderabad, Sind, to Mahatma Gandhi, c/o C. R. Das, Russa Road, Calcutta :—

" Thanks telegram. National College Committee last evening after great discussion passed following resolution : The institution being an educational one should not be used as a channel for "political action but students of 18 years and over may exercise the usual rights of citizenship during leisure hours except that the Principal may prohibit any action which is likely to place student in personal danger. Students under that age may similarly take part in national service of the character of national education and swadeshi, subject to the same exception as above. A Students' Non-co-operation Committee consisting largely of National College students formed on Sunday. For last six evening some members staff and some students National College have been lecturing in streets on National education and *Swadeshi*. At to-morrow's Committee meeting will move additional names of non-co-operators on Committee. When will you bless Sind with visit. Meeting great opposition Hyderabad. Underlall settlement broken, matters worse, writing fully."

Copy of an intercepted telegram, dated the 3rd February from Jairamdas, Hyderabad, Sind to Mahatma Gandhi, c/o C R. Das, Russa Road, Calcutta :—

" National College Committee apprehensive about adding non-co-operators on Governing body at present. Wait, see how things shape. Please send final instructions about college. Beg, repeat earnest appeal for your early visit. Kindly permit Girdhari come work our new National School here."

Copy of an intercepted telegram, dated the 5th February from Gandhi, Jharia, to Jairamdas Daulatram, Market Road, Hyderabad, Sind : —

" Seems impossible visit Sind for two months. So long College remains National we need not interfere. Girdhari may stay if he likes work."

THE TURKISH TREATY

Page 208, paragraph 181(51)—

Bombal City, February 22nd.—The Aga Khan, Chhotani, Dr. Ansari, Kidwai and Kazi Abdul Gaffar sailed for home on the 19th instant. Chhotani departed with the benison of Gandhi, the Ali Brothers, and the rest of the hierarchy of non-co-operation; although a few up-country dissentients mildly protested they did not understand how non-co-operators could accept such an invitation from Government. The following is the wire that Chhotani received from Gandhi:—

"You may go provided no surrender of minimum to be accepted and provided also Ansari accompany you as authorised secretary advisor interpreter Hakimji Dr. Ansari reaching there Thursday impossible for self leave Punjab. Postpone departure, Saturday week for full deliberation.

Page 244, paragraph 206(64)—

Ahmedabad, February 22nd.—Government servants are finding the present situation very trying owing to the passively hostile attitude of the public towards them. The students are not so provocative as they were immediately prior to Mr. Jackson's murder in 1909. The latitude allowed to the press is commented upon in Moderate circles and is not understood in view of the dangerous situation with which the country is faced. The ignorant have begun to think that we are about to leave the country.

The District Magistrate remarks.—"This information is a correct appreciation of the situation. The Moderates are seriously alarmed, and difficulties are found in touring by officers. I have been asked frequently to employ repressive measures and my P.A. while touring recently was informed that the Police were able to do nothing and people would welcome a return to ' Old Police Methods' if the evil-doers could be caught as before. I think that there is a good deal of exaggerated fear in the minds of all and it is violence or undue pressure from the non-co-operationists that is feared by all and leads villagers to refuse supplies and the Moderates to demand repression of the non-co-operationists. Gandhi's attitude will, I think, restore confidence in a short time, but there is always the serious

question of how far his supporters will follow him or are following him, and whether they will not receive encouragement from, their success in intimidation."

Page 276, paragraph 223(4)—

Bombay Presidency, March 11th.—The first meeting of the Ali-India Khilafat Conference was held in Nagpur on the morning of the 29th December in the Congress pandal. Abul Kalam Azad was elected "President". There was an attendance of several thousand people, including Hindus, and a few Hindu ladies. Colonel and Mrs. Wedgwood and three other Europeans were present. Gandhi also attended.

Page 279, paragraph 224—

S. B., Bombay Presidency, March 9th.—Gandhi is reported to have thanked the *Sanyasis* for their having taken up the cause of *Swaraj* and non-co-operation, and said that he would be very thankful if the Sadhus would visit the vicinities of Cantonments and military stations and explain to the native soldiers the advisability of giving up their employment. He also requested them to move about in the recruiting centres and see that the people do no longer enlist in the army. He also appealed to them to try head and heart to train up people in religion and morality.

Page 307, paragraph 245(60)(ii)—

Bombay City, March 15th.—M. K. Gandhi arrived in Bombay on 15th instant.

Page 336, paragraph 271—

Ahmedabad, March 15th.—Gandhi arrived here on the 11th March. To suit his convenience the 12th was observed as 'Labour Day' instead of the 20th March, and on that evening he addressed a mass meeting of the mill-hands in the river-bed outside Shahpur Gate and gave them a lot of good advice. There was no excitement. About 6,000 labourers are reported to have attended.

Page 343, paragraph 279(7)—

Kaira, March 20th.—The District Magistrate writes "Nadiad— The town has been quiet during the week.

M. K. Gandhi paid a flying visit on the 14th and addressed a large gathering in the open. His chief topic was the seizure of three school-buildings by the Collector on the 8th March. He compared this act to that of a dacoit. He praised the National education, and especially emphasised the use of spinning. He advised no interference with those who preferred Government education, but urged that such persons should be boycotted in their 'luxuries' (that is wedding and other parties, etc.,) but that if in distress they should be kindly treated.

He ended up with an appeal for a crore of rupees for the Tilak Swaraj Fund before June."

Page 348, paragraph 279(18)—

Bombay City, March 22nd.—On the 16th March M. K. Gandhi addressed a public meeting at Jitekar's Wadi, Thakurdwar, on " Non-co-operation and the present situation", and exhorted the people to use *Swadeshi* clothes and to contribute to the Tilak Swaraj Fund. About four to five thousand persons attended. No one presided. The tone of the speech throughout is moderate and unobjectionable.

Page 350, paragraph 279(29)—

Bombay City, March 22nd.—An article appeared in the *Bombay Chronicle*, dated the 18th March 1921, regarding the removal of the "Gazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha High School" from Surti Mohalla to a spacious flat in a new building at Dongri Street. The Bombay Muslim public are recommended to support the institution by sending their children.

The following is a telegram sent by Gandhi from Nagpur to the Central Khilafat Committee, Bombay :—

"Wired Karachi if non-co-operators try nationalise education they need not be stopped."

Page 352, paragraph 279(30)—

Thana, March 25th.—Gandhi visited the Sadhak Ashram in Andheri on the 15th March and exhorted the students to continue their studies and sacrifices in the National institution. About 125 were present. Gandhi left next morning for Bombay.

Page 362, paragraph 279(52)(b)—

Bombay City, March 22nd.—(a) National Week—The week will be observed this year from the 6th to 13th April. Gandhi is proposing to hold meetings on the 6th and 13th proximo and observe a fast on these days. A strong appeal has been made by Gandhi at a public meeting and in the press to contribute as much money as possible to the Tilak Swaraj fund for which one crore of rupees is required.

(b) Gandhi arrived on the 15th instant as already reported. After his arrival, G. B. Deshpande, S. G. Banker and Diwan Chamanlal visited him. Chamanlal asked Gandhi to give his views on the modification of the Treaty of Sevres. Gandhi replied that it was an 'eye wash' and would not satisfy the demands of the Moslems. Chamanlal asked Gandhi to draft telegrams to that effect to the Indian Delegates, including Chhotani, who were now in England. Gandhi drew up a long telegram covering nine foolscap papers Banker then began to detail the progress made by Gandhi's followers

in Bombay during his absence in Northern India. Gandhi regretted that the progress came to nothing and that no practical progress had been made. Banker then said that some of Gandhi's staunch supporters, including V. J. Patel, Bar-at-Law, were non-believers in the "Rentia" (Spinning wheels) class and that the people in general much disliked using *Swadeshi* clothes only. Gandhi replied that the progress in the Punjab and Bengal was enormous, and that in view of that he would consider the advisability of working solely in the north of India and Bengal. He also said that in view of advice received from Wardha, Central Provinces, he would at once go there as the people of the Central Provinces had made a definite move in stamping out the drink evil.

Banker then wanted to know Gandhi's views on the alleged repression of public meetings and public speakers in the Punjab, U. P., C. P. etc., Gandhi said that non-violent non-co-operation prevented people from breaking orders but it was open to the persons dealt with to get their speeches printed and circulated : which should be considered as good as speeches which it was Government's intention to stop.

Gandhi further said that when in Bengal he had adopted the practice of not speaking on Monday at all but to spend the whole day in meditation with his soul.

He left for Andheri to visit the Ashram.

Page 388-89, paragraph 297(8)—

Ahmedabad, March 21st.—Gandhi left for Bombay on the 14th instant.

He addressed a meeting of 500 women on the 13th March and told them that the non-co-operation campaign was undertaken on account of the wrongs done by the " Ravan Raj " to the women of Punjab. He said that wherever he had gone he had received the co-operation of the women. They should give up extravagance in dress until they had won *Swaraj*. It was their duty now to support home industries and use their influence to make husbands and their friends use *Swadeshi* Articles. They should encourage handspinning and weaving. They could achieve victory over a Government armed with the most efficient weapons of destruction only by soul force.

Some of the ladies present gave their rings and other ornaments which were collected by Anusuyabai. Some also gave money, fifteen registered their names for the spinning class under Gangabai.

Page 399, paragraph 297(36)—

Kaira, March 21st.—On the 14th March M. K. Gandhi visited Nadiad and addressed about 5,000 persons outside the Ahmedabad Gate. He commented on the action taken by the Collector in taking over the three school buildings on the 8th March and called it " unjust,

illegal and insolent, and the act of a dacoit". He urged the teachers who had not joined the movement to do so now and so prevent any Government teaching being given at Nadiad, especially in the buildings recently attached. He strongly advocated hand-spinning as well as boycott of Lancashire and Manchester goods. He preached the giving up of strong drink as well as tobacco, as besides benefiting them personally it would affect Government revenues. He also appealed for the Tilak Swarajya Fund, stating that a crore of rupees was required. He, referred to Government as Satanic, etc., but was emphatic on the advantages of non-violence.

Page 420-22, paragraph 319—

S. B., Madras, April 5th.—The sessions at Bezwada consisted of political activity under the following heads : —

- (1) The All-India Congress Committee.
- (2) The Working Committee.
- (3) The National Education Committee.
- (4) The Ladies' meeting.

The agenda of business under the first two comprised 21 items.

No admission to Committee meetings, except to members, was allowed. The gates were zealously watched by volunteers armed with lathies, particularly during the sitting of the working committee.

The first resolution, to bring up the All-India Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund to one crore of rupees ; to enlist a crore of members to the Congress before the 30th June 1921, each province to contribute its share, according to the ratio of its population, and introducing into houses and villages, 20 lakhs of spinning wheels, before the same date, was proposed by Gandhi. He expressed satisfaction at the success so far achieved in the matter of boycotting titles, councils, courts and Government institutions. He said his real object in launching non-co-operation was to destroy the prestige of Government and its institutions, and that he has succeeded. He called on his audience further to rouse the consciousness of the masses and make them realise that without *Swaraj* their lot would not improve but that the spinning wheel would help them to feed and cloth themselves and secure them economic freedom because they would no longer be at the mercy of foreign manufacturers; the introduction of spinning wheels would paralyse the import of cotton goods and secure *Swaraj* within the appointed time

At the ladies' meeting conducted by Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi and Sarla Devi Choudharani, on the afternoon of the 1st April, the women were exhorted to help the cause of India and take an active interest in politics by becoming members of the Congress and taking to spinning wheels. A fairly good sum was said to have been collected on the spot.

Page 435, paragraph 320(19)—

Bombay, April 10th.—Gandhi having returned from Madras in the morning, the Swaraj Sabha organised two public meetings for the day, viz. (i) for the Mandvi merchants at Khadak at 4-45 p.m. and (ii) for the labourers at Elphinstone Road, Parel, at 9 p.m. At both meetings strong appeals were made by Gandhi and others to help the national cause by contributing to the Tilak Swaraj Fund and by enlisting as members of the Congress Committees. Gandhi emphasised the need for introducing spinning wheels and boycotting foreign cloth for the attainment of *Swaraj*. At the Khadak meeting about Rs. 10,000 were collected and handed over to Gandhi. The sum included a thousand rupees worth of ornaments given on the spur of the moment by the ladies present and two thousand rupees contributed by the Katha Bazar merchants and grocers of Mandvi.

Page 444-45, paragraph 320 (54)—

Bombay City, April 12th.—M. K. Gandhi saw in house at Laburnum Road on the 10th instant Shivram Mahadev Paranjpe and another man from Poona, who wanted his advice as to the attitude the villagers affected in the Poona District by the Tata-Hydro Electric Scheme should take up. Gandhi advised them to send up a deputation from the affected villages to see him in Ahmedabad, when he would give final instructions after hearing details.

He also saw two men from Ghatkopar who requested him to go to Ghatkopar and appeal for subscription to the Tilak Fund. He said that the appeal had already been made and they should get to work and declined to go to Ghatkopar.

He left for Ahmedabad on the night of the 11th and intends to go from there to Surat and thence to Sind; it appears from the newspapers that the Municipalities of Surat and Bulsar mean to present addresses of welcome. He requested all those who came to see him at his residence to wear *Swadeshi* clothes, and in some cases refused to meet those who came dressed in foreign clothes.

Lala Gordhandas of Lahore who saw him wanted him to write to the leaders in the Punjab to put the people's case prominently before His Excellency the Viceroy. Gandhi promised to do so.

Page 467, paragraph 337(7)—

Ahmedabad April 18.—M. K. Gandhi arrived here on the 12th April and left on the 15th idem for Anand. He addressed a public meeting in the bed of the river on the 13th and attended the 'Untouchables' Conference on the 13th and 14th. He opened a training school for teachers at Manipur near the Kankaria Tank on the 14th. He was given a reception at Vallabhdas Hirachand's place in Chudi pole on the 13th and was presented with an iron safe. At the same time a mali, named Bapalal Dayalji, offered him six acres of

land in the limits of the village of Vastrapur in north Dascroi which he accepted.

About 10,000 people attended the public meeting on the 13th April. Gandhi addressed the meeting for about half an hour.

The following are some extracts from his speeches : —" Swaraj means Dharmaraj. Until we get Swaraj, we have to put up with this satanic Government which practises oppression, treachery and falsehood, and deprives the poor and the weak of their rights." " You have increased the weight of Swaraj by the amount of cotton you have spun during the last seven days." "If we want the Khilafat injustice removed, if we want Swaraj, if we want redress for the Punjab, our students must leave Government schools. We have nothing more to say to the pleaders ; the Congress has told them enough. We must use the spinning wheel and use homespun cloth. We want Swaraj before December. We must stop the importation of foreign cloth. By introducing foreign cloth we have introduced a foreign Government and have become its slaves. We wish to free ourselves from the bondage of slavery. Tins is the solution ; for this purpose we want to collect a crore of rupees. We want to introduce a crore of spinning wheels." " In other parts of India propaganda is in full swing. I am sceptical about Gujarat. More foreign cloth is used in Gujarat than in any other part of India. Those who possess foreign clothes should wear them out indoors. When they go out they should wear Khadi....."

"When Dr. Kanuga was struck in the eye outside a liquor shop, we did not go to Government for assistance; we did not ask the police to assist us, because the man who threw the stone was our brother. I congratulate Ahmedabad " (Gandhi is evidently not aware that his lieutenants were thirsting for the blood of the stone-thrower.)

" We must be prepared to suffer. When Government will arrest 50 men like myself, you must not get excited. Our students must leave Government schools, our pleaders must leave the Courts, and you must boycott foreign cloth. Should Government arrest me, or should I be murdered or should I die, you must, for the salvation of my soul, fulfil the pledge you have taken to win Swaraj."

Page 516, paragraph 359(10)—

Kaira, April 25.—The main item of interest this week was the visit of Gandhi and Vallabhbhai J. Patel to Ras. On their way there they halted at Anand for about a quarter of an hour, where Gandhi addressed a crowd of some 1,000 people; which included 200 women. He enunciated his usual policy such as spinning wheel and the Wearing of khadi cloth, and appealed for subscriptions

towards the Tilak fund. Rs. 1,500 were subscribed and a local patidar woman gave to Gandhi a piece of gold, weighing about 28 tolas, and therefore worth some Rs. 800. The party were joined by Fulchand B. Shah, Gokuldas Talati and M. N. Dwevedi and proceeded to Borsad, where they were received by a crowd of about 1,500 people. They were taken in procession round the town and then motored on to Ras. Ras was reached by about 1 P. M. The streets were decorated and placards of "Long live Gandhi" and " Vande Mataram" were displayed. People from the villages surrounding poured in to hear Gandhi and swelled the numbers of his audience to about 10,000. He addressed them on the usual non-co-operation topics, and mentioned in the course of his speech that he had visited that village on behalf of Government in order to obtain recruits. He said that Government had not kept its pledges with regard to Home Rule and stigmatised them with his usual epithet of ' devilish'. From Ras he went on to Wasad via Borsad where he addressed about 8,000 people from the neighbouring villages. He spoke on the usual topics and congratulated the people of Borsad on their recent activities in the non-co-operation campaign.

Page 518, paragraph 359(12)—

Surat, April 25.—The most important event during the week has been the visit of M. K. Gandhi to this district. He came to Surat on the 19th and visited Olpad the same day, went to Bulsar and Pardi on the 20th, to Chikhli, Jalalpur, Navsari (Baroda) and Sisodra on the 21st, to Bardoli on the 22nd and left Surat for Sind on the same night.

Gandhi on his arrival, on the morning of the 19th, was met by a large crowd at the railway station, among whom the most important were, M. K. Dixit, D. M. Desai. K. V. Mehta and Syed Ahmed Edrus. Vallabhbhai J. Patel, Anusuyabai and a number of other people came from Ahmedabad. and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu from Bombay. A Municipal address, engraved on copper, was presented to Gandhi by M. K. Dixit, President of the Municipality. The resolution to present the address was passed the previous evening at a special meeting of the Municipality, illegally it would appear, as three days' clear notice had not been given.

Gandhi replied, congratulating the Surat Municipality on their work and urging them to follow the advice of the Congress. The bar of untouchability should be removed. The present Government was Satanic, and it was clear that it joined in the war for selfish ends and not for the protection of weak nations. The soinning wheel should be used and thus *Swaraj* will be obtained. He was glad to know that the Government education grant was to be refused.

A women's meeting was held in the afternoon. It was first addressed by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, and then by Gandhi, who urged his audience to consider Mahommadans as brothers and stifle their hatred of Bhangis.

Gandhi then went to Olpad, where he spoke to about 4,000 people. He was accompanied by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Ansuya Ben, Vela Ben of Calicut, Abbasali Tyebji and Vallabhbhai J. Patel. He urged the people to give up liquor and foreign cloth and to obtain *Swaraj* by using khadi and by taking to the spinning-wheel. He also appealed for subscriptions to the Tilak Fund. About Rs. 800 were given.

In the evening a large meeting, at which about 10,000 persons were present, was held on the Tilak Maidan. Dixit was in the chair and Kalyanji V. Mehta read an address on behalf of the Surat Volunteer Corps. Gandhi then spoke, saying that *Swaraj* was India's birthright and every day he felt that they were getting nearer to it. The idea that women, children and untouchables should have equal rights should be nourished. If Hindus and Mahommadans cease quarrelling and unite, no other help will be needed. All the Council want *Swaraj*. Schools should be opened and money subscribed and volunteers should persuade the people to abstain from liquor.

Abbasali Tyebji (late of the Baroda High Court) said that whilst justice could not be obtained for the Punjab "atrocities" there could be no injustice in *Swaraj*.

Vallabhbhai J. Patel also spoke.

About Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 3,000 were subscribed at the meeting.

Gandhi held a meeting at Pardi on the afternoon of the 20th. Shaukat Ali, who had come from Bombay, was also present.

Gandhi said that the non-co-operation movement was religious and not political; that *Swaraj* depended upon spinning-wheels and that foreign goods should be boycotted; the use of liquor should be stopped, and one crore should be subscribed to the Tilak Fund. Bhangis were their brothers.

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About Rs. 3,000 was collected. Some 5,000 persons were present, including about 500 women.

A meeting of about 2,000 people was held at Chikhli on the 25th (morning). Dayalji Manubhai introduced Gandhi to the meeting and mentioned that Rs. 2,000 had been subscribed at Pardi and Rs. 3,000 at Bulsar.

Gandhi said he had a message from Shaukat Ali, who was unable to be present, asking for subscriptions to the Smyrna Famine Relief Fund. Rs. 25,000 had been subscribed already and been sent to

Mr. Chhotani, but more was needed both for that and for the Swaraj Fund. He said his work was religious which Government was not; and it was necessary to set up a religious Government. They had become slaves by using foreign goods and they should use only those goods which were produced in their own country. In future, before he visited any place, he would enquire whether the inhabitants were using hand-looms and abstaining from drink; if they were not, he would not go there.'

The Kala-Amba railway timber merchants gave Rs. 1,000 for the Chikhli National School and the Tilak Fund and another Rs. 500 were collected.

Gandhi then went to Jalalpur, where he made a similar speech to about 4,000 people. Some Rs. 2,000 were collected.

He then visited Sisodra, where, before commencing his speech, he made the untouchables sit with the others in the meeting. About 7,000 people were present and Rs. 5,000 were collected.

Gandhi held a meeting at Bardoli on the 22nd which was largely attended. There was nothing special in his speech. He again urged that bhangis should be treated as equals, and made them sit down in the meeting. About Rs. 7,000 are reported to have been collected.

The District Magistrate remarks —" It is hoped full reports of the speeches made at M. K. Gandhi's Meetings have been taken. To judge from the report in the local papers, Gandhi laid great stress in Surat on the untouchability question and said until it was given up there could be no Swaraj.

In the absence of full reports it is not possible to say how far the speeches transgressed proper limits. I hear Shaukat Ali's particularly were highly objectionable and minatory."

Page 537, paragraph 359(68)—

Surat, April 22 —The District Magistrate writes : "M. K. Gandhi visited Pardi on the 20th instant and received an address and a purse of about Rs. 2,500. I sent him word with the Mamlatdar that I would like him to call on me and he came. I tackled him on the futility of his method's in regard to education and temperance, but he upheld them and claimed that they had already succeeded. How far he suffers from delusions on these matters was shown by this, that the Pardi liquor shop which had been picketed for days past and had suffered much was heavily patronised by thousands of persons after Gandhi's meeting was over and he had left for Bulsar, and it is said all liquor in stock was exhausted in an hour."

Page 554, paragraph 382(5)—

Thar and Parkar April 25.—Gandhi passed through this district yesterday morning. A crowd of about 200 people, including Dr. Choithram P. Gidwani and Dr. Watanmal met him at Chor

station. Before the train arrived Choithram addressed the people and advised them to disregard the police and other Government officials and to treat them as their servants rather than their masters. He denounced the British Government and said that the number of members of the various Congress Committees in India should come to one crore. When the train arrived Vinjhraj Thakur of Chor village handed over to Gandhi a sum of Rs. 165 collected from the Panchayats of Chor village and Chor station. Gandhi told the people that if they wanted *Swaraj* within seven months they should give up intoxicating drugs, gambling and adultery, and should use *Swadeshi* articles. He advised them to save money for the Swaraj Fund. He repeated the same very brief speech at Shadipalli and Mirpurkhas stations. At the latter place about 700 persons, mostly Hindus, collected, including Gurudinomal Tahilsing and Seth Partabrai, who garlanded the 'Mahatma.'

Page 557, paragraph 382(8).—

Ahmedabad, April 25.—The Gujarat Untouchables' Conference was held in Ahmedabad on the 13th and 14th April under the presidentship of M. K. Gandhi who addressed on the first day about 800 men and 200 women. He said that he was disappointed at the size of the audience. He heard from Anusuya Ben that they were afraid to come as there was a rumour that Government were going to arrest those who attended the Conference. The following are some extracts from his address :—

" If to touch the depressed classes is a sin according to the Hindu religion, Hinduism is not for me."

"I have taken the lead in denouncing Government and calling it Satanic, etc., for its treatment of Indians, but we are treating the 'untouchables' in the same manner. If the Hindus consider it a sin to touch them, Swaraj is out of the question. If this social evil is not removed, I hope to become an untouchable in my next birth."

" If you do not learn to make your own clothes, your condition will not improve."

"You object to touch a bhangi. I tell you that the profession of a bhangi is as good as that of a pleader or Government servant."

" I live for two things to stop cow-killing and to remove the stigma of untouchability. If I achieve these two objects, I believe I shall escape re-birth."

A resolution was passed in favour of making education compulsory.

Page 558, paragraph 382(9).—

Kaira, April 24.—On the 15th April M. K. Gandhi and Vallabhbhai J. Patel visited Ras. They stopped en route at Anand, where Gandhi addressed about 1,000 people, including 200 women, for about a quarter of an hour. He advocated spinning-wheels in every home,

the wearing of hand-spun cloth, contribution to the Tilak Fund and the adoption of the Congress Resolution. A collection for the Tilak Swaraja Fund was then made when about Rs. 1,500 were subscribed. A local Patidar woman gave a piece of gold weighting 28 tolas and so worth over Rs. 800. Miss Patel was a member of the party.

Fulchand Bapuji Shah, Gokuldas D. Talati, and M. N. Dwivedi joined the party which reached Borsad at about 11-30 and were received by about 1,500 people. They were taken in procession round the town and then after a halt of 10 minutes at the house of Bhailal Narbheram proceeded to Ras by motor, which they reached at about 1 p.m. The streets were decorated and placards with 'Long live Gandhi' ' Vande Mataram', were displayed. About 10,000 people from 25 neighbouring villages assembled to hear him. After a procession round the town Gandhi addressed the people on the spinning-wheel, national schools and liquor topics, and mentioned that he had visited that very village on behalf of Government to get recruits, but that Government had not kept its pledges regarding *Swaraj*. The hearts of both Hindus and Mahommadans throughout India were deeply stirred by the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs and the Government was "devilish" (*rakhshashi*).

On his return journey to Borsad, Gandhi addressed about 8,000 persons from neighbouring villages. After congratulating the Borsad people on their recent activity in non-co-operating, he spoke on the usual topics as above and left for Wasad at about 6 p.m.

Page 558, paragraph 382(10)—

Panch Mahals, April 22.—Gandhi's visit to this district was the chief event of political interest during the week.

Accompanied by Vallabhbhai J. Patel, Narharilal Dwarkadas Parekh, Devadas Mohandas Gandhi, Rawishankar and Balubai, wife of Laxmidas Ravji, he arrived at Godhra on the 15th instant. The party put up in the Suthar Mandir. Early next morning, Gandhi, accompanied by Patel and Balubai, left Godhra by motor, arriving at Halol at 9 a.m. They were received on the outskirts of the town by a large concourse of people and taken in procession to their encampment near the railway station, Gandhi being garlanded at several places *en route*.

The proceedings of the Rashtriya Conference, Halol, commenced at 11 a.m. Admission to the Conference was allowed on presentation of tickets issued at Rs. 5, Rs. 2 and Re. 1 cultivators and Rashtriya students alone being exempted.

To begin with, Achavlal Bhogilal of Halol thanked the Reception Committee for electing him as Chairman and congratulated the public of Halol on the " Mahatma " paying them a visit. He was followed

by Keshavlal Mulji, who gave a short history of Halol. The ceremony of electing a President was then gone through. Proposed by Sitaram Pantn and seconded by Waman Sitaram Mukadam, Gandhi was elected President. He was presented by Mukadam with a silk purse prepared by the ladies of Halol. The President as a prelude to his speech, conveyed his disapproval of the present, which, he observed, was made of foreign silk. He declared he would have been much better pleased with the gift had it been made of coarse Indian cloth. He spoke on forced labour and said that no villager should yield to it.

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Gandhi spoke again on forced labour and made an audacious allegation against the Public Works Department that the Overseers outraged the modesty of women who worked for the department. In response to his appeal for the Tilak Fund a sum of Rs. 500 was collected. The meeting was attended by men and women of all classes, numbering about 5,000. The same night Patel and Gandhi addressed a meeting of ladies on the spinning-wheel and the use of *Swadeshi* cloth. At this meeting, too, money was collected for the Tilak Fund. About 200 ladies attended.

Next day Gandhi and Patel accompanied by some volunteers motored down to Vejalpur, where they were received by a large crowd and taken in procession to the Shrivak Bania temple, where a large pandal had been erected for their reception. After being garlanded Gandhi addressed the meeting exhorting each member of the audience to keep a spinning-wheel in his household. Subsequently he addressed a meeting of ladies on the same subject. Having collected a sum of Rs. 100 for the Tilak Fund the party proceeded by invitation to the house of Panachand Kemchand, who garlanded Gandhi and offered Rs. 50 towards the Tilak Fund. The people of Jelpura also paid Rs. 25.

From Vejalpur the party went to Kalol, where they put up with Maneklal Maganlal Gandhi. Keshavlal Girdharlal Inamdar and his family presented a sum of Rs. 41 to the Tilak Fund. At 4 p.m. Gandhi and party proceeded to a pandal erected in Chhatrasing Bagh. * * * * Gandhi delivered a speech in the course of which he said they were striving for Home Rule and he expected every man and woman to act his or her part towards its attainment. He said that the Mahommadans headed by Shaukat Ali were agitating for the Khilafat and it behoved them to co-operate with them and assist them cordially. Proceeding he said they were working in connection with three questions : Home Rule, the Khilafat and Punjab wrongs. If the Government expressed its regret over the Punjab affair much of the dissatisfaction, he said, would disappear. The present Government, he remarked, was hypocritical. The people

were educated from the income derived from the sale of liquor, toddy and opium. Such education should be avoided. He then touched upon the Khilafat question and the 'broken vows'. He said they had no quarrel with the English or the Parsis but they were opposed to 'lies'. After dilating upon virtue and the purification of the soul, he said he regarded the cloth manufactured in the Ahmedabad mills as foreign and requested his audience not to use foreign cloth. He alluded to the conditions of Indians in South Africa. He next dwelt upon the question of untouchability, and said that unless they touched and mixed with the bhangis they would not attain *Swaraj*. Speaking of different castes he said every community was proud of its religion. Referring to the Prophet Mahomed, he said, drink and adultery were abolished in his time. He thanked the Mahajans for admitting the bhangis into the pandal. Speaking respectively of the Rashtriya and grant-in-aid schools at Kalol he said the latter should be converted into a National School. In this connection Rao Saheb Manwantrai Jadurai Desai of Kalol, the promoter of the Ewbank Anglo Vernacular School, came in for a share of the speaker's criticism. After collecting funds, which amounted to Rs. 400, the party visited the locality of the low caste people and held a meeting there. Gandhi told these men not to accept stale food or broken meat from the high castes, to give up drink, abolish disruption among themselves, and to educate their children. After this meeting Gandhi and party returned to the pandal, where Gandhi had an interview with Rao Saheb Manwantrai on the subject of converting the Ewbank Anglo-Vernacular School into a national one, to which proposal the Rao Saheb did not agree. Later on Gandhi addressed a meeting of ladies on the use of Khadi cloth and the spinning-wheel and asked them to subscribe to the Tilak Fund. Several ladies contributed to the fund. It is reported that the conduct of the Mahatma in mixing with the low caste people was resented by the general public, and all the Bania ladies are said to have taken a purification bath on their return home. The villagers of Khandoli have complained to the Mahatma against the oppressive conduct of their Inamdar, Kesharlal, who is a Home Ruler.

From Kalol, Gandhi and party motored up to Godhra, where they put up in the low caste school. In the evening they addressed a mass meeting in the dry bed of the Mesri river.

On the 18th April Gandhi visited the Rashtriya School and advised the teachers and students to use *Swadeshi* cloth and work spinning-wheels. In the evening he addressed a meeting in the river bed. The burden of his speech was the depressed condition of the low castes, especially the bhangis. He said religion did not condemn bhangis as untouchable. He made an earnest appeal to the public

on their behalf. He referred to the National School and asked the public to patronise it. He appealed especially to Borahs, who, he said, had rendered him great help in South Africa. He asked the people to become members of the National Congress. About Rs. 2,500 were collected in cash and small jewellery. The audience numbered about 2,500. The meeting was dissolved at 11 p.m.

Gandhi left for Surat by the Punjab Mail on the 19th Morning.

A hartal was observed in nearly all the towns in the district on the 13th.

Ibid, April 28th.—Gandhi's recent visit to Kalol has infused fresh activity into the local Home Rulers. The local English School has been closed and the School Board has served the teachers with notices. A National School has not yet been started for want of funds and agitators are straining every nerve to supply the desideratum. There is a growing tendency for Swadeshism and as a result more white caps are in evidence than before. This apparent progress is, however, counterbalanced by the reaction among the orthodox element caused by Gandhi's extreme socialistic views. As will be remembered the Mahatma at his recent visit insisted on free inter-course with the "unclean class" and set an example by personally mixing with the untouchables. The orthodox, especially the Bania community, regard the movement as profane and opposed to time-honoured traditions. Gandhi may have risen in the estimation of the lower orders, but he has certainly, for the time being, lost the veneration of the orthodox upper classes.

Ibid, April 30th.—The District Magistrate writes "Details of Mr. Gandhi's visit have been reported by the District Superintendent of Police in his usual letter. The speeches were of the usual character, but untouchability was hardly exceeded in importance by any other subject. Gandhi put up at the Bhangis' school at Godhra. All high caste people both at Kalol and at Godhra took baths after contact with him owing to his visits to the low caste quarters or his residence there. His opposition to Government seems to be his main appeal to the popular mind. His untouchability propaganda seems to have caused a good deal of murmuring."

Page 588, paragraph 399(1)—

Sind C.I.D., May 6th.—Gandhi visited the following places in Sind-Hyderabad on the 24th and 25th April, Karachi 26th, Larkana 27th, Shikarpur and Jacobabad 28th, Sukkur and Rohri 29th, Hyderabad, Kotri and Mirpurkhas on the 30th.

The outstanding features of his visit are (1) that it has served to bring into prominence the weakness of the hold of the non-co-operation movement over the people of Sind as a whole, and the dissensions

and jealousies among the local leaders, and (2) that he harped *ad nauseam* on the need for using the spinning-wheel. Gandhi has himself criticised the Sindhis for having failed to recognise any one leader, for their local jealousies, for being afraid to go to jail for the cause, and for being "westernised." He praised them in some cases for their generosity, but in others apparently received much less than he expected. The non-co-operators proclaimed his tour through Sind as a triumphal progress. In fact it was popularly regarded as a 'tamasha' in which after once seeing him people rapidly lost interest. He was met by large crowds everywhere ; but in Shikarpur and Sukkur a large proportion of his audience at the meetings made so much noise that he could not be heard, and on his second visit to Hyderabad little or no interest was taken in him, only 600 or 700 people attending the District Conference at which he presided. A fee was charged for admission and few thought it worth while to pay the small sum demanded. After he had addressed the Conference, Gandhi said that it should be open to the public without charge for admission and 200 or 300 more people then came in.

The Congress Committees of several places pressed him very hard to visit their towns.

Gandhi's own view of the means by which his movement is eventually to be successful is apparently contained in the following extract from an article by him, entitled " The Mists ", published in his paper Young India, dated 20th April 1921.

" I should not be surprised if the history of the South African movement repeats itself in India. I could be surprised if it proves otherwise. The movement in South Africa started with an unanimous resolution. When the first part began, the majority weakened. Only 850 were found willing to court imprisonment. Then there was a settlement and a breach and a revival. Nobody even believed, save a few of us, that the response would come in time. Well, the last stage commenced with sixteen men and women who sought imprisonment. This was followed by a perfect storm. The whole community rose like a surging wave. Without organization, without propaganda, all nearly 40,000 courted imprisonment. Nearly 10,000 were actually imprisoned. The sequel is known. The community gained all it had fought for at the time. A bloodless revolution was effected after strenuous discipline in self-suffering.

I refuse to believe that India will do less. To recall Lord Canning's words, 'Under the blue and serene Indian sky, a cloud no bigger than a man's thumb may appear on the horizon, but it may assume dimensions unexpected by any one, and no man can tell when it will burst'. When India as a whole will respond by action I cannot

say. But this I do say that the educated classes to whom the Congress has appealed will one day—and probably during this year— respond in a manner worthy of the nation."

In the same paper he explains his attitude to the present movement and the anarchy which is the only possible result of its being pressed to a logical conclusion in the following words :—

"As for my own attitude, whilst my faith would not permit me to invite or encourage a war of violence, I do contemplate with equanimity a state of war in preference to the present state of effeminate peace imposed by force of arms. And it is for that reason that I am taking part in this movement of non-violent, non-co-operation, even at the risk of anarchy being the ultimate result."

Gandhi's conversation, his writings and his recent activities suggest that there is considerable evidence in support of the view that he is a medical case of a peculiar psychological nature.

Page 591-93, paragraph 391(2)—

Karachi May 2nd.—M. K. Gandhi, his wife and son and Muazzim Ali arrived here on the 25th April morning. Jairamdas Doulatram also arrived with them from Hyderabad. They were received at the Cantonment railway station by Sunderdas Valabhdas, Lokamal Chellaram, Jamshed N. R. Mehta, T. K. Jaswani, Naraindas A. Bechar, Haji Abdullah Haroon, Dr. Popatlal, Dr. K. B. Patel and about 100 other men.

On arrival at the City railway station, they were received by Lalchand, Kazi Khudabux, Dr. A. M. Ahmed, Muhammadkhan, Manilal Vyas, Hatim A. Karimji, Chainrai, Virbhandas Jumanji, Lunidaram T. Bolkani, Narsinglal, Visram Narsi, Rewachand, pleader, and other local agitators and a crowd of more than 15,000 persons.

A procession headed by a boy on a camel working a spinning-wheel was then formed and taken round the bazar where the shops were decorated. The crowd being too large and Gandhi tired, he, on arrival near the Mission School sat in the motor car of Satramdas Chellaram, who drove him off to the Jain temple. The people not knowing of the absence of Gandhi from the crowd, went round the streets according to programme. A temporary gate had been erected near the Bora Pir, Ranchore Lines. When the first camel passed through, the structure fell and injured some of the crowd. The procession terminated at the Jain temple behind the Civil Hospital in the Ranchore Lines. In the afternoon Gandhi granted interviews to certain local agitators, members of the Sind Students Service, and members of the Khilafat Committee.

He then paid flying visits to Gandhi Karyalaya (Ranchore Lines), the Dayanand National Vidyalaya (Ranchore Lines), the Tilakalaya Branch near the Muhammad Mowloo Musafirkhana, and the Hardevi

Bai School. At the last place, about 1,000 ladies, mostly Hyderabadis, had gathered. Gandhi addressed them and asked them to take to the spinning wheel and *Swadeshism*. He also visited Mahavidyalaya, the Home Rule shop (Bunder Road), the Shikarpur Swaraj Mandli, another branch of the Tilakalaya near the Tower, and Mahajanwari (Nanikwara). Gandhi, in a short speech at this Tilakalaya, congratulated the organisers of the school and impressed on the audience the supreme need of making the charkha the only subject of study. He expected the masters and boys strictly to observe *Swadeshi* and addressed the same remarks to the ladies who had assembled in an adjoining room.

In Mahajanwari, Gandhi addressed about 5,000 ladies on the use of the spinning-wheel and *Swadeshism* and appealed for funds. The ladies gave money and ornaments freely.

Gandhi when went to the Bhagnari temple, where about 500 men and 2,000 women were present. To them also he gave his usual advice about *Swadeshism* and the spinning-wheel and received a large sum of money.

Gandhi addressed a meeting of about 1,000 men and 200 women of the depressed classes in Bhimpura, mostly Meghwars, including some sweepers. Meghwar women also contributed money and ornaments freely. The visitor, in addition to his usual advice regarding the spinning-wheel and *Swadeshism*, exhorted them not to drink liquor or eat meat, and further asked them to unite with Hindus and Mahommadans. A prostitute and a few sweepers also gave subscriptions.

Gandhi was then taken to the Asoka Swadeshi stores (near the Denso Hall) to perform the opening ceremony. This he refused to do, pointing out that the Stores contained almost all *Pardeshi* (Videshi) wares.

On returning to his lodgings, he met representatives of local political bodies. In the evening a public meeting was held on the Idgah Maidan, where about 20,000 persons assembled. On Gandhi's arrival there were the usual cries of ' Bharat Mata ki jai,' ' Gandhi Maharaj ki jai', etc., and the people who were sitting before His arrival stood up. There was so much pushing that a young lad fell down senseless and it was with great difficulty that Gandhi found his way to the table and order was restored.

Pandit Wassooprasad, Acharya of Ahmedabad, of the Narayan Swami temple, who arrived here on the 24th April was also present at this meeting.

Gandhi in his address deplored the disorderly conduct of the crowd and called for discipline and peaceful behaviour. He said that if people failed to organise themselves, the work of *Swaraj* would

suffer considerably. He laid emphasis on the purity and righteous conduct of non-co-operators, and deprecated the remarks of a certain gentleman dressed in English clothes who had cried out 'Mahatma Gandhi ki jai' at the Cantonment station and had coupled with it shouts of 'Black face to the English'. He said that not all English people were bad and Satanic as the bureaucrats. He cited the example of C. F. Andrews and others, who, he claimed, were interested in India's welfare. He impressed on the people the ideals of non-violence and exhorted them to work for *Swaraj* by peaceful means. He said that though it be written quite clearly in the Koran that Muslims should even fight for their religion, yet Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali had promised to work with coolness and non-violence. He congratulated the people of Karachi on the number of their National Schools and said that he believed in no other education than that of the charkha. He asked the people to subscribe towards the Tilak Swaraj Fund and said that Karachi alone was rich enough to raise the sum of over one crore of rupees. He expressed displeasure at the frequent observance of hartals in Karachi and argued that they would thereby lose their significance. Regarding the treatment of Indians in Government services by non-co-operators, he said that no offensive language should be used and that no ill feeling should be harboured against them, for in so doing they would only drive them to prefer the *zulum* of their employers to that of the non-co-operators if the latter ascended to power.

He further expressed displeasure that the cloth merchants had decorated their shops with foreign cloth. He said : " Consider foreign cloth to be dirty and *haram*". Lastly, he appealed to the people to enroll themselves as members of the Congress Committee.

Moozamali said that he had received a copy of the proceedings of the interview between the Premier and the Khilafat Delegation and that he did not expect any change of attitude on the part of the Cabinet in the matter of the Turkish Treaty. The copy he had received from the Delegates in England was an authorised copy, having been supplied to the delegates by the Foreign Office. He could not, therefore, place any confidence in the words of Mr. Lloyd George, who had now revised the proceedings and who cleverly wished to raise the hopes of the Muslim world. He described how the Allied Powers were admitting the Greek claim to Thrace in spite of the preponderance of the Turks.. The ground, he said, set forth by the Allies was that the Turkish population in Thrace was Greek by nationality and should, therefore, be under Greek subiection. He pointed out the need for *Swaraj* in order to keep the Khilafat intact; there was no such effective guarantee for the integrity of the Khilafat as *Swaraj*. He, therefore, appealed to his Muslim audience to enroll

themselves as members of the Congress in large numbers, and to interest themselves in its organisation. Before the meeting was over a purse containing Rs. 25,000 was presented to Gandhi. The purse included the amounts : Rs. 1,500, Rs. 1,500, Rs. 501 and Rs. 501 contributed by Haji Abdullah Haroon, Naraindas Anandji Bechar, Sunderdas Vallabhdas and Hatim A. Karimji, respectively. After the meeting Gandhi returned to his lodgings, where he had an interview with the following pleaders :—

Shri Krishin Lulla, Rewachand Thadani, Shahani, Khojraj Lalcband, Lalchand Hassomal, Issardas Udharam, Tikamdas Wadhmal, Mani, Santdas Idanmal, Kundanmal Dayaram, Kalachand Rochiram, Ghanshamdas Sabsanomai, Motiram Lalwani and Jawharmal Vilaitrai.

Gandhi appealed to them in the name of India's honour to help to win *Swaraj*.

He also granted an interview to the following non-co-operator Municipal Councillors :—

Chagla (not a non-co-operator), Vishram Narsi, Naraindas A. Bechar, Manilal Vyas, Harilal, Dr. Vishwanath, Haji Abdulla Haroon, Muhammadkhan, T. K. Jaswani and Dr. Popatlal.

Gandhi told them that the only justification for their being in the Municipal Council was in order that they might nationalise education. He said that if they failed in their attempts, it would be their clear duty to resign their Seats.

Gandhi with his party left for Larkana by the night train at 11-15, accompanied by Jairamdas (of Hyderabad), Pandit Amersen, Haji Abdulla Haroon, Naraindas A. Bechar, Jamshed N. R. Mehta. Vishram Narsi, Syed Ali Anwarshah of Larkana, and Syed Nurdinshah.

Page 595-97, paragraph 399 (3)—

Hyderabad, April 30th.—There have been two outstanding political events this week in Hyderabad :—Mr. M. K. Gandhi has been with us on two separate occasions and the Hyderabad District Conference has been held. Gandhi first arrived from Ahmedabad on the 24th April, accompanied by his wife, his son and one Moulana Muazzimali of Moradabad. Dr. Choithram, in command of ten Congress volunteers, and some three or four thousand other people were at the railway station to meet him. The city was on fete, and most of our local agitators made themselves visible at one time or another. Gandhi was immediately taken to the Tilak Swaraj school, which he opened after delivering a short speech. He then went to the Queen's Gardens, where about 1,000 persons assembled. Dr. Choithram opened proceedings by reading out the address presented to Gandhi by the Citizens of Hyderabad. It referred to the approaching

destruction of the oppressive British Government and spoke appreciatively of spinning-wheels and soul-force, which would bring about *Swaraj* under Gandhi's leadership. Gandhi then replied at length. He was vexed at the poor attendance of women, and sorry that his brother Shaukatali was not with him. However, he had brought a substitute, as he found that some Mahommadans must be present with him at his lectures to attract others of that faith. It was lamentable that there should be these feelings of suspicion between Hindus and Mahommadans. He then argued on the necessity of Hindu-Muslim unity for the attainment of *Swaraj*, and how it was essential to that unity that Hindus should support Mahommadans on the Khilafat question. The British Government at Amritsar had forced boys to salute their Union Jack. That should never have been possible and was due to the emasculating effects of its education and its tyranny. The Ali Brothers wanted to use the sword against the English according to the commands of their religion; but he did not favour physical force, even if that were expedient, which at the present time was doubtful. But soul-force would bring about the ends desired. He went on to complain of the lack of khadar clothes visible in Hyderabad and the large quantities of alcohol consumed there, and to sing the praises of the 'charka' as the magic key of a paradise on earth.

Gandhi and party left for Karachi on the 26th April, but were back again on the 30th, when the District Conference opened. As copies of the speeches made have been supplied to the District Magistrate, Hyderabad, and as an officer of the Sind C. I. D. attended in person at the pandal to take notes, I will here confine myself to general remarks on the Conference. There were two sessions, one in the morning and one in the evening, and in the interval Gandhi with Pir Mabhub-shah and Pir Gulam Mujdid Sarhandi and some of our local political luminaries visited Kotri for another conference held there. At the first session some 600 persons were present, and Abdul Maiid was appointed Chairman and Dr. Choithram, President of the Conference. The speeches were on familiar lines, and somewhat moderate in tone, particularly Gandhi's, who indulged in a good deal of invective at the expense of the Hyderabadis and Sind. They were disunited, proud, avaricious and prone to drink. They should shake off these evils. Sind was withal a powerful Province ; with its aid and by the grace of God the Khilafat and Punjab wrongs would be satisfactorily settled. The Chairman and President also delivered lengthy harangues.

Gandhi meantime and Muazzimali had addressed a meeting of Mahommadans in the pandal. Their speeches amounted to an exhortation to Hindus and Moslems to unite, and an exposition of the

Khilafat question with appeals to religious fanaticism. Gandhi was again in peevish humour, and made some caustic comments on the Sindhi Mussalmans. Gandhi left for Mirpur Khas at 1-30 P.M. (30th April) by a special train, which the people of Mirpur Khas had paid for. It remains to be seen what the general effect of the District Conference and Gandhi's visit will be.

Hyderabad, April 30th.—The District Magistrate writes :—The event of the past week has been the two visits of Gandhi both of which passed off very peaceably. He had very large crowds to hear him speak last Sunday; but I think he must have been disappointed with the gathering of Mahommadans this morning, held after he had attended the District Congress meeting. He told the Mahommadans off pretty severely for their apathy and rated the Hindus soundly for their extravagant way of living. However, he got Rs. 6,000 this morning and Rs. 25,000 had already been collected here. There are 1,500 spinning wheels or so, not all in action. The tone of to-day's speeches was moderate. It will be interesting to see whether this is maintained during the rest of the Congress sitting which lasts till to-morrow.

Page 597, paragraph 399(4)—

Sind Railways, May 4th.—On the 27th April while the train was halted at Dadu, M. K. Gandhi delivered a short lecture on the platform to a crowd of about three hundred people. He urged the necessity for Hindu-Muslim unity, the avoidance of drink, gambling, and of violence either by word or deed, and asked the people to use only *Swadeshi* cloth.

Page 598, paragraph 399(5)—

Sukkar, May 3rd.—The outstanding event of the week was the visit to this district of Gandhi and party; He arrived at Shikarpur by the morning train on the 28th April. A huge crowd assembled at the station to meet him, under the control of the local volunteers, who seemed to be doing their work fairly well, although they were unable to suppress the Hymn of Hate with which my appearance on the scene was greeted. Owing to the number of men who travelled on the footboard of the train, the latter had to be stopped outside the station. Gandhi was accompanied by his wife and son, Muazzimali of Mloradabad, Moulvi Taj Muhammad of Amrote, Haji Abdulla Haroon of Karachi, Muhammad Khan, Secretary of the Khilafat Committee, Karachi, Pir Zia-ul-Haq, . Sarhindi. of Shikarpur, and Pandit Amersen. During, the wait for the train there was a certain amount of argument at the station between the members of the Panchavat and the Municipality with reference to the allocation of seatine accommodation. The matter was. however, amicably settled by "Sadu" Vaswani and Bawa Prayag Bharati.

On arrival, Gandhi was taken to the 3rd Class waiting shed, where Murlidhar J. Punjabi on behalf of the Municipality read an address written on Khadi cloth, which was afterwards enclosed in a silver casket and presented to the " Mahatma " who made a suitable reply. He was then taken in procession to Seth Tikamdas's bungalow. In the first gharry were Gandhi, Mrs. Gandhi, Muazzimali, Vaswani', and Master Tarachand Deumal Gujra. The second gharry contained Moulvi Taj Muhammad, Haji Abdulla Haroon, Muhammad Khan and Zia-ul-Haq ; and the third Murlidhar, Naraindas A. Bechar and Pandit Amersen. Rose and rosewater were much in evidence on route and some purses were also given to Gandhi. The town was suitably decorated.

On arrival at his lodgings, Gandhi took advantage of the occasion to salute the volunteers for parading in uniform instead of in Khadi cloth. (The latter, I should imagine, is scarcely suited to an Upper Sind hot weather). He afterwards visited several places, including a meeting of 2,000 women, where his appearance seemingly created some conservation and he left rather abruptly.

Gandhi then visited the Tilak National School very reluctantly, as the school is managed by Lilaram Pherwani, who has refused to allow the Congress Committee to manage it. Gandhi told Pherwani he was a fanatic, and refused to accept an address from him.

In the evening was the big meeting, but after getting through a few sentences, Gandhi was unable to make himself heard above the din. A free fight started in one place among some Banias. Gandhi waited for some time and then left in disgust for Jacobabad by an earlier train than he had intended.

He congratulated Shikarpur in getting the recent Dharma Sabha case settled out of court, and made the usual appeal for funds. I am told he got about Rs. 25,000 out of Shikarpur which must be very much less than he expected. The chief subscribers were :—

	Rs.
Big Panchayat	8,000
Women's meeting	2,500
Corn Dealers' Panch	1,800
Fruit Dealers' Panch	100
Rustom Vill Panch	101
Punjabi Panch	1,701
A Hindu Sick Man	1,000
Anon	3,000
Small Contributions	5,000
	<hr/>
	23,202
	<hr/>

The following bodies presented Gandhi with addresses : —

Shikarpur Municipality.	The Desh Hath Kami Mandli.
The Big Panchayat.	The Corn Dealers' Panchayat.
The Congress Committee.	The Tanda Panchayat.
The Khilafat Committee.	The Arya Samaj.
The National Sewa Mandli.	The Sanatan Dharma Sabha.

A sort of Mahommadan Garden Party was given earlier in the evening by the Anjuman Moja-ud-Din and was attended by Mahommadan visitors and Moulvi Abdul Karim of Shikarpur. Speeches were made on the Khilafat. Gandhi and the others joined the party later on and the former promised to settle a dispute between some local Mahommadans and Hindus anent a piece of land for a mosque.

Gandhi and party arrived in Sukkur from Jacobabad by the morning train on the 29th April. The town was profusely decorated for the occasion and a crowd of about 6,000 was at station. The day passed very quietly. Gandhi, who was the guest of Mulchand Pessumal, had apparently been acquainted with the latter's double dealing, and, so my information goes, took him to task for it and expressed great sorrow at his having been made to stay at the bungalow of a man who was not a genuine non-co-operator, as he had not given up his practice. Gandhi said he would have preferred to have put up in a cottage made of straw. Mulchand appears to have taken this to heart, as he has now given up his practice for seven months (Why this period has been fixed upon is not known, unless it is the period within which *Swaraj* is to be attained, or what is just as likely, he has already enough work to carry him over the seven months). He has resigned from his Club (The Narsumal Gymkhana), and from the local Masonic Lodge, of which he was Secretary. He has further sworn to wear a Gandhi cap and Khadi cloth in future. Personally I think he is slightly mentally deranged. It seems to run in the family.

I believe Gandhi had a similar talk with Murlidhar in Shikarpur and deprecated his wearing European clothes.

In the afternoon Gandhi visited the Tilak High School, where he inspected the spinning-wheels and was garlanded with a neckless of cotton flowers. While Gandhi was here, Mrs. Gandhi, accompanied by Damayanti Devi, visited the Kanya Path Shala and gave suitable advice to the girls.

At 5 p.m. the Workers' Conference was held attended by Gandhi, Mrs. Gandhi and Gandhi's son Devadas, Muazzimali, Virumal Begraj, Dr. Muhammad Yamin, Arjundas, Hemandas, Motiram,

Merchant of Sukkar, Mulchand Pessumal, Kishindas Jamrai, pleader. C. T. Valecha (who is now out on bail), Bhojraj Ajwani, Dr. Sugno-mal, Moulvi Taj Muhammad, Moulvi Din Muhammad Saffai of Madeji, Ghanshamdas Naraindas, Moulvi Abdul Karim Chisti, Lilaram Narsingdas Pherwani, Rijhumal Kundanmal Lahori of Larkana, Prayag Bharati, Jairamdas of Hyderabad, Pandit Amersen, Muhammad Khan of Karachi, Sheika Abdul Aziz, Jasawani, editor, *New Times*, Karachi, and T. L. Vaswani.

This meeting was held behind closed doors, but my information runs that it was announced that the school boycott had not been successful and that even if the Municipalities were brought round to nationalise their schools, these bodies had not sufficient funds to carry on, unaided by Government grants. To this Gandhi replied that in National Schools English would be done away with and only Sindhi and Hindi and the use of the spinning-wheel taught. Vaswani protested against this. He said that Hindi and Sindhi literature would not suffice to prepare boys for national service. Gandhi replied that the course he suggested was only intended as a temporary measure, as *Swaraj* would be attained in 6 months, when everything would be all right and there would be any amount of money for education. The discussion was rather protracted and Gandhi was in consequence unable to visit the Branch National School in Old Sukkur.

At 8 p.m. Gandhi attended a public meeting in the wool godown at Sukkur. About 8,090 of both sexes were present. Gandhi received addresses from the Panchayat, the Khilafat Committee, the Tilak Sabha, the Sundar Sewa Sabha, the Brahmins and the Arya Samaj. These were simply handed over to him, there being no time to read them. Gandhi preached Hindu-Mahommadan unity, the use of *Swadeshi* clothes, and temperance. At this stage he was interrupted by a good deal of pushing and scuffling in the audience. On resuming he remarked that the present war was not one of cunning, but one which had the blessing of God. They wanted a pure reign, to be called Ram Raj. Ram was he who was called Allah by the Mahommadans. To obtain such a pure reign they would have to eschew all vice – which meant giving up gambling, womani-sing and drinking. The universal use of *Swadeshi* cloth would deal a blow to the British. Virumal Begraj repeated this speech in Sindhi.

Muazzimali then spoke and dealt chiefly with the alleged harsh treatment of Turkey and appealed to the people to buy Khilafat notes.

At the meeting the following donations were made :—

	Rs.
Panchayat	501
Chandkar Panchayat	250
Some other Panchayat	250
Old Sukkur	101
Small sums	244
A friend	A purse.
Vishindas	750
Grain Merchants	100
	<hr/>
	2,196
	<hr/>

Admission was by ticket, first class being rupee one and second class annas four. In this way a further Rs. 2,000 were realised.

Gandhi then went to Sadh Bela, where the Mahant gave him Rs. 5,000. Gandhi asked the latter to use his influence in propagating the boycotting of foreign goods and *Swadeshism* in general.

Gandhi then crossed to Rohri, but I have not yet received the report.

Amongst Gandhi's visitors in Sukkur was one Kanwar Bhagat, who is a well-known singer. He sings in villages, and when a crowd has collected the National school-boys 'lecture' to them on the evils of the present administration.

Gandhi, according to a conversation he had with an Upper Sind Frontier pleader, appears to have a very low estimate of the Sindhis, and accuses them of only dabbling in non-co-operation. He says they are afraid of jail. With regard to the Hyderabad Amils, Gandhi thinks it would be very hard to get them working smoothly with the non-Amil Hindus; but he has hopes of bringing about general unity between Hindus and Mahommadans in Sind.

In connection with the various addresses given to Gandhi the following passage in that presented by the Sunder Shewak Sabha, Sukkur, has points of interest :—

"We know what sufferings you have endured in the cause of your country for the freedom of the sons of Bharat Mata, for the rights of all human beings, and the release of Bharat Mata from the sorrowful, dreadful and unjust rule. This all shows that you are incarnation of God."

The result of the tour in Upper Sind must have been disappointing. It is roughly calculated that the total amount collected amounts to about Rs. 75,000. Gandhi was expecting to get that from Shikarpur alone.

Page 605, paragraph 399(9)—

Surat, May 5th.—Gandhi with Shaukat Ali visited Bulsar on the 20th April. He was presented with an address by the Municipality, eight members out of 18 being present. He then held a women's meeting at which about 2,400 were present. In the evening he addressed another meeting of about 600 persons. Shaukat Ali also spoke. There was nothing out of the ordinary in either of their speeches, which dwelt on National schools, the use of the spinning-wheel and subscriptions to the Funds.

Page 606, paragraph 399(11)—

West Khandesh, May 9th.—Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was expected to arrive in Nandurbar on the afternoon of the 5 th but having missed the train he did not put in an appearance until midnight.

Gandhi, accompanied by his wife and Moulana Muazzimali a Barrister of Muradabad, eventually arrived in Nandurbar at about midnight, and was received on the station by some 2,500 people. He held a short meeting outside the station in which he complained of fatigue. He and his party then went off to spend the rest of the night at the bungalow of Jaichand Somachand. He was followed there by a fair number of local enthusiasts, who requested him to pay visits to Sindkheda and Taloda. Gandhi, however, refused, and he later discussed with Jaichand Tuljashankar the political state of the district. Jaichand complained of the activity of certain Christian missonaries and as a counter-attraction wished to open an institution called "Anath Ashram". Gandhi suggested "Balikashram " as being a better name. It was then late and Gandhi was allowed to retire for the remainder of the night. A guard of 12 volunteers was posted at the bungalow.

On the following day, at about 7 o'clock, Gandhi laid the foundation-stone of the "Balikashram" before an audience of about 200 people. He then visited the compound of the Atlas Company, and addressed a mass meeting of about 700 people for three quarters of an hour. Only Gandhi, his wife and the Moulvi were allowed the privilege of chairs, the audience sitting on the ground. Before Gandhi spoke he was presented with an address on behalf of the public of Nandurbar by Sadashiv Waman Marathe. In the course of his speech, he criticised the local Mahommadans for not being enthusiastic about the collection of subscriptions for the Khilafat cause. He laid emphasis on the fact that agitation should be carried on without a disturbance of peace and cited as instances the case of Laxmansing and Dalipsing, who maintained a peaceful attitude during the Nankana tragedy, and were subsequently killed. He referred to the riot in Malegaon and said that the Momins had

seriously retarded India's political progress. He appealed for donations towards the Swaraj Tilak Fund and the enlistment of one crore of members for the Congress and the establishment of twenty-five lakhs of spinning-wheels in the country. Two silver ornaments which had been presented to him at the foundation-stone ceremony were put up for auction and realised Rs. 202. This was credited to the Tilak Fund.

The Moulvi subsequently addressed the people and likewise appealed for funds. It is reported that some five or six thousand rupees were credited to the Swaraj Tilak Fund and rupees one hundred for the Khilafat cause.

Gandhi then visited the Dwarkadish Mandir, where a further sum of Rs. 200 was collected. Gandhi addressed there about five or six hundred Hindu women and advised them to devote their energies to the spinning-wheels and Khadi cloth. Ornaments were given amounting to a total value of Rs. 800. Another temple was also visited and Rs. 776 were subscribed.

Gandhi and his party left for Surat in the afternoon. At the various stopping stations in the district, some three or four hundred people had gathered to see Gandhi, but no interviews were granted.

Page 616, paragraph 399(22)—

Bombay, May 9.—Gandhi arrived in Bombay from Bassein (after having attended the Maharashtra Provincial Conference there), at about 5-45 p.m., on the 7th instant. After a stay of two hours at Revashanker Jagjiwan's house at Gamdevi he left for Allahabad the same night by the Calcutta Mail. The following persons accompanied him :—

- (1) Mrs. Gandhi.
- (2) Mrs. Sarojini Naidu.
- (3) Miss Naidu (daughter of No. 2).
- (4) Shankerlal Ghelabhai Banker.

Page 623, paragraph 399 (61)—

Secretary, H.D. (Special), May 11.—M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India* of the 4th May 1921 under Notes — Abuse of Hartal, as follows: —

" A correspondent from Karachi writes to me deploring the frequency of hartals in that city. I have also seen a cutting from the *Indian Social Reformer* dealing with the same subject. I agree with the *Indian Social Reformer's* criticism that the hartals have become cheap of late. They are fast losing their value. But for the sacred character of the 6th and 13th April, I would have refrained from advising hartals for those two days. Hartals are either meant

as a protest against something extraordinary or a religious demonstration. There was no meaning in declaring a hartal when His Excellency the Governor visited Karachi. If it was meant to be a demonstration against him personally, it was bad taste, for in my opinion, he is among the wisest officials, and but for the vicious system he is called upon to administer he would make a popular Governor. Hartals or imprisonments or discharges are equally bad taste. Imprisonments must not inspire fear in us. Under an unjust Government, imprisonment of innocent men must be regarded as their ordinary lot even as disease is the ordinary state of persons living in insanitary conditions. The Government will cease to imprison us when we cease to fear imprisonments. The Government will cease to exist or (which is the same thing) will reform itself, when its most frightful punishments, even Dyerism, fail to strike us with fear. Hartals therefore in regard to imprisonments are a symptom of nervous fear and must therefore be tabooed. I quite agree with the *Indian Social Reformer* that local leaders ought not to declare hartals without reference to headquarters. As a rule, I would say, save the 6th and 13th April, every other hartal should be declared by the All-India Congress Committee and the Central Khilafat Committee in conjunction. It will be a misfortune to cheapen the hartals.

Page 634, paragraph 424 (2)—

Karachi, May 9.— On the 30th April (noon), Gandhi, accompanied by his wife and Muazzimali, arrived in Kotri from Hyderabad. For want of time he could not go round the town, which had been well decorated, but he addressed for a short time a public meeting of about 500 persons including 100 women. He urged the audience to adopt *Swadeshim*, to take to the spinning-wheel, enroll themselves as members of the Congress Committee, and subscribe towards the Tilak Swaraj Fund.

Page 645-46, paragraph 424 (8)—

Kaira, May 8.—Gandhi visited Kapadwanj on the 4th May. On the 28th April a meeting was held there by Keshavlal Doulatram to request everyone to behave at the time of that visit.

On the morning of the 4th Gandhi arrived at Kapadwanj from Nadiad in the motor of R. S. Dadoobhai Desai, M.L.C. He was accompanied by Vallabhbhai J. Patel, Muazzimali, Mrs. Gandhi, Bai Anusayabai and Jesingbhai Prembhai, President of the Local Taluka Congress Committee. The whole town was decorated with Khadi as flags and festoons of yarn were hung up over the shops. In some parts silk and 'jharrin' cloths were displayed. Everywhere great enthusiasm reigned, even the Bhangis decorating their quarters. Verses were placarded in the bazar.

Gandhi arrived at 9-30 and his motor was first stopped by the Borah Community at their club outside the Sarkalia Gate, when he and his companions were garlanded with yarn. A procession was then formed, a guard of honour of volunteers marching on each side of the car. The streets were packed and it is estimated that 10,000 persons were present. A meeting was announced for 11, and people assembled, but, as apparently often happens in these non- co-operation matters (Gandhi's programme of visiting Kathlal *en-route* was cancelled at the last moment), this was subsequently altered to 5 p.m. Meanwhile the Khilafat Committee's depuration, consisting of Adam Saiji, Abdul Rahman Maniar, with Kasim Karim, President of the Local Committee, waited on Gandhi and requested him to give a lecture at the Jamma Masjid. Accordingly the party went there at 3 p.m. and about 9,000 persons, Hindus and Mohammadans, collected at the Masjid. Gandhi said that he could only say a few words as he had to go to the women's meeting ; but he was very glad to see them thus united.

The remainder of the party was meanwhile at the women's meeting which was a great success. After the usual Khadi and Charkhataalk, Gandhi appealed for funds and the sum of Rs. 1,500 in cash and ornaments was contributed on the spot and several took vows to use Khaddar and to spin at home.

At 5 a mass meeting was held in Shethani's Dharamshala. On the arrival of the party ' Gandhi-ki-jai' was sung, also 'Bande Mataram' and a song in honour of Mrs. Gandhi, between 7 and 8 thousand people being present.

After apologising for speaking sitting down, Gandhi said that Shaukat Ali would have come but he was engaged on a long tour, so his cousin had come instead. It is said that Hindus and Mohammadans cannot live together; but he was a *pucca* Hindu and Shaukat Ali a *pucca* Mussaiman, but they lived together like brothers. Hindu-Mussalman Unity should be a real factor and not merely an outward demonstration. *Swaraj* was their goal and they must be prepared to sacrifice things that were dear. However the sacrifice would not be great in comparison with the benefits derived. It meant freedom from slavery. They were under tyrannical rule. He then spoke oh spinning and said that he was sorry to see so few in Khadi clothes. Kapadwanj was famous in former days, for it had made turbans, and they should revive the trade. At present 250 charkhas were in use in Kapadwanj ; but there should be more. They should teach their children spinning so that they would not fear for their maintenance when they grew up. They should be removed from Government schools. He then spoke on untouchability. On appealing for funds he got Rs. 500.....

The whole party then proceeded to the Bhangi quarters, where they were garlanded with yarn. Gandhi entreated the Hindus and Mussalmans present to treat these depressed classes as equals. They then partook of sugar dates and badams from the Bhangis' hands.

The party left at 7-30 p.m. and halted *en route* at Kathlal, where they gave another lecture. They then left at 9-30 for Nadiad.

This visit is reported to have had the greatest effect on populace and has given a great stimulus to the non-co-operation movement.

The District Magistrate remarks : —" The visit to Kapadwanj is a remarkable tribute to the personal influence of Gandhi. Kapadwanj has hitherto been almost outside the non-co-operation movement. No doubt, the agitators will strike while the iron is hot and carry out an intensive programme on the usual lines. It is quite clear that most of the people had no sympathy with the non-co-operation creed but turned out to welcome a hero and demi-god. Even the Bohras welcomed him. There are about 3,000 Bohras in Kapadwanj, and none of them have even yet joined the movement, nor do I think they will do so now."

Gandhi and party arrived at Nadiad at midnight and a Municipal sweeper announced by beat of drum that there would be an address at 7-30 A.M. About 2,000 persons attended and Muazzimali gave an ordinary lecture. Gandhi did not appear till train time, i.e., after 9, and said that they could not expect him to speak. He had made so many speeches, written so much in the *Navjivan* that it was now their turn to do something and act accordingly. The party then left for Surat. The crowd was so excited over Gandhi that about 700 overran the station in spite of the efforts of the railway staff.

Page 647, paragraph 424(9)—

Surat May, 9.—Gandhi passed through Surat on his way to Nandurbar on the 5th. On the 6th he went to Amalsad, taluka Jalalpur, and opened a National School there. He spoke on the boycott of foreign goods and the use of the spinning-wheel and called for subscriptions to the Tilak Fund. About Rs. 1,200 were collected. He left for Bassein the same night.

Page 648-49, paragraph 424(11)—

(b) *S. B., Bombay Presidency, May 18.*—The First Maharashtra Provincial Conference was opened at Bassein, district Thana, on the 6th May and lasted for three days. The audience numbered, according to report, from 1,000 to 1,700 and were for the most part Hindus. The president elected for the occasion was Dr. S. B. Moonje of Berar.

During the moving of the fifth resolution by C. V. Vaidya, M. K. Gandhi and some of his Moslem fellow-workers arrived in the pandal and Gandhi made a short speech. He referred to the Mulshi

Petha Satyagraha movement and expressed his regret for not having been able personally to visit the scene of operation. He then turned his attention to the Malegaon riots and strongly condemned the violence of the non-co-operators. Such cases only hampered the progress of his movement and resulted in the destruction of the work already achieved. He reviewed the condition of Maharashtra and criticised the local agitators for carrying on the non-co-operation movement in a half-hearted manner. The goal of *Swaraj* would never be obtained until Maharashtra was prepared to sacrifice herself, heart and soul, for the cause. He appealed for funds and made his usual remarks about the introduction of the spinning-wheel. his speech is reported to have made a good impression and some Rs. 2,000 were collected on the spot and Rs. 3,000 promised in cash.

Page 660, paragraph 424(22)—

*Ahmedabad, May 9th,—*A private meeting of the Provincial Congress Committee was held in the Social Reform Hall on the 3rd May. M. K. Gandhi was in the chair. The following bulletin was sent to the Press for publication : —

The reception committee of the 26th Session of the National Congress to be held at Ahmedabad has been formed by the Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee as provided by the Congress Constitution. The first meeting of the Committee was held in the offices of the Gujarat Congress Committee at Ahmedabad on the 3rd May under the presidency of Mr. Gandhi.

Page 680, paragraph 441(6)—

*Upper Sind Frontier, April 30.—*Gandhi arrived here on the evening of the 28th instant at about 11 p.m., from Shikarpur. He was accompanied by Moulvi Taj Muhammad of Amrot, Muazzimali of Moradabad, Muhammad Khan, Jairamdas Daulatram and Pandit Amersen. His wife and son were also with him. The station platform and the open space outside the station were thronged with people, for the most part Hindus. Very few Mohammadans were to be seen. The party proceeded to the house of Hotchand, pleader, where an address was read by Dr. Menghraj. Gandhi then addressed the audience, (about 4,000) in Urdu. He spoke on both the Khilafat question and non-co-operation. He referred to the Upper Sind Frontier District as if the same conditions prevailed here as in the North-West Frontier Province, and said that if the people would only unite with the Pathans and Baluchis they would not trouble them. " I have received many letters from the frontier from Hindus saying that I am trying to destroy the Government and did not know what would be the result if I succeeded. I told them they were cowards and feared the Pathans. They should take

the Pathans to their hearts and they would be loved in return. The Hindus and Moslems of the Frontier should become brothers. Once we have attained *Swaraj* we will settle our differences. If you want *Swaraj*, unite and put your sword in its scabbard. *Swaraj* will not be attained this year with the sword. We know we cannot obtain *Swaraj* by killing Englishmen. Only keep quiet and you can get *Swaraj* to-day. If we unite then we can refuse to pay taxes and resign the public service. As soon as I find we have acquired the power I will advise you to do this. The time is not far off Up to now we have been successful, and if we continue in this way we will obtain *Swaraj* within the year. Give up liquor and adopt spinning-wheel, etc.". He then asked for subscriptions for Tilak Swaraj Fund and was given a purse of Rs. 1,000.

The following morning Gandhi addressed a meeting of women at Hotchand pleader's house. His wife also spoke advocating the use of the spinning-wheel until *Swaraj* was obtained.

Page 685, paragraph 441(14-b)—

East Khandesh, May 18th.—M. K. Gandhi passed through Jalgaon and Bhusawal *en route* for Allahabad on the 8th May. He was joined by Shaukat Ali at Bhusawal who had returned from his Benares trip.

Page 695, paragraph 441(23)—

Bombay City, May 23rd.—" Gandhi's Message " about 500 copies of each of the four posters in Gujarati, containing Gandhi's Messages, advising the public to take to spinning for the attainment of *Swaraj*, were published by Shankerlal Ghelabhai Banker of the Swaraja Sabha, Bombay, on the 19th May 1921, and posted up at conspicuous places in the city.

The following is the rough translation of the contents of the posters :—

Poster No. 1—Mahatma Gandhi's Message.—To gain *Swaraj* means to introduce a spinning-wheel in every home and to spin yarn with that. Introduce spinning-wheels in your house this very day. Spinning-wheels and cotton can be had from, the National School at Princess Street.

Poster No. 2—Mahatma Gandhi's Message.—*Swaraj* by means of yarn. If you want to have your share in the battle of *Swaraj*, spin as much yarn as possible. Spinning-wheels and cotton can be had at the National School, Princess Street.

Poster No. 3—Mahatma Gandhi's Message.—Ordinarily spinning is not a business but a duty. India was prosperous so long as there was spinning. Take up again the work of spinning with a view to make India prosperous again. Spinning-wheels and cotton can be had at the National School, Princess Street.

Poster No. 4—Mahatma Gandhi's Message.—Nothing else will advance India more than by removing the famine of yarn. Spinning-wheels and cotton can be had at the National School, Princess Street.

Page 723, paragraph 461(7)—

Thar Parkar, May 9th.—On his way to Ahmedabad, on the 30th April, Gandhi was met at Chhor station by about 200 men, of whom Vinjraj Thakur and Muhammad Hashim Sumro were the most prominent. The latter handed Gandhi a purse containing Rs. 300. Muazzimali spoke a few words advocating the use of *Swadeshi* clothes and urging abstention from liquor and union between Hindus and Mohammadans.

Page 728, paragraph 461(13)—

Nasik, June 1st.—M. K. Gandhi arrived at Nasik Road early morning of 22nd instant. He motored direct to Sangamner, thence came to Yeola about 11 p.m. He then addressed an audience of about 4,000 on his usual topics and urged collection of money for the Swaraj Fund. He is reported to have got Rs. 400 on the collection plate, but one Bhagchand Chaturchand, Marwari of Yeola, gave Gandhi a hundi for Rs. 20,000 as a donation for the National school to be opened at Yeola. I wonder if Bhagchand paid income tax on this Rs. 20,000; if not, he might be "touched". Gandhi's host was Ratanchand Ambaidas Patni, with whom he stayed till the evening of 23rd, when he left by train for Kurduwadi. The Mohammadans were disgusted that neither of the Ali Brothers came with Gandhi.

Page 729-30, paragraph 461(14)—

East Khandesh, June 1st.—M. K. Gandhi arrived in Bhusawal on the 21st May at 7-30 p.m. The train was late and when it steamed in there was no one on the platform to meet him. He waited at the station for a little while, and then W. V. Dastane and others arrived. He first went to Dastane's house and after meals came in procession to Garud's field, where about 5,000 people had assembled from all over the district. Gandhi spoke for about 45 minutes after the proceedings had been opened by a few words from Dastane, who detailed the rise of non-co-operation in Bhusawal. He expressed regret for having been late at the station to meet the visitor. Gandhi said that non-co-operation was based on religious principles and to obtain *Swaraj* non-co-operation with strict nonviolence was the best weapon. He had been to Simla, not to ask the Viceroy for *Swaraj*—for he had not the power to give it; but he tried to make him understand the principle of the movement. They must attain it by their own actions. "There must be unity among Hindus and Mohammadans. Khilafat wrongs and Punjab atrocities will not be righted without achieving *Swaraj*. If the Hindus really assist the Khilafat then the Mohammadans are certain

to protect cows. Simple living is the chief constituent of *Swaraj*. I appeal to your mothers and sisters to use khadi cloth and to make it yourselves. I ask the country to put two lakhs of charkhas into use by the end of June, for one crore of members for the Congress, and one crore of rupees for the Tilak Swaraj Fund. If these desires are fulfilled then we shall proceed to a further programme. If the country does not co-operate with me in this, then I shall non-co-operate with the country. In future I will not permit anyone to come to me in a silk pugree; everyone must wear khadi. Give up drink. Have National Schools. The Malegaon tragedy was very bad. Violence will only prove a drag. Give up the 'untouchability' question. Bhangis and Dhers are your brothers. I do not mean you should intermarry and dine with them; but if you have to give them food, let it be pure. Don't treat them like animals." He then praised one Mehtati. (I am finding out who this is as I do not know him.) Subscriptions were collected and the following, among others, gave money :—

Dr. Paranjpe	Rs. 100
Dastane	100
Gulabchand, Marwadi	100
Dayaram Shiv Dayal	100
Mehtati	300
	<hr/>
	700

Gandhi left for Nasik side the same night by the Delhi Express.

On the 20th May Gulsherkhan of Akola delivered a Khilafat lecture at Jalgaon. Raghunath Hari Vardikar presided.

Page 730, paragraph 461(15)—

M. K. Gandhi arrived in Sangamner from Nasik at about 11 a.m. on the 22nd May. He was accompanied by one Upadhye a pleader from Pimpalgaon, Basawant in Nasik District, his younger son Devadas, his private secretary Madhav Desai and Ramlal Parashram Kawnpurikar, Gujarati. On arrival he was met by the leading non-co-operators, was garlanded and taken in procession through the town which was decorated with flags and arches. During the day he addressed two meetings, one for women and the other for the general public. At the women's meeting he was present with Rs. 175 and 8 tolas of gold for Tilak Swaraj Fund, and at the general meeting Rs. 1,001 towards the Tilak Swaraj Fund and Rs. 101 towards the Khilafat Fund. Some Rs. 40 were also collected from the audience at the meeting.

From Sangamner, Gandhi proceeded to Yeola, leaving at "4 p.m. *en route* to Yeola he halted at Rahata, where Rs. 351 were handed over to him by Premchand Birdichand. Some 150 people had collected to meet him on the road. On his return journey from Yeola, on the 23rd May, some 200 or 300 persons collected at Kopargaon station to meet Gandhi, where he alighted and was given a currency note of Rs. 1,000 by Mangubhat Hargovind, Gujarati, towards National Schools. Some Rs. 1,000 were collected at Kopargaon towards Tilak Swaraj Fund. At Nagar station at 2 a.m. some 2,000 people had gathered to meet Gandhi; but he refused to get up or speak to anyone.

The District Magistrate remarks—" Gandhi's visit to Sangamner does not appear to have been a brilliant success. He was apparently dissatisfied with the preparations made for his reception, and did not hesitate to say so.

Page 732, paragraph 462(17)—

S. B., Bombay Presidency, May 31st.—During the course of the last week, M. K. Gandhi, addressed four large gatherings in the Sholapur District. On the 24th he visited Barsi and Kurduwadi, on . the 25th he was in Pandharpur, and on the 26th in Sholapur itself.

His first meeting at Barsi was attended by about ten thousand people who were addressed also by Dattatraya Vishavanath Salumke, Najomodin Kamroddin, Bori, and Abdul Gani, son of Ibrahim Sale. a member of the Municipality.The second speaker, a member of the Barsi Municipality, presented Gandhi with an address of welcome and was supported by Najomodin Kamroddin, a secretary of the Mohammedan Education Conference and a member of the Barsi Municipality Cow "Protection Association. In his address in Hindi, Gandhi criticised the progress of the movement in the district. The number of spinning-wheels that had started was in no way encouraging while the export of Khadi to Bombay was a clear indication that the local residents objected to wearing *Swadeshi* cloth. He emphasised the fact that the object of spinning-wheels was not to encourage trade but to enable the people to clothe themselves without depending on the imports of foreign countries. The attitude of the pleaders and the progress of National education were similarly unsatisfactory, and unless some enthusiasm were displayed *Swaraj* could not be attained during the year.

In his address to about three thousand people at Kurduwadi, on the same day, Gandhi referred to his interview with the Viceroy and argued that the people themselves must strive for *Svmraj*. He put before them his usual programme, viz., collections for the Tilak Swaraj Fund, the enrolment of Congress members and the

spread of spinning-wheels. He referred also to the drink question and untouchability. The address was explained to the people by D. V. Gokhale. A purse of Rs. 1,750 was presented.

On the following day, the Pandharpur meeting was attended by about five thousand people, Gandhi being the only speaker. His speech included the five points and was of the usual type.

In Sholapur, on the 26th, Hirachand Nemchand of Sholapur took the chair, before an audience of about five thousand people including some two hundred ladies. The president announced that a sum of rupees twenty thousand had been collected from the various institutions in Sholapur and that subscriptions were still coming in. The money was presented to Gandhi, who in his reply expressed his disappointment that Sholapur had subscribed such a paltry sum. In point of wealth and commerce Sholapur compared very favourably with Bombay, and as it was the Merchant class who had assisted the East India Company to establish their regime in India, it was only meet and proper that they should contribute handsomely by way of penance for past sins. Despite, however, the apathetic attitude of the Commercial community, he had full faith in the poorer classes, such as the Bhangis, the Mahars and the Coolies, and said that their scanty subscriptions would draw *Swaraj* all the nearer. In other respects his speech was in the usual style. He emphasised the non-violent character of the campaign and referred to the "pagals" of Malegaon.

Page 733, paragraph 461(18)—

S. B., Bombay Presidency, May 31st—On the 27th and 28th of May, M. K. Gandhi, was in the Bijapur District. He first visited Bagalkot, where he addressed a mass meeting of about five thousand people. The proceedings opened, with the presentation of three addresses :— (1) by S. R. Kirsur, pleader, on behalf of the Local Hindus, (2) by Haji Abdul Gani Saheb, on behalf of the local Khilafat Committee, (3) by Durgappa, son of Bai Sabawwa Chabvadi, on behalf of the depressed community. A purse of Rs. 4,500 was promised. Gandhi's speech, which was subsequently explained to the audience in Kanarese, contained nothing new beyond the fact that he expressed his pleasure to see a member of the Depressed Class, being allowed by other communities to present him with an address.

In the evening, Gandhi visited Bijapur and addressed approximately eight thousand people. The first speaker was Shrinivasrao V. Kowjalgi, President of the Bijapur District Congress Committee. He outlined the results of non-co-operation propaganda in the district and supplied the following details :—Forty-two Congress

Committees, the enrolment of 5,727 Congress members, the collection of Rs. 12,617 and the establishment of 1,420 spinning-wheels. A curious feature of the proceedings was a speech by Gundappa Shabadi of the non-Brahmin party, who endeavoured to refute all the arguments in favour of non-co-operation. He said that the boycotting of schools would be the ruin of the backward classes, who were just trying to educate themselves. *Swaraj* was an impossibility when so much caste and colour distinction existed. Even if attained, it would not be for the people and by the people, as the Brahmins would be sure to gain the upper hand. Even at the present time, professing non-co-operators were deceiving Gandhi by wearing Khadi cloth when he visited Bijapur, while their houses were filled with foreign luxuries. The picketting movement had been commenced only a few days prior to Gandhi's visit and would end immediately after his departure. Gandhi impressed on the audience the necessity for the collection of funds and the enlistment of Congress members.

Two addresses of welcome were presented, one by the Municipality and the other by the Merchant class. Leaflets were distributed criticising the movement and giving prominence to certain inconsistencies indulged in by non-co-operators.

A small meeting was held specially for the Depressed Classes. It was attended by about three thousand people including approximately a hundred untouchables. Gandhi talked about the development of their self-respect and made his usual appeals.

Page 737, paragraph 461(24)—

Bombay City, May 30th.—M. K. Gandhi arrived in Bombay at 8-45 a.m. on the 29th May 1921 after his tour in the Bijapur District. He was received at the Victoria Terminus by the Ali Brothers. He put up in Revashankar Jagjiwan's bungalow at Gamdevi.

He addressed a mass meeting at Matunga in the evening, when he was given a sum of about Rs. 7,000 in aid of the Tilak Swaraj Fund by the Matunga people.

He leaves to-night for Broach to attend the Political and Khilafat Conference to be held there from 31st May. The Ali Brothers will also accompany him.

When questioned as to what happened between him and His Excellency the Viceroy, he said that he simply put his case before His Excellency, who heard him patiently and gave no promises. He asked all to go on with their non-violent, non-co-operation till *Swaraj* was obtained.

He said that after finishing his visit to Broach and Ahmedabad he would stop in Bombay for a fortnight to collect money for the Tilak Swaraj Fund.

Page 758-63, paragraph 474(10) —

Broach, June 5th.—The Gujarat Rajkiya Parishad and the Gujarat Khilafat Conference, were held on the 31st May, 1st and 2nd June, and everything connected therewith, passed off without any noteworthy incident. The first Parishad meeting came off in the morning presided over by Vallabhbhai J. Patel and attended by M. K. Gandhi, the Ali Brothers and others.....

The Municipal addresses were presented at 9 o'clock that night ... Both the addresses were in Gujarati and were read out by Mulji, who had to waste a lot of his time at first in trying to keep the youthful portion of the crowd quiet. The replies of both Gandhi and Mohamed Ali were short. The former advised the Broach Municipality to follow in the footsteps of the Ahmedabad, Nadiad and Surat Municipalities. He was sure the municipalities could do a lot in respect of nationalisation of schools, liquor shops and *Swadeshi*. When the municipalities had imbibed the true spirit of self-government they would be able to raise the people to a higher level of liberty and freedom instead of enslaving them as was the case at present.

At the conclusion of the meeting Gandhi and company attended a meeting of the untouchables. There were about 1,000 people collected, half of them being Hindus and Mussalmans and the rest Dheds, etc. Gandhi was given an address and two resolutions were passed :—(1) To eschew drink and animal food, (2) They should be allowed the right of mixing with the rest of the Hindus. Gandhi in his reply to the address said there was a time when he wished he could be called an agriculturist or a weaver; now the time arrived when he wished he could be called an untouchable. He advised the Dheds to pursue their ancient vocation of weaving and to give a helping hand in the work of attaining *Swaraj*.

Gandhi spent the morning of the 2nd in visiting Hansot, Sajod and Ankleshwar. He is reported to have collected about Rs 3,000 from these three places, Chhotalal Ghelabhai Gandhi, a prominent local non-co-operator, having contributed Rs. 1,000 of the total collection.

In the evening Gandhi addressed a meeting of the Khilafat Conference, when he spoke on the advisability of preserving the nonviolent character of the non-co-operation movement and held forth at great length on the preservation of the cow. He said the cow was his Khilafat and that he expected the Mussalmans to respect and help it as they in their turn expected the Hindus to help them in their Khilafat movement. He had nothing to tell the Mussalmans, but left the matter to their honour and good sense. Both he and Mohamed Ali gave their hearers to understand that the nation was

in mourning at present and therefore they could not have festivities. The money they intended spending upon the pleasures of the coming Id might more suitably be diverted to better purposes. In illustrating the non-violent character of the non-co-operation movement Gandhi mentioned the people of Bannu who were represented as carrying on a formidably non-co-operation propaganda in the most peaceful manner imaginable. He assured the Mussalmans that they had no causes for apprehension in regard to the treatment which the Hindus would mete out to them when *Swaraj* was attained. They should not run away with the idea that because they were numerically weak the Hindus would deprive them of their proper share of the fruits of their co-operation in the common object of the attainment of self-government.

Gandhi visited the Navlakhi Mill the same evening and collected about 150 rupees and advised the mill-hands to give towards the Tilak Swaraj Fund and to eschew drink. The Ali Brothers visited the Saraswati Mill at about the same time and collected about Rs. 100.

Most of the other leaders also left the same night. Gandhi motored down to Wagra, Amod and Jambusar and returned the same evening and left for Ahmedabad by the midnight train on the 3rd.

Page 768, paragraph 474(18)—

Poona, June 3rd.—Gandhi visited Dhond on his way to Barsi, on the 24th May, and addressed a meeting in the town at which Rs. 200 were collected for the Tilak Swaraj Fund. He was invited to Baramati; but refused to go as there is no local Khilafat Committee and the people wear foreign cloth — at least this is the reason given by Narhar Balkrishna Joshi for Gandhi not going there.

Page 814, paragraph 499(15)—

Bijapur, June 8th.—On his way to Bijapur, on the 27th May, Gandhi passed through Kolhar. He there addressed an audience of 200 people and advised them to use charkhas. Krishna Kulkarni, a P. W. D. Sub-Overseer, Krishna Causeway, Kolhar, garlanded Gandhi and presented him with milk, fruit and sugar. These were distributed amongst the audience. Khando Gururao Deshpande, a Doctor, was present. Bandu Nilkanth Sarma and Gurubhima Hanmantacharaya Karjol of Bilgi Petha presented Gandhi with Rs. 150 for the Tilak Swaraj Fund.

Page 840, paragraph 511(7).—

Kathiawar, Agency, June 13.—M. K. Gandhi visited Wadhwan Civil Station and City on the 9th June in company with Miss Nanalal Kavi, Vallabhbbhai Patel, Manilal V. Kothari and Mahadev Hariram Desai. He was met by some 2,000 people headed by D. B. Shukla,

Mansukhlal Raoji Metha and Bhagwanji A. Metha. Gandhi gave a lecture at the Limbdi Uttara to some 10,000 people on Swadeshism and the Tilak Swaraj Fund. He then went to the Sweepers' quarters and asked them about their grievances. Later on he visited Wadhwan City and gave a lecture outside the railway station on the same subjects. He is reported to have collected Rs. 15,000 in all, the chief subscribers being : —

	Rs.
(1) Shivilal Neemchand	1,001
(2) D. B. Shukla and his wife	1,002
(3) Limbadi Mahajans	1,001
(4) Darbar Sahab of Rai Sankli	1,200
(5) Previous contributions	2,600

Gandhi was invited to Rajkot, but he refused to go presumably it was not financially worth while. He returned to Ahmedabad the same night. Deputations from Rajkot, Limbdi and Dhrangadhra went to Wadhwan to see him.

Page 840, paragraph 511(8)—

Ahmedabad, June 16th.—M. K. Gandhi spent a busy week trying to stir up the people to contribute the 10 lakhs of rupees which Gujarat is called upon to give to the Tilak Swaraj Fund. He visited Sarkhej and Sanand on the 7th and Viramgaon on the 9th June. He reported to have collected Rs. 1,500 at Sarkhej, Ri. 2,000 at Sanand and between Rs. 15,000 and Rs. 20,000 at Viramgaon. Manilal Kothari went to Viramgaon on the 7th to prepare the way for him. From Viramgaon M. K. Gandhi proceeded to Wadhwan and returned to Ahmedabad on the 10th.

Four leaflets over his signature were distributed in the City. The first was addressed to the public and was headed " The Bezwada Programme ; Our Trial" ; the second was an exposition of the duty of the people of Ahmedabad ; the third was addressed to the mill-owners ; and the fourth to the Mahajans. They all contained a call for contributions to the crore required for the Tilak Swaraj Fund. He pointed out that only 20 lakhs had hitherto been collected.

On the 8th he invited the local pleaders to meet him in the Social Reform Hall. Twenty turned up, nearly all juniors. He asked them to give up their practice and join the non-co-operation movement. None of them agreed. He then said that they could help the movement by subscribing to the Tilak Swaraj Fund. They gave Rs. 1,200 between them.

He has asked the mill-hands to give a tenth of a month's pay to the fund.

Page 842, paragraph 511(9)—

Ahmedabad, June 17th.—At 9 p.m. on June 12th a public meeting, over which Gandhi presided, was held in the grounds of Annusuyabai's residence in Mirzapur. About 10,000 people attended. Gandhi upbraided the millhands in very strong language for leaving the mills in the morning. Their action had so annoyed him that he had been unable to collect his thoughts to write an article on a Punjab matter of serious importance.

Page 844, Paragraph 391(11)—

Broach, June 16th.—Detailed reports regarding Gandhi's visit to Hansot, Ankleshwar, Wagra, Amod and Jambusar, now to hand, show that his tour through the talukas was not an unqualified success. Although there seems to have been a fair amount of attendance at most of these places, the money collected were evidently so much under what was expected that by the time Gandhi had finished with Jambusar, he was manifestly out of temper. He is reported to have left the meeting at Jambusar rather abruptly and joined a party of Dhers who were sitting by the tank a little distance from the main gathering. The meeting at Hansot was an open-air affair, where some 400 people had collected. Gandhi spoke on the usual topics, but "Funds" were really the burden of his song. Shaukat Ali, who had accompanied Gandhi, also addressed the meeting and spoke on the pressing need for making collections for the Khilafat and Swaraj Funds. Altogether about Rs. 550 were collected Rs. 400 for the Khilafat and the balance, namely, Rs. 150, for the Swaraj Fund. Among those who attended were :— (1) Bhagubhai Pranvallabhdas Desai, (2) Sakarlal Dwarkadas Desai, (3) Jamiatram Harjivan Palinkhalem (?), (4) Ghelabhai Harkisan Master, (5) Ghelabhai Dwarkadas Master, (6) Rehman Hussein Ghachi, and (7) Kazi Badruddin, all residents of Hansot. No. 1 welcomed the visitors on behalf of the Hansot public. The meeting lasted for about half an hour and Gandhi and party left for Ankleshwar by motor. Here some one to two thousand people—men, women and children are reported to have collected. Both Gandhi and Shaukat Ali spoke on the *Rentia*, *Swadeshi*, abstention from drink etc., but mainly in reference to collections. They were able to gather about Rs. 1,000, of which Chhotalal Ghelabhai, a local prominent non-co-operator, had subscribed Rs. 500. Some of the women present parted with some of their "Jewels", but they did not amount too much. The meeting lasted for about half an hour here also, and the party returned to Broach. After resting for the night, Gandhi and a couple of local notables left the following morning for Jambusar via Wagra and Amod in a motor car provided by Seth Naginlal of the Whittle Mills. Gandhi and party

arrived at Wagra at about 8-30 a.m., where one Mahashankar Bhudev, a teacher in the local Rashtriya school, put a garland of home-spun cotton round Gandhi's neck. This Mahashankar is said to belong to Godhra. Gandhi then proceeded to the house of Punjabhai Bnukhandas for a short rest. Punjabhai was practically the prime mover in the affair. He is Vice-President of the Taluka Board. A small pandal had been erected opposite the Subordinate Judge's Court for the meeting where altogether about 800 people are said to have collected for Gandhi's darshan. Sakarlal Dayabhai, of Broach thanked Gandhi for visiting Wagra and Kundanlal Motilal, also of Broach, supported him. Sakarlal then read an address on behalf of Patel Tribhovandas Narotamdas. Punjabhai presented Gandhi with a sum of Rs. 501 as Wagra's subscription towards the Swaraj Fund. Among the "ornaments" given away by the women on the spot were a couple of gold rings. Gandhi spoke on the spinning-wheel, drink and *Swadeshi*, and pleaded hard for the untouchables, he said were like their younger brothers, and they ought not to hesitate mixing freely with them. The meeting at Amod was held in the open near the Kutcheri where some 1,500 people are said to have gathered. Lallubhai Laxmiram, pleader, and Maninath Shivnath, both of Amod, were the leading spirits in getting up the show and arranging things generally. The collection in this place amounted to Rs. 1,200. The speeches were of the usual type. At Jambusar the meeting was held in the open at the back of the Jagannath temple. Ashavpalav festoons were hung in the bazar in honour of the visit and four to five thousand people are reported to have gathered. The sum collected was Rs. 750, which amount seems to have fallen far short of Gandhi's expectations, and report attributes Gandhi's peevishness to that fact. Two addresses were presented to him at this place, one from the Jambusar Taluka "Volunteers" and the other in the name of the residents of the Jambusar Taluka. Beyond the usual fulsomeness of the language, there was nothing remarkable about them. Gandhi returned by motor to Broach rather late the same evening. Naginlal Shett, the owner of the car, drove down from Jambusar with the party. This fact gave rise to some slight comment amongst those who knew Naginlal's anti-Non-co-operation tendencies. In the course of a conversation with a friend, Naginlal explained his position in respect of this particular incident as follows :—

He had already made an appointment at Jambusar on the 3rd. At the time he had no idea that Gandhi was going there on that particular date; he himself had been there on business wholly unconnected with Gandhi or his visit. In the evening of the 2nd he suddenly received a request for the loan of his car to take Gandhi to Jambusar and back on the 3rd. The request was made in

circumstances which hardly left him any alternative but to comply with it. He agreed to lend his car on condition that the party would give him a lift back from Jambusar in the evening. He went to Jambusar by train in the morning, finished his business in the evening and came back to Broach in his car along with Gandhi and a couple of his party. Naginlal described quite an interesting conversation with Gandhi on the way. He accused Gandhi of having caused trouble between labour and capital and thus forfeited the sympathy of a class of people who could have helped him considerably in many ways. At present the only result of the so-called awakening of the labour classes was to cause endless trouble with the employers which, in the long run, was bound to redound on the workers themselves. To this Gandhi is represented to have almost agreed, but excused his policy on the ground that whatever he does is done with the best of intentions. Asked how he thinks the Charkha, when introduced into every home, is likely to effect the uplift of the nation, especially when he (Gandhi) expects the poor working classes to give up their daily twelve annas or even a rupee which they earn on an average now-a-days and content themselves with two or three annas which they may hope to make on the Charkha under the best of circumstances, Gandhi replied that he expected everybody to make sacrifices and the poor working classes had also to do the same, although he confessed that the sacrifices expected of them were certainly very great. Evidently Naginlal seems to have been taxed in respect of subscription towards the Swaraj Fund. He replied that he would be glad to subscribe to any fund which might be designed for the general benefit of the people, but he regretted he could not very well subscribe funds towards what he considered was an attempt to strike at the source of his own and the general welfare. He expressed his willingness to subscribe to a famine fund provided his own men had its management.

On the afternoon of the 2nd, the local as well as outside non-co-operators met at Gandhi's residence and discussed the ways and means if given an impetus to the collection of funds. The Broach workers were charged with the raising of Rs. 50,000 in the district. Dr. Chandulal Manilal Desai has offered to collect this amount and to make up the deficit in case the amount falls short of the limit.....

It is also reported that Gandhi interviewed a number of local pleaders, including Rai Bahadur Ambashankar U. Mulji, M. K. Desai and M. F. Alamshaw. Gandhi proposed that they should give their month's income to the Swaraj Fund; failing that to the Gujarat Famine Relief Fund. The pleaders have offered to consider the proposal.

Gandhi's great endeavours to break through in an instant some of the most ancient and orthodox traditions of the Hindus, as well as Mussulmans, in regard to the untouchables have by no means strengthened his hold upon those members of these classes who were perhaps in a position to help him materially.

The District Magistrate remarks :—"As to Gandhi's Hansot visit, I am inclined to think, having just spent a few days there, that the local Hindu reception was mere froth and nonsense. Bhagubhai was away when I arrived but came to call immediately on his return. He protested that he had only headed ordinary village hospitality to Gandhi; that he had no sympathy with his ideas ; that he realised their special danger to the propertied classes (he is a large landowner and elected by the Taluka to the District Local Board), and that as a consequence of the attitude of himself and other leaders Gandhi got only Rs. 84 at Hansot. Sakarlal D. Desai is a holder of Desaijiri lands and cash allowance. He called on me just after my arrival and went round the town with me, as a member of the Sanitary Committee. I saw no signs of non-cooperation, but rather the reverse in his conversation.

Jamiatram is the other important local Hindu. He also came and called and professed the same views as Bhagubhai. He said he only stood at a distance and saw Gandhi.

The town is three-fifths Mahommadan, and Kazi Badruddin is the most important man.

No Mahommadan came to see me, but Badruddin's cousin, a Syed of Broach, who was staying with him, sent me duck he had just shot.

The local Hindus are afraid of the Mahommadans. Kazi Badruddin is said to be a decent man and was probably afraid to come and see me, i.e. afraid of what his community might say.

I think from the above we can conclude that (a) it is Gandhi's personality, more than his ideas, that attracts the Hindus and (b) the Mahommadans are to some extent affected by the Khilafat propaganda that has been going on.

In addition to the purse of Rs. 501 presented to Gandhi at the Wagra meeting, a collection was made which realised some Rs. 200.

Punjabhai Bhukhandas, Vice-President of the Taluka Local Board, was the leading spirit in promoting the meeting assisted by Nathubhai Bhauram, a matadar of Wagra, and Tribhowan Narotam Patidar. Punjabhai sent notices to all villages of the taluka. The crowd included many from neighbouring villages and a few from distant ones.

It is to be noted that in Broach, Wagra (Punjabhai), and. Amod (Lallubhai), the leading Gandhyite, is in each case the recently elected Vice-President of the Taluka Local Board. I don't think that the reason is that the majority of the Boards are non-co-operators—the reason is that these men have been Vice-Presidents for some years and have become familiar with the administrative work.

I have brought the facts to the Commissioner's notice, as these elections require his approval.

The talk of non-payment of taxes, coupled with ill-informed encouragement of spurious philanthropic sentiments (an outcome of Gandhyism), has already taken some effect in this district. Poor crops and scarcity are exaggerated into 'the horrors of famine' by officials as well as non-official busy bodies and recovery of the land revenue and *tagai* is affected with difficulty in the Wagra villages, which had quite fair crops and have in reality been treated rather leniently.

The transient ultra-prosperity arising from the profit from fabulous cotton prices in the later years of the war has not only prepared a fertile soil for the reception of the 'no-taxes' doctrine, but has thrown some of our officials off their balance from District Deputy Collectors downwards and injured their perspective faculty. The Wagra Mamlatdar and Sub-Assistant Surgeon babble of 'half-naked women and children' and the like-when I have just made a careful inspection of the taluka and seen little or no sign of distress."

Page 849, paragraph 511(12)—

S. B., Bombay Presidency, June 22nd.—On the 15th June there was a crowded meeting at Ghatkopar in connection with non-co-operation and the collection of subscriptions for the Tilak Swaraj Funds. Estimates place the audience from 6,000 to 10,000. Among those present were :—V. J. Patel, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Dr. Ansari, Dr. B. S. Munje, N. C. Kelkar. the Ali Brothers, Maulana Abdul Bari, Abul Kalam Azad, S. G. Banker and Gandhi, while the speakers included the Ali Brothers, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, V. J. Patel, Abul Kalam Azad, Hirachand Walchand Rajpale of Ghatkopar and Gandhi.

The second speaker was Hirachand Walchand Rajpale, who on behali of the people of Ghatkopar, welcomed Gandhi and presented him with a cheque for Rs. 40,000. Gandhi in reply made his usual type of speech and criticised severely the paltriness of the sum he had received from a class of people who themselves claimed to be wealthy. Instead of Rs. 40,000 he, had expected 40 lakhs. He made his customary appeal for the sacrifice of luxuries and begged them to understand *Dharma* properly. He appealed also for concentration on the *Charkha* and the 'untouchability' question.

Page 856, paragraph 511(18)—

Sholapur, June, 13th.—The District Magistrate writes:—"Report about Mr. Gandhis visit to Pandharpur (20th April) has Deen received. It is said that the visit fell flat, as the Marathas and most of the Mahommadans, except some at the mosque, did not join. The Tilak Fund only reached the meagre figure of Rs. 1,000 mainly-owing to the general apathy of a large section of the mercantile community. Mr. Gandhi had to express his dissatisfaction at the response, especially as, it is alleged, Tilak's visit to the new place two years ago was much more successful.

Page 866, paragraph 511(52)—

*Bombay City, June 20th.—*Gandhi paid a visit to Ghatkopar on the morning of the 15th to receive the town's contribution to the Swarajya Fund. The previous evening a deputation of six had waited on him and informed him that they had collected Rs. 25,000. Gandhi was annoyed when he heard the amount was so small and told them he would not be satisfied with anything less than two and a half lacs from Ghatkopar. The deputation promised to try and collect more but they informed him that his efforts to break down caste customs in favour of the untouchables had alienated the sympathies of many Vaishnavas.

Under the stimulus of Gandhi's rebukes, the contribution was eventually raised to Rs. 40,000.

*Swarajya Fund.—*There was an informal meeting in Gandhi's house on the 17th instant. The following were present :—

(1) S. G. Banker, (2) Umar Sobani, (3) Revashankar Jagjiwan, (4) Velshi Nappu Mehesali, (5) Jamnalal Bajaj, and three Cutchi merchants.

Gandhi addressed them on the subject of collections for the Swaraj Fund. He said Bombay must contribute at least 60 lakhs.

Umar Sobani said the people of Colaba had promised 5 lakhs, and that he was now canvassing the mill-owners of Bombay and he had great hopes of collecting about 20 lakhs in all; if however he failed, he would make the difference from his own pocket. This drew a compliment from Gandhi.

Revashankar Jagjiwan said he had been promised Rs. 75,000 by the merchants of the Javeri Bazar and Rs. 25,000 by the Jewellers.

Jamnalal Bajaj said he had a promise of 20 lakhs from the Bombay Marwaris, and if they failed him he would go to Calcutta and collect the balance there.

Gandhi said he would like somebody to undertake the collection of five lakhs from the Mulji Jetha Cloth Market and one lakh each from the Mangaldas, Narottam Morarji and Lakhmidas Markets.

Page 876, paragraph 521(88)—

S'. B., *Bombay Presidency, June 20th.*—N. C. Kelkar and other leading Maharashtra Nationalists are reported to have become suspicious about M. K. Gandhi and his interview with the Viceroy. Gandhi is believed to have made certain promises (similar to the Ali Brothers' explanation or apology) compromising the position of the Nationalists party. Gandhi, it is said, is regarded as a somewhat slippery leader and the next Congress may witness a vigorous effect to get the non-co-operation resolution considerably modified. The *Kesari* has not yet changed its tone, but the *Lokasangraha* would appear to be veering round somewhat. In its issue of the 8th instant Gandhi's *Charka* was ridiculed.

It is rumoured that the Directors of the *Lokasangraha* have decided to start an open campaign against Gandhi and challenge his non-co-operation tenets. The seceders believe that the non-co-operation resolution has remained a dead letter to all practical intents and purposes, while, on the other hand, they have fallen into the bad books of Government, all to no purpose. They intend to work up a party if possible and establish a majority in the coming Congress, in open opposition to Gandhi.

They are, however, in somewhat of a quandary about Leaders — Baptista has been lost; N. C. Kelkar lacks the spirit of his master; while V. J. Patel is reported to have denounced the Poona Nationalists for opposing his Malegaon resolution at the last Session of the Maharashtra Provincial Congress at Bassein.

It is said that this spirit of antagonism to Gandhi has been growing for some little time and originated at a private meeting of about 250 prominent Maharashtra Nationalists at which Gandhi was present. At that gathering Kawjaulkar of Pandharpur, a non-co-operating pleader, asked Gandhi to explain his motives for asking lawyers to suspend practice. Gandhi refused to assign any reason, except that he wished them to do so— a reply which elicited the retort that Gandhi was too autocratic and that the pleaders did not propose to follow him. The secession is said to have the tacit approval of N. C. Kelkar and it is expected that the new movement will be welcomed in Berar, where the number of subscribers to the *Lokasangraha* has increased by about 300.

It would thus appear that the Bombay Presidency Nationalists are divided into three groups :—

- (a) Followers of Gandhi.
- (b) Those who have inwardly seceded from him.
- (c) Followers of Baptista.

Page 910, paragraph 523(14)—

Sholapur, June 19th.—M. K. Gandhi returned to Sholapur on the evening of the 28th May and immediately proceeded to the Shah Idgah, where he addressed a congregation of some eight to nine thousand. Moulana Moulvi Mukhtar Ahmed Saheb Siddiqi was in the chair. The chairman, in introducing the lecturer, asked him to state what had transpired at the interview he recently had with the Viceroy. In response Gandhi said that he would not tell them what actually happened there, but he would assure them that if the movement was continued as at present, he was sure that they would get redress for wrongs done at Jallianwala Bagh and a satisfactory settlement of the Khilafat question within a short time and that they would be nearing the goal of *Swaraj* within a year. After going over the usual ground he asked for subscriptions to the Tilak Swaraj Fund and the Khilafat Fund.

Page 923, paragraph 523(25)—

S. B. Bombay Presidency, June 30th.—M. K. Gandhi presided over the meeting of All India Congress Working Committee held in Bombay on June 14th and 15th instant

Page 925, paragraph 523(30)—

Ahmedabad, June 21st.—Gandhi, accompanied by Vallabhbhai J. Patel, went to Patan in Baroda State on the 12th instant and collected Rs. 5,000 for the Swaraj Fund. He addressed the people of Mehsana at the railway station and received Rs. 2,000. He returned to Ahmedabad the same night, and left for Bombay on the 13th.

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Leaflets bearing an address from Mr. Gandhi to the millhands and to the women of Ahmedabad were distributed in the city during the week. They contained a call for subscriptions for the Tilak Swaraj Fund.

Page 928, paragraph 523(38)—

Bombay City, June 27th.—The merchants and residents of Mandvi Ward met in the afternoon on the 26th June at New Chinch Bunder Road to present a purse to Gandhi for the Tilak Swaraj Fund. The meeting took place in a godown which could accommodate ten or twelve thousand people at the outside, but there must have been double that number present. The heat was oppressive and owing to the over-crowding the audience endured much discomfort. Many of them unable to bear it any longer left the place before Gandhi arrived, but dropped their contributions into the collecting boxes as they left. Gandhi, however, stuck it out to the end, intent only on the collection of as large a sum as possible.

Khatri, who is a member of the Mandvi District Congress Committee, had collected 5 lakhs in the Ward which he presented to Gandhi. Collections were also made on the spot and it is said that Rs. 75,000 more was collected in this way.

The collection of the five lakhs came from the following Associations and bodies :—

	Rs.
(1) Mandvi District Congress Committee	18,480
(2) Rice Merchants' Association	1,01,001
(3) Lohana Community Mahajan	1,00,000
(4) Grain Merchants' Association	1,00,000
(5) Kariana Bazar	43,000
(6) Japan-Shanghai Merchants' Association	21,000
(7) Drug Merchants' Association	20,000
(8) Sugar Merchants' Association	12,000
(9) Jain Mahajan Association	6,000
(10) Kachi Dasa Mahajan	8,000
(11) Ghee Bazar Association	5,000
(12) Furniture Merchants' Association and Khoja Mahajan.	5,000
(13) Fan Merchants' Association	8,000
(14) Multani Shroff Association	5,000
(15) Small Associations and individuals	11,000
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	4,63,481
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Gandhi thanked the Mandvi merchants for the purse, but said that he had hoped to obtain a larger contribution from the rich merchants of Mandvi.

The meeting dispersed at 4-30 p.m. amid cries of Gandhi-ki-jai, etc.

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(2) During the week under report Gandhi devoted all his energies to collections for the Tilak Swaraj Fund. Below are shown some of the results :—

On 21st June he visited the spinning class conducted by the Hind Mahila Samaj at New Bhatwadi, Bombay, at the invitation of Mrs. Avantikabai Gokhale. A sum of Rs. 2,658 was handed over to him by Mrs. Gokhale (on behalf of the Mahila Samaj) for the Tilak Swaraj Fund. This amount included a thousand rupees, the sum realised by the sale of Mrs. Gokhale's pearl bangles.

At about 9-30 p.m. he and Mrs. Gandhi were welcomed by the Surati Mahayavanshi Community and other Parel residents at the hall of the Currimbhoy Kamgar Samaj at De Lisle Road. A sum of Rs. 106 was presented to him for the Swaraj Fund.

On 22nd June, at about 9 a.m. he formally opened the Lokmanya Tilak Girls' High School at Gandharva Mahavidyalaya Hall, Sandhurst Road. About Rs. 2,000 and a few ornaments were collected on the spot.

On the 25th June he was presented with a purse of Rs. 1,100 by the Primary school teachers at Cutch Dasa Oswal Mahajanwadi, Khadak.

He attended a meeting of the Bhavsar Community at Kanji Khetsey's Wadi, Modikhana. He was given a purse of Rs. 1,600 by the Bhavsar Community, and about Rs. 1,000 were collected on the spot.

On 26th June, he visited Santa Cruz, where a sum of Rs. 40,000 was given to him.

He was presented with a purse of about 5 lakhs by the merchants and residents of Mandvi at New Chinchbunder Road. About Rs. 75,000 in addition were collected on the spot.

He was welcomed by the shoemakers and cobblers of Bombay at Kazipura near Two Tanks and a sum of Rs. 2,000 was presented to him.

Page 963, paragraph 548(5) (6)—

Bombay Suburban Area, June 26th.—On the 19th June M. K. Gandhi attended a meeting at Vile Parle and received a purse of Rs. 10,000. Contributions were made at the meeting. The amount promised and collected has not been announced. The *Bombay Chronicle* of the 20th June gives a fairly accurate account of the meeting.

Ibid, July 5th.—During the past week great efforts have been made by V. J. Patel to raise money on behalf of the Tilak Swaraj Fund. On the 26th ultimo Gandhi and his usual party visited Santa Cruz in the morning when, it is reported, Rs. 40,000 was presented to him.

On the 30th Gandhi and party visited Borivli and Malad. It is reported that Rs. 45,000 was presented at Borivli and Rs. 12,000 at Malad.

On the 1st instant they visited Bandra where it is reported he received Rs. 15,000.

The amount actually paid over in cash is not known, but it is believed that a great deal of the amounts reported above have only been promised.

(6) *Thana, July 6th.*—The following is a rough estimate of collections and promises :—

	Rs
Palghar	1,000
Bassein	1,500
Umbergaon	4,000
Bhiwandi	4,000
Pudgha	2,000
Wada	350
Total	12,850

I should say that the whole district would not subscribe more than Rs. 20,000.

Page 964-67, paragraph 548(14)—

Bombay City, July 4th.—M. K. Gandhi left Bombay for Ahmedabad on the 27th June and returned to Bombay on the 30th idem. He alighted at Dadar on his way to Bombay and proceeded to Borivli to receive the contributions to the Fund from the Borivli residents. About Rs. 45,000 are reported to have been collected there. He returned from Borivli before noon.

Below are some of the results of his efforts to make up one crore of rupees by 12 midnight on that day:—

(1) At about 1 p.m. he visited the Mangaldas Cloth Market with the Ali Brothers and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. A purse of about Rs. 35,000 was given to him for the Tilak Swaraj Fund. Shaukat Ali put up a Khilafat Note of Re. 1 for auction which fetched Rs. 1,001 from a Mahommadan merchant. The gist of Gandhi's advice to the market people was to deal in Khaddar instead of foreign goods.

(2) At about 2-30 p.m. he and his followers attended a meeting of the Lohanas at Daryasthan, Mandvi. About 3,000 persons, including about 800 ladies, were present. The Lohana community presented a purse of Rs. 1,10,000. About a thousand rupees were collected on the spot. The Lohanas were advised by him to use *Swadeshi* clothes, to give national education to their children and to take up national work.

(3) At about 3-30 p.m. the Bombay Jewellers met in a shamiana pitched in the compound of the Pannalal Terraces, Grant Road, to present a purse to Gandhi in aid of the Fund. About 10,000

persons, including about 500 ladies attended. A purse of about Rs. 2,32,000 was presented by Gulabchand Devchand together with an address which was written out on a *khadi* handkerchief and contained a prayer that God would help Gandhi in reaching the goal of *Swaraj* to which they all aspired. Most of the jewellers of Bombay subscribed though some of the most prominent of them did not attend the meeting. Rewashankar Jagjiwan subscribed Rs. 25,000 and exerted his influence to induce the others to subscribe. About 60,000 rupees which were collected from small associations and bodies, including the Grass Merchants, Plumbers, etc., were also handed over at the time. Collections on the spot were also made which brought the total to about Rs. 3 lakhs. Rewashankar Jagjiwan in a short speech informed the audience that the Fund would be utilized in the establishment of national schools and colleges, spinning propaganda and the removal of the drink evil. Gandhi expressed his satisfaction at the sum collected in view of the prevailing conditions of the Javeri Bazar. He concluded his short speech by advising the audience, and particularly the ladies, to give up luxurious habits and to discard their fine raiment in favour of *Swadeshi*. * * * *

(4) At about 5 p.m. he attended the meeting of the Cotton Merchants and Brokers held at the Colaba Cotton Green. About 7,000 persons—mostly Marwari and other Cotton Merchants—attended. Mathuradas Wasanji Khimji gave a purse of about Rs. 1,54,000 on behalf of the Colaba Cotton Merchants. A motor car valued at about Rs. 12,000 was presented by one Durgadutji and put up for auction ; but the highest bid was only Rs. 6,500; it was therefore not knocked down and is at present part of the assets of the *Swaraj* Fund. Two bales of cotton were also put up for auction; the one on which Gandhi was sitting went for Rs. 6,100; the other, not so pleasantly favoured, only fetched Rs. 2,500. About Rs. 10,000 were collected on the spot.

(5) At about 6 p.m. the residents of the Fort numbering about 2,000 presented him with a purse of about Rs. 1,50,000 at Kanji Khetsi's Wadi, Mint Road.

(6) At about 6-45 p.m. the Parsis numbering about a thousand headed by K. K. Suntoke, pleader, Barjori Framji Bharucha and K. F. Nariman, pleader, met at the Excelsior Theatre and presented a purse of Rs. 30,000, the contributions of the Parsi friends and admirers of Gandhi. The leaders of Parsi Society were conspicuous by their absence. Gandhi and the various Parsi speakers flattered each other on their many noble qualities and achievements, and Gandhi suggested that the Parsi ladies should come out and assist the volunteers on picketing duty.

(7) About 9-30 p.m. the members of the Swaraj Sabha Volunteer Corps and the other public workers presented a purse of Rs. 5,000 through Shaukat Ali as Gandhi had no time to attend the meeting which was held at Chikhalwadi, Grant Road.

(8) At about 9-30 p.m. a public meeting under the auspices of the Mandvi District Congress Committee was held in a godown at Chinchbunder Road, Mandvi, where about 10,000 persons attended. Admission to this meeting was by tickets of Rs. 2 and Re. 1 each. The usual speeches advising the use of *Swadeshi* cloth instead of foreign and the adoption of the *Charka* were made by Gandhi, the Ali Brothers and Mrs. Naidu. About a lakh of rupees were given to Gandhi together with some collections on the spot and a few ornaments.

(9) On 1st July he visited Bandra in the morning with Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. A purse of about Rs. 15,000 was presented to him.

(10) At about 5-20 p.m. he was presented with a purse of about Rs. 400 by the *bhangis*, *mahars* and *dheds* of Walpakhadi, Mazagaon. About 3,000 persons attended. They were advised by Gandhi to take up to weaving and to spread the use of *khaddar*.

The total collection of the city amounted to about Rs. 37,00,000 according to Gandhi's account in the issue of *the Bombay Chronicle*, dated the 1st instant. The Special Supplement issued by *the Bombay Chronicle*, dated 1st July 1921, gives the amounts contributed by the different provinces up to date as a total of one hundred and three lakhs.

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A private meeting of the Council of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee was held at 5-15 p.m. on the 3rd July (for about an hour and a half) at the Hall of the Presidency Association to meet M. K. Gandhi and to consider his proposals for the administration of the Tilak Swaraj Fund. The following persons, among the 20 who attended, were noticed:—

- (1) M. K. Gandhi,
- (2) S. B. Banker,
- (3) Dr. B. M. Velkar,
- (4) Dr. N. D. Savarkar,
- (5) Dr. D. D. Sathaye,
- (6) V. A. Desai,
- (7) L. R. Tairsee,
- (8) Mrs. Sarojini Naidu,

- (9) Jivraj Goculdas Nensev,
- (10) Umar Sobani,
- (11) B. N. Meisheri,
- (12) P. G. Sahasrabudhe,
- (13) Rewashankar Jagjivan,
- (14) K. G. Sanzgiri,
- (15) Govindji Vasanji,
- (16) Moazamali.

Gandhi proposed the adoption of the two following resolutions, which were discussed and passed unanimously :—

Resolution I.—The following persons are hereby appointed trustees to hold the Tilak Swaraj Fund collections made in the City of Bombay:—

- (1) Jamnalal Bajaj,
- (2) Umar Sobani,
- (3) L. R. Tairsee,
- (4) Velji Lakhamesy Nappu,
- (5) Godrej who donated 3 lakhs,
- (6) Raghavji Purshotam,
- (7) Rewashankar Jagjiwan.

Resolution II.—The amounts collected for the Tilak Swaraj Fund in Bombay can only be spent for the following objects :—

- (1) National education,
- (2) Home industries,
- (3) Famine,
- (4) Elevation of the suppressed classes,
- (5) Temperance.

It was decided that none of the money collected in Bombay City should be utilised for any purpose outside the Presidency of Bombay unless the All-India Congress Committee made a recommendation to that effect and such recommendation received the approval of the Bombay Provincial Committee.

Page 969-72, paragraph 552 (A, B, C.) .—

Bombay City, July 7th.—Having collected a crore of rupees more or less for the Tilak Swaraj Fund, M. K. Gandhi has now suggested a complete boycott of foreign cloth before the 1st August, the anniversary day of Tilak's demise.

He published his intention to boycott foreign cloth on the issue of the *Bombay Chronicle*, dated 2nd July 1921, extract appended, "A".

His instructions as to how to boycott foreign goods are contained in the *Bombay Chronicle*, dated 4th July 1921, extract appended, "B".

He was to go to Madras on the 4th instant and had reserved a compartment for the purpose, but he cancelled that arrangement as he now considers it necessary to remain in Bombay to control the boycott campaign. He has also suggested that the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee, which, according to one of the resolutions of the Working Committee, held in Bombay on the 14th and 15th ultimo, was to be held in Lucknow on the 22nd instant, should be held in Bombay, the reason being that he does not want to leave Bombay during the month: for even that short period.

He has been calling the important piece-goods merchants to his house and endeavouring to persuade them to sign a declaration that they would not import foreign piece-goods henceforth and that whatever stocks they might have on hand, would be disposed off outside India. He has addressed an open letter to the cloth merchants in the *Bombay Chronicle*, dated 7th July 1921, extract appended, " C ".

So far only the under-mentioned merchants have signed the undertaking not to import foreign piece-goods :—

- (1) Narandas Purshotamdas.
- (2) Narotam Bhanji.
- (3) Raghavji Purshotam.
- (4) Naranji Dayal.
- (5) Dwarkadas Govardhandas.
- (6) Mansukhlal Oghadbhai.

Gandhi has called a meeting of the piece-goods merchants of the Moolji Jetha Market at 3 p.m. on Friday, the 8th instant, when he intends to advise the boycott of foreign goods. He has also suggested that his friends, followers and well-wishers should burn their foreign clothes on the 1st August at *Chowpatty*, where Tilak was cremated. Vithaldas Vasanji Jairajani suggested that instead of burning the clothes they should give them to the poor; but Gandhi did not approve of this.

Gandhi's intention is to picket the cloth shops if all the foreign pice-goods merchants do not voluntarily undertake not to import or sell foreign cloth. He proposes to use *Dheds* and *Bhangis* as picketers, if and when necessary, in the expectation that no decent Hindu will use violence to the picketers through fear of defiling themselves.

At present the quantity of piece-goods in Bombay and in the Docks is estimated to be worth between 8 to 10 crores of rupees.

"A"

The Bombay Chronicle dated 2nd July 1921

WHAT WE MUST DO NOW

BOYCOTT FOREIGN CLOTH

BY AUGUST 1ST

BY

MAHATMA GANDHI

God is great. He sends help from unexpected quarters. It was but a few days ago that Mr. Das telegraphed saying Bengal had collected no more than three lakhs. It was no small thing for rne

to announce that India had not given the full crore on the due date. I struggle with friends for getting the deficit underwritten. They were ready to give it to me but they would not disclose their names to the world as in their opinion it looked like seeking notoriety. They thought that it was better to leave the figure where it was and try to collect the balance before the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee. I capitulated but I was sore at heart that God had not answered my prayer. And yet I knew Him to be an unfailing God. He sent Bengal to the rescue and ratified the nation's undertaking at- Bezwada. Let us be humble and praise Him. But we dare not tarry on the road to make merry. We must march forward. Each Province should at least make up its numerical proportion of the crore, although the total collection amounts now to one crore and five lakhs.

But our next inevitable step is to bring about a complete boycott of foreign cloth. On the first of August we celebrate the anniversary of Lokmanya's death. We can, if we make a definite special effort, bring about an almost complete boycott of foreign cloth before that date. I know it requires the consensus of an overwhelming majority. But it is not impossible to reach it if we could work with the same zeal as we have for the collections. Then and not till then will India have attained the power to establish *Swaraj* I cannot conceive any better celebration of the anniversary of Lokmanya's death than a complete boycott of foreign cloth.

"B".

The Bombay Chronicle, dated 4th July 1921.

HOW TO BOYCOTT FOREIGN GOODS.

BY

M. K. GANDHI

It is needless to say at this time of the day that the proposed boycott of foreign cloth is not a vindictive process, but is as necessary for national existence as breath is to life. The quicker therefore it can be brought about the better for the country. Without it *Swaraj* cannot be established or retained after establishment. It is of the highest importance to know how it can be brought about even before the first day of August next.

To arrive at the boycott quickly it is necessary for (1) the mill-owners to regularise their profits and to manufacture principally for the Indian market, (2) for importers to cease to buy foreign goods a beginning has already been made by three principal merchants, (3) for the consumers to refuse to buy any foreign cloth and to buy *khadi* wherever possible, (4) for the consumers to wear only *khadi*

cloth, mill cloth being retained for the poor who do not know the distinction between *Swadeshi* and *Pardeshi*, (5) For the consumers to use, till *Swaraj* is established and khadi manufacture increased, khadi just enough for covering the body. (6) For the consumers to destroy *Pardeshi* cloth as they would destroy intoxicating liquors on taking the vow of abstinence or to sell it for use abroad or to wear it out for all dirty work or during private hours.

It is to be hoped that all the parties referred to in the foregoing clauses will respond well and simultaneously. But in the end success depends upon the persistent determination of the consumer. He has simply to decline to wear the badge of his slavery.

“C”.

The Bombay Chronicle, dated 7th July 1921,

THE CLOTH MERCHANTS

Gentlemen,

Yesterday I invited the millowners to help the foreign cloth boycott movement. They may or may not help. I shall hope that they will. But you cannot possibly keep yourselves from it. Because the majority of you are even convinced non-co-operators. You have made possible the fulfilment of the Bezwada promise regarding the Tilak Memorial *Swaraj* Fund. But you will say that whilst payment was a small matter to you, your trade is a matter of life and death. It is just this hallucination that is keeping to you, is the country's good less ? *Swaraj* means that you and I put *Swaraj* away from us. If your trade is a matter of life and death our country's trade before ours. The appeal to you to refrain from importing foreign cloth is in other words an appeal to subordinate your individual gain to the country's.

For every yard you import from England or Japan or America you take away from the mouth of a fellow countryman at least three annas without giving him anything in return. Let me explain. India has enough labour lying idle in her villages. Formerly this was utilised for manufacturing yarn and cloth. Foreign imports made them compulsorily idle. And for these long long years the vast majority have found no other occupation. Hence every drought sends a shiver through every pitying heart in India. It need not be so. A drought is not an unusual Indian phenomenon. We feel its deadly effects, because we are living on the margin of starvation. By prolonged idleness, we have lost the power of sustenance. Do not imagine that these cottagers can all flock to our dozen cities where labour is scarce and find a living. They are burdened with land which they dare not leave even, if they would. And not all the cities of India can hold her millions. Nothing but

the restoration of hand-spinning and hand-weaving can possibly bring back lustre to the Indian eye. And I would be false to you and to India, if I do not tell you that the merchants more than the millowners are responsible for India's deep and distressing poverty. The Mill owners aggravate it no doubt, when they charge heavy prices. But you are so responsible that if you stop the importation of foreign cloth, you can revive the ancient and honourable *Dharma* (duty) of hand-spinning and give an impetus to the industry of hand weaving.

Why, after all, should the abandonment of a trade that harms India be a matter of life and death to many of you? Surely you are resourceful enough to find some other trade beneficial alike to you and the country. The stopping of imports means a saving of sixty crores per year. But it means operation on a much larger capital. It means that all the processes on cotton will be gone through in India. That means business for you. It means a healthy circulation of money as today it is a progressively exhausting drain of money from our dear country. I ask you to disengage your great talents from an unhealthy channel and direct them into the healthy channels that open out to you. You must organise hand-spinning and hand-weaving. Then, you will not be satisfied with coarse khadi as I am. You will insist on your spinning the finest counts and weavers weaving the world-famed Dacca muslin. You will sink fortunes in it whereas I have only paid our sisters the few thousands you have given me as a charity. For you to leave the unholy trade in foreign cloth is to organise the production and distribution of home-spun. It is an enterprise worthy of your patriotism. You whisper to me that such organisation may take a few years. You have not built up your present trade in a moment. If you are satisfied, that it is a trade that has impoverished and enslaved India, you will not stop to think of the consequences of its destruction. You will let it go at any cost.

And what is the cost? Not much. You have to stop all further orders for foreign cloth or yarn. That costs nothing. You have a stock of foreign cloth to get rid of. The world's market is open to you for its disposal. There are many uses to which the Indians specialities can be put in say Mauritius, South Africa or East Africa. You will but let me think out for you the best method of disposing of the stock of foreign cloth and yarn you have.

Some of you have developed an anxiety for the requirements of the consumer. He will accommodate himself to the shortage, feel none the worse for it and will be better able to appreciate next year the plenty of beautiful Khadi of every variety of width and thinness.

I ask you not to put an undue strain upon the consumer. It is not right for you to put temptations in his or her way in the shape of flimsy Japanese *dhotis* or *saris* or starchy Calico. I urge you rather to cultivate in the consumer the taste to see art in khadi. Evenness, even softness, is not necessarily an art. The most exquisitely made rose flowers from silks has no art in it. For it has no life. But the real flower from the garden with most petals gone is any day infinitely superior to the finished artificial product in a dressed window. The former is instinct with life. Would that the merchants of India ceasing to be mercenary, will study the ancient art and make it their business to revive it. There is money in it for you and the country. The greatest art to be revived is *Swaraj*. There is no *Swaraj* without *swadeshi*. And *swadeshi* means for India a permanent boycott of foreign cloth. I invite you to lead the way. For you have the ability. May God grant you the strength and wisdom to lead.

I am, Gentlemen,
Your faithful friend,
M. K. GANDHI.

Page 977, paragraph 553(11)—

Bombay City, July 4th.—Information has been received that recent developments in the picketing movement have caused anxiety to the leaders. Apparently very little discrimination was exercised in the enrolment of volunteers with the natural result that hooligans and irresponsible people of various sorts found their way into the ranks. This became manifest from the behaviour of certain of the volunteers and particularly from the evidence recorded in some of the cases sent up by the police. In consequence Gandhi's advice was sought and he suggested that in future only volunteers of good character should be enrolled who could be relied on to adhere to the doctrine of non-violence ; he also said no payment of any sort should be made to the volunteers and if any of them happened to be convicted in the course of their duty, they should go to jail instead of paying fines. The Provincial Congress Committee have now formed a Vigilance Committee consisting of the following persons :—

V. A. Desai, President.
A. H. S. Khatri.
K. B. Sanzgiri.

L. T. Patankar.
V. V. Jairajani.
B. N. Meisheri.

They intend to weed out the undesirable among the volunteers, and to exercise greater vigilance in future in recruiting.

There is however a difference of opinion among the leaders whether the picketing campaign is really an effective way of dealing with the drink evil. Gandhi himself is said to be opposed to the movement, and to have advised its abandonment; he is dissatisfied with the way the movement has been managed up to date and foresees that if it is continued on those lines it is very likely to lead to violence; some others also are in favour of a temperance campaign among the drinking classes as being more likely to effect radical improvement than the system of picketing. The matter was considered in all its bearings in a meeting a day or two ago and no definite agreement was reached and it is understood that it will come up for further discussions in a few days' time. It is just possible that picketing may be abandoned at this meeting.

Page 978, paragraph 555—

Poona, July 5th.—Below copy of a telegram, dated the 28th June, from Gandhi, Bombay, to Pandit Malaviya, Simla :—

" Never intended apology Government. If I had would have stated clearly. Wrote Viceroy last week for publication agreed account interview or absolution from confidence."

Page 1016, paragraph 583—

Bombay City, July 11th.—Gandhi is now concentrating all his energies on the boycott of foreign cloth. He had arranged to go down to Madras at the beginning of the month but at the last moment he cancelled this arrangement: he decided not to go to Karachi during the Khilafat Conference and he has now arranged that the All-India Congress Committee Meeting which was fixed to take place in Lucknow on the 22nd should be held in Bombay; he feels he cannot afford to be absent from Bombay even for a day. Since the second of this month, he has been publishing almost daily appeals in the *Chronicle* to the mill-owners, the merchants and the consumers, and in public and in private he is using all his powers of persuasion to make his movement a success.

On the 8th instant he met the members of the Native Piece Goods Merchants' Association at the Mulji Jetha Market Hall. He advised them to boycott foreign cloth and to popularise *khaddar*. He was asked what was to be done with the stocks in hand; he said they could be sold in South Africa, Mauritius and other places outside India; he was also asked what guarantee there was that merchants who Signed an undertaking not to sell foreign cloth would not continue to sell it under another name; his reply was that he had absolute faith in the honour of the signatories. In regard to the fear expressed in some quarters that the immediate

result of the boycott of foreign cloth would be that the Indian mills would raise their prices, he said that this would not happen and he had already had a promise from Ambalal Sarabhai of Ahmedabad that his mills in any case would not increase their prices.

The merchants however, in spite of all arguments, were in no hurry to make pledges and only one named Ranchoddas gave a written undertaking at the meeting.

On the same day he addressed a meeting of Commission Agents including representatives from the Hindustani Native Merchants' Association, the Shroff Mahajan Association, the Bombay Commission Agents' Association, the Lingayat Commission Agents and the Memon Commission Agents. About 400 were present. The meeting was held in the hall of the Hindustani Native Merchants' Association in Kalbadevi Road. Admission was restricted to ticket-holders only. Gandhi explained to them that it was not enough to collect money, but the attainment of *Sawraj* entailed much self-sacrifice and the sacrifice that they would be called upon to make was the boycott of foreign cloth. Manjilal, the President of the Hindustani Merchants' Association, explained some of the difficulties that both the agents and the merchants had to face but Gandhi said that all these difficulties would disappear in time and the demand for *khaddar* would soon give them all the business they wanted.

In reply to his advice to sign declarations that they would not import foreign cloth, about eight signed.

On the 10th he addressed a meeting of the staff and members of the Drug Merchants' Association. There were about 400 present Chunilal Dahyabhai was the only prominent drug merchant present. The meeting was convened by the servants and mehtas of the merchants and the men of standing in the trade did not attend. Gandhi addressed them on the boycott of cloth as consumers ; he pointed out that even if merchants and mill-owners turned down his scheme, it was still in the power of the consumers to force them to adopt it. At the end of his discourse he called for a show of hands of those who were in favour of the boycott; about a fourth of them raised their hands. Gandhi complimented the majority on their courage in refusing to show their hands, but hoped that when they had carefully considered the whole question they would change their minds.

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Page 1018, paragraph 583 (continued)—

Bombay, July 14th.—Jamnalal Bajaj of Wardha, who is in Bombay, is trying to induce Marwadi Cloth Merchants and Commission

Agents to sign a vow not to deal in foreign cloth. I attach translation of a copy of the vow which is as follows :—

"Shree Hari

Pratignapatra (vow paper)

We, the undersigned, take a vow that :—

(1) We from today shall never deal in foreign-made cloth or cloth made up in foreign yarn.

(2) We shall only deal in hand-woven and hand-spun cloth.

Signatures.

date.

.....

.....

Gandhi has also authorised a *Swadeshi* vow to be taken by every male and female of 21 years of age. I attach the translation of a copy of that vow.

Swadeshi Vrat (Vow)

"Bande Mataram

I, the undersigned, according to my conscience, and in the name of God, pledge myself to observe one of the three following vows from the 1st of August 1921, Samvat 1977, Ashad Vad 12, Monday : —

(1) I shall wear pure *Swadeshi* clothes.

(2) I shall use hand-woven clothes made out of mills made yarn.

(3) I shall use clothes spun and woven in the mills of India."

The different *Swadeshi* Sabhas of the Bombay Presidency have been instructed to take people's signatures.

Page 1023, paragraph 584—

Bombay City, July 1th.—This morning (Tuesday) 11th July Gandhi met the liquor-shop keepers at the Marwadi Vidyalaya Hall, Sandhurst Road. There were about 800 present, mainly Bombay liquor shop keepers and their friends, though some shop keepers from the mofussil had also come down for the meeting. At the outset Gandhi addressed them explaining to them the evil effects of the drink traffic not only on the consumers but on the shop keepers themselves : he quoted from Hindu Mythology in support of his arguments; he described the trade as mean and despicable on which a refined and respectable community like the Parsis should abhor; he himself was in favour of the postponement of picketing for two reasons, viz., firstly, because the organisation for dealing with picketing was not complete and consequently *badmashes* were found among the ranks of the volunteers, and, secondly, because he was so engrossed in the question of the boycott of foreign cloth that he had not sufficient time to devote to the picketing of liquor shops; its continuance or discontinuance was not however in his

hands but in the hands of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee who were going to meet and discuss the question this evening.

Gandhi's diatribes against the liquor trade profession excited great dissatisfaction among the shop keepers.

When he had finished his address, several of the shop keepers put questions to him. One pointed out that picketing was resorted to without any warning and after the shop keepers had paid their license fees; another complained that all the picketers were *badmashes* and that their foul language would disgrace any movement; another reminded him that during the last mill strike when most of the liquor shops were closed, customers went as far even as Bandra to get their drink and that people were not going to be coerced into total abstention; others pointed out that many of them were not well-to-do and it was gross injustice to deprive them of their means of livelihood in this arbitrary way.

Gandhi said their complaints, boiled down, resolved themselves into a question of money, and he wanted to know whether they would be willing to close their shops if they were refunded their license fees; some said they would be willing if they could be quite sure that some other licensees would not snap up the business; Gandhi suggested that they should give him a declaration to that effect in writing and he would take up the matter in the Press. Nobody however came forward in favour of this suggestion.

He also referred to recent events in Dharwar; his information was that the people were not at fault but that the Collector's harsh measures had led to the outbreak it was not fault of the picketers if Mr. Painter had been at Ahmedabad instead of at Dharwar, he would have learnt how many score made a hundred; no injury of course would have been done to Mr. Painter in Ahmedabad but he would have learnt his place.

Page 1047, paragraph 600(26)—

"Bombay Chronicle", dated 17th July 1921.

HOW TO MEET TURKISH SITUATION

BEZWADA PROGRAMME AND DUTY OF NATIONALISTS.

The following is the report of the Non-co-operation Committee of the Central Khilafat Committee :—

In view of the threatening situation regarding the Turkish Government in Angora, we have been asked by The Central Khilafat Committee to report upon the best way of meeting it.

As a committee appointed to deal with non-co-operation matters only we have no authority to consider any means outside non-co-operation. But the, success already achieved by non-violent non-co-operation movement make it unnecessary, in our opinion, to

consider any means outside it. When at the end of this month the results of the pursuits of the Bezwada programme of the Congress are tabulated, we shall be in a still better position to gauge the success of non-co-operation, and to take, in consultation with the All-India Congress Committee, which meets at Lucknow on 22nd July, such steps as the situation may warrant.

Civil Disobedience

In so far as non-co-operation is concerned, it is obvious that every further step to be taken must be determined by the condition of the people of India. It has already been suggested that the progress made in the last three months justifies the advisability of having recourse to Civil Disobedience. The disregard of Moslem and Indian opinion once more displayed by the Government of Britain in the matter of their attitude towards the Turks coupled with the gross misuse of law in India in order to suppress the non-co-operation movement in spite of its non-violence may force us to adopt Civil Disobedience at an early date. However, since the All-India Congress Committee is to consider this proposal in its meeting at Lucknow, it is advisable to await its decision.

Nevertheless we desire to point out that the situation in Europe ought to stimulate the people, and particularly the Mussalmans, to great exertion in regard to the programme already before the country, i.e., in respect of Titles, Councils, Schools and Colleges, Law Courts and Recruiting. We hold that it is high time the soldier class refrained in a higher measure than it has hitherto done from joining the army. We consider it to be the duty of the Indian soldiers to refuse to assist the British Government, should it require them to fight against the Turks. The Moslem Ulemas should exert themselves to the fullest extent to bring home to the Moslem soldiery the commandments of Islamic Law concerning them, and all non-co-operators should now lay special stress upon the opinion expressed by the Working Committee of the Congress with regard to the duty of the Indian Soldier in the event of the re-opening of hostilities against the Turks.

Main features of Non-Co-operation Programme

Above all we desire to place on record our conviction that a greater effort is necessary to carry out the Bezwada programme, if we are successfully to cope with what appears to be the undoubtedly hostile attitude of the British Government towards the Turks and Islam. No adult Indian, male or female should delay in registering his or her name in the Congress register or contributing to the Tilak Swaraj Fund. We consider the introduction of the spinning-wheel in every home, the universal use of *khaddar*, and the complete

boycott of foreign cloth as indispensable for the attainment of our end, along with the enlistment of all people and particularly the Mussalmans as members of the Khilafat Committee and their contributing liberally for the sufferers from Smyrna, who must otherwise constitute a terrible drain on the already reduced resources of the Turkish Government of Angora.

We therefore urge redoubled efforts in these directions and expect response commensurate in its readiness with the gravity and urgency of the situation. We have taken note of the universal feeling of indignation produced by the news that Britain was contemplating further hostile action against Turkey and consider that it is our duty to direct this feeling into channels productive of the greatest good, so that India may attain all the sooner the greater purpose of redressing the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs and the crowning achievement of *Swaraj* which it has set before itself. The goal is not distant, but still the greatest effort is needed to reach it before Turkey is irretrievably weakened. This apprehension alone should stir every Mussalman to exertion on behalf of fulfilment of the non-co-operation programme.

(Signed) Mahatma Gandhi. Maulana Shaukat Ali. Dr. Kitchlew. Ahmad Haji Sidiqe Khatri.

Page 1056, paragraph 605(3)—

Bombay City, July 18th.—There have been no developments of importance in the cloth boycott movement. As far as we know Gandhi has not obtained any more written promises from merchants not to import foreign cloth.

Two meetings in support of the movement at which Gandhi and Mohamed Ali spoke were held in Bombay on the 16th and 17th instant.

In addition Gandhi addressed the Jains on the 15th at the Jain temple at Lalbag, and the hand-loom weavers at Madanpura at Yusuff Bagh, Ripon Road, on the 17th.

Page 1065-67, paragraph 608(16)—

Bombay City, July 20th.—Under the auspices of the Parsi Rajkiya Sabha a meeting of liquor contractors both Parsis and Hindu Bhandaris—was held on the 19th July at the Marwadi Vidyalyaya Hall. About 700 people attended. Prominent among the audience were : —(1) M. K. Gandhi, (2) Mohamed Ali, (3) Burjorji Framji Bharucha, (4) Anandrao Narayan Surve, (5) Rustom Peston Jehangir, a retired Assistant Collector of Abkari, and two ladies.

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Gandhi said that the question of picketing did not rest with him but that it was in the hands of the Provincial Congress Committee. His advice to the Congress Committee was known to them but he

would not now recommend to the Congress Committee the suspension of picketing. The petition that was intended to be sent to Government was ready and as they were not non-co-operators they could have no objection to petition Government. The contractors were perfectly justified in asking the Government for a refund of the licence fees. It was impossible for Government to close their shops forcibly, but the contractors could close the trade on receiving a refund of their money. He then referred to the tragedies at Aligarh and Dharwar and suggested that the liquor shops were responsible for the deaths of so many people. He had received a telegram from Aligarh that Sherwani of Aligarh, one of the most respectable men, but now a fakir, had also been arrested for pacifying the crowd. The cause of the whole trouble arose from picketing. He also received a telegram from Belgaum intimating to him that Gangadharrao Deshpande and his friends were prohibited from entering the Cantonment area for the purpose of picketing. His advice to Deshpande was that although the order was illegal he should obey it for the present to make them fit for civil disobedience. So in order to avoid all these catastrophies he desired that in the interest of the nation the shop keepers should close their liquor shops. He was quite aware of the bad financial condition of the contractors, but it was the duty of the community to look to the interests of those people. *He then warned them that in the month of September there would be a river of blood when picketing was resumed seriously.* The picketers would rather die on the spot than abandon their duty. He felt that the shops must be closed even if there were rivers of blood on account of the picketers. He would not promise the contractors that picketing would not begin in August. He had received letters blaming him for stopping picketing just as he was blamed for advising the Ali Brothers. He was similarly blamed for stopping the *Satyagraha* movement. It was not through weakness but through strength that he advised the Ali Brothers who could put him in their pocket if they so desired. His duty was only to advise. Similarly he desired that the liquor shop keepers should listen to the nation's cry and prevent the evil. Personally speaking he would rather meet death in the act of picketing than from the bite of a serpent or from disease. He hoped that the contractors would do their duty to the country by closing the liquor shops.

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Gandhi asked them to sign their names to the memorial to Government if they wished to do so. He did not force anybody but he simply expressed his desire as he did in other matters, As regards the "misunderstanding caused" by one of the speakers about

rivers of blood in September, he said that there would be many men like Sherwani, Mohamad Ali and himself who would come forward to do the picketing and if they were arrested their places would be filled by thousands of his countrymen. If these thousands came forward to sacrifice their lives and if there was a little stone-throwing from one or two of the crowd, the result would be that the Government would shoot them and shed their blood in return for the stone throwing. He reminded the people of what happened at Dharwar and Aligarh. Some of the crowd at Dharwar threw stones and the reply was by way of bullets. *That was no new thing in India.* A dangerous situation was sure to arise when the people or the picketers were pressed between the Government, the contractors and the drinkers. It was therefore that he said that rivers of blood would flow in September unless their shops were closed. Finally he told the shop keepers that they were at liberty to obtain a copy of the petition from Mr. Bharucha and sign the memorial if they so wished. So saying he declared the meeting dissolved stating that he had to go to Poona that night and that he could not afford to spend more time and allow even Mohamed Ali to speak even for five minutes.

Page 1067, paragraph 609(1)—

Panch Mahals, July 13th.—The Local Home Rule League has received a donation of Rs. 50,000 from Mr. Gandhi for famine relief work in the Panch Mahals District. It is reported the money will be utilised in opening cheap grain shop in central places.

Page 1106, paragraph 643(7)—

Bombay, July 22nd.—M. K. Gandhi addressed a meeting of Hand-loom weavers on 17th instant.

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Bombay City, July 23rd.—Appended is the translation of leaflet which is being distributed in Bombay since the 21st:—

(Translation.) "

"MESSAGE OF MAHATMA GANDHI

Remember the holy name of " Lokamanya " on the 1st August by discarding foreign cloth and wearing *khaddar*. Boycott is an indis-pensable condition for the attainment of *Swaraj* and redress of the public and Khilafat wrongs.

Lakhs of brothers and sisters—Hindus and Mahommadans— Parsis, Christians and Jews, all should come to honour the memory of the Lokamanya on the 1st August,

Those who will not wear *khadi*, at least our mill made cloth, need not attend. To come dressed in foreign clothes is an insult tp the memory of the deceased Lokamanya. Give away the foreign cloth

to volunteers or send it to the stores opened in the Asoka Building in Princess Street. To make a bonfire of them is the best way but, if you wish, they will be sent to Smyrna or some other country."

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Ibid, July 26th.—There have been no developments of importance in the cloth boycott movement. No more merchants have signed declaration, and there is little public sympathy with the movement. Gandhi addressed a meeting of about 500 volunteers on the 21st instant; he requested them to make house-to-house visits in order to collect foreign clothes which the owners wished to give up; he said it was their duty to put their hearts into their work both in the temperance and cloth boycott movements ; he himself would be ready to take part in picketing in September and to go to jail if necessary. At this meeting a picketer named Narayan Ganuji Mochi, who was sentenced to 14 days' imprisonment for robbery on the 7th July was presented to Gandhi by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. Gandhi gave him blessing and Mrs. Naidu garlanded him. Volunteers are now going from house to house collecting foreign clothes; these clothes are stored at various centres pending final decision whether they should be burned on the 1st August or distributed among the poor. One of my officers who has inspected them states that they are mainly old clothes which in the ordinary course the owner would throw away. Among the genuine renouncers, Omar Sobani at present easily leads the field, the value of his discarded raiment being estimated at Rs. 30,000. I have had the volunteers watched to ascertain if house-holders are subjected to bullying or intimidation but so far nothing of that sort has come to notice.

I (P. C.) have had an application from Umar Sobani signing as Joint Secretary of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee for permission to hold a meeting on the Chaupatti sands on the 1st August to celebrate Tilak's anniversary. I have given the permission but have mentioned in my reply that it does not cover any demonstration in connection with the burning of cloth.

Two meetings were held by Gandhi on the subject of the boycott. In the meeting on the 22nd only about a tenth of those who were present showed their hands in favour of the boycott, though the *Chronicle* reports that " nearly all present" did so.

Page 1117, paragraph 652(1)(4)—

C. I. D., Bombay Presidency—July 29th.—On Wednesday, the 20th July, Poona City celebrated on a very extensive scale the anniversary of the late B. G. Tilak. The guests for the day included M. K. Gandhi, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Mohamed Ali who came up

from Bombay. There were no less than ten meeting and functions, the programme lasting from 7 a.m. until 8-30 at night.

The first meeting was in connection with the unveiling of Tilak's picture in the hall of the Poona Native General Library, at 7 a.m., the audience being addressed by Rao Bahadur, Moghe, Nagarkar and M. K. Gandhi.

The second function consisted of a crowded meeting attended by about 7,000 people, when an address was presented to Gandhi, on behalf of the Municipality, by the President, L. J. Apte. Gandhi replied, and there was a short speech also by S. G. Lavate. During the course of the proceedings the portrait of Tilak was unveiled by Gandhi, amidst cries of "Tilak Maharaj ki jai".

At 9 a.m. the third item of the programme was carried through, and consisted of the opening ceremony of the Tilak Mahavidyalaya by Gandhi. This was attended by about 200 people and speeches were made by D. R. Gharpure, Gandhi, Mahomed Ali, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and N. C. Kelkar. Reports of the meeting show that very little new ground was broken, though Gandhi explained that the difference between National and Government institutions lay not in the system of education, but in the spirit which the two systems infused. National Schools were free and independent and the scholars were not obliged to sing "God save the King," but were at liberty to chant "Bande Mataram". Mahomed Ali, as usual, appealed to the audience to prepare for sacrifice.

The fourth and fifth items were private functions at Mehendale's Wada and the Kesari Office. At each place Tilak's photo was unveiled.

The sixth meeting was also private and was attended by ladies only, when Gandhi and Mr. Mahomed Ali gave addresses in the Kirloskar Theatre. This was at 3-30 p.m.

At 4-30 p.m. there was a fairly large meeting of about 700 people in Gaekwad Wada when the following speakers spoke :—Baptista, Jamnadas M. Mehta, M. B. Velkar of Bombay, L. B. Bhopatkar, V. G. Ketkar of Nasik and N. C. Kelkar. Baptista was the main speaker and enunciated his policy of 'responsive co-operation'.

The 8th item consisted of a crowded meeting at Bhowani Peth when the following speakers addressed the audience:—Moulvi Muhammad, A. A. Siddiki, Gandhi, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Mahomed Ali.

A still larger meeting was held about an hour later in the Shanwar Wada when the same speakers with the exception of the Moulvi again spoke, and were supported by Bhopatkar, Gokhale and

Kelkar. At the latter meeting the following resolution was passed :—

" Of the many means resolved upon by Tilak to achieve *Swaraj* and in conformity with the non-co-operation resolution of the Indian National Congress foreign cloth is to be boycotted. It is the earnest request of this meeting that all people should wear clothes made solely from yarn prepared in India and of cloth woven in India." The last meeting was at 8-30 p.m. and was attended by ladies only.

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(4) *Bombay, July 25th.*—Gandhi delivered a lecture at Madanpura on the 23rd July on the life work of Tilak. There were about 500 present. Baptista was to preside but did not come and his place taken by a man named Patade.

Gandhi said Tilak had three great characteristics, fearlessness, self-sacrifice and simplicity, and if the people wanted *Swaraj* they must cultivate the same, qualities. He soon forgot Tilak and mounted his hobby horse, the cloth boycott, and the rest of his address was devoted to that.

Page 1151, paragraph 680 (12)—

Belgaum, July 31st.—On the 19th July the District Magistrate, Belgaum, issued a notice under section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, against the following persons :—

Govind Venkatesh Yalgi,

G. B. Deshpande,

B. B. Potdar, and

D. R. Majji,

and the public of Belgaum generally, prohibiting them from picketing any. of the liquor-shops without the Cantonment limits. The City Sub-Inspector overheard a conversation of the leaders on the subject of the notice Majji and Potdar were of opinion that the order is illegal and were considering the advisability of disobeying it. Yalgi, however, suggested that they should write to Gandhi and wait his instructions. On the 20th instant Gandhi wired as follows : —

"Obey even the illegal order against picketing, as that will surely in the future strengthen the Civil Disobedience movement. Try hard to boycott foreign cloth," Leaflets containing Gandhi's instructions were subsequently distributed throughout the City. Since the issue of the notice there has been no picketing either in the Cantonment or City.

Page 1153, paragraph 686—

Bombay City, August 1st.—Gandhi attended the Court of the Acting Second Presidency Magistrate on the 30th July. He was called as a witness for the defence by the accused who is now being prosecuted for cheating. The case against the accused is that at a meeting, at which Gandhi was present, the accused advocated the boycott of certain tea-shops belonging to the complainant, who is also a liquor shop-keeper, because some picketers had been roughly handled outside the complainant's liquor-shop ; the tea-shops were accordingly boycotted; then the accused went to the complainant and said if he paid Rs. 300 to the Khilafat Fund he would have the boycott removed and subsequently he demanded Rs. 100 more to defray expenses in connection with a *pan supari* to Shaukat Ali; complainant paid Rs. 400; but the boycott was not removed; whereupon complainant went to Shaukat Ali to complain; Shaukat Ali advised him to complain to the Police as nobody but the accused had seen the Rs. 400.

Gandhi merely said in his examination that he did not remember hearing the accused advise the boycott of complainant's tea-shops ; if he had heard him he would have rebuked him.

Gandhi attended Court on the 30th July and on the 29th he sent a telegram to a man in Hyderabad; Sind, saying that "non-co-operators cannot give evidence ".

Page 1183, paragraph 706(5)—

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Bombay, August 8th.—Under the auspices of the Parsi Rajkiya Sabha a public meeting was held in the Excelsior Theatre on the 2nd August in aid of the Smyrna Relief Fund, M. K. Gandhi presiding. Admission was by ticket. About 3,000 people, Mahommadans, Parsis and Hindus, were present.

M. K. Gandhi, Lala Lajpatrai, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Hales, Yakub Hasan, K. F. Nariman, K. K. Suntoke, M. Pickthall and the Ali Brothers addressed the meeting. The following three resolutions were passed. The proceedings were reported in the *Bombay Chronicle*, dated 3rd August 1921.

RESOLUTIONS

(1) This meeting, representative of the Citizens of Bombay without difference of caste or creed, regards with horror the atrocities committed by Greek troops and their adherents in the homelands of the Turkish race.

(2) This meeting resolves, in view of the present boycott of foreign cloth in India, that as much as possible of the said foreign cloth discarded by the Indian people shall be sent to Turkey for the comfort

of the sufferers from Greek aggression, of whom nearly a million are devoid of proper clothing or the means to buy it, and that an All-India Committee be at once appointed to organise this philanthropic work which is well calculated to promote the sense of universal brotherhood.

(3) In view of the facts that an inter-allied commission of enquiry has pronounced that the Greek claim to even Smyrna and its immediate hinterland is unjust, that another inter-allied commission lately testified to the horrors which Greek rule entails upon the Muslim majority that the Greek are now in " occupation " of a large part of Turkey and that the present Greek offensive is said to have been undertaken in defiance of the wish of the allies, this meeting has no confidence in the declaration of her neutrality by Great Britain and places on record its opinion that had the British Government been sincere in its profession, it could have protected Turkey from the unprovoked attack upon her homelands by the Greeks and it would have done so without in any way endangering the rights of non-mussalman races in the Turkish dominions.

Page 1185, paragraph 708(3)—

Bombay, August 1st.—A spinning class was started at Madanpura last week by Anandram Vaikuntraï, the Secretary of the Handloom Weavers' union, with about a dozen *Charkas*. Gandhi paid a visit to the class on the 31st July.

Page 1191, paragraph 708(11)(12)—

Bombay S. Division, August 1st.—Great efforts are being put forward to get the people to discard the use of foreign cloth.

On the 30th July, at 9 p.m. Mahatma Gandhi, C. R. Das, Pandit Motilal Nehru and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu attended a meeting at Ville Parle. About 200 persons were present. Gandhi urged the audience to leave off wearing foreign cloth.

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On the 1st August M. K. Gandhi visited Ghatkopar and addressed a meeting held in the bungalow of Heerachand Devichand Desai. About 500 people were present. As many of the ladies present were dressed in their best, Gandhi took the opportunity of reproving them. The main point of his address was on the matter of wearing *khadi*

(12) *Nasik, August 8th.*—* * * * On the 3rd August Gandhi with Muhammad Ali passed through Manmad. They were greeted at the station by a crowd. Muhammad Ali briefly advocated the boycott of foreign cloth. Gandhi, in response, for a few kind words, said he was sorry to see so much foreign cloth still in use for head-gear and clothes. Whereupon some 35 to 40 caps and 2 to 3 coats were thrown into his carriage. These were given to Tyab, Arab, to be burnt. One wonders if they were burnt !

Page 1192, paragraph 709(17)—

Bombay City, August 8th.—* * * * Adam Haji Ismail, a Memon, has started a business called the "Khilafat Stores" at Bhendi Bazar. The opening ceremony of the Stores was performed by Gandhi at 12-30 p.m. on the 3rd August. There were about 200 persons present amongst whom were the following: Shaukat Ali Muhammad Ali and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu.

Gandhi in declaring the Stores open hoped that rich merchants in Bombay would encourage the *Swadeshi* movement by starting such Stores all over the City. No one else spoke.

Page 1202, paragraph 724—

Bombay City, August 8th.—The Central Khilafat Committee and Gandhi have issued appeals to the Mahommadan public not to slaughter cows on the forthcoming Bakr-i-Id.

Page 1256 & 58-59, paragraph 764(7)—

Bombay City, August 24th.—Proceedings of the Working Committee held at Mahatma Gandhi's residence in Laburnum Road, Bombay, on the 31st July.

The proceedings commenced at 8-30 a.m.

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Mahatma Gandhi then proposed the following resolution :—

XVII.—Without prejudice to the constitutional questions relating to the elections to the All-India Congress Committee held in Bengal and Madras last month and without going into the merits thereof, in view of the fact that fresh elections must take place in or before November next all over India and in view of the fact that a very intensive programme is at present set before all Congress organizations, this Committee considers it undesirable, in the interests of the country, to disturb the said elections and advises such persons from Bengal and Madras as feel themselves aggrieved to co-operate with the Provincial organizations in both the Provinces with a view to the prosecution of the programme to a successful issue.

The motion was duly seconded by Moulana Mahomed Ali.

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Votes being taken the resolution was passed by a majority, one voting against and one not voting.

Bombay City, August 29th.—

Page 1306, paragraph 806(10)—

Translation of Gujarati Leaflet.

Mahatma Gandhi's Message

If India carries out successfully the programme of boycott in September and depends on itself in October, appears to me that the result will not but give satisfaction, to one who hopes for the highest

and to one like me who is anxious to arrive at the speediest solution of the Khilafat.

To

The ladies and gentlemen of Bombay :

Hand over your foreign clothes to the National School boy. Have *khadi* from the Khadi Bhandar or the Congress Committee Office.

(Signed) UCHHRANGRAI KESHAVRAI OZA,

Principal.

National School, Bombay :

22nd August 1921.

Maneek Press, Grant Road.

To

THE WOMEN OF INDIA.

Message of Mahatma Gandhi.

Just as the destruction of articles full of plague germs is the best action from the economic point of view, so is the destruction of foreign cloth the best action of all.

Your blessings can be fruitful by discarding your foreign clothes and by spinning always in the leisure hours for the benefit of the nation.

When the National School boys come to your doors then,—

- (1) Hand over the richest of your apparel.
- (2) Purchase *khadi saris* from the Khadi Bhandar or the Congress Committee.
- (3) Spin as much as you can in the leisure hours.

UCHHRANGRAI KESHAVRAI OZA,

Principal.

National School :

Bombay, 22nd August 1921.

Page 1373, paragraph 863(1)—

S. B. Sind, Karachi, August 31st.—Information has been received from an inside source which is believed to be reliable, to the effect that the future plans of the All-India Congress Committee are at present as follows:—

" Gandhi and other leaders are to tour until the end of September when they will assemble in Bombay to work out details of their future policy. A meeting of the All-India Congress Committee is to be held either in Bombay or at Lucknow to discuss the programme for October and November, a further meeting being held at the end of November to discuss the programme for December. It is expected that the programme will probably be drawn up on the following lines:—"In October, a "clear call" to be given to students and lawyers to boycott schools, colleges and courts. In November public

servants, excluding those in the military and the police, to be induced to resign from Government service, In December military and police will be induced to resign.

In view of the attitude of Gandhi, Kelkar, Patel, C. R. Das, Nehru and of the members of the Working Committee there is no possibility of ' Civil Disobedience' being adopted in the near future. Muhammad. Ali, however, is strongly urging that it should be introduced.

A meeting of the All-India Khilafat Committee is to be held at an early date and as a result of the confiscation of the unanimous *fatwa* of the Ulemas of India it is possible that the All-India Khilafat Committee may decide On ' Civil Disobedience'. It is also probable that the All-India Ulemas Committee will decide in the same way.

The leaders do not now intend to declare a republic at the Ahmedabad meeting of the All-India Congress Committee. It is proposed that in order to maintain Gandhi's prestige, a meeting will be held in Ahmedabad, probably of the Working Committee, at which a resolution will be passed extending the period of preparation by another six months. At the general meeting of the All-India Congress Committee Gandhi will then insist on the immediate declaration of a republic, but all other leaders will oppose him."

The informant adds that these decisions are to be regarded as provisional and liable to change as the situation develops.

Page 1378, paragraph 869(1)—

Karachi, September 6th.—Mahatma Gandhi has sent a message to the people of Sind to boycott foreign cloth completely before the 1st October 1921 and thus prove that fitness for *Swaraj*. He has appealed especially to the women of Sind to rise equal to the occasion and remove the stain of foreign wear from them. He has also made a demand of 5,000 men from Sind who are ready to go to jail. This request shows that Gandhi is contemplating some serious mischief.

Page 1453, paragraph 946—

August 27th—A meeting of the All-India Congress Working Committee was held at Patna on the 16th August.

Out of the fifteen members of the Committee only four, namely, Mr. Gandhi, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Seth Jamnalal Bajaj, Muhammad ali and Babu Rajendra Prasad attended. The meeting lasted about three hours and the following resolutions were passed :—

(1) In order to bring about an effective boycott of foreign cloth before September 30th, it is necessary that foreign cloth from every house should be collected by volunteers under proper control.

(2) In order to cope with the demand for *khaddar* that must arise with: the-boycott of foreign cloth, the Committee considers it necessary for every Provincial Congress Committee to set apart

and spend not less than a fourth of its contribution to the all-India Tilak Swaraj Fund in organising the extension of hand spinning, the collection of hand-spun yarns, the weaving of khaddar and their distribution.

(3) All workers should concentrate their attention chiefly on the boycott of foreign goods and the manufacture of *khaddar*.

(4) The Provincial Congress Committee should send weekly telegraphic reports to the Working Secretary of the Congress Committee giving the production of *khaddar*, the quantity distributed, the number of shops selling foreign cloth by September 30, and the number of shop-keepers stocking *khaddar*.

(5) Provinces that have not sent 25 per cent. of their contribution on to the Working Treasurer are asked to do so before August 31. The Working Secretary should not authorise the payment of any grants to provinces that cannot produce a certificate of full payment.

(6) That funds be provided from *Swaraj* collections for the maintenance of the dependents of non-co-operators in prison when necessary.

Some other resolutions previously drafted by Mr. Gandhi were passed to members for perusal and approval but were not openly discussed. What these resolutions were is not yet known.

Page 1497, paragraph 985(7)—

Bombay City, October 3rd.—On the day of Gandhi's arrival, the 2nd instant, the volunteers were in evidence trying to collect foreign clothes. The party of 22 volunteers, after meeting him at the station, engaged a victoria and made a tour through parts of the City. They collected a certain amount of old clothing.

Page 1512-13, paragraph 999—

S. B. Bombay Presidency, October 7th.—In an article in the *Young India*, dated the 29th September headed "Tampering with loyalty" Gandhi writes with reference to the arrests that the duty of the Congress and the Khilafat workers, is clear: they have their appointed course to follow: they must reiterate from a thousand platforms the formula of the Ali Brothers regarding the sepoys and they must spread disaffection openly and systematically till it pleases Government to arrest them. In the same issue he publishes over his signature an open letter " To the Musalmans of India " reiterating the above statement and adding that they must declare from a thousand platforms " that it is sinful for any Musalman or Hindu to serve the existing Government whether as a soldier or in any other capacity whatsoever". * * * *

Bombay Chronicle, 5th October 1921.

To

THE EDITOR OF THE CHRONICLE.

Sir,

Persistent rumours supposed to be well founded were brought to me in Madras and have been repeated with greater emphasis in Bombay that my arrest is imminent. If the rumour is well-found, the Government will certainly deserve congratulations for consistency after the arrest of the Ali Brothers and their co-prisoners, for, now the battle is being waged not against violence, so-called or real, or incitement thereto, but against the very principle of non-co-operation for which the Congress and the Khilafat Committees stand, and that principle is promoting disaffection against the established Government and promoting non-co-operation with the Government by all classes, including civilian and soldiers. The success of that propaganda it is obvious, means the dissolution of the existing system of Government and it would be unbecoming for those who are avowed non-co-operators to question any steps that the Government may take in order to crush the movement, and I cannot conceive a more logical step than to arrest the author of the movement, unless the administrators of the system intend to change it in accordance with the wishes of the non-co-operators. The country has shown by its dignified calm attitude after the arrest of the Ali Brothers and others, that it has realised the necessity of non-violence. I expect the retention of the same non-violent atmosphere after my arrest or that of any other worker. The people will show their true courage and appreciation of non-violence and of imprisonments for the sake of one's religion and one's country as an honour to be prized not only by remaining absolutely peaceful but by refraining from *hartals* or any such demonstration. Any *hartal* following the arrest of myself or any other worker would be a breach of discipline and, therefore, no mark of respect or affection for the arrested worker. The only way to show one's regard is to demonstrate greater zeal in prosecuting the Congress programme of *Swadeshi* and hasten the advent of *Swaraj* thereby. I would certainly expect, in the event of my arrest, every man and woman in India who believes in the message of *Swadeshi*, but through laziness or weakness has not yet discarded foreign cloth and taken to hand-spinning and hand-weaving, to discard all foreign cloth and take up the spinning-wheel and the hand-loom. I would expect the Hindus on no account to relax their efforts for the Khilafat or barter it away for so-called *Swaraj*, for *Swaraj*, without the conciliation of the Mussalman, is, in my opinion, an inconceivable thing. Yours etc.

M. K. GANDHI.

Page 1522, paragraph 1011—

Bombay Suburban Area, September 26th.—A leaflet, printed as below, has been received from Bandra, Bombay Suburban District, Where it is reported copies are being widely circulated:—

THE GOSPEL OF SWARAJ

TEN COMMANDMENTS.—

- (1) Thou, shal't enrol thyself a member of the Congress Committee.
- (2) Thou shal't introduce a spinning-wheel in thine family and work it daily.
- (3) Thou shal't encourage hand-weaving in thine village.
- (4) Thou shal't clothe thyself in pure Khadi, Hand-spun and Hand-woven and if possible locally produced.
- (5) Thou shal't boycott foreign cloth immediately.
- (6) Thou shal't send thine foreign clothes to the local Congress Committee.
- (7) Thou shal't not drink liquor either at home or in the shop.
- (8) Thou shal't not offer liquor to thine guests on any occasion.
- (9) Thou shal't dissuade others from the use of foreign cloth and liquor by non-violent means.
- (10) Thou shal't sacrifice to thine utmost for the immediate attainment of *Swaraj*.

Note.—Subscription four annas per year.

Page 1550, paragraph 1025(10)—

Bombay City: October 10th.—The second bonfire of foreign clothes took place on the evening of the ninth in the compound of the Elphin-stone Mill which belongs to Umer Sobani. The last bonfire was held in the same place. The *Chronicle* says the crowd could be counted by lakhs, but the police report that it was only about half as big as on the last occasion and that there were probably not more than 10,000 present. There were 150 or 200 ladies present of whom about 20 were wearing *khaddar*. Nearly all the men were wearing Gandhi caps. Gandhi himself was in a loin cloth. The Mahommadans and Parsis were not so noticeable as on the 31st July.

The bonfire itself was nothing like as big as the last one.

An extract from the *Chronicle* is appended which contains report of the speeches made.

(*Extract from Bombay Chronicle dated the 10th October 1921*)

At the bonfire, near the Elphinstone Mills on Sunday night the crowd was as large as on the last occasion. It could be counted only in lakhs. The enthusiasm of the people was also very great. From early afternoon people were moving towards the Elphinstone Road, clothed in *khaddar*, and later in the evening it was impossible to pass along the Elphinstone Bridge and its precincts. But the meeting

in spite of such a large crowd, was the most orderly, perhaps the most orderly of all the meetings of this kind in Bombay.

The whole crowd was very quiet all the time and for this a great deal of credit is due to the large number of volunteers. In the middle of the arena a large platform was erected for the leaders and near it the foreign clothes which had been collected during the past few days were arranged in the shape of a pyramid. All sorts of clothes of foreign make were there—costly silk *saris*, full of brocades, costly coats, shirts, hats, and in fact everything that was considered necessary up to this time, was there thrown in a heap, all well arranged soaked in kerosine and mixed with crackers.

Mrs. Naidu presided at the meeting and Mahatma Gandhi moved the principal and the only resolution before the meeting supported by the various leaders like Lala Lajpatrai, Maulana Azad, Sobani, Babu Rajendra Prasad, etc. Mahatma Gandhi whose speech was full of pathos moved his hearers very much and he spoke with a great deal of feeling and sorrow. Some tears were to be seen in his eyes, so moved he was by sorrow at the failure on the part of the people in doing their duty towards their country. After the resolution, which was similar to that of the Karachi resolution, was passed all standing, the Mahatma lighted the heap of foreign clothing and it burned on merrily amidst the loud noise of crackers and bursting flames. The sight was extremely impressive; the vast audience, the burning clothes, and the passionate speeches, under God's sky in the growing night.

Mahatma Gandhi moved the resolution that this meeting of the citizens of Bombay re-affirms the following Resolution of the Working Committee held in Bombay on the 5th instant:—

"The Working Committee congratulates the Ali Brothers and their Comrades upon their prosecution and having considered the Resolution of the Khilafat Conference held at Karachi, regarding Military Service under the Government, the Working Committee is of opinion that the Resolution virtually re-affirms the principle laid down by the Congress at its special session in Calcutta, and its ordinary session in Nagpur last year, that it is contrary to national dignity and national interest for any Indian to engage or remain in the service of a Government in any capacity whatsoever ; a Government that has used the soldiers for the purposes of crushing the national spirit of the Egyptians, the Turks, the Arabs and others nations. The Working Committee has been only deterred from calling out the soldiers as the Civilians in the name of the Congress, because the Congress is not yet ready to support these Government servants who may leave Government service and who may not be able themselves to find means of

livelihood. The Working Committee, however is of opinion that in pursuance of the spirit of the Congress Resolution on non-cooperation it is the clear duty of every Government employee, whether soldier or civilian, who can support himself without Congress assistance to leave such service.

" The Working Committee draws the attention of all Indian soldiers and police to the fact that carding and hand-spinning and hand-weaving afford them, by undergoing training for a brief period, an honourable means for independent livelihood. The working Committee is further of opinion that the reasons given for the prosecution with reference to the said Karachi resolution constitute an undue interference with religious liberty."

Mahatma's Speech

In proposing the resolution Mahatma Gandhi said, it divided itself into two parts. The first part dealt with the Karachi resolution and was intended to be its confirmation from the national standpoint. And if it was a crime in the Ali Brothers and their followprisoners to have supported the resolution, it was a crime for the speaker and the audience to propose and pass the resolution. He considered it their duty to state their position clearly. It was their duty to inform the Sepoy that it was wrong to help a Government which had forfeited the confidence of the country. The speaker was informed that the resolution was said to be worded cleverly after the fashion of a lawyer so as to avoid the clutches of the law. It was said that like the Khilafat resolution, the present one did not require everyone to tell the Sepoy to lay down arms. He differed from that view. He was of opinion that by the resolution everyone endorsing it told the Sepoy that it was his duty to give up service, if only he could support himself otherwise. If his voice could reach the Sepoy he certainly told him that if he believed in his faith whether he was a Hindu or a Musalman or believed in his own country, he should leave the service even if he had to earn his livelihood by breaking stones. One who wanted to be a soldier of India could not be a Sepoy of a Government which had served against India. Those who murdered the innocent men of Jallianwala were no soldiers; they were mere animals. Those who ran no risk but only killed were again no soldiers, but animals. He had, therefore, no hesitation in telling the Sepoy through the audience that he should lose no time in severing his connection with the Government if he cared for his country and religion.

One thing the resolution did not require the people to do namely to carry on secret propaganda. They had ruled out secrecy from their book of non-co-operation. They were ashamed to say in secret what they were not prepared to say in public. If therefore the

Government held it a crime to recite the creed of non-co-operation he invited them to arrest those who took part in the evening's proceedings. If it was a crime to tell the soldier that it was unlawful for him to serve the Government in terms of his religion and nationalism, he (the speaker) invited the Government to arrest him and those who supported and carried the resolution.

The other part of the resolution pointed out to the soldier the way to an honourable livelihood. It referred to *Swadeshi*. He asked the audience not to carry that resolution if they did not believe in *Swadeshi* and the power of the spinning-wheel to banish poverty from the land. The resolution told the soldier that he could earn his living by carding and weaving. He verily believed that Maulana Mahomed Ali that they did not need lead and gun powder. Yarn balls were their lead and the spinning-wheel was their gun. He said last September that it was possible to gain *Swaraj*, to redress the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs during the twelve months following if they fulfilled certain conditions. Twelve months had passed but there was no *Swaraj*. The fault was theirs. They had done much but had not fulfilled the minimum required. He wished to share the blame.

He was sorry that he had not the power of convincing every lawyer that it was wrong to practice before the courts which gave no justice. He was sorry that this *tapsya* was not enough to carry conviction to every student that it was wrong to belong to Government schools. He knew that he had not been able to convince every man and woman of Bombay that it was sinful to wear anything but *khaddar*. But they need not mind him. If the country still carried out the *Swadeshi* programme during the month *Swaraj* was a certainty during the year and so was redress of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs. He adhered to his faith in the spinning-wheel. He had no doubt that if he and it alone could solve the problem of India's poverty. Its acceptance to him was a test of the reality of Hindu-Muslim unity and from violence. He would not be party to general civil disobedience if they could not fulfil the *Swadeshi* programme. He would not be satisfied unless *khaddar* had become universal, foreign cloth a rarity. He wanted to see the men and women of Bombay to be dressed in *khaddar* only. He was told that the sale of *khaddar* was to the extent of Rs. 18,000 in July, Rs. 13,000 in August and Rs. 7,000 in September in Khadi Bhandar. He wanted to see lacs worth of *khadi* sold. He wanted to see the spinning-wheel at work in every house in Bombay. Bombay had led in the matter of Tilak Swaraj Fund. Let Bombay lead in *Swadeshi* and gain the privilege of offering general civil disobedience. He had erred in the April of 1919 in hastily embarking on civil

disobedience. He was a very imperfect human being liable to err. God alone was free from error. But he was knowing enough not to err twice about the same thing. He could not advise civil disobedience without *Swadeshi*. He knew the science of civil disobedience. He knew its power and its risks. A completely non-violent atmosphere was a necessity, and it could not be ensured unless the nation had recognised the power of the spinning-wheel and settled down to it. If they believed in *Swadeshi* and its results, he expected to see a spinning-wheel at work in every home. He expected all castes and creeds to take up the spinning-wheel and *khaddar*. He expected princely men to take *Charkha* and the millhands to take up the spinning-wheel. And when they 'had done that they could safely go to individual soldier and openly ask him to give up his service.

He had found many shedding tears to see him reducing himself to a mere loin cloth. He' could not do otherwise after having witnessed what he had. He wanted no pity for himself but he did want India, if he was to revert to his normal dress, to adopt full *Swadeshi*. He had visited the ceded districts when he was going through famine women were reported to have drowned themselves and their children for want of food. It was not possible for him to wear (more) clothing than he did after knowing such deep distress.

He would presently put the torch to the pyramid of clothing in front of them. To him it was a symbol of the fire raging in their breasts. This burning was a mere show unless it was a replica of internal fire.

They revered the memory of the Lokamanya. They need not go to his commentary on the Gita to learn Tilak Gita. The speaker could tell them what it was in one word. The first half was supplied by the Lokamanya himself, viz., *Swaraj* is our birthright. He would supply the second half. The spinning-wheel is the means to attain "it. He was sure that if the deceased had been alive, he would be on the same platform with them. Was he not a lover of *Swadeshi* ? Had he not practised it as it was then practised for years ? He, the speaker, knew that the deceased believed in non-cooperation. He certainly donated the country's ability to follow it up. Let them remove the doubt and by complete rehabilitation of *Swadeshi* establish *Swaraj* during the year. He invited the Musalmans who felt so deeply for the Khilafat and the Hindus who felt equally for the vow to take up the spinning-wheel and ensure the success of *Swadeshi*.

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The resolution was put to yote and passed unanimously, all standing in support of it at the request of Mrs. Naidu.

Mr. Gandhi then got down from the platform, set a lighted torch to the pyramid of clothes which had been tastefully decorated and amid load noise of crackers and burst of flames in all directions from the heap, the meeting dispersed.

Page 1562, paragraph 1034(2)—

Bombay City, October 6th.—I send you herewith a copy of a report received from the Superintendent, C. I. D.

Gandhi meant to have the meeting of the Working Committee in Ahmedabad, but yesterday afternoon he suddenly decided to have it in Bombay instead. The Committee met about 4 o'clock. All the members were present except C. R. Das and C. Vijaya Raghavachariar. Though most of the members came to Bombay with the intention of voting for civil disobedience, Gandhi again forced his will on them and because he did not consider it opportune to resort to civil disobedience at present, he got them to pass a resolution according to his wishes. The only opposition which he met with was from V. J. Patel and N. C. Kelkar who proposed that civil disobedience in minor matters should be adopted. These two men apparently chafe somewhat under the dictatorship of Gandhi.

The next meeting of the Working Committee is fixed for the 3rd November at Delhi and of the All-India Congress Committee for the 4th November also at Delhi.

Gandhi left for Ahmedabad by Gujarat Mail last night. The rumours still continue that he is about to be arrested and caused some temporary depreciation in the share market yesterday.

Report by the Superintendent, C.I.D., dated 5th October.

The following details regarding the meeting of the leaders of the Congress are available:—

In the beginning the fact, that certain provinces, such as United Provinces, Karachi, Ahmedabad, Dharwar and Andhra, asked for permission from, the Working Committee to start civil disobedience made Gandhi reply that it would be a crowning day for the country when civil disobedience was started but that the people should understand, that if they wanted *Swaraj* in the way in which he felt sure he would get it, there should be direct attempts of alienating the Indian Military from Government service and that it was no use having civil disobedience such as infringement of the Press Act or non-payment of taxes. He further added that he believed that the Indian soldiers, both Hindus and Mahommadans, who are serving in the Military were committing a sin and that it was the duty of the leaders to open their eyes and prevent them from continuing the same. He further said that Government had grossly insulted the Islamic religion by confiscating the religious *fatwas*. He therefore

thought that the publication of these very proscribed *fatwas* together with new fatwas about the religious duties of the Indian Army, should be taken up with great vigour. He therefore wanted to know the sense of the members of the meeting.

N. C. Kelkar said that civil disobedience on minor points should be started. V. J. Patel supported him.

Page 1583, paragraph 1056(8)—

Ahmedabad, October 11th.—M. K. Gandhi returned to Ahmedabad on the 6th October. There were about 1,000 people to meet him at the station. Everybody was curious to see him in his loincloth.

Page 1625-26, paragraph 1098(7)—

Surat, October 19th.—M. K. Gandhi arrived at Surat on the 12th October from Bombay with Moulana Abdul Kadir Azad Sobani. There was a small procession through the town.

Gandhi and Sobani went to Rander in the after-noon and addressed a meeting of about 2,500 persons.

Gandhi congratulated the people of Rander on the progress they had made.

In the evening a large meeting of about 25,000 was held on the bank of the Tapti at Surat.

Gandhi said that although Surat occupied the premier position in the whole of India, much still remained to be done before they attained *Swaraj*. Foreign cloth should not be given to the poor and to touch it should be regarded as a sin. The only way to assist the poor was by teaching them how to spin.

Sobani also spoke and urged rich Mahommadans to subscribe to the relief of their brethren in Smyrna.

Page 1632, paragraph 1098(17)—

Dharwar, October 19th.— * * * * * At a public meeting at Hubli on the 15th October Rangarao Ramchandra Divakar, one of the accused in the Riot Case, who was acquitted on the 8th item, read the following message from Gandhi to Gangadharrao : —

"Dear Gangadharrao.—You have reached the Role of Honour, hence I envy you your lot. Of course you will ask for a *Charkha* in the jail. I shall not allow you to enjoy a peaceful life in jail after the month of December."

A bonfire of clothes was then lit and the meeting dispersed.

Gandhi and Sobani both left on the 12th night for Ahmedabad.

Page 1656-57, paragraph 1135—

Ahmedabad, October 25th.—There was a labourers' gathering in the compound of Anusuyabai's residence on the 18th October. They were addressed by Lala Lajpat Rai and M. K. Gandhi. The latter dealt with their relations with the millowners and told them that all

their demands were receiving consideration. He exhorted them to boycott foreign cloth, to introduce *Charkhas* into their homes, to give up gambling and drink. If he should be arrested, they should refrain from violence and put on *khadi*. He referred to the arrest of the Ali Brothers, and said that their release would be brought about by *Swaraj*. There were about 5,000 people present.

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Ahmedabad, October 23rd.—The District Magistrate writes:— " there is little to report this week. Interest is concentrated on the prospects of a general mill-strike. The weavers of a few mills are out already and it is expected that a general strike will begin from Tuesday, unless the mens' demand (for a bonus amounting to 1½ months' wages) are granted. At present the mill-owners are standing firm and refusing to grant more than was given last year. It is unfortunate that this strike will coincide with the trial of the Ali brothers at Karachi".

Ahmedabad, October 23rd.—The Commissioner, Northern Division, writes:—"We are on the edge of an industrial struggle which may be prolonged through and beyond the Congress. Gandhi has alarmed and incensed the millowners by supporting extreme labour demands, which include interference in management, and by threatening a further demand of profit sharing with fixed maxima of profits for owners and shareholders. There is no likelihood of disturbance, so far as can be foreseen."

S. B., Bombay Presidency, October 29th.—An extensive strike among the mill-hands in Ahmedabad City has now materialized. On October 26th, 47 mills were affected, 31 of which are closed completely, while the remainder are partly working. According to the same day's report 29,811 men are out, while the total number of labourers employed in the affected mills is 43,414.

The following are interested in the strike : M. K. Gandhi, Anusuya Sarabhai and S. G. Banker. The millowners have proposed Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya as arbitrator, and although Gandhi has advised the strikers to resume work, they have up to date flouted his advice. Their demands are a bonus amounting to 1½ months' pay.

Page. 1682, paragraph 1143(3)—

Sind C.I.D., October 20th.—The following is a copy of resolutions of the All-India Congress Committee (which have come into our hands), which were passed by the Working Committee which met at 148, Russa Road, Calcutta, on the 6th, 7th, 8th and 11th September.

The following were present :—

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| (1) Mahatma Gandhi (in chair). | (5) Sj. V. J. Patel. |
| (2) Mpulana Muhammad Ali. | (6) Sj. C. R. Das. |
| (3) Lala Lajpatrai. | (7) Seth Jamnalal. |
| (4) Babu Rajendra Prasad. | (8) Pandit Motilal Nehru. |

Page 1688, paragraph 1147 (12)—

Bombay City, October 31st—Shankerlal Ghelabhai Banker has published about 2,000 copies of a poster in Gujarati and Marathi containing the message of Gandhi to the people of Bombay. These posters have been placarded at conspicuous places in the city. The following is a rough translation of the poster.

Mahatma Gandhis Message.—If Bombay wants to have a first start for *Swaraj*—for peaceful war—then in this month (1) everyone should acquaint himself with the knowledge of carding, spinning and weaving—at least an hour should be devoted to spinning, (2) everyone should get used to wearing khadi made of handspun yarn, (3) in t'le bazars, temples, mosques, theatres, etc., nothing should be seen except *khadi*, and (4) nobody should have faith in violence.

About 50 students of the Gazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha Muslim High School went round several Mohollas in the city on the 26th and 27th October, collecting foreign clothes and distributing handbills "Khilafat and Mahatma Gandhi's message". They collected a certain amount of old clothes.

Page 1742, paragraph 1176(5)—

Ahmedabad, October 31st.—A *Swadeshi* meeting under the auspices of the Khilafat Committee was held on the 26th October at Panch Kuwa, Ahmedabad;

Another *Swadeshi* procession was held on the 29th October in which M. K. Gandhi took part. The organisers were verv disappointed as it was a failure. Only two or three thousand took part in the procession.

Gandhi addressed an assembly of ten to fifteen thousand people in the river bed on the subject of *Swadeshi* and boycott.

Page 1765, paragraph 1205(8)—

Ahmedabad, November 6th.—The District Magistrate writes : "The past week has been a quiet one. Gandhi has departed to Delhi and the quiet is likely to continue until some new impetus is imparted to his agitation, which at present is languishing. Picketing is growing very lax and the liquor-licensees tell me that things are much easier with them. Sales have gone up of late, largely no doubt on account of Diwali. The movement against foreign cloth is losing popularity as the days grow colder. The demonstration on the 30th October was a failure as already reported.

Ambalal Sarabhai visited me during the past week. He is a typical moderate, querulous and unaffectionate. He complained that Government gave the moderates no lead and suggested that if all the moderates in India were consulted as to what they wanted in the way of progress and reform. Government would then be able to come forward with a programme which would at once enlist all moderates in support of it and enable them to oppose Gandhi successfully. I suggested that the moderates seemed a broken reed to lean on; but he said that they had nothing to oppose to the wild offers of Gandhi and so held their tongues. In short they wanted a lead from Government and some rival attraction to catch the people's fancy. He said that Gandhi had changed for the worse of late and that much adulation has turned his head. To illustrate this he told me a tale of how Gandhi touched a woman who had an inflamed eye and besought him as a deity to heal her. Ambalal was very pessimistic: he was bitter about the Punjab but fearful that the reins were slipping from the hands of Government. He anticipated that before long the Army and the Police would be affected and the result would be Bolshevism. Ambalal as a young man of great possessions whose interests are with law and order while his sympathies are nationalist and somewhat anti-British, is a good representative of the educated wealthy class."

Page 1811-12, paragraph 1263(2)—

S. B., Bombay Presidency, November 26th.—The meeting of the All-India Congress Working Committee was held in Bombay on the 22nd and 23rd instant:—

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Mahatma Gandhi was in the chair.

Page 1837, paragraph 1263(6)—

Ahmedabad, November 22nd.—A private meeting of the Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee was held in Ahmedabad on the

13th November. The main question before the Committee was the selection of a Taluka in which to start civil disobedience. M. K. Gandhi addressed the meeting at great length on the sufferings that would have to be faced by the people who initiated civil disobedience, and dwelt on the conditions that should be fulfilled before sanction should be given. The Kaira and Surat representatives gave an assurance that the Anand and Bardoli talukas, respectively, were ready.

M. K. Gandhi decided that he would visit Anand and Bardoli after his return from Bombay so that he could see for himself. Another meeting of the Committee was fixed for the 22nd November at Surat. The riots in Bombay have upset the plans, and civil disobedience by the masses has now been postponed.

Page 1844, paragraph 1263(27)—

Thana, November 27th.—The District Magistrate writes : "Although Gandhi said on the 4th November in Delhi that people should first watch the start and beginning in civil disobedience that he would shortly make in Gujarat, his lieutenants are already going on better and asking people not to pay income tax, etc. (as for example at Wada and Badlapur) as soon as civil disobedience is proclaimed at the Ahmedabad Congress. Nothing would appeal more to human nature than an exhortation not to pay taxes, if that could be done safely, and this sort of teaching, unless nipped in the bud, would catch on and spread like wildfire. It is hoped some drastic action is contemplated to scotch the new agitation of non-payment of taxes, before the end of the year. The Congress would become unconstitutional and put itself outside the pale of law, if it accepted the creed of non-payment of taxes."

Page 1854, paragraph 1275(5)—

Bombay, November 28th.—..... Under the joint auspices of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee and the Central Khilafat Committee, a public meeting and a bonfire of foreign clothes was held in the compound of the Elphinstone Mill, Parel, on the 17th November. M. K. Gandhi presided. More than 25,000 people, mostly Hindus, were present. About 100 ladies dressed in *khadi saris* also attended.

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The speakers were :—(1) M. K. Gandhi, (2) Maulana Abdul Kadir Azad Sobani, (3) Pandit Nekiram Sharma.

Page 1878, paragraph 1293—

S. B. Sind, Karachi, November 28th.—The attached extracts from the resolution passed by the Working Committee of the All-India Congress Committee which met at Gandhi's residence, Laburnum

Road, Bombay, on the 5th October, have come into our hands. They were printed in pamphlet form at the *Allahabad Law Journal Press* on the 8th October 1921.

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Mahatma Gandhi was in the chair.

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The following resolutions were passed :—

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IV. The Working Committee is of opinion that on the day of the landing of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales there should be a general voluntary *hartal* throughout India, and, as to the effective boycott of any public welcome of His Royal Highness during his visit to the different cities of India, the Working Committee leaves the arrangements in the hands of the respective Provincial Congress Committee.

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VIII. With reference to the letter of the Utkal Provincial Congress Committee of the 2nd of October asking for the approval by the Working Committee of the Arbitration Committee appointed by the Utkal and the Andhra Provinces to settle their boundaries, resolved that upon an application from both the Provincial Congress Committees, the Working Committee authorises the General Secretary to approve of the Arbitration Committee referred to in the letter.

IX. That Sriyut Patel be appointed on the Dissemination of News Sub-Committee of the Working Committee in the absence of Maulana Muhammad Ali.

X. Mr. Blizzard's letter of the 6th September asking for an additional sum of £ 50 to meet all the liabilities of the Winding up Sub-Committees of the British Congress Committee having been discussed, the General Secretary is authorised to send him a suitable reply.

XI. Mr. Blizzard be requested to make over all records and the library of the British Congress Committee to Mr. J. M Parekh who is appointed to take charge of the same and to forward them to the General Secretary of the All-India Congress Committee at Allahabad.

XII. With reference to the letter of the United Provinces Provincial Congress Committee of the 1st of October forwarding the letter of the Aligarh District Congress Committee desiring affiliation with the Delhi Provincial Congress Committee, resolved that the Working Committee is unable to sanction the transfer of the Aligarh District Congress Committee to Delhi from the United Provinces.

At this stage the Treasurer read out the remittances of the various Provincial Congress Committees to All-India Congress Committee which were noted.

XIII. At the desire of the Working Treasurer, resolved that he be authorised to keep as cash in hand a sum not exceeding one lakh of rupees.

MOTILAL NEHRU,
General Secretary.

Page 1903, paragraph 1324 (12)—

Surat, December 8th.—The most important event of the week was the visit of M. K. Gandhi on Friday and Saturday to Bardoli taluka, when he stated that civil disobedience had been abandoned for the present, but that the people should prepare themselves for it.

Page 1917, paragraph 1330(4)—

Ahmedabad, December Mh.—The first *khadi* marriage procession in Ahmedabad took place on the 27th November. M. K. Gandhi was invited, but finding on his arrival that most of the guests were wearing foreign clothes, he left in disgust. The Swaraj Sabha volunteers took part in the procession.

Page 1938, paragraph 1330(13)—

S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, December 21st.—Activity in the Surat District continues to be fairly intense. Reports mention a list of 13 meetings which include those addressed by M. K. Gandhi in his tour in the Bardoli Taluka. On December 2nd he visited the villages of Sarbhon, and Valod, Vankaner, and Warad, Kadod and Bardoli on the 3rd. At Valod on the 2nd he said that the principle condition of civil disobedience was that the people should wear *khadi* made with their own hands. The Bardoli Taluka was to be congratulated on the satisfactory progress that had been made in the matter on National Schools. There were not however enough hand-looms running and there was no cloth in Vankaner. They could not, therefore, practice civil disobedience. He spoke at great length on the subject of *Swadeshi* and impressed upon the people that foreign yarn was not to be used. Co-operators, Government servants and any others who did not see eye to eye with the Nationalists were not to be boycotted but should be treated with toleration. He wound up by saying that *Swaraj* would be in the hollow of India's hand, as soon as a single taluka were ready to fight provided that peace were preserved at the same time throughout the rest of India. His speeches in other villages were more or less on the same lines. He was accompanied throughout his tour by Maulana Abdul Kadar Azad Subani.

1922

Page 3, paragraph 10—

(1) *Sind C.I.D. Karachi, December 20th, 1921*—The rumour that an outbreak of violence is to be expected in Christmas week is now general in Karachi. The people of the classes are talking of Gandhi hoisting the flag at Ahmedabad. Other alarmist rumours are also current; for instance it is reported that talk is to be heard at all railway stations to the effect that a general strike on the railway is to take place on the 2nd of January, that a general strike among prisoners in jail is to be organised on the 1st of January, that European firms in Karachi are failing in consequence of non-co-operation and are going to discharge their clerks on the 1st of January. The fact that the tendency to strike has spread to the Police in the Hyderabad and Larkana Districts is also noticed. All these alarmist rumours appears to be without serious foundation. There is no sign of anything unusual in the Provincial Congress Office, and Congressmen are preparing to proceed to Ahmedabad without any sign of any serious disturbances being expected by them. There is no immediate likelihood of a railway strike if the attitude of the Union officials is a reliable indication.

The behaviour, of the Police leaves no room for doubt that their action is due to economic difficulties.

Moderate politicians in Sind and the moderates and anti-non-co-operator Press: in Sind are strongly opposed to the action taken in Bengal and other provinces to suppress the volunteer corps and to arrest the leaders of the Congress and Khilafat movements. The extremist generally expect that the moderates will resign from the councils and adopt an attitude of opposition to Government and thus strengthen the Congress cause.

None of the Congress leaders in Sind appears to have any information of the future programme of the Congress. It is probable that Jairamdas Datilatrani who is in confidence of Gandhi and of other leaders may have this information but if so he appears to have kept it very discreetly to himself. None of the other Congress politicians in Sind is of any standing. Information from a well informed source is to the effect that the question of starting the non-payment of taxes is being seriously proposed as a step to be initiated after Ahmedabad.

The number of meetings has decreased throughout Sind. The religious and racial question continue to predominate in most of the speeches.

Page 11, paragraph, 10(9)—

Ahmedabad, December 19th, 1921.—The District Magistrate writes : "The leading Parsis waited on me on -December 8th at my invitation

to discuss measures for their protection. On the 9th they waited on Gandhi at his invitation for the same purpose. They did not mention to me that they were going to see Gandhi or to Gandhi that they had met me. They are now in an embarrassing position, accused of bad faith by both sides. Two of them are Honorary Magistrates which makes their action the more shameful. Gandhi offered them the protection of his volunteers which they say they neither accepted nor refused. I learn that Gandhi considers them to have accepted. Sardar Rustomji promised me this morning that the offer should be refused in writing and a copy sent to me."

Page 12, paragraph 10(10)—

Kaira, December 24th, 1921.—The District Magistrate writes . " Anand Taluka. — Mr. Gandhi's visit ended in his informing the people of Anand that the president of the District Samiti would not certify them as fit for civil disobedience.

On the 17th December M. K. Gandhi visited Karamsad with Abdul Kadir Azad Sobani and Swami Satyadev and addressed about 10,000 people.

Abbas Tyebji at the conclusion asked the public to be more energetic in the Swadeshi movement, so that he could give the required certificate of fitness for civil disobedience to Gandhi. He asked the Dharalas to keep the peace.

Gandhi gave a long and moderate speech in which he first flattered Karamsad for the prominent part she had always played in political* agitation, especially in the Kaira *Satyagraha* campaign of 1918. He stated that he could not sanction civil disobedience now as Abas Tyebji was unable to furnish the certificate that they had fulfilled all the conditions. He spoke at length on untouchability and protection of minor communities. He wanted everyone to be ready to go to jail. He excused the non-attainment of *Swaraj* in the current year as owing to his being only human. If in this year they were not able to take the reins of government from Government's hands, they would be able to do in January or February."

Page 39, paragraph 18—

Ahmedabad, December 19th, 1921.—The District Magistrate writes : —

" A disquieting incident occurred last Saturday night. A body of discharged sepoy from the 99th Regiment talked freely about having given up Government service for political reasons and went and did *namaskar* to Gandhi who happened to be arriving by train. He checked and discouraged them. Some of the men told the C. I. D. police on the platform that the Regiment would not fire on a mob if ordered but would intentionally fire wide as in 1919.

The Officer Commanding thinks that they acted out of devilry and to discredit the Regiment, having been made to wait overlong for their discharge."

Page 42, paragraph 27—

*Kaira, December 17th, 1921,—*The District Magistrate writes: " In Kapadvanj Taluka a movement against payment of land revenue has arisen in the form of a protest against the annewari. It is taking the form suggested by Gandhi in the *Nav Jivan*, i.e., villagers assemble and resolve that their crops were only worth a four annas estimate; and send me a notice requiring me to accept this or else to appoint a Panch to settle the estimate, the villagers and government being equally represented on the panch. If I refuse this the notice goes on to say they will consider what steps to take. I have so far received such notices from nine villages and have replied that the suggestion cannot be accepted and they must pay according to the orders issued. The agitation is being carried out principally by M. K. Pandya and Revashankar Shivram. The District Superintendent of Police has been asked to collect evidence for sending these men up under section 108, Criminal procedure Code, both for previous speeches and for their present action. They are reported to be telling the villagers not to pay before Congress meets on the 25th as Congress and Mr. Gandhi will give them remission. Collections are coming in, but slowly. The Mamlatdar and District Deputy Collector have been instructed to take coercive measures against those who refuse to pay contumaciously."

Page 45-48-50 & 51, paragraph 32—

*S. B., Bombay Presidency, January 7th.—*The following is a daily summarised account of the proceedings of the National Congress and the various other conferences that took place in the last week of December at Ahmedabad. The programme briefly was as follows : —

December 24th.—Conference between M. K. Gandhi and the Maharashtra leaders.

December 25th.—All-India Congress Committee continued its sitting throughout the day.

December 26th.—Meeting of Gandhi and Ulemas.

December 27th.—(night) All-India Khilafat Conference concluding session.

December 28th (morning) All India Congress Committee concluded its sitting.

December 29th.—Gandhi discussed with delegates of several Provinces the question of Civil Disobedience.

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December 25th, 1921.—The All-India Congress Committee sat the whole day but made very little progress. The main resolution of non-co-operation passed by the Working Committee was discussed. M. K. Gandhi has been invested with the powers of the All-India Congress Committee instead of the powers of the Congress.

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It is reported that in the conference which the Maharashtra leaders had with M. K. Gandhi on the evening of the 24th December, the Poona leaders referred to their local picketing question and pointed out the awkward position in which they had been placed by the failure of the authorities to arrest them when they offered themselves for arrest, and said that as they were poor men they could not continue having their property attached for non-payment of line. They asked Gandhi to suggest a remedy, but he could think of none and asked for time to consider the question.

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The All- India Congress Committee sat for four hours on the morning of the 27th December 1921. The principal resolution relating to civil disobedience with regard to the prohibition of volunteer organisations and public meetings, etc., was adopted by a very large majority. Hazrat Mohani fought for a change in the Congress Creed, laying down the attainment of *Swaraj* without the British Empire as the object of the Congress. The discussion showed that there was a very large number in favour of the demand for independence, but the special intervention of M. K. Gandhi and his appeal to expediency secured the defeat of the opposition by 200 votes to 52. Many other amendments were ruled out of order as conflicting with the Congress Creed. In the end only ten voted against Gandhi's resolution. Hazrat Mohani declared that to him *Swaraj* meant nothing less than complete independence and that their salvation lay in destroying British imperialism. M. K. Gandhi argued that the attainment of *Swaraj* would by itself break up British imperialism and warned them against estranging the Moderates.

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The second sessions of the Khilafat Conference began at 8 p.m. and lasted till after 11.

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M. K. Gandhi came to the Conference at about 9-30 p.m. and was received with loud and prolonged cheers and shouts of "Allah-o Akbar." * * * *

The All-India Congress Committee held its final sitting on the morning of the 28th December 1921 under the Chairmanship of M. K. Gandhi. * * * *

Gandhi after describing the negotiations which had taken place up to the present moment, said that he had not attached the slightest importance to the question of a conference. He did not think, that it would be consistent with the dignity of the Congress to pass resolution about the Conference when there was nothing in the Viceregal pronouncement to show that the Congress was called upon to make any response. There was nothing in the main resolution which closed the door and he found nothing in the Viceregal pronouncement which inspired him with confidence.

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The second and final sitting of the National Congress began at 2 p.m. with the recital of national songs. The principal resolution on the agenda relating to civil disobedience, volunteer organisations and the Dictatorship was moved by M. K. Gandhi. It was seconded by Vithalbhai J. Patel and supported by Moulana Abdul Majid, Dr. Alur, Savitri Devi, Shankaracharya Bharti Krishna, Khwaja Abdul Rahman, Ghazi Gur Baktsing of Delhi, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Rustamji K. Sidhwa of Karachi. The discussion on this resolution lasted about three hours. The remaining resolutions, except the motion by Hazrat Mohani were put from the chair.

Hazrat Mohani's motion was to change the Congress creed so as to define 'Swaraj' as meaning complete independence. M K. Gandhi in moving the main resolution, said that it was a natural result of their activities during the past fifteen months and was the only step that a self-respecting nation could adopt in view of the Viceregal pronouncement. It would be a warning to Government to reflect before making 300 millions their eternal enemy. It also left the door open if Government or the Moderates sincerely wanted a round table conference. It was not an arrogant challenge to anybody but it was a challenge to authority enthroned on arrogance, which disregarded the considered opinion of millions of human beings, an authority which wanted to crush freedom of opinion and freedom to form an association. He was a man of peace, and wanted peace, but not at any price. He warned the assembly that if ever non-violence were abandoned, India would never attain liberty. *Swaraj* was in their pockets, but they were not paying the price.

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M. K. Gandhi's speech was like that of a school-master upbraiding his children but he succeeded in his object and Hazrat Mohani's proposition was rejected by a large majority. It was obvious, however, that large numbers really favoured the motion.

The general impression was that independence might be all right as an ideal, but was not practicable politics. It will be noticed that no men of standing supported the motion.

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The Congress was dominated by Gandhi's personality and his programme of non-violence appears to have been accepted by almost all as the only practicable and possible means of securing the political and social advancement of the country and of maintaining unity among all classes and sections of the people. Owing to his presence a remarkable spirit of tolerance towards persons holding opposite views was manifested. On not a single occasion were cries of 'Shame' heard, either inside or outside the pandal, against the bureaucracy or any class of people and the crowds were extremely well-behaved.

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On the 29th December M. K. Gandhi discussed with the delegates of the several provinces the question of civil disobedience and the method of putting it into practice. Speaking on the subject of the non-payment of taxes, he said that it was a privilege to be exercised only when all the remaining parts of the programme had been completely fulfilled. He said that it was the duty of women to enrol immediately in volunteer organisations.

Page 103, paragraph 86—

Kathiawar Agency, January 10th.—It is reported that Gandhi gave an interview to the Kathiawaris attending the Congress at Ahmedabad and advised them to have nothing to do with British India politics but to inculcate *Swadeshism* and wear *Khadi*. He urged the pleaders only to take up true cases; he did not advise them to give up their practice.

Page 104, paragraph 87—

Ahmedabad, January 10th.—The First National Musical Conference was held in the Congress Pandal on the 31st *ultimo* under the presidency of M. K. Gandhi. About 5,000 persons attended. Vishnu Digamber Paluskar sang the 'Bande Mataram' song.

The object of the conference was purely political, i.e., to assist the non-co-operation movement by adopting or composing songs for the volunteers.

Page 131-32, paragraph 104—

Bombay City, January 18th.—The Working Committee of the All-India Congress Committee met at Gandhi's House, Laburnum Road, in the afternoon of the 17th instant. M. K. Gandhi presided.

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M. K. Gandhi left Bombay for Ahmedabad on 17th January and it is reported that he will proceed to Bardoli and visit Anand Taluka before the 31st instant to make preparation for civil disobedience if needed after the 31st idem.

Page 235-37, paragraph 193(11)—

Surat, February 7 th.—About 3,500 people attended the Bardoli Conference at Bardoli on the 29th January. A number of resolutions were passed regarding untouchability, unity and *Swadeshi* cloth, but the important one was that mass civil disobedience should be started in the taluka. Both M. K. Gandhi and Vithalbhai J. Patel admitted that the taluka was not properly prepared according to the conditions of the Congress

The following people addressed a crowded meeting of 10,000 in Surat on the 31st January : Muhammad Afzal Narmawalla, Kallyanji V. Mehta, Dr. M. K. Dixit, Haji Mian Jan Muhammad Chhotani, Private Secretary of Dr. Ansari, Mauzamali of Delhi, Barrister, Dayalji Nanubhai Desai, Pandit Rambhuj Dutt Choudhri, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Choitram P. Gidwani and M. K. Gandhi.

M. K. Gandhi said that he did not wish to go to jail but would prefer to be shot. He would like to see two or three Jallianwala Baghs in Gujarat and another General Dyer at a meeting like this who would commence firing without any notice.

A conference was held at Bardoli on the 29th January at which Vithalbhai Javerbhai Patel was President and Gandhi was the chief speaker. A number of resolutions were passed, the important one being that in which it was decided to start mass civil disobedience in the Bardoli Taluka.

A leaflet has been issued signed by Gandhi and Vithalbhai Jhaverbhai Patel, calling upon the police patels of the Bardoli Taluka to hand in their resignations to Gandhi who will use them when he thinks fit. It is reported that up to the present 50 have given their resignations to him.

Gandhi sent an ultimatum to the Viceroy calling for the release of political prisoners, freedom of speech, of the press and associations. The Viceroy has wired that he is replying by letter. If a satisfactory reply is not received, it is expected that civil disobedience will be started from the 11th February.

A meeting of the All-India Congress Working Committee was held in Surat on the 31st January. The following were present : — (1) President, Hakim Ajmal Khan, (2) Gandhi, (3) Dr. Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari, (4) Vithalbhai Jhaverbhai Patel, (5) S. V. Kowjalgi of Bijapur, (6) Dr. Choithram P. Gidwani and (7) Haji Mian Jan Mahammad Chhotani. It passed a resolution congratulating the people of Bardoli Taluka for their determination to start mass civil disobedience.

M. K. Gandhi went to Bombay on the 30th January to see M. A. Jinnah, returned to Surat on the 31st idem and went to Bardoli on the 1st February, where he still is and where he is likely to remain

for the present as Civil mass disobedience is to be started under his personal supervision.....

Surat, February 6th.—The District Magistrate writes :—" The chief events of the week have been the conference at Bardoli on the 29th ultimo and the meeting at Surat on the 31st of the All-India Congress Working Committee.

The net result is that mass civil disobedience is to be started in Bardoli Taluka on the 11th instant if by that date the Viceroy does not agree to certain impossible demands.

Gandhi himself seems quite aware that these are impossible and has settled down to a steady campaign in Bardoli. The taluka he has divided into areas reported to be fourteen in number : leaders and helpers are appointed for each ; meetings are being held ; house to house visitations conducted ; Gandhi himself dashes out to villages where a special effort is required. Social boycott, the withdrawal of services from friends of Government and refusal to work or supply transport for Government officers are threatened and in some cases are already put in force. The Assistant Collector, for example, had considerable difficulty in getting carts to move his camp. Pressure is being put on Patels to resign ; Gandhi has issued in conjunction with V. J. Patel, his colleague and chief helper in this work, a printed appeal to them to resign and is reported to have got from twenty-one of them resignations which he will use when the time comes. The period of payment of the first land revenue instalment is from the 5th to the 15th instant. Crops are late and payments, in any case, would probably be small in the early days of the period. No figures of any great value will, therefore, be available till towards its end ; but the indications are that now that Gandhi and a powerful staff of helpers have settled down to a steady organised campaign, the task of getting in the land revenue is likely to be a stiff one.

Surat itself has been comparatively quiet since the departure of the Working Committee and though great efforts were made at a meeting on the 31st at which Gandhi and the other members attended to work up volunteering only 75 have enlisted so far.

From other parts of the district there is no special news. Revenue is coming in satisfactorily and Bardoli seems to be absorbing all the activities of the local agitators."

Page 267-68, paragraph 227(11)—

Surat, February 17th.—Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya having wired to M. K. Gandhi requesting him to summon an emergent meeting of the All-India Congress Committee in order to review the present situation in view of the Gorakhpur disturbance, a meeting

of the Working Committee was held at Bardoli on the 11th instant. Before it was held an informal meeting was held in the Ashram of about 75 persons to discuss whether civil disobedience should be started or not. The Mahommadans and Swami Satya Dev were in favour of continuing the movement. Malaviya, M. R. Jayakar, N. C. Kelkar and K. Natrajan were for postponement. The Working Committee then met at which following were present: —M. K. Gandhi, M. M. H. J., ML Chhotani, N. C Kelkar, Vithalbhai J. Patel and Jamanlal Bajaj. Malaviya was also present at the meeting. It was decided to postpone matters pending a meeting of the Committee to be held probably at Delhi on the 24th when Ajmal Khan and Dr. Ansari would be present. * * * *

During the week 14 meetings are reported from the Surat District, special attention having been paid to the Bardoli Taluka where ten gatherings were held, the general topics discussed being nonpayment of land revenue and *Swadeshi*. M. K. Gandhi accompanied by S. R. Bomanji and Dayalji Nanubhai Desai visited the village of Mota on the 5th of February and addressed about 500 people. Mota is regarded as being backward from the non-co-operation point of view. The chief point touched on was the untouchability question.

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Page 298-99, paragraph 255(9)—

Ahmedabad, February 19th.—The District Magistrate writes : " Since Gandhi's suspension of civil disobedience the atmosphere has calmed in Ahmedabad. Not that it was in any way violent before. But now the non-co-operators appear especially eager to avoid any collision with the authorities.

For instance Mr. Siruf, representing the *Times of India*, told me on Friday last that he had interviewed the leaders (names not given) and been informed that they proposed to avoid picketing of all kinds, even by women. Such picketing occurred in the previous week to the Bardoli decision. As regards the Municipal Board of Management they do not propose to meddle with its work in any way. They are opening National Schools with their own money but that is all. Asked how they reconciled that with Mr. Gandhi's distinct incitement of ratepayers to refuse payment of rates (*vide* the last issue of *Young India*), they replied that they did not propose to follow his advice. This is a somewhat astonishing remark coming from the lips of non-co-operation leaders in Ahmedabad.

The Board of Management has been well received and is carrying on the Mimicroal business without any friction. The attendance at the Municioal Schools has fallen from 10.000 to about 6.000 as the result of non-co-operation appeals.

The people of Bhuwaldi (a village of S. Daskroi) have opened a National School in the village Chora. The Mamlatdar was ordered to have it removed and attempted to do so, yesterday. Not a soul in the village, however, would touch the spinning-wheels and other paraphernalia and there seems to have been a good deal of excitement and demonstration in spite of the presence of police. I sent out Brown this morning to investigate and if possible settle the matter. Healy has sent a few sowars for effect. It is interesting to know that the Bhuwaldi people have this morning received advice from the Ahmedabad non-co-operators not to remove the gear but, on the other hand, not to re-enter the Chora. Such is the latest information, which bears out the fact that at the moment they are eager to avoid any kind of a battle and only want to lie low.

The knowledge that Gandhi has been very near arrest has probably a good deal to do with it. If so, it should give food for thought ! They must consider that it would be disastrous to their cause or to themselves."

Ahmedabad, February 22nd.—Meetings were held in the City on the 12th, 13th, 14th and 17th instant in connection with the opening of primary schools free from Government control. Up to the 18th ten such schools had been opened.

The postponement of civil disobedience at Bardoli has caused great disappointment. The Mahommadans, in particular, are very annoyed. There is a very general inclination to attribute the postponement to Gandhi's desire to avoid arrest. The belief that Government dare not arrest him has been shattered.

Page 301-302, paragraph 255(12)—

S. B. Bombay Presidency, March 2nd.—During the week a list of 17 meetings throughout the district has been forwarded, of which 13 were held in the Bardoli Taluka. Of these 17 meetings however ten are belated reports prior to the 12th of February. They were for the most part small and discussed the non-payment of taxes, National School and *Swadeshi*.....

The audience were informed why the campaign of civil disobedience had been suspended and people were asked to make preparations in accordance with the resolutions passed by the All-India Working Committee at Bardoli. At this meeting the non-payment of Municipal taxes was advocated. The Bardoli meetings were held on the 12th, 13th and 14th, the last mentioned being the conference attended by about 3,000 people when M. K. Gandhi gave his reasons for postponing civil disobedience. The audience were told what to do by way of preparation.

Page 320, paragraph 271 (1), (2), (3)—

Larkana, February 11th.—It is reported that the general opinion among Khilafat and Congress workers is that if Gandhi is either arrested, interned or deported there will be disorder all over India as the masses will lose their self-control and adopt the creed of violence proposed by Hazrat Mohani and but for the restraint exercised by Gandhi there would already have been widespread violence.

The allegations of ill-treatment of the Ali Brothers in jail are reported to have caused great dissatisfaction among the Mahom-madan population.

(2)*Poona, February 19th.*—The Commissioner, Central Division, writes : —" Rumours of Gandhi's arrest and the postponement are rife. Moderate opinion in Poona and Satara (which I have just visited) is one of acute disappointment and that the arrest will be inevitable later and that the longer it is delayed the more trouble it will cause. The statement of the Secretary of State that Gandhi will abandon active civil disobedience is received with credulity, while the Extremist party openly deride it."

(3)*Dharwar, February 11th.*—Loyal supporters of Government are disappointed at Government's decision in postponing Gandhi's arrest. They are now convinced he is an arrant humbug. From what I can gather, hartals would have taken place, but with little or no violence.

Page 362, paragraph 322(8)—

Ahmedabad March 7th.—The Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee met yesterday afternoon in Ahmedabad to discuss the resolutions of the All-India Congress Committee recently passed in Delhi. Vallabhbhai J. Patel was in the Chair. Gandhi attended the meeting. The members showed their disappointment at the suspension of non-co-operation activities. On Gandhi's advice, it was resolved to suspend all non-co-operation activities including picketing and to confine themselves to : (1) the Registration of Congress members; (2) the collection of money for the Tilak Swarajya Fund; and (3) the spread of *Khaddar*.

The general sense of the meeting was against suspension and the resolution was passed in deference to Gandhi's wishes. Gandhi while explaining the resolution and his attitude, observed that he would not mind if he were in the minority, but he could not allow India to be turned into a pool of blood.

Page 399-400. paragraph 363—

Ahmedabad, March 16th.—I* arrived at the Ashram shortly after 10 on the night of the 10th March. Mr. Shankerlal

*D. S P. of Ahmedabad.

G. Banker and Anusuyabai passed me at a short distance from the Ashram on their way to the City. They stopped their car on seeing me and joined me at the Ashram. I told Mr. Banker that I had a warrant for his arrest. He seemed very pleased and said he had been expecting it. I asked Anusuyabai to let Mr. Gandhi know that I had come to take him away and that I should wait until he was ready. Hazrat Mohani and Isakhan Jehangirkhan Naster had just had an interview with Mr. Gandhi and stayed until the arrest took place. I have been informed that at the interview Mr. Gandhi spoke of his impending arrest and exhorted Hazrat Mohani not to abandon the Congress policy of non-violence in case he was removed. On Hazrat Mohani's giving him his word to adhere to the Congress policy, Mr. Gandhi embraced him.

After Mr. Gandhi's favourite hymn was sung and he had exhorted his disciples to carry on their work as if he were among them, he came along to where I was waiting. He expressed his pleasure at my having come without an escort. Anusuyabai wanted me to arrest her also. I took Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi, Mr. Banker and Anusuyabai in my car to the jail. Some of his followers came on behind with bedding and other things in Anusuyabai's car. Mr. Gandhi said that he had heard a week ago that he was to be arrested. He did not know what the charge was. I told him that it was with respect to certain articles in *Young India* and that the charge was under section 124-A. They appeared to be pleased that no action was to be taken against the *Navajivan*. They had been told that certain other leaders were to be arrested simultaneously. Mr. Gandhi remarked that this reminded him of South Africa where he was arrested four times. While we were waiting outside the gate of the jail for the jail Superintendent, Mr. Gandhi gave instructions to Mr. Saheb Koreishi that if security were to be demanded for *Young India* and *Navajivan*, he should cease publication and issue a single sheet of manuscript matter. Khan Bahadur Vachha, the Superintendent of the Jail, came from his bungalow at about 11 p.m., wearing a Sola Topi, and admitted us to the jail. I saw the prisoners to their cells and drove Mrs. Gandhi back to the Ashram.

I then motored to the "*Navajivan*" Press to obtain documentary evidence to prove Mr. Gandhi's connection with the editorship of the paper. On showing the search warrant and explaining what I wanted, Swami Anandanand, the sub-editor, produced the necessary papers and said that if I had given him notice earlier he would have had them waiting for me on my arrival. I was treated with the utmost politeness at the Press. While waiting for the panchnama to be written I discussed matters with Vallabhbhai Patel. He said

he was going to have leaflets printed during the night for circulation among the mill-hands in the morning to try to prevent them from stopping work. He was not very sanguine but hoped for the best. He thought the arrest of Mr. Gandhi most unjustifiable, though they were really obliging him by arresting him at the present time when he was encountering formidable opposition from the Mahommadans on account of his Bardoli decision. He asked me when I would come to take him. He said he had lost 32 pounds in weight since he took on himself the task of Chairmanship of the Congress Reception Committee and needed a rest.

I motored through the City with the District Magistrate on the next morning. The usual precautions were taken and we found everything normal. There was no hartal and the millhands went to work.

I took Messrs. Gandhi and Banker by special train from the jail to the Court without an escort. The attendance in Court was small. The proceedings lasted about three hours. Both accused behaved with the greatest propriety in Court. On our return journey we were joined by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. She said she had never been inside a jail before. She thought she would not mind being sent to jail if she could be sure of getting a bath everyday.

The Sessions trial* is to take place on Saturday in the Circuit House. Enormous crowds of people will probably turn up to get a last glimpse of Mr. Gandhi.

There is no likelihood of a disturbance unless the millhands put in an appearance.

Page 400, paragraph 364—

Bombay, March 12th.—The news of Gandhi's arrest was received very quietly in Bombay. There was no sign of restlessness any where in the City. Placards were posted up by the Congress and Khilafat Committees advising the people to remain calm, but they appeared to be unnecessary. For a day or two previous to his actual arrest there were rumours that he had already been arrested, but there was little or no sign of excitement. There was no spontaneous desire for a hartal or other form of mourning and there was no sign of agents endeavouring to foment trouble.

A public meeting was held on the night of the 11th in the Cutchi Dasa Oswal Jain Mahajanwadi, V. J. Patel presiding. There were about 600 present. K. P. Khadilkar, V. J. Patel. Jamnadas Mehta and N. D. Upadhya spoke. It was all advice couched in inoffensive language to keep quiet and not to disturb the peace, and extolling the virtues of non-violence.

*The Historic Trial of Mahatma Gandhi published by International Printing Press, Karachi.

(2)*Kolaba, March 13th*.—The effects, if any, of Gandhi's arrest are not yet discernable. I do not expect any results in this district.

(3)*Dharwar, March 13th*.—In Dharwar it was only after the arrival of the *Bombay Chronicle* at 2-30 p.m. on the 12th March that the towns people believed that the arrest of Gandhi had been made. The non-co-operators convened a meeting in the evening and decided to abide by the Mahatma's wishes and have no demonstration. I went round the town between 1 a.m. and 1-45 a.m. and found all slumbering peacefully. They have taken the arrest very quietly, and I have not received any report of any untoward incident from elsewhere in the district.

(4)*Belgaum, March 19th*.—The arrest of Gandhi has had no noticeable effect except to hearten the loyalists and injure the prestige of " Gandhi caps ". The Holi celebration at Belgaum was remarkable for the snatching of some 200 Gandhi caps by frolicsome " Non-Brahmins ", I suppose, at night, which were cast into different Holi fires. About 25 Mahommadans are said to have voluntarily burnt theirs. There are certainly far fewer white caps every where. At Athni an intercaste row so possessed the town that nobody cared whether Gandhi had been arrested or not. An old Brahmin spoke of him in no respectful terms. One officer at Belgaum assured me that the common folk blamed Gandhi's movement for the increased taxation and price of salt, oil, matches, etc.

(5)*Poona, March 12th*.—The news of Gandhi's arrest was received on the evening of the 11th March. It was generally expected that a *hartal* would be proclaimed on the following day, but the *Loka-sangraha* published a special edition that evening giving Gandhi's wishes in that connection. There was then no demonstration or procession of any kind. On the 12th idem a meeting was held at the Shivaji Mandir at which N. C. Kelkar presided, some 4,000 attended and a resolution congratulating Gandhi on his arrest, and resolving to carry on the non-co-operation movement in a peaceful manner as desired by Gandhi was passed. S. M. Paranjpe, S. K. Damle, Abdul Isak, S. G. Lavate and others spoke on the occasion. The speeches were all moderate in tone. Moulvi Muhammad Ali Siddiki spoke to the effect that Gandhi's arrest was necessary to lay the foundation of *Swaraj* and tauntingly said that Kelkar would be the next person to go to jail and then hundreds of people from Poona would be prepared to do so to heighten the fame of Tilak's Poona.

(6)*Ahmednagar, March 15*.—The news of M. K. Gandhi's arrest was heard through the *Advocate* on the morning of the 12th March in Ahmednagar, but so far there have been no signs of special interest

taken over the matter here. At Sangamner, where I had sent my Deputy, R. S. Kamte, he reports that all was quiet. The Inspector reports that after receipt of the news at Sangamner, Maruti Moreshwar Pingle, pleader and President of the local Taluka Congress Committee, Virchand Shrichand Gujarati, Shankar Govind Paregaonkar, Sadashiv Bhimshankar Saraf, Laxman Shridhar Saraf and Laxmansing Balaram Pardeshi, assembled in Ram Krishnadas Buwa's house, where they made preparations for a procession which they took through the town. It was attended mostly by boys of the National School numbering about 100. A board informing the public that Gandhi had been arrested and advocating a protest meeting for 9 p.m. was taken in procession, Gandhi's photo, garlanded with red flowers, accompanied in a perambulator. The procession went round the town to the cries of " Victory to Gandhi " and " Victory to Tilak-Maharaj ".

(7)*East Khandesh, March 15th.*—Gandhi's arrest has been taken quietly. Handbills were distributed at Jalgaon and Bhusawal advising no *hartals*, etc., and giving his last message. An attempt to collect foreign clothing for a bonfire was abortive at Jalgaon and at Bhusawal, only five articles altogether being contributed.

(8)*West Khandesh, March 13th.*—The district has received quietly the news of Gandhi's arrest.

(9)*Nasik, March 15th.*—The news of Gandhi's arrest became known in Nasik on Saturday evening. At Yeola it was known the same time. In Nasik a meeting was hurriedly convened on Saturday evening (11th instant), Raghunath Hari Gadre, pleader presided. The other speakers were :—V. S. Akut, pleader ; R. G. Pradhan, pleader; V. P. Upadhe, pleader; V. G. Ketkar, pleader ; the audience was about 3,000. There was nothing special or violent in any speech. The sum and substance was of course to denounce the arrest with an exhortation to carry on the Mahatma's work, though he be absent in the body, he would still be present in spirit. There was no talk of a *hartal* or any other demonstration. At Malegaon and at Yeola, too, there was no demonstration of any kind. While there has been, no excitement over any "playing up" elsewhere, Nasik may demonstrate feebly.

(10)*Bombay Suburban Area, March 12th.*—So far the news of Gandhi's arrest has caused no excitement in this district.

(11)*Thana, March 11th*—The District Magistrate writes:—"The arrest of Gandhi is known practically to all now, but so far everything is quiet. But the district will take its cue from what happens in Bombay."

(12)*Surat, March. 13th.*—There were persistent rumours of Gandhi's arrest on Friday and the news was received about 2 p.m. on Saturday. There was very little excitement and all is quiet.

(13)*Broach, March 13th.*—The news of the arrest of M. K. Gandhi which became public property by about mid-day on the 11th March, has set people thinking about and discussing the future programme. The atmosphere, so far, continues to be very calm. In fact the local politicals are trying to maintain perfect peace in accordance with Gandhi's last message. A manifesto under the signatures of Anusuyabai and Vallabhbhai J. Patel, issued after Gandhi's arrest, asking people to avoid all noisy demonstration and hartals and to follow the Congress programme, was locally printed and distributed on the evening of the 11th instant. It contains the last message of Gandhi taken from the *Young India* of the 9th March under the heading "If I am arrested".

There was no unusual excitement or bitterness in evidence and no indication of any hartals or demonstrations.

The resignation of Mr. Montagu has not, so far, aroused any general comments.

Broach, March 12th.—The District Magistrate writes : "The news of Gandhi's arrest became confirmed to the public on the afternoon of the 11th, but produced no signs of excitement; it is impossible to say whether this is due to the presence of troops here, the counter attraction of the Holi festival, boredom with Gandhism, acceptance of his teaching that violence leads nowhere, or mere surprise at his eventual arrest. I asked the D. D. C. to go and camp at Ankleswar for a few days from the 9th, and told him the reason ; rather to my surprise, and in my opinion quite unnecessarily, he preferred taking his family rather than leaving them here, giving the ground that he was not quite sure of what the Bohras would do. For myself I consider the chief subject of their thoughts is now cotton."

(14)*Panch Mahals, March 15th.*—The news of Gandhi's arrest caused no surprise among the non-co-operators nor disturbed the public mind. There was no meeting, no procession, no hartal and no demonstration of any kind in any part of the district.

(15)*Kaira, March 12th.*—Except at Borsad where Abbas Tyebji has started a mild form of cloth-shop picketing and at Nadiad where Municipal matters took up all attention, agitation appeared at a standstill till Gandhi was arrested on the night of the 10th March. Till the time of writing, 12 noon on the 12th March, all is quiet in the district. This I consider to be mainly due to Gandhi's manifesto for the people to remain peaceful and to hold no meetings and *hartals*.

These instructions were distributed at mid-day on the 11th March in the form of handbills printed locally from one under the signatures of Anusayaben and V. J. Patel which were brought down by the morning train. I understand that the local inhabitants of Nadiad, at any rate, feel the arrest keenly.

The District Magistrate, writing on the 11th, says:—"The news of Gandhi's arrest reached Mehmedabad and Nadiad this morning. No excitement is noticeable. The news had been expected for two days at least and there was a rumour (not generally believed however) yesterday that he had been arrested on the night of the 9th. An emissary of the Provincial Committee came down by train this morning bringing the official news to the local Samiti and also a printed notice conveying Gandhi's instructions, i.e., that there should be violence, and that 'the constructive campaign' should be carried on. The messenger went on, taking other copies to other towns. The local Samiti reprinted the notice received (omitting one portion).

One silly and rather dangerous rumour was circulating here to the effect that Gandhi was arrested by a soldier who by way of insult blackened his face (literally)."

The District Magistrate, writing from Nadiad on the 12th March, says : " Everything is still absolutely quiet so far, though the Inspector reports that the townspeople are much upset about Gandhi's arrest. But acting on his instructions, they have abstained from any meetings or *hartal*, and there is no excitement. The Deputy Superintendent of Police, N. D., reports that at Mehmedabad nobody (except a few non-co-operation leaders) seems to be particularly interested in the matter so far. ' All quiet' is also reported from Anand, and (except for Abbas Tyebji's picketing by placards) at Borsad. Abbas has now gone to Ahmedabad. He is momentarily expecting to be arrested, I understand."

(16) *Ahmedabad, March 16th.*—All the educated classes are profoundly affected by the arrest of Gandhi. The lower classes seem indifferent. Most of the Mahommadans are pleased. One Mahom-madan hotel-keeper distributed sweets to celebrate the event. Foreign cloth worth about 15 lacs was brought into Ahmedabad during the week.

On receipt of the-news of Gandhi's arrest there was a *hartal* in Prantej on the 11th. A few Mahommadans kept their shops open.

(17) *Kathiawar Agency, March 20th.*—At Bagasra, on the 11th March, on receipt of telegraphic intimation of Gandhi's arrest, Lalchand Devchand, Bania of Bagasra, held a meeting which was attended by about 100 persons and urged the use of *Swadeshi* cloth. Dr. Devchand Nanji of Bombay advised the audience against the drinking of tea.

The situation is very quiet. No excitement whatever appears to have been occasioned by Gandhi's arrest. Shops were closed from 3 p.m. to 6 p.m. at Bagasra on the 11th March when intimation was received of the arrest.

(18) *Sukkur, March 15th.*—The news of Gandhi's arrest spread in Sukkur on 12th March. There was no undue excitement. The Congress Committee sent men round the town to proclaim the news and to call a public meeting for the evening. This in due course assembled and lasted from 7-30 p.m. to 10 p.m. It was, however, a very tame affair and was attended by 300 to 400 only, including about a dozen Hindu ladies. Seth Arjundas Hemandas presided and was supported by Mulchand Pessumal and other local speakers, of whom, Mahomed Yamin was the only one to cause any excitement, which he did by abusing the Police. The burden of the speeches was satisfaction at Gandhi's arrest, and the audience were urged to carry on the goad work he had started. A new campaign against liquor-shops was also foreshadowed.

(19) *Sind C.I.D., Karachi, March 16th.*—It is too early yet to gauge the effect of Gandhi's arrest. The news was received very quietly in Karachi, where it was not unexpected as it had been rumoured for some days previously that this action was being or had been taken. Among the trading classes signs of satisfaction at the arrest are reported in some quarters, where it is believed that Gandhi is largely responsible for the present situation in trade. It is also reported that in other quarters the result is satisfactory as people say that it was time that Government asserted itself, and showed that it was not afraid of dealing with Gandhi.

Page 425, paragraph 391(4)—

Ahmedabad, March 23rd.—The arrest and conviction of M. K. Gandhi passed off without disturbance. The trial took place on the 18th March and lasted less than two hours. M. K. Gandhi, unlike the Ali Brothers, behaved with the utmost respect to the Court and the whole proceedings were very dignified.

The local leaders made genuine efforts to prevent the mill-hands from giving trouble.

Pages 428-29, paragraph 391(19) (a, b, c)—

Bombay, March 20th.—The news of Gandhi's conviction was received very quietly in Bombay. It was known early on the afternoon of the 18th. The only exhibition of feeling was that the Cotton Bazar at Colaba did not open for business at 4 p.m. as usual. On the 20th idem business was in full swing as usual everywhere. The Share Bazar closed for ten minutes or so but then resumed business.

Leaflets were issued in large numbers by the Congress Committee enjoining peace. They run as follows :—

(a)

Mahatma Gandhi has gone to Jail

DUTY OF PEOPLE

The people should behave peacefully according to the instructions of the Congress and Khilafat Committees if they want swarajya, justice in connection with the Punjab and Khilafat, the maintenance of the human birthright of free speech and writing and if they want to honour Mahatma Gandhi and to give him peace, then (1) Become members of the Congress, (2) Boycott foreign cloth, (3) Use hand spun and hand-woven Khadi, (4) Work charkhas, (5) Give one per cent. of their annual income to the Tilak Swarajya Fund, (6) Remove the untouchability of the depressed classes, (7) Remove the sin of drink, (8) Hindu, Mahommadan, Sikh, Parsi, Christian and Jew should behave with each other in a friendly manner, (9) Behave peacefully with those who differ in opinion, (10) Get cases decided by the Panchayat, (11) Maintain self-control, (12) Be self-dependent.

(b)

BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE,

2, Dean Lane, Fort, Bombay.

Mahatma Gandhi has gone to Jail

DUTY OF PEOPLE

Do not strike. Go to your work. Maintain peace. Use Khadi. Boycott foreign cloth. Respect the Congress Khilafat Committees' orders.

Secretary,

Bombay Provincial Congress Committee,

No. 2, Dean Lane, Fort, Bombay.

(c)

Mahatma Gandhi has been sentenced to six years' simple imprisonment. Mahatma's order is not to strike but to behave peacefully.

Page 429, paragraph 392—

Non-co-operation movement : Posters, leaflets, pamphlets, etc.

(1) *Karachi, Match 22nd.*—Leaflets issued under the signature of Dr. Haji Ghulam Hussein Kassim as Secretary of the Khilafat and Congress Committees printed in the Bharat Electric Printing Works were distributed on the 16th March by the Congress workers. The following is a rough translation :—

" *Bande Mataram*

Allaho-Akbar.

GOD IS TRUE AND IMMORTAL

LAST MESSAGE OF GANDHI

It will be a great dignity and pride for me if all the country remained calm at my arrest. I greatly desire that the work of the movement (amended programme) should be carried on as rapidly as the Punjab Mail. I will be more delighted if men who so far have remained quiet will now give away their foreign clothes to be burnt. In order to achieve Swaraj the country should think of the following points :—

- (1) Non-violence.
- (2) Unity between Hindus, Moslems, Sikhs, Parsis, Christians and Jews.
- (3) Untouchability.
- (4) Boycott of foreign cloth and use of hand-woven khaddar."

Page 454, paragraph 421(3)—

Ahmedabad, March 29th.—M. K. Gandhi and S. G. Banker were removed from Sabarmati Jail at midnight on the 20th March. M. K. Gandhi remarked that the one thing which had kept his spirits up since his arrest was the fact that the country had paid heed to his message and no outbreak of violence had occurred. A few Rail-way servants gave him a parting cheer as he entered the special train. There was no demonstration en route to Poona.

Forecast by a Bengali Astrologer of M. K. Gandhi's release in 1924

Sind C.I.D., December 2nd.—A forecast by a Bengali astrologer, that Gandhi will be honourably released from jail between August and October 1924, is published in the press in Sind. To add weight to this pronouncement, it is said that the same astrologer predicted Mr. Lloyd George's resignation.

SECTION I**Records from Government of India regarding Gandhiji's
arrest and prosecution**

(2)

Telegram P., No. 806, dated the 3rd October 1921.

From

The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department;

To

The Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay.

Clear the line.—Attention of Bombay Government is invited to article in " *Young India*", dated 29th September by M. K. Gandhi entitled " *Tampering with Loyalty*". The Government of India request that Bombay Government will take legal opinion as to whether a prosecution under sections 124-A, 131 or 505, Indian Penal Code, could be based successfully on this article, in particular on passages: —

(a) dealing with service in the army, namely:—

(1) passage begins " only a Mussalman divine can speak for Islam" ends "the liberty and the honour of the west and the helpless ",

(2) passage begins " we must reiterate " ends " regarding the sepoy's ",

(b) passages referring to sedition, namely:—

(1) passage begins "for he must know that sedition" ends "in terms of the Indian Penal Code",

(2) passage begins " we must spread " ends " arrest us ".

The legal opinion *received* should be furnished to Government of India with least possible delay the Government of India desire further to be informed whether in the opinion of the Government of Bombay such a prosecution is necessary or advisable at this juncture.

(3)

Telegram P., No. 809, dated the 4th October 1921.

From

The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department;

To

The Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay.

Clear the line.—In continuation of my telegram No. 806, dated the 3rd September, please telegraph as soon as possible and in advance of letter summary of legal opinion obtained and of views of local Government.

(14)

Telegram P., No. 887, dated the 16th October 1921.

From

The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department;

To

The Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay.

The Government of India desire to be informed what evidence will be available to prove should a prosecution be decided on the authorship by Gandhi of the article in "*Young India*" headed "Tampering with Loyalty" and of the manifesto of 4th October signed by him and others. Please telegraph reply with the least possible delay.

(15)

Telegram P. No. 17, dated the 17th October 1921.

From

The Secretary to the Government of Bombay;

To

The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

Your telegrams Nos. 806 and 809, dated the 3rd and 4th instant The Law Officers are of opinion that article offends against sections 124A and 505 of the Indian Penal Code. The Remembrancer of Legal Affairs considers that it also offends against section 131 of the Code ; but the Advocate-General dissents.

SECRET.

VERY URGENT.

HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL).

The Governor in Council desires that the legal opinion of the Remembrancer of Legal Affairs and the Advocate General should be obtained as urgently as possible as to whether a prosecution under sections 124-A, 131 and or 505, Indian Penal Code, could be successfully based on (1) the article entitled "Tampering with Loyalty", appearing at pages 309-310 of *Young India*, dated the 29th September 1921, and (2) the letter from Mr. Gandhi addressed

" To the Mussalmans of India" appearing at pages 310-311 of the same issue of the paper.

The Remembrancer of Legal Affairs and the Advocate General, Bombay, are accordingly requested to furnish Government with their opinions, and to treat the matter as very urgent.

(Sd.).....,

for Secretary to the Government of Bombay,

Home Department (Political).

Unofficial reference No. S.D.-2801, dated the 5th October 1921, to:

The R. L. A.
The Advocate General, Bombay,
(Thro' the Solicitor to Government). } in succession.

In the article entitled "Tampering with Loyalty" Mr. Gandhi admits in the passage marked A1 that he has advised sepoys to leave Government service. He has therefore committed an offence under section 131 of the Indian Penal Code. He also says in the same passage that it is sinful for anyone to serve this Government as a soldier. By publishing such a statement which is likely to cause soldiers to disregard or fail in their duty has committed an offence under section 505 of the Code.

The statement in the passage marked A1 that this Government i.e., the Government established by Law in British India has proved treacherous to the Musalmans of India and has been guilty of the inhumanities of the Punjab is one for which Mr. Gandhi could successfully be prosecuted for an offence under section 124A of the Indian Penal Code.

U. O. R. to the Advocate General.

CONFIDENTIAL.

No. 58 of 1921.

ADVOCATE GENERAL'S CHAMBERS

HIGH COURT:

Bombay, 10th October 1921.

With reference to Unofficial Reference No. S.D. 2801 from the Home Department, dated 5th October 1921, I have to state as follows: —

In my opinion a prosecution under sections 124-A and 505 based on the article entitled "Tampering with Loyalty" should prove successful. I do not think the article falls within the purview of section 131.

(Sd.) D. N. BAHADURJI,
Acting Advocate General.

True Copy.

(Sd.) J. C. G. Bowen,
Solicitor to Government.

Please see the Government of India, telegram at p. 17 ante.

2. The opinion of the law officers is as might be expected. I submit a draft reply for consideration.

(Sd.) J. C.
11th October.

H. M.

H.E,

I am disposed to agree with the Advocate General. The sum total of the pronouncements seem to be that sepoys should resign if they should be able to obtain some other means of livelihood or if it should be provided hereafter by Gandhi. The sum total does not seem to be a determined endeavour to seduce the Army but rather a pathetic effort to get arrested by Government.

(Sd.) M. H. W. H.

11th October.

I agree with the Secretary draft. Circulate to Hon. members.

(Sd.) L.

13th October.

Hon. Sir I. Rahimtoola.

Hon. Sir C. Setlvad.

Hon. Mr. Lawrence.

(Sd.) H. S. L.

10th October.

I am strongly of opinion that any prosecution of Mr. Gandhi would be a great political blunder.

(Sd.) I. R. K.

13th October.

I entirely agree with Sir Ibrahim. We have by instituting prosecution against the Ali brothers rehabilitated them just at the time when they and their movement were getting discredited and their party was at its wit's end as to what to do next. Let us not take a similar step with regard to Gandhi. He is pathetically inviting arrest and the best way to discredit him is to decline to take any notice of him. Moreover there is a great difference between the Ali brothers and Gandhi. To my mind it will be the greatest political blunder to prosecute Gandhi. And I think we should warn the Government of India and request them to see that no other Government undertakes such a prosecution. Any action of that character by the Government of any other Province will have a very bad effect on the whole of India and specially on this presidency.

(Sd.) C. H. S.

15th October 1921.

Clear Line Telegram.

Despd. Simla, 3-50 p.m.

Recd. Poona, 4-20 p.m.

Recd, by A.S. 5-10 p.m.

No. D.D. 7-Poll.

Dated 16th October 1921.

From

.....

Home, Simla;

To

.....,

Bombay.

P. Please telegraph with the least possible delay, for the information of the Government of India, what evidence will be available, should the prosecution in respect of articles in " Young India " headed " Tampering with Loyalty" and of manifesto of October 4th by Gandhi and others be decided on, to prove authorship by Gandhi.

True Copy.

(Sd.).....,

Assistant Secretary to Government.

Home Department (Political).

PP. are with Sir I. Rahimtoola and Sir C. Setalvad. The telegram embodying the views of H. E. in Cl. against a prosecution has not yet issued. It would seem advisable not to begin collecting evidence till a prosecution is decided on. A search of the " Navjivan " Press may produce the original in respect of the former of the Bombay Chronicle Press in respect of the latter. The former has been published in Gandhi's own paper over his name and the latter in the public press and Gandhi has not repudiated his signature to it. Proof of publication of "Young India" is easily obtainable.

(Sd.) D. J. McD.

16th October 1921.

A copy of this should be sent to H. M. at once for information. It is exceedingly improbable that Gandhi would disown authorship. To get documentary evidence it would be necessary to search the Presses.

2. Meantime issue the attached very urgently to Hon. Members. Expediting return of pp. regarding prosecution of Gandhi for article " Tampering with Loyalty ".

Addressed to—

Sir I. Rahimtoola.

Sir C. Setalvad.

Hon. Mr. Lawrence.

(Did not issue. Destroyed.)

(Sd.) J. C.

16th October 1921.

Received 7-40 p.m.

Returned after taking action as directed. In addition to above evidence we have a detailed report on Gandhi's speeches re-affirming the Working Committee's resolution on the subject. The resolution as Secretary has noted, has been well watered down and is not so direct as Karachi resolution: it is contingent on employment.

(Sd.) D. J. McD.

16th October 1921.

I understand the pp. have been sent to Secretary by Hon. Mr. Lawrence.

(Sd.) M. H.

17th October 1921.

Government considers that convictions could certainly be obtained under the first named section ; and that there is ample independent material under section 124A. They are, however, decidedly of opinion that as a matter of policy prosecution would be a grave mistake. Government regard pronouncement as large extend *pro forma* and to be addressed to the political public rather than to the Army. In the case of the latter the promise to set up sepoys as weavers at some future date is only likely to excite ridicule ; the general tenour of the article is not likely to affect the political situation. In speech on the 9th Gandhi has disavowed secret propaganda and a Resolution of the Working Committee was moved by him at a public meeting stating that the Congress does not propose to call out the military or civil Government servants until it can provide for them. Prosecution would afford Gandhi the opportunity to escape. At the present juncture such a contingency would be in the highest degree inadvisable.

(16)

Telegram No. 890, dated the 17th October 1921.

From

The Secretary to the Government of India,
Home Department;

To

The Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay.

Clear *the line*.—In continuation of my telegram of yesterday please also report evidence available to prove delivery of speech by Gandhi on 9th October which was reported in " *Bombay Chronicle* ", dated 10th ; and his authorship of article in ' *Young India* ' entitled Appeal to Mussalmans, and article in some paper reproduced in " *Bombay Chronicle* " of 12th October.

(19)

Telegram p., No. S.D. 2964, dated the 19th October 1921.

From

The Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Special Department;

To

The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

Your telegrams Nos. 887, dated the 16th October, and 890 (Political), dated the 17th, refer to the following matters. Articles (a) "Tampering with Loyalty"; (b) "To the Mussalmans of India"; published in *Young India* of the 29th September; (c) the manifesto and (d) Notes in *Young India* of the 6th October, and (e) Gandhi's speech at Bombay on the 9th October. Following evidence of authorship is available. Every issue of *Young India* contains on the "front page the words "edited by M. K. Gandhi"; article (c) is by "M. K. Gandhi"; under the heading of article (b) is a letter signed "I am your friend and comrade M. K. Gandhi" and dated Madras, the 24th September 1921; (c) Gandhi put himself as the first signatory to the manifesto; and (d) the notes are initialled "M. K. G.". Presumably this would be held sufficient proof of authorship. As regards (e) verbatim report by expert shorthand reported is available; Inspector and Sub-Inspector, Bombay C. I. D., were also present at the meeting. As regards (a), (b), (c) and (d) further documentary evidence might be obtained by searching the Navajivan Press where *Young India* is printed and the *Bombay Chronicle* Press.

Above material was considered by the Government of Bombay in formulating their views communicated in my telegram No. S.D.-2932, dated the 17th October, which were unanimous and to which attention is invited.

Maharashtra State Gazetteers

R. I. No. S.D. 2847.

No. 675 of 1921.

From

F. C. GRIFFITH, Esq., O.B.E., M.L.C.,
Acting Inspector-General of Police,
Bombay Presidency

To

The Secretary to Government,
Home Department (Special), Bombay.
Office of the Inspector-General of Police,
Post Box No. 2, Poona, 5th November 1921.

Subject.—Non-co-operation propaganda. Sir,

With reference to your Express-letter No. S.D. 3057, dated 25th October 1921, on the subject of the effect of the issue of the Manifesto of Gandhi and others, I have the honour to state that reports from every district with the under-noted exceptions state that no Police officers have resigned and that there are no indications that the loyalty and the attitude of Police Officers have been affected by the Manifesto and connected propaganda.

2. The report of the District Superintendent of Police, Ahmedabad, has not yet been received.

The Superintendent of Police, B. B. and C. I. Railway reports that three Constables have tendered their resignations but, although all are Mahommadans, it is unlikely that political considerations had anything to do with their resignations.

The District Superintendent of Police, Nasik, reports by wire that one Head Constable and two Constables have submitted their resignations on account of political propaganda, but he gives no details.

The Superintendent of Police, Belgaum, reports that a Brahmin Constable was dismissed on the 12th of October for taking part in a disloyal meeting directed against Government. He was a Constable who has been passed over for promotion and announced to the meeting that he was resigning on account of Government's "wicked measures".

The District Superintendent of Police, Kaira, reports that signed memorials are being submitted by his men, but considers that they are directed by economic considerations and he is unable to trace any connection with the non-co-operation movement.

On the other hand, certain districts report, notably, Dharwar and Belgaum, that the strong action now being taken by Government is having an admirable effect in strengthening the loyalty of Government servants.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) F. C. GRIFFITH,

Acting Inspector-General of Police.

(30).

Telegram, P. No. 1055, dated the 8th November 1921.

From

The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department;

To

The Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay.

Case for the opinion of the Advocate-General, Bombay.

(As in case for joint opinion of Advocate-General, Bengal, and Standing Counsel above.)

(31)

Telegram P., No. 1060, dated the 9th November 1921.

From

The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department;

To

The Secretary to the Government of Bombay.

Government of Bombay *will have seen* announcement that Gandhi intends to initiate mass civil disobedience in a limited area of Gujarat. Government of India would be glad to be informed, if possible, by clear the line telegram, by 10th what measure of success is in the opinion of the Government of Bombay likely to be obtained particularly in directions of refusal to pay taxes and resignations of Government servants, also what measures Government of Bombay propose to adopt to deal with situation.

(33)

Telegram P., No. S.D. 3788, dated the 11th November 1921

From

The Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Special Department;

To

The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

Your telegram No. 1060-Political of the 9th November. It is impossible to frame any estimate of probable success of Gandhi's campaign of civil disobedience until some information is available as to the form it is likely to take which local officers have been instructed to endeavour to obtain. His personal influence in Gujarat is powerful especially in Municipalities. Campaign for nonpayment of municipal taxes would probably have considerable success. Campaign for non-payment of land revenue may also have considerable local and temporary success but attachment of rayat to land will be strong preponderating influence in the long run. Except in subordinate ranks resignation of Government servants is not likely. Law officer(s) and local officers are being consulted and a further report will follow.

(37)

Telegram P., No. S.D.-3813, dated the 16th November 1921.

From

The Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Special Department;

To

The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

Immediate information should be given by telegram of announcement of any form of civil disobedience. Police reinforcement should be drafted into any area in which such announcement is made and prompt application should be made for additional Police under section 25, District Police Act, if considered necessary. Local Military Commanders should be kept fully informed of all developments. You should consider desirability of route to be taken by Military Forces to be marched through affected area. All preliminary steps should be taken for application, if and when necessary, of internal security scheme ; formation and activity of volunteers or other associations should be carefully watched and

reported with reference to Act 14 of 1908, Part II, Criminal Law Amendment Act. As at present advised Government do not consider that at this stage application of Seditious Meetings Act (10 of 1911) would be advisable ; but you should report promptly if development of situation renders this imperative. If announcement of civil disobedience is accompanied by incitements to violence or followed by any acts of violence report should be made immediately with a view to prosecution of the principal instigators ; timely measures should also be taken to obtain and record necessary evidence. Government is confident that all officers concerned will show tact and firmness in all measures necessary for the maintenance of law and order. (Addressed to Northern Division, repeated to Home Department, Delhi. General Officers Commanding, Southern and Western Commands, also informed.)

(38)

Telegram P., No. S.D.-3823, dated the 17th November 1921,

From

The Government of Bombay, Special Department;

To

The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

Clear the line.—Yesterday the text of the Advocate-General's opinion was posted to you under cover of letter No. S.D.-3820, dated the 16th November. The opinion was not telegraphed as it could not be satisfactorily summarised. The opinion of local officers generally confirm the views expressed in this Government telegram No. S.D.-3738, dated the 11th November. The Commissioner, Northern Division, however takes a serious view of the situation particularly of the Surat District. This Government's telegram No. S.D. 3813, dated the 16th November, to your address contains the general precautionary measures considered necessary. Further specific action will necessarily be dependent upon the developments of the situation.

(40)

No. S.D.-3820, dated Bombay, the 16th November 1921.

From

J. CRERAR, Esq., C.I.E., Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Home Department;

To

The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

In compliance with the request contained in your confidential clear the line telegram No. 1055 (Political), dated the 8th November

1921, I am directed by the Governor in Council to forward, herewith, for the information of the Government of India, a copy of the opinion of the Advocate-General, Bombay, on the question as to what offence or offences would be committed by persons inciting others to civil disobedience including (a) incitements to tax-payers to withhold payment of revenue or of other taxes, or to tenants to withhold payment of rent with the object of making it impossible for the land revenue to be paid, and (b) inciting Government servants, other than soldiers, to leave Government service.

Opinion of the Advocate-General, No. 65, dated the 15th November 1921.

I gather that the question put to me is that: —

Assuming that as a direct consequence of what may be called the Civil Disobedience Resolution passed by the All-India Congress Committee at Delhi on the 4th instant persons—

(a) incite people to withhold payment of land revenue or other taxes due in the Bombay Presidency or to withhold payment of rent due in that Presidency, or

(b) incite Government servants (other than soldiers) in that Presidency to leave Government service of what offence would—

(1) those who so incited, and

(2) those who passed the Resolution, be guilty.

2. The question is hypothetical.

What will be done is not known.

It may well turn out to be different to what is anticipated.

In this connection I would draw attention to what occurred on the 7th April 1919.

The Satyagraha Sabha then proclaimed that certain laws were to be disobeyed. What was advised and done was, however, in one case not a necessary disobedience of the law and in the other not a disobedience of the law at all.

3. To revert to the question and to deal with the various points involved.

Is it an offence to incite another to withhold payment of land revenue in the Bombay Presidency ?

To refuse to pay such land revenue is not an offence.

To incite another not to pay is not an offence either.

4. My opinion is, I understand, required urgently. I have not had time to examine the various enactments imposing other taxation in the Presidency.

I am unable therefore to give any general answer to the question whether it is an offence to withhold payment of other taxes in the Presidency or to incite another to do so.

To take one familiar instance, however.

It is not an offence to refuse to pay income-tax though it is an offence to fail without reasonable cause or excuse to comply with various other requirements of the Indian Income-Tax Act—see section 39 of that Act.

5. It is not an offence to refuse to pay rent or to incite another so to refuse.

6. As to Government servants (other than soldiers and I should add sailors in the Royal Navy and the Royal Indian Marine) it is not an offence to stop work unless sections 490, 491 or 492 of the Indian Penal Code were applicable or unless there were some special provision in any local Act applicable to the service in question.

Nor subject as above would it be an offence to induce a Government servant to give up work.

7. I have of course assumed that the inducement in the various cases discussed did not amount to criminal intimidation.

If it did the inducer would be guilty of an offence under section 506 of the Indian Penal Code.

8. Next as to the liability of those who passed the Resolution.

Under section 120A of the Indian Penal Code it must be shown (I) that they agreed to do or cause to be done an illegal act, and (II) (assuming that the agreement was not to commit an offence) that some act beside the agreement was done by one or more parties to the Resolution in pursuance thereof.

I omit from consideration other portions of the section which are inapplicable.

9. Now the term illegal in the Indian Penal Code (see section 43) is applicable, *inter alia*, to everything which furnishes ground for a civil action.

The Bombay Land Revenue Code (Bombay Act V of 1879) provides for the payment of land revenue and summary remedies for its recovery.

The question is whether Government in spite of such summary remedies and summary remedies in previous Acts and Regulations have a right of civil action for the recovery of land revenue.

The general principle is that where there was a liability existing at common law and that liability is affirmed by a Statute which gives a special and peculiar form of remedy differing from that which existed at common law then unless the Statute contains words

which expressly or by necessary implication exclude the common law remedy the party suing has the election to pursue either that or the statutory remedy (see per Willes, J., in *Wolverhampton Water Works Company vs. Hawkesford*, 6 C.B. (N. S.), at page 356.

Was there then a right of action at common law to Land Revenue before any enactments on the subject.

Did the Act of 1879 or previous enactments by necessary implication take away any right of civil action.

Each of these questions is one of difficulty.

I do not think any general answer could be given to either without knowing how Government came into possession of the land, what engagements were made with the occupants, what legislation there was in regard to Land Revenue after Government came into possession and when it was brought into force.

If possession by Government was obtained by conquest or cession Government could I take it deal with the land as they liked.

It was for Government to consider whether they would continue the former occupants or not as they chose.

The terms were also of the Government choice. (See *Secretary of State vs. Bai Rajbai*, 42 L.A., page 229).

In the absence of legislation Government would presumably have a right of civil action to enforce any terms come to by agreement.

If there were legislation the question would arise whether that legislation by necessary implication excluded a right of civil action. I think I am right in saying that there is not any legislation expressly excluding such a right of civil action.

It is interesting to note that the Bombay Revenue Jurisdiction Act X of 1876, which dealt with the jurisdiction of Courts in revenue matters did not exclude such a right of civil action by Government.

If Government had a right of civil action in such cases those who passed the Resolution (which expressly refers to the non-payment of taxes) would be liable under section 120B (2) of the Indian Penal Code provided one or more of them attempted to induce occupants to withhold payment.

10. As to other taxes I have not as I have previously stated had time to examine the various enactments to see if any were payable apart from statute. Income-Tax certainly would not be.

Unless there were a right of civil action or the mere non-payment amounted to a criminal offence even if one or more of the parties to the Resolution induced people to withhold payment there would be no ground for a prosecution of the parties to the Resolution on this head under section 120-B of the Indian Penal Code.

11. An effective incitement to withhold rent would be an actionable wrong if damage were caused to the lessor.

12. An effective incitement to a Government servant to resign would not be an actionable wrong for it is lawful for a Government servant to resign.

An effective incitement to a Government servant to break his contract of service would be an actionable wrong if damage were caused to Government.

13. Even, however, if one or more of the parties to the Resolution were to incite tenants to withhold payment of rent or were to incite Government servants to break their contracts of service before the parties to the Resolution could be convicted under section 120-B (2) of the Indian Penal Code it would have to be shown that such inducements were within the purview of the Resolution.

Whether this could be shown in either case is a question depending upon the speeches delivered at the time and any published plans showing what civil disobedience was to include.

14. I have advised as best I can on the hypothetical question put to me.

No really satisfactory opinion can be given on the situation until it has developed further and definite action has been taken by one or more of the parties to the Resolution.

From the report of the meeting it seems that the time for definite action so far as Gandhi is concerned, should not be far distant.

(Sd.) T. J. STRANGMAN,
Advocate-General.

(41)

Telegram No. S.D.-3848, dated the 19th November 1921.

From

The Secretary to the Government of Bombay ;

To

The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

In course of Manifesto issued to-day Gandhi states " the hope of reviving mass disobedience has once more in my opinion been dashed to pieces. Atmosphere for civil disobedience absent it is not enough such atmosphere be formed Bardoli and therefore may go on side by side with violence in Bombay. This is impossible ". This is with reference to correspondence ending with my telegram No. 3823-S.D., dated 17th instant.

SECRET

(45)

No. 1223.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

HOME DEPARTMENT :

Political

From

S. P. O'Donnell, Esq., C. I. E., Secretary to the Government of India,

To

All Local Governments and Administrations.

Delhi, the 24th November 1921.

Sir,

In Mr. Craik's letter of the 18th June and subsequent letter of the 23rd July last, the Government of India explained their policy in regard to the non-co-operation movement and indicated the measures which should be taken by local Governments in order to give effect to that policy. These measures included:—

(a) the prosecution not only of persons guilty of direct incitement to violence, but also of persons whose speeches were calculated to arouse such feelings of disaffection, enmity or hatred as were likely to lead violence, not as an ultimate or remote consequence, but as a probable result in the near future.

(b) The prosecution of local agitators, who in the guise of sadhus, devoted their energies to stir up trouble in the villages or industrial centres ; and of agitators endeavouring to seduce the police or troops from their duty.

(c) The institution of proceedings against persons, who by means of non-co-operation courts or panchayats, usurped jurisdiction by force or illegal pressure over persons unwilling to submit to it.

(d) The formation of strong battalions of armed police.

(e) Action with the object of preventing the non-co-operators from securing the control of local bodies and employing the corporate authority and the funds of these bodies in direct opposition to Government and for the purpose of establishing national schools.

(f) The protection of importers and dealers in foreign cloth.

(g) Vigorous counter propaganda. The Government of India desire that action should continue to be taken on these lines, and in particular they wish again to impress on local Governments the necessity for taking very early steps for the formation of armed police battalions in provinces where they do not exist and strengthening them where inadequate in number. The

events of the last few months, however, and the developments which are now threatened, have satisfied the Government of India that a stage has now been reached at which action on a more drastic and comprehensive scale than has hitherto been attempted is required. It is with great reluctance that the Government of India have come to this conclusion. Since the inception of the non-co-operation movement they have sought, for the reasons stated in their resolution of November 6th, 1920, to avoid any action which might give a handle for the charge that they had embarked on a general policy of repression in regard thereto. But the course which the movement has recently followed has necessitated a reconsideration of their attitude. Since July last there have been numerous outbursts and a growing tendency to outbreaks. In August last open rebellion broke out in Malabar, and its suppression is still far from complete. In the same month there were serious disturbances at Karur in the Madras Presidency and in the Madras city, and a riot at Bala Sinor in Bombay. In September, acts of incendiarism directed against Government schools, were reported from Orissa ; a serious riot in which the police had to fire occurred in the Kistna district of the Madras Presidency; in the United Provinces there were again riots at Meerut; in Burma a meeting had to be dispersed and European officers were severely handled ; while a few days later a mob in Rangoon attacked an European Police Inspector. In October strikes and rioting occurred in some of the tea gardens in the Assam district; in the mill area of the Madras city bombs were thrown at the police who were compelled to open fire ; and in Calcutta the arrest of certain Khilafat volunteers resulted in a riot in which the police were attacked by the crowd. In the present month a serious anti-European agitation culminating in the burning of the Chauterwa factory has been reported from the Tirhut division of Bihar and Orissa, and conditions in that area have necessitated the drafting in of additional police and the despatch of a squadron of cavalry. There have also occurred a serious riot at Howrah and an assault on an Assistant Settlement Officer ; a disturbance in Rangoon leading to a pitched battle between the mob and the civil and military police; a further riot at Belgatchia, Calcutta, in which many police were injured; and finally the outbreak in Bombay which began on the 17th instant. Persistent efforts, moreover, have been made more particularly since the proscription of the leaflet embodying the fatwa of the Ulemas, to seduce policemen and soldiers from their duty. The volunteer movement has grown, and in certain places the activities of these bodies in the shape of picketting, intimidation and the obstruction of the police, have assumed dangerous proportions. Finally, the initiation of a campaign of civil disobedience in Gujerat has been announced, and there are

clear indications that this movement if started, and not checked decisively at the outset, may spread to other provinces.

2. The particular directions in which the Government of India consider that further action is now required relate—

(1) to attempt to spread disaffection among the troops and the police. The existing law provides adequately for the prosecution of persons seducing or attempting to seduce soldiers from their allegiance and duty. Neither the I. P. C, however, nor the Police Act contain provisions which directly apply to attempts to spread disaffection amongst, or to induce resignations by members of the police force, although to some extent section 29 of the Police Act read with sections 109, 110, 112, 114 and 117 I. P. C, can be utilised for this purpose, and the replies to Home Department letter No. 1437, dated 19th October 1920, show that in the opinion of the majority of local Governments special legislation on the lines of section 3 of the English Act should be introduced. Since these replies were written the necessity for such legislation has been rendered more urgent by the persistent attacks on the police that are now being carried on and the danger that these attacks, which have already lead to a number of resignations amongst the Calcutta Police and some resignations elsewhere, may result, if not speedily checked, in widespread disaffection in the ranks of the police. The Government of India will accordingly take early steps for the introduction of a Bill. In the meantime they trust that the fullest possible use will be made of the provisions of the existing law.

(2) *Volunteer Movement.*—Local Governments were addressed on this subject in my letter of the 11th October last. Only a few local Governments have so far replied, but the information which has reached the Government of India shows clearly that in certain centres the activities of the bodies have assumed a definitely dangerous character. A recent telegram from the Bengal Government stated that in Calcutta and in the suburbs the volunteers were rapidly creating a most serious state of affairs, that complaints of intimidation and molestation were frequent, that the morale of the Police was being shaken and that the Police were being subjected to constant pressure of all kinds. (The Government of India have since read with grave concern the accounts that have appeared in the press and that contained in your last fortnightly demi-official letter,* of the reign of intimidation and molestation which prevailed in Calcutta on the 17th and the almost complete effacement of authority throughout a large part of the city. The conditions which obtained on that date have given rise to great indignations amongst the European and doubtless the more respectable elements of the Indian population). In the United Provinces

* To Bengal only.

a complete hartal was enforced in Lucknow, Cawnpore, Allahabad, and other principal towns on the 17th November by means of picketting and intimidation, and signs of lawlessness are reported from Cawnpore, Meerut, Etawah and Bara Banki. In Delhi the Police have, it is believed, on occasions been interfered with by volunteers when attempting to regulate the traffic and their orders have been countermanded, and Khilafat volunteers have intimidated shopkeepers and compelled them to close their shops for the purpose of enforcing a hartal. In the Punjab the Akalis have taken up a menacing attitude. A large body armed with kirpans and dangs recently assembled at Amritsar and Nankana ; threatening language was used in regard to the action of the Punjab Government in respect of the Golden Temple; and apprehensions of a Conflict with the Police were entertained. Shortly before these incidents two bodies of Akalis had marched to Jeja and evicted the Mahant.

† (The Government of India have now received the reply of the Punjab Government to their letter of the 10th instant and a further communication will be addressed to you shortly.).

From Bihar and Orrissa it is reported that wellknown bad characters are being recruited and in the United Provinces and in the Meerut and Aligarh Districts regular drilling has started and uniforms have been issued. In view of these developments the Government of India will again consider the question of legislation on the lines of the English Act 60 George III and I, George IV Cl. S. I. for the purpose of preventing drilling without lawful authority. When local Governments were consulted on this subject last year the general trend of the opinions received was that such legislation was not required. The situation has altered in the interval, and the Government of India are inclined to think that legislation should now be undertaken. At the present moment, however, it is the obstruction, intimidation and picketting, carried on in various large towns, which constitute the most serious side of the movement, and the Government of India desire that the provisions of Part II of Act XIV of 1908 should be vigorously employed for combatting these illegal activities. They are, further, of opinion that greater use might, with advantage, be made of section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, in order to prevent the promotion of hartals. Action under fiis section might in particular be taken in regard to the posting of notices requiring the public to observe a hartal. As intimidation is freely resorted to by the volunteers and is indeed their principal weapon, there can be no question that this provision of the Criminal Procedure Code is applicable.

† To Punjab only.

* (From your telegram of 22nd it is understood that the United Provinces Government have already issued instructions on these lines to all Commissioners).

The Government of India also consider that more vigorous action on the part of the police to protect the public and especially when they themselves are obstructed in the performance of their duties, is now essential, and that troops should be more freely employed both as a means of reinforcing the police whenever necessary, and of encouraging and heartening the law-abiding citizen. They have not overlooked the danger of riots and affrays ensuing, but they regard the occurrence of such as a lesser evil than the loss of authority and prestige and the discouragement of the force which failure to deal with obstructors must inevitably generate. They desire to make it unmistakeably clear that whilst it is naturally their desire that firing should be resorted to as infrequently as is consistent with the maintenance of law and order, local Governments and the officers and men concerned can rely on their full support in any cases in which the military or police fire in the legitimate discharge of their duties. I am to suggest further that the local Governments might examine the possibility of enrolling as special constables on such occasions as a threatened hartal or similar manifestation, or for the purpose of combatting a campaign of intimidation and picketting, loyal persons willing to assist the authorities. Finally, I am to add that local Governments should not hesitate to institute without reference to the Government of India, prosecutions under section 124-A or whatever other sections may be applicable against any person, however prominent, whose arrest and prosecution is in their opinion required for the maintenance of order and respect for authority, and that if there are any suggestions in regard to the measures to be taken against volunteers and their illegal activities over and above those here indicated, which the Government of, may desire to offset, the Government of India will be glad to be informed of them by telegram.

† (The Government of India desire to invite your particular attention to the necessity for action on the above lines. The volunteers in Delhi have too long indulged in obstruction and intimidation and the Government of India trust that you will now take vigorous steps to suppress their illegal operations).

3. I am now to turn to a still graver aspect of the non-co-operation movement, namely, the threatened campaigns of civil disobedience. As the Government of are aware, Gandhi announced his

* To United Provinces only.

* To Delhi only.

intention a short time ago of initiating civil disobedience in a taluka of Gujarat on the 23rd November and the Gujarat Congress Committee has also sanctioned civil disobedience for a part of the Kaira District. According to a press telegram of the 18th Gandhi has since announced that the disorders last week in Bombay have shattered his hope of reviving mass civil disobedience, and it is possible that he will now abandon for a time at least this part of his programme. It is impossible, however, to forecast with any certainty his future action, and still less that of other prominent non-co-operators in other parts of India, and a campaign of civil disobedience is a development fraught with such dangerous possibilities that the only sound policy is to make every preparation in advance to meet it. It is above all important that the first steps taken in this direction should be decisively countered, for upon the results achieved by the first experiment will in all probability depend the action taken in the remainder of India. The conditions stipulated for in the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee are not indeed likely to be fulfilled anywhere, but it is more than doubtful whether the spread of such a dangerous and contagious movement will in practice be prevented by this circumstance, and the policy of the Provincial Congress Committees with whom the decision rests, is more likely to be influenced by the success or failure of the first essay made in this direction than by any scrupulous appreciation of the facts.

4. According to statements that have appeared in the press the programme of civil disobedience, should this be started in any area, will include, in addition to refusal to obey the orders of a court, e.g., under section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, incitements to taxpayers to withhold taxes and of Government servants to leave Government service, the formation of corps of volunteers, the picketting of courts and Government buildings and the establishment of non-co-operation courts. It may too be safely assumed that orders passed under the Seditious Meetings Act or Part II of Act XIV of 1908 in any area in which these Acts were enforced would be ignored.

The Government of India have carefully considered that measures should be taken if a campaign on these lines is started in any part of India. Some of these are clear. If the orders of a court are disobeyed the court itself has ample powers to enforce them or to punish contraventions thereof. The activities of volunteers should be met on the lines already indicated and picketting if it involves intimidation or obstruction should be dealt with by prosecutions under the Indian Penal Code or under section 107, Criminal Procedure Code. Incitements to violence should of course be met by instant prosecution. The Government of India will further

consider whether the establishment of non-co-operation courts should not be prohibited by special legislation and made a penal and cognisable offence. They do not think that it should prove impossible to provide for this, while at the same time avoiding any interference with legitimate arbitrations which they are not in any way desirous of preventing. The most important and dangerous part, however, of the programme contemplated by the non-co-operators is that relating to the payment of taxes and Government service. The attacks in this direction may take one or both of two forms. They may be restricted to the issue of resolutions and manifestos, but and this seems to be the more probable contingency-such declarations may also be followed up by active steps designed to give real effect thereto. The former might be relatively innocuous and have very little serious consequences. Such at any rate has been the experience so far as regards the manifesto of October 4th issued by Gandhi and other leading non-co-operators on the subject of Government service. There have been some resignations of appointments by Government servants but the majority of these may be attributed, the Government of India understand, to the feeling engendered by the Khilafat agitation rather than to the manifesto. But incitements which take the form of direct appeals to a gathering of tax-payers, of the despatch of emissaries to the villages for the purpose of persuading revenue or rent-payers to withhold revenue or rent, or of direct instigation of particular Government servants, whether soldiers or civil employees, to resign their appointments, are in a different category. It is imperative that propaganda on these lines should be checked decisively and at the outset. The Government of India accordingly desire that if civil disobedience is proclaimed in any part of and if active measures such as those just mentioned are taken in pursuance of such a proclamation or declaration, the most prominent participators in the movement, not excluding Gandhi, should be arrested immediately and prosecuted under section 124-A and whatever other sections of the Indian Penal Code may be held by the legal advisers of the local Government to be applicable. In this connection it is right that the local Government should be furnished with the opinions (enclosed) which have been obtained from the Advocate General and Standing Counsel of Bengal and Advocate General of Bombay on the subject of incitements to tax-payers to withhold taxes and to Government servants to leave Government service. It will be observed, however, that the Law Officers have discussed the question of such incitements without reference to their wider aspects as part of a general campaign of sedition and to section 124-A ; and the Government of India have themselves no doubt that such incitements, if shown as they can easily be, to have been made with the object of

paralysing and subverting the Government do offend against section 124-A.

5. It is conceivable that these arrests and prosecutions will suffice for the suppression of the movement. Should, however, this show signs of spreading—in particular in the direction of withholding land revenue or rent—further steps will be necessary. If the local revenue or rent—Acts do not provide adequate means for the collection of revenue or rent in the face of a widespread refusal to pay—and the Government of India understand that the remedies provided in the case of rent are generally too cumbersome or dilatory to be effective— emergency legislation to be certified by the Governor, if necessary, under section 72-E of the Government of India Act may have to be passed. Further it is essential that the people in the area affected should be made to realise that behind and in support of the processes of law there is an adequate backing of physical force and this can best be demonstrated by the marching of troops through the locality or localities. Additional police should also be despatched to the area concerned. It may, too, be found expedient to apply the Seditious Meetings Act and the Government of India will sanction its application for this purpose wherever desired by the local Government. If meetings are held in contravention of the Act the conveners can and should be prosecuted; but such prosecutions would be subsidiary to the prosecutions of the leaders under section 124-A and would therefore be useful mainly in connection with the smaller men. Whether, further, meetings should be dispersed by force is a matter to be determined in the light of the particular circumstances of each case. Meetings should certainly be dispersed wherever this can be effected without the extensive use of firearms and consequent bloodshed ; and it may in many cases, particularly in areas in which civil disobedience is being started, be necessary and desirable that they should be dispersed even if for this purpose resort to firearms is unavoidable. The refusal to pay taxes other than revenue, such as income-tax or municipal tax, is not likely to be adopted on any large scale and can adequately dealt with by processes, such as the sale of the property of defaulters, for which provision is made in the existing laws of each province.

6. The Government of India also consider that the time has arrived when more vigorous action should be taken against a section of the Press. They do not of course suggest or desire that steps should be taken to suppress papers merely because they are hostile to Government. But prosecutions under such section or sections of the Indian Penal Code as may be held to be applicable by the legal advisers of the local Government, should be instituted without hesitation against important papers such as the " Bombay Chronicle", "The Independent", "The Amrita Bazar Patrika",

" Kesari", particularly if these papers are guilty of instigating or encouraging active civil disobedience and such prosecutions should be followed up, if necessary, by forfeiture of securities under the Press Act.

7. If in spite of the measures above described, civil disobedience nevertheless develops rapidly in any area the Government of India will have to consider what further steps should be taken. In the meantime all preliminary steps should be taken for the application, if and when necessary, of the Internal Security Scheme.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

S. P. O'DONNELL,

Secretary to the Government of India.

P. 11.

The decision in the cases of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Ramchandra Narayan and Amba Prasad are referred to by the Privy Council in *Besant versus Advocate-General of Madras* (1920) 43, Madras, 163, as being of considerable assistance towards the construction of section 4 of the Indian Press Act, 1910.

4. Counsel is requested to advise whether in his opinion M. K. Gandhi has committed an offence punishable under section 124-A, 131 or 505 or any other sections of the Indian Penal Code and whether a prosecution in respect of such offence would be successful and generally.

Opinion

In my opinion offences under sections 124-A and 505, Indian Penal Code, have clearly been committed and a prosecution lies against the writer of the article " Tampering with loyalty ".

As regards section 131, Indian Penal Code, I think the general exhortation against service under the Government as a solice on the ground of its being " sinful" does amount to an attempt to seduce within the meaning of that section. But I feel some doubt as to the success of a prosecution under that section in as much as it may be held that there are passages in the article which militate against the idea of immediate desertion.

I desire to add that a prosecution under section 124-A or 505, should not be launched without being sure of the evidence in proof of the authorship of the article in question. The authorship should be proved by positive evidence and not left to be inferred from admission.

B. L. MITTER,

Officiating Advocate-General, Bengal.

The 6th October 1921.

Demi-official letter from B. L. Mitter, Esq., to Lieutenant-Colonel R. W. L. Dunlop, dated the 6th October 1921.

With reference to your letter No. 5663-S., dated Simla, 4th October 1921, I beg to enclose my opinion on the subject mentioned together with the paper sent by you.

If Honourable Member will return to me the opinion of the Advocate-General, Bengal, I will have it copied for circulation (in continuation of other papers) to Honourable Members.

S. P. O'DONNEL,
8th November 1921.

W. H. Vincent.

8th November 1921.

Please have copies made and circulated.*

S. P. O'DONNELL,
8th November 1921.

*Done

Demi-official from the Honourable Dr. T. B. Saprú to the Honourable Sir William Vincent, K. G. S. I., dated the 9th October 1921.

I hope you will not mind my sending you a note embodying my views on the file relating to the prosecution of Gandhi and others. I think I owe it to you that I should explain to you my point of view in a considered note. If necessary, you may inform His Excellency of my views when you meet him to-day before the Executive Council.

I have given my most anxious thought to the question as to whether we should take any steps against Mr. Gandhi and his associates who have issued this Manifesto. I have read the Manifesto and also the Trichinopoly speech. I do not wish to underrate or minimise the danger of the attitude taken by Mr. Gandhi and his friends with particular reference to the Army. This danger has been present to my mind for a long time and it was also present when the decision to prosecute the Ali Brothers and others who are taking their trial in Karachi, was arrived at. I may add that during the discussion that I had at Poona with His Excellency the Governor of Bombay, I myself raised the question as to whether we should be prepared to take the same action against Mr. Gandhi if he, after the arrest and prosecution of Ali Brothers and others, repeated the Karachi resolution and pursued the same line of conduct. His Excellency was of opinion that in a matter of this character, we were not called upon to be logical and that unless

the Government had no option in the matter, he should leave Gandhi alone. The prosecution of Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ah did not seem to him to matter in the same way as the arrest and prosecution of Gandhi would. I accordingly conveyed all this in my letter to Sir William Vincent, a copy of which I also submitted to His Excellency the Viceroy.

What Mr. Gandhi and his friends have done has not come as a surprise to me. Consistently with his own views and with the underlying principle of non-co-operation, and also consistently with a sense of loyalty to the Ali-Brothers in particular and the Muhammadans in general he could not do otherwise than what he has done. The question as to whether we should arrest and prosecute him is not so much a question of law as it is one of political expediency. To put it otherwise, it is a question of choice between two evils,—the evil of prosecuting him now and the evil of letting him alone for the present. During the last twelve months or so, his influence has extended over a much larger area than perhaps we can realise. The masses may not understand exactly the full significance of his propaganda or the meaning of the Swaraj, but he has eminently been successful in exploiting their discontent, which may be attributable to half a dozen causes, and enlisting their active sympathy and support on his side. He is not a mere politician in the eyes of the masses. He has all the sanctity of a holy man attached to him, and therein lies, to my mind, the secret of his hold and also the danger of it. To the Muhammadans he has made himself invaluable, for the simple reason that but for his personality and influence they would not have been able to command the active support and sympathy of the Hindus in their agitation on behalf of Turkey. Probably, the landed classes are the only classes about whom it may be said that they are not affected by his doctrines for obvious reasons. It is intolerable to them that there should be any disturbance of vested interests which his propaganda undoubtedly entails. As against them, however we should set off the monied classes in Bombay, and to a certain extent the Marwari community in Calcutta. With the labouring classes he and his party unquestionably wield a most powerful influence which cannot be ignored. Even those who differ from him among the Moderate party, respect him for his personal character.

The strongest argument in favour of his prosecution at the present moment is that if we do not prosecute him now, we may never be able to prosecute him afterwards for the spread of his mischievous propaganda during the next few months may advance beyond an academic stage and affect the Indian Army. He may then become too powerful and unmanagable for the Government and then there may be greater risks in laying hands on him than there are

at present. On the other hand, we must take stock of the arguments against his prosecution at the present moment:—

(1) So far, we have no evidence of any overt act on his part which may be said to amount to actual tampering with the Army.

(2) We cannot be logical only to the extent of prosecuting him. We must be prepared to prosecute a large number of others, many of whom exercise considerable influence and are men of position in their own provinces, and all of whom are doing, or have done, exactly what Mr. Gandhi has done so far. While it is true that the prosecution of Mr. Gandhi and others will strike terror into the hearts of many people, we ought not to lose sight of the fact that the temper of the people to-day is very different from what it was in 1919, and that the steady defiance of law and authority during the last two years has emboldened people to a much greater degree than at any previous time. Jail has lost its terrors for most of these people, and imprisonment, so far from involving any social disgrace, is now looked upon as the hall-mark of patriotism. I think it would be a great mistake to suppose that the removal of Mr. Gandhi and others into jail would sound the death-knell of his movement. On the contrary, it seems to me that it is bound to give a fresh lease of life to agitation and to feed it by supplying fresh material.

(3) There is bound to be an insistent and extensive agitation for the release of Mr. Gandhi and his associates. We may resist it for some time, but we shall not be able to put it off indefinitely. To release them under pressure of agitation would, to my mind, be a greater blow to the prestige of Government than the refusal to accept his challenge at the present moment can be.

(4) I have not the smallest possible doubt that as the arrest and prosecution of Mr. Gandhi and others would synchronise, or almost synchronise, with the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, the non-co-operators all over the country will do all they can to mar the success of the Royal visit and advertise their efforts in that direction as widely as they can.

(5) There are signs visible that there are some influential men in the country who are actively opposed to Mr. Gandhi's propaganda. Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore has recently led the way in Bengal, and there are many politicians in Bengal who are now beginning to think that Mr. Gandhi's propaganda will do no good to the country. They are showing some courage of expression, which was not the case a few months ago. The Tilak party in Deccan is also showing signs of separation from Mr. Gandhi. It must also be borne in mind that the feeling is growing among the Hindus that the Khilafat agitation as it has been carried on during the last six or seven months, spells danger to them.

(6) We have deliberately refrained hitherto from interfering with the non-co-operation propaganda, excepting to the extent of prosecuting some people under section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code or taking preventive action under section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code. The suggested prosecution of Mr. Gandhi and others is sure to be taken in the light of calculated repression, and howsoever wrong this interpretation of it may be, it is bound to be placed upon our action by the public at large.

(7) Speaking frankly, I do not expect that even the Moderate party as a whole will approve of the prosecution of Mr. Gandhi. Besides, it must be remembered that the Moderate party has considerably lost its influence and weight in the country, and even if it did take a bolder stand, I do not think it would be able materially to affect the general situation. I have also grave doubts as to whether we would be able to carry even the Assembly with us in regard to this matter.

(8) The prosecution of Mr. Gandhi and his imprisonment will not, to my mind, effectively suppress the cry either for the Swaraj or for the revision of the Turkish Treaty. Are we therefore prepared to take any big effective step forward ? I am afraid that with the best of wills on our part, we could not take any such step without the previous consent and concurrence of the Secretary of State and the Cabinet. If such a step has got to be taken and has to be taken some time later, it will be treated as a triumph of Mr. Gandhi and his party and no body will attach to it the grace of spontaneous action on the part of the Government. We have waited so long, I think we may yet wait a little longer, and I should wait for Mr. Gandhi to put himself palpably in the wrong, so as to make it impossible for anyone to say that the Government should ignore what he was doing. We may either reach a stage when Mr. Gandhi by some overt act will place himself so much in the wrong that we should be doing the right thing in prosecuting him then, or we may reach a stage when a consider able body of opinion will have detached itself from Mr. Gandhi and the situation will then have become much easier.

To my mind, as I said at the beginning of this note, the question is one of choice between two evils, and viewing as I do the whole situation and its possibilities, I feel very strongly that we must choose the lesser evil, and refuse to accept at present Gandhi's challenge, the acceptance of which would gladden his heart and embolden his following.

T. B. S(apru),
9th October 1921.

The position is explained very clearly in the Secretary's note. We have now the statement made by Mr. Gandhi in his Trichinopoly speech, his article in "Young India" and the manifesto in the "Bombay Chronicle" which is signed by most of the leading extremists except Mr. Ragavacharia and Mr. C. R. Das. We have consulted Madras about the Trichinopoly speech and Bombay on the article in "Young India" but have received no reply. We have, however, received the opinion of the Advocate-General of Bengal on the article in "Young India." No opinion on the manifesto has yet been called for but the real question is clearly more political than a legal one. The main arguments for and against a prosecution appear to me to be the following :—

Reasons in favour of Prosecution.

(a) The serious effect which our inaction in the face of avowed seditious papers and is having on the administration and upon all officers of Government from gazetted rank downwards.

(b) The disheartening effect on moderate opinion. I have had more than one letter saying that prominent non-officials cannot understand the attitude of Government and that our inaction is preventing many who are against non-co-operation (Particularly in regard to the boycott) from coming into the open and is also driving many into Gandhi's camp.

(c) The impression created among Muhammadans that they alone are prosecuted and that Hindus are treated with greater consideration. This idea is generally prevalent whether it is justified or not.

(d) A prosecution seems inevitable sooner or later unless Gandhi gives up his programme or comes to terms and if we are certain to be forced to such a prosecution the present is not an unsuitable time at the beginning of cold weather to initiate such a prosecution and deal with any disorder.

(e) The fact that Gandhi may at any time force us to prosecute when His Royal Highness is in India at which time a prosecution might be more troublesome than now.

(f) The real danger of delay is that no Government in the position of the Government of India can allow such open sedition or such attacks on the Army and Police to continue unchecked without running the risk of reaching a time when the poison has gone so deep that prosecution is really impossible.

Reasons against prosecution.

(a) Gandhi is pledged to secure Swaraj by the end of December and his failure to do so may lead him to give up the movement and will certainly naturally discredit him.

(b) He is losing a number of educated support who are opposed to his present activities. Muhammadans are angry because their leaders have been prosecuted. Hindus are irritated because the Knilafat question is now being made much of. The cloth boycott movement is not likely to have any real success and in many directions the movement is losing, namely in Bengal; in Madras owing to the Moplah movement, and in the Maharashtra. It is, however, but losing with the masses and with it a more dangerous disrespect for law, order and— is certainly saving. This increases the danger of disorder.

(c) The effect at this juncture of imprisoning Gandhi would be to increase his influence very greatly. He is now not only regarded as a great national hero but, by the ignorant, as semi-divine. His confinement in jail would draw many adherents to his cause and it is probable that he knows this. He certainly wants to be made a martyr in order to secure support for his movement, thus consolidating it at a time when many of his schemes have failed. He is equally certainly not challenging us to prosecute him for the benefit of Government but because he believes that he will secure some advantage therefrom.

(d) The result of prosecution would be a great increase in unrest and probably disorder just on the eve of the Prince of Wales' visit.

(e) The direct effect on the Prince of Wales' visit. If we do not prosecute Gandhi at this movement we must expect hartals and abstentions from the ceremonies though not probable to a very marked extent in Bengal, Bombay or the Indian States. If on the other hand we prosecute, we shall certainly encourage open demonstrations against His Royal Highness and may be faced with such wide disorder as to make it necessary to postpone the visit.

(f) We have some information what indicates that divisions in the Congress will be more apparent than ever next session. It is improbable that Mr. Gandhi's opponents will be successful in their efforts but it is very probable that they will create a definite division among the leaders.

(g) I do not know how far any modification of the Turkish peace terms is possible but if we could secure some substantial modification in favour of Turkey we should go a long way to break Mr. Gandhi's movement so far as Muhammadans are concerned. The favourable position created by such a modification would, however, be entirely lost if Gandhi were prosecuted.

On the whole I incline to the view that we would be well advised to postpone action for the present at any rate until the prosecution against Mohamed Ali is completed. In the meantime we might make

enquiries if Gandhi's campaign is really affecting recruitment or the loyalty of our troops and police. If it is necessary we could prosecute later, any in December or January by which time Gandhi will probably put himself more in the wrong or abandon his movement. I think by then he will probably have given us further cause for taking action and will have alienated many of his supporters.

I am well aware of the dangers of this course and am really mainly influenced by the fact of His Royal Highness' approaching visit. If this is postponed, I should, I think, advocate prosecution immediately and risk the other dangers. There is of course great danger in allowing appeals of this kind to continue amongst soldiers unchecked. At the same time it will not be possible to stop them wholly by prosecuting Gandhi and an appeal made repeatedly becomes in time less effective and has gradually diminishing effect as people get used to it.

W. H. Vincent),
10th October 1921.

The draft Order in Council below is submitted for His Excellency's approval.

S. P. O'Donnell,
10th October 1921.

Order in Council

That further consideration of the question of instituting a prosecution, or prosecutions, be deferred pending the receipt of the views of the Bombay Government, and the results of the enquiries which will be instituted by His Excellency the Commander-in Chief, with a view to ascertaining whether, and if so to what extent, the propaganda on which Mr. Gandhi has embarked, has affected or is affecting the loyalty of and recruitment for the army.

R(eading),
10th October 1921.

SECRET.

NOTES.

(POLITICAL)

Resolutions passed by the All-India Congress at Bardoli and Delhi.

Civil Disobedience.

*Manifestos issued by Gandhi! and the Government of India's
rejoinder thereto.*

Prosecution and conviction of Messrs. Gandhi and Hasrat Mohani under section 124-A, Indian Penal Code: Acquittal by the High Court of Bombay of Hasrat Mohani under section 121, Indian Penal Code. Question of the Prosecution of Messrs. Patel, Bomanji and other Leaders of the Non-Co-operation Movement.

(1)

Telegram from the Government of Bombay, dated the 2nd January 1922. Submitted for information.

S. B. E., 2nd January 1922.

W. H. V(incent),

2nd January 1922.

I believe that the proposal in this telegram that Gandhi should be prosecuted immediately would be a tactical error. Government have always recognized that in certain circumstances his arrest would be inevitable and in its letter of the 24th November 1921 it was stated that if civil disobedience was proclaimed and if active measures, such as incitements which took the form of direct appeals to a gathering of tax-payers, of the despatch of emissaries to the villages for the purpose of persuading revenue or rent-payers to withhold revenue or rent, or of direct instigation of particular Government servants, where soldiers or civil employees, to resign their appointments, were taken in pursuance of such a proclamation, the most prominent participators in the movement, not excluding Gandhi, should be arrested immediately and prosecuted under section 124-A. This is not the position with which we are at present confronted. It may be that the appreciation of Gandhi's intentions and policy given in this telegram is correct. We have asked for definite information as to the grounds for holding that when Gandhi's preparations are complete, he will throw off the disguise, and, as I understand the telegram, embark upon a policy and methods of violence. Such information is not likely to be forthcoming. The matter is essentially one upon which the judgment to be framed can be based only on inference. My own impression has always been that Gandhi realizes the danger of open rebellion and aims rather at bringing about something in the nature of the general strike so often advocated by Socialists in Europe, as will make the position of Government impossible. But however that may be, his immediate policy is to concentrate on the volunteer movement with the object of forcing Government to make arrests or to adopt repressive measures on such a scale as would completely alienate all Indian opinion and sweep the moderates into the non-co-operation camp. It is true that the resolution carried at his instance and framed by him specifically refers to civil disobedience, both individual and mass, but my own reading of the situation is that he does not intend at present to start mass civil disobedience in any other form than that of defiance of the orders regarding the volunteer associations and the Seditious Meetings Act. And he has been careful in the resolution to emphasize the non-violent character of the new

volunteer organization. Now at the present moment moderate opinion is much exercised over the action taken by Government against the volunteer associations. There was some tendency at first to recognize that Government was compelled to take steps for the enforcement of law and order but the intimidation practised by the volunteers has now been forgotten; large number of moderates now can think only of the numerous arrests effected; and the tendency amongst many of them, at any rate, is to regard the action of Government as an infringement of the right of public speech and of political association. If Gandhi is arrested at present, a prosecution, however the charges are framed, would be regarded by moderate opinion, or by a very large section thereof, as an attack on these rights and as indeed the final proof that Government has embarked on a policy which aims at suppressing legitimate political activities. In the fight for position, the tactical advantage has already to a very undesirable extent passed to Gandhi and his arrest and prosecution at the present juncture would seriously increase that advantage. The policy of Government at the present moment the only possible policy indeed is whilst steadily enforcing law and order, and suppressing intimidation and violence, to keep down arrests and prosecutions to the minimum. If steadily pursued, this policy should prove successful in the struggle with the volunteers. The real danger which confronts us is that we shall be unable to carry with us in this task moderate opinion. If we fail to do so, the present constitution will break down. But the arrest of Gandhi at the present moment so far from lessening our difficulties, would add to them enormously.

* 2. The prosecution of Hasrat Mohani, on the other hand, stand, on a different footing. His speech at the sessions of the All-India Moslem League is a clear call for the adoption of methods of violence. I doubt whether his prosecution would seriously affect Muhammadan opinion. The feeling amongst those Muhammadans, who have been deeply influenced by the Khilafat agitation, would be no greater than it is at present. And on the other hand, there is clear danger in refusing to accept a challenge so open and flagrant. In view too of the arrests of a number of prominent Hindu leaders, it can be no longer urged that Government is differentiating between Hindus and Muhammadans in this matter as was felt by many Muhammadans to be the case when the Ali brothers were arrested and prosecuted.

S. P. O'Donnell,
6th January 1922.

* I think this is a little too optimistic—W. H. V(incent) 7-1-22.

† This note was written after discussion with me. Copies should be distributed to all Members of Council as well as copies of the telegrams for discussion on Monday. The wire to Bombay was issued under His Excellency's orders.

W. H. V (incent),
7th January 1922.

The draft order in Council below is submitted for His Excellency's approval; as also draft telegrams to the Governor of Bombay and Government of Bombay.

S. P. O'Donnell,
9th January 1922.

Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy.

The telegram to the Government of Bombay should now be issued at once.

S. P. O'Donnell,
10th January 1922.

SECRET

(1)

Telegram P., dated the 2nd January 1922.

From

The Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Home Department,

To

The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

It is most undesirable that Gandhi should be arrested at present on (a) minor issues, and (b) one which would leave time and date of arrest largely to chance. In picketing cases the proceedings should therefore be limited in all cases for the present to fine and distraint without sentence of imprisonment in default. All telegrams referring to Gandhi's arrest either actual or prospective should be detained. This is with reference to your telegram No. T.C. 74, dated the 1st January.

Addressed Commissioner, Northern Division, and repeated to Home Department, Delhi.

(2)

Telegram to the Government of Bombay, No. F. 489, dated the 10th January 1922.

† Send copy of Congress Resolution and Gandhi and Hasrat Mohani's speeches to His Excellency and to Members of Council (if copies are available).—W. H. V(incent) 7-1-22.

Order in Council.

(1) That the proposal of the Governor of Bombay, namely, that Gandhi be prosecuted immediately, cannot be accepted.

(2) That the Government of Bombay be consulted by telegram regarding the prosecution of Hasrat Mohani in connection with the speech delivered by him at the meeting of the All-India Muslim League and asked to communicate their views together with the opinion of their legal advisers.

R (eading),
10th January 1922.

Telegram P., dated Bombay, the 4th January 1922.

From,

His Excellency the Governor of Bombay.

To,

His Excellency the Viceroy.

Clear the line. Very urgent. I wish to let you know that the opinion is very generally held here that there are strong prospects of the Conference which Messrs. Malaviya, Bhurgri, Jinnah, etc., have convened in Bombay resulting in a deputation going to you with a request for a Conference of all shades of opinion on the lines indicated previously. All our reports from Ahmedabad point to the fact that such a Conference would be welcomed by Gandhi. He is working hard to capture the extreme left of the Moderate party, and once successful in this, he would enter into a Conference with Government with a secure position.

In case you should be approached to in the manner indicated above, I feel it to be essential to put before you what would, in my view, be the very serious dangers involved in any attempt to parley on such a proposal. Gandhi is holding his hand now and not ordering a general attack upon Government nor proclaiming the goal of complete independence because he does not feel his preparations are really complete. He wants time and knows that time is essential to further success. The only thing that will safely give him the time he requires without in the least injuring his position in public estimation is a Conference ; because as long as it is under discussion or being held, Government cannot touch him without putting themselves in the wrong ; if it fails, he can safely lay the blame on Government, and if it succeeds, he has won without firing a shot. In the meantime, while all eyes are concentrated on it, he can make all his preparations for completely throwing off disguise, until ultimately we shall find the ground cut from under us, the police and the army seduced past recalling, the support of masses of people irretrievably lost, and any action we may then

take will be too late and merely serve to set a match to the bonfire he had prepared.

The fact therefore that such a Conference is to be held and that Gandhi has agreed to attend it is yet another factor which makes me feel that I have no alternative but to arrest Gandhi promptly and proceed against him for sedition. The following are the reasons which lead me to that conclusion—(1) Considerations urged in my telegram of December 20th. (2) The grave fear I have that it will be impossible much longer to keep forces of law and order, the army and the police immune from this political infection unless active steps are taken to arrest organizers of sedition. There is a good deal of unrest in the police all over India which is believed to be economic rather than political but in my opinion it is inevitable that the present political situation must be reacting seriously upon both police and military. (3) The grave responsibility I feel in allowing Congress resolutions and speeches such as those made at Ahmedabad to go unchecked any longer. It is clear that Hasrat Mohani's speech reflected on the general feeling of Congress and the resolution he moved was only defeated because Gandhi in his attempt to gain moderate opinion preferred to point out its inexpediency for the moment.

These considerations make me feel that on mere grounds of problematical political expediency have now become too great for me to accept without a better reason than I am able to give myself in the existing setting of circumstances, and I feel that there is no course open to me but to take action against Gandhi.

My Council will, I think, unanimously support me if they are assured that you will give me and my Government your support to this step. They feel that that the matter is really an All-India matter and one in which this Government is entitled to ask for your support and to know your views.

There are many considerations of an All-India character which we are locally unable to weigh—considerations of great importance connected with troops available in case of widespread disturbances: the morale of Indian army, questions connected with His Royal Highness' visit, and so on.

Further, what I particularly desire to make clear and get an assurance about is that once Gandhi has been arrested and convicted, there should be no further negotiations for settlement with him or his party and he should on no account be released for the purpose of a conference or any similar reason as such a course would be quite fatal.

In view of the importance of the issue, we should be glad of your views by clear line answering them at the earliest possible moment.

Telegram No. 25, dated Delhi, 6th January 1922.

From,

His Excellency the Viceroy, Delhi,

To,

His Excellency the Governor of Bombay.

Clear the line.—Your telegram of 4th January. In this it is stated that Gandhi is holding his hand now, and not ordering a general attack upon Government nor proclaiming the goal of complete independence because he does not feel that his preparations are fully complete; but when these are complete he will throw off disguise ; and that he opposed Hasrat Mohani's resolution because in his attempt to gain moderate opinion he preferred to point out its inexpediency for the moment: all of which seems to imply that Gandhi contemplates at later stage of his campaign embarking on policy and methods of violence. Before replying to your telegram, we should be glad to be informed whether this appreciation of Gandhi's intentions is based on inference only or on definite information, and if so, what that information is.

Dated the 8th January 1922.

Forwarded to the Hon'ble Mr. S. P. O'Donnell, CLE., with the compliments of the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy.

Telegram P., dated Bombay, the 7th January 1922.

From,

His Excellency the Governor of Bombay,

To,

His Excellency the Viceroy.

Clear the line.—Reference your telegram of 10th January. I observe that we are in complete agreement with regard to grave dangers and the imperative necessity of checking Gandhi's propaganda, and I infer therefore that sole question is the precise juncture at which his prosecution should be undertaken. Though I adhere to my views as to urgent necessity of very prompt action, I agree further that active steps on his part to initiate mass civil disobedience would be an advantageous moment to select. The following telegram from the Commissioner, Northern Division, dated January 10th, has an important bearing on this point.

Begins.

(R.) It is reported that in a meeting of Provincial Congress Committee held on Sunday last, Committee of five under Abbas Tyabji was appointed for enrolling selected volunteers in Gujarat

Another decision was that Gandhi should give notice to Government fixing the date of commencement of mass civil disobedience including non-payment of taxes in Anand and Bardoli. Notice expected to issue about middle of the month of January probably on his return from Bombay. In his reply of Sunday last Gandhi urges people of Gujarat to rival performance of Bengal, Punjab, United Provinces, and fill jails. Ends.

(P.) As a purely tactical measure, it would therefore be advantageous to have a direct and positive challenge of this kind provided that it is a probable contingency of the very immediate future. I would, however, strongly deprecate anything but a brief and strictly defined adjournment of proceedings on such a ground or on ground of any delaying tactics directed towards negotiations on which he may and probably will embark.

Gandhi's attempt to side track main issue on to the ground, more favourable to him, of an alleged infringement of right of free speech and political association must I submit be firmly and promptly countered. We have not resorted to either of obnoxious acts in this Presidency and so far as our local situation is concerned the case does not therefore arise. We rely, however, in respect both of local and of general situation, on the fundamental obliquity of character of his propaganda and methods, and the specifically seditious nature of his personal speeches and writings. Protests against the application of the acts are therefore either irrelevant or at most incidental and subsidiary to the main issue and I anticipate no difficulty in making this clear in the matter and form of our proceedings. As soon as my Government can examine detailed reports and evidence we will consider Hasrat Mohani's speech.

Without prejudice as to the result of such an examination, I see serious disadvantages, until conclusions on main issue have been arrived at, in the selection of a Muhammadan in the first instance for separate prosecution as liable to be interpreted into a vindictive attitude invidiously directed against the Khilafat cause and Muhammadan community. His speech probably justifies and may necessitate prosecution. If so we should proceed simultaneously against him and other parties equally or more prominently concerned in the joint movement.

To summarise I would assent to postponement of action only so long as a direct challenge from Gandhi is a probability of the immediate future, but I would strongly emphasise the dangers of any more prolonged delays; my views in regard to this are unanimously shared by my Council.

His Excellency mentioned this case in Council today and wishes us to wire to Bombay in order to secure definite information as to

the specific charges on which it is considered Mr. Gandhi might be prosecuted. What the exact occasion was on which the words (which should be specified) were used and whether legal opinion has been taken. It should at the same time be made clear that the Government of India do not in any way at present resile from the views previously expressed as to the wisdom of a prosecution at Present.

W. H. V(incent),
13th January 1922.

Telegram P., No. F. 489-Political, dated the 14th January 1922.

From

His Excellency the Viceroy (Home Department), Delhi,

To

His Excellency the Governor of Bombay.

Clear the line.—Please see your telegram of 11th January. We do not resile from views already expressed as to wisdom of prosecuting Gandhi at present juncture. At the same time we would be glad to receive precise information as to specific charges on which you consider that Gandhi should be prosecuted. This information should indicate (a) the precise words in which the charges are to be based, (b) the occasion on which these were used, and (c) whether legal opinion has been obtained and what that opinion is.

(3)

Telegram from His Majesty's Secretary of State for India,
dated the 11th January 1922.

We may reply to the telegram from the Secretary of State below as in the draft attached.

(Sd.) S. P. O'DONNELL.
15th January 1922.

(Sd.) W. H. V (INCENT)
15th January 1922.

(4)

*Telegram to His Majesty's Secretary of State for India, No. 39,
dated the 17th January 1922.*

Dated Delhi, the 17th January 1922.

Endorsed by the Private Secretary to the Viceroy.

Forwarded to the Honourable Mr. S. P. O'Donnell, C.I.E., with the compliments of the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy.

*Telegram P. No. 72, dated Bombay, the 16th (received the 17th)
January 1922.*

From

His Excellency the Governor of Bombay;

To

His Excellency the Viceroy.

Priority.—Please refer to your telegram of the 14th instant. As at present advised I consider that the main charge under section 121-A should be based on article entitled "A puzzle and its solution ", with special reference to the words " we seek arrest because the so-called freedom is slavery,—we are challenging the might of this Government because we consider its activity to be wholly evil. We want to overthrow the Government, we want to consider its activity to be wholly evil. We want to overthrow the Government, we want to compel its submission to the people's will. Non-co-operators are at war with the Government—they have declared rebellion against it." This charge would be supported by evidence to show that the article is merely one of a series object of which is to create disaffection against (gr. omitted) and so overthrow Government. Such evidence would consist of the following—(1) *Young India* of May 25th, 1921, under heading "Notes", "Lala Lajpat Rai"—The fact is " Outraged feelings." (2) *Young India*, May 25th, 1921, "Repression in the Central Provinces." (3) *Young India*, June 8th, 1921, under heading " Notes"—" Unacceptable ". (4) *Young India*, June 15th, 1921, article " Disaffection a virtue". (5) *Young India*, July 28th, 1921, " Notes " and " Fishing for apologies " (6) *Young India*, September 1st, 1921 " Notes" and " Punjab prosecutions". (7) *Young India*, September 29th, 1921, article " Tampering with loyalty ". (8) *Young India*, September 29th, 1921, letter " To the Mussalmans of India ".

The above is based on advice of the Advocate-General, who has been consulted ; concurred in by the Home Member. It is possible that evidence may become available later showing Gandhi's intention of continuing to prosecute policy directed to subversion of Government. This would be desirable as bringing proceedings into specific relation with latest developments of situation and would be utilised if forthcoming.

I have not yet laid the matter formally before my Council but as result of informal discussion I am confident of their concurrence. If the Government of India approve of course I have indicated above I anticipate that assurance of their support will enable me, in addition to unanimous adhesion of my Council, to secure support from Ministers.

(5)

*Telegram from the Government of Bombay, No. S.D.-150, dated the
17th January 1922.*

I do not think that the information now supplied as to the specific charges on which, in the opinion of the Bombay Government, the prosecution should be based, carries the matter any further. It is of course clear that the articles selected and the other articles referred to, together with further evidence which no doubt could be produced, prove that Gandhi has sought, and is seeking, to promote disaffection and to subvert the Government; but that such is the character of the non-co-operation movement and of Gandhi's propaganda has always been manifest, and a prosecution on these grounds could have been equally well launched at any time during the past year. There is nothing in all the articles cited which constitutes a fresh move altering the position, and necessitating now a prosecution which Government have forborne to institute before.

It can no doubt be urged, and this is of course the essence of the Bombay contention, that the non-co-operation movement has shown great vitality; that its hold upon the country has grown and is growing; and that it is no longer safe to refrain from taking action against the leaders. No one can deny that there are risks in refraining from action. But the balance of argument is still in my opinion decisively against a prosecution at this juncture. In the struggle with Gandhi the fight has always been a fight for position. In November and December last the tactical advantage passed for the time to Gandhi. During the present month moderate opinion has shown distinct signs of veering round in favour of Government. Their leaders have been alienated by the arrogant attitude taken up by Gandhi and his associates, and the tendency to condemn the action recently taken by Government has distinctly weakened. If a prosecution is now launched against Gandhi at a moment when he has not initiated mass civil disobedience, when his immediate efforts are concentrated on the volunteer issue, when he can claim that at the moment the issue is one of freedom of speech and political association, and upon charges based on his statements made in the last year, which are largely affirmation of the non-co-operation creed, the advantage gained by the Government for the moment would be lost. The pendulum would swing round, probably violently, in favour of Gandhi, and the non-co-operation movement would acquire an additional impetus and additional support. The one issue upon which all sensible Indian opinion would be behind the Government is that of mass civil disobedience. At present it seems clear Gandhi does not propose

to take this step. There has been talk of civil disobedience in parts of Gujarat, but a decision has again been deferred and everything indicates that Gandhi will for the present at any rate concentrate on the volunteer issue. Sooner or later however he will be forced into proclaiming mass civil disobedience. The volunteer demonstrations, if steadily countered, will not continue indefinitely and Gandhi will then be compelled to launch his final offensive. When he does so the course of Government will be clear. A challenge will have been made which Government can take up with confidence. Gandhi himself doubtless realises this. He has probably never been anxious to start mass civil disobedience at any rate since the Bombay riots. He has rejoiced at the opportunity which the proclamation of the volunteer associations gave him, of selecting another and more popular issue in the conflict with Government. If the Government now holds its hand, it is to mass civil disobedience to which he will eventually come and then, and then only, Government will be in a position to enter on the final struggle with him and his movement without the risk of alienating such support as we have in the country, and precipitating a crisis which would break the constitution.

(Sd.) S. P. O'DONNELL.

19th January 1922.

This case was discussed in Council on Friday and it was decided that on the present material

In reply to Bombay I should begin by saying that Government of India are in complete agreement as to the necessity for prompt prosecution of Gandhi. The only difference is that Government of India wish to await Gandhi's next step which must be a direct challenging character.

R (eading)-23-1-22.

no prosecution should be instituted against Mr. Gandhi till after the 31st of January. When a prosecution is instituted it might advantageously be brought in respect of later publications, statements or conduct but if necessary the prosecution could be based on the statements mentioned in the letter of the Government of Bombay. The danger of referring to previous articles in order to show intention—in that it opens the door to the defence adducing similar evidence to show *bona fides*—should be pointed out to the Government of Bombay. At the same time the Government of India recognize that this must be a matter for the local Government to decide in the final resort. Though the prosecution has been deferred, all preparatory arrangements should be made and material kept in readiness. The reply to the Government of Bombay should indicate that it is clear that Gandhi will have to be

prosecuted; but that the Government of India would prefer to choose their own time for such action and to base the prosecution on grounds which will receive the maximum support from the public as in such

circumstances a prosecution will be less likely to lead to outbreaks of violence. This advantage may probably be secured when he personally inaugurates civil disobedience. The Government of India are anxious not to give colour to the idea that he was prosecuted because he has made a conference impossible; and it is because he has postponed his campaign of civil disobedience till the 31st January that they think that prosecution should be postponed till then. This order is not however to preclude a prosecution earlier if such a course is necessitated by any action of his before that date.

The present proposals for prosecution are however based on an article of the 15th of December which is rather stale and was published before the question of conference was discussed.

All local Governments should also be addressed and asked to give us telegraphic information of the systematic inauguration in any area of civil disobedience.

A copy of this decision, after being approved by His Excellency, should be sent to the office of the Private Secretary to Viceroy for record.

(Sd.) W. H. V(INCENT),.
23rd January 1922.

The draft telegrams below to (1) Bombay Government, (2) all local Governments, (3) Secretary of State, are submitted for His Excellency's approval.

(Sd.) S. P. O'DONNELL.
Private Secretary to Governor-General.
24th January 1922.

The telegrams below have been approved by His Excellency and should issue. That to Bombay contains the modification directed to be made by His Excellency.

(Sd.) S. P. O'DONNELL.
24th January 1922.

(6)

*Telegram to the Government of Bombay, No. F.-189,
dated the 24th January 1922.*

(7)

*Telegram to all local Governments and endorsement to
Delhi, No. 489 dated the 24th January 1922.*

(8)

*Telegram to His Majesty's Secretary of State for India,
No. 73, dated the 25th January 1922.*

(9)

*Telegram to the Government of Bombay No. F.-489,
dated the 25th January 1922.*

(10)

*Telegram from the Government of Bombay, No. 270-S.,
dated the 26th January 1922.*

(11)

*Telegram from the Government of Madras, No. S.-44,
dated the 26th January 1922.*

(12)

*Telegram from the Government of Bengal, No. P.-1515,
dated the 26th January 1922.*

(13)

*Telegram from the Government of the Central Provinces, No. 15,
dated the 26th January 1922.*

For information.

(Sd.) J. McD.
27th January 1922.

(I think the newspapers announced yesterday that Gandhi was to go to Bardoli to-day. This may mean that he intends to begin mass civil disobedience there, presumably on 1st February.)

(Sd.) H. D. CRAIK.
27th January 1922.

Telegram P., No. F. 489, dated Delhi, the 10th January 1922.

From

The Secretary to the Government of India Home Department;

To

The Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay.

Government of India would be glad to be informed whether after consulting their legal advisers, the Government of Bombay consider that a prosecution should be instituted against Hasrat Mohani in connection with his presidential address to the Moslem League. Summary of opinion of Government of Bombay and of their legal adviser should be telegraphed.

(3)

Telegram P., No. 144, dated London, the 11th (received, the 14th) January 1922.

From

The Secretary of State for India ;

To

His Excellency the Viceroy (Home Department).

Are you taking any action with regard to Mohani ?

In this connection please see your telegrams Nos. 1599-Political and 1916-Home, dated 28th December respectively.

(4)

Telegram P., No. 39, dated 17th January 1922.

From

His Excellency the Viceroy (Home Department);

To

The Secretary of State for India, London.

Hasrat Mohani.—Reference your telegram of 11th January. We have consulted the Bombay Government with regard to the question of prosecution, and their reply is awaited.

(5)

Telegram P. No. S.D.-150, dated the 17th January 1922.

From

The Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Special Department;

To

The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

Clear the line.—Governor of Bombay in Council has considered question of prosecution of Gandhi on a charge or charges under section 124-A, Indian Penal Code. He recommends with the unanimous concurrence of Members of Council as well as of Ministers whom he has consulted that this prosecution should be undertaken with the least possible delay. Situation created by the recent abortive conference, attitude taken by Gandhi, and the probability that Government action will now receive influential support, render present juncture peculiarly opportune. He therefore trusts that this recommendation will have approval and support of the Governor-General, in Council.

Main charge under section 124-A should be based on article entitled " A puzzle and its solution" with special reference to the words " We seek arrest because the so-called freedom

is slavery—we are challenging the might of this Government because we consider its activities to be wholly evil. We want to overthrow the Government, we want to compel its submission to the people's will—non-co-operators are at war with Government—they have declared rebellion against it."

This charge would be supported by evidence to show that article is merely one of a series, object of which is to create disaffection against and so overthrow Government. Such evidence would consist of the following:—*First*.—*Young India*, May 25th 1921, under the heading " Notes " and " Lala Lajpat Rai " and " The fact is "., etc., up to " outraged feelings ". *Second*.—*Young India*, May 25th 1921, "Repression in the Central Provinces". *Third*.—*Young India*, June 8th 1921, under the heading " Notes" and " Unacceptable". *Fourth*.—*Young India*, June 15th 1921, "Disaffection a virtue". *Fifth*.—*Young India*, July 28th 1921. " Notes" and " apologies ". *Sixth*.—*Young India*, September the 1st 1921, " Notes " and " Punjab Prosecutions ". *Seventh*.—*Young India*, dated September the 29th, 1921, article " Tampering with Loyalty" ; *Eighth*.— *Young India*, dated the 29th, September 1921, later "To the Musalmans of India".

Above is based on the evidence of Advocate-General who has been consulted. It is possible that later evidence may become available showing Gandhi's intention to continue to prosecute policy directed to subversion of the Government. This would be desirable as bringing proceedings into specific relation with the latest development of the situation and if forth-coming would be utilised.

Governor in Council would be glad of an early intimation of the views of the Government of India.

(6)

Telegram P. No. F.-489, dated Delhi, the 24th January 1922.

From

The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department;

To

The Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Special Department.

Clear the line.—Please see your telegram of the 17th January regarding prosecution of Gandhi. The Government of India are in complete agreement with the Government of Bombay as to the necessity for the early prosecution of Gandhi. The only difference is that the Government of India would like to wait and see the next move of Gandhi which it seems clear will involve a more

direct challenge to Government than any that has hitherto been attempted. Government of India are anxious to avoid lending colour to the idea, which would be probably the result of prosecuting Gandhi at the present moment, that they are prosecuting him because he has made conference impossible. The prosecution should be on ground that will receive maximum public support and entail least risks of outbreaks of disorder and these advantages can be secured best by the prosecution being deferred till after end of January when it is probable civil disobedience by Gandhi will personally be inaugurated. All preparatory arrangements should, however, be made and material kept in readiness as this direction is not to be understood as precluding prosecution at earlier date if such a course is necessitated by any action of Gandhi before that date.

2. The Government of India would prefer that the prosecution when instituted should be brought in respect of later publications, statements or conduct. While the material supplied by the local Government is sufficient for the purpose of a prosecution, if such is necessary, they would point out that the article of 15th December was written before the question of a conference was discussed and is somewhat stale. Regarding the use of earlier articles as proving intention, Government of Bombay will doubtless not overlook the danger that this may open the door to the production of similar evidence by defence for the purpose of proving *bona-fides*.

3. As indicated in the letter of the 24th November from the Home Department a fresh reference need not be made to the Government of India before the institution of a prosecution should Gandhi directly embark on an active campaign of civil disobedience. Otherwise, such prior reference should be made before a prosecution is launched.

(9)

Telegram P., No. F.-489, dated Delhi, the 25th January 1922.

From

The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department;

To

The Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Special Department.

Clear the Line.—Reference, Home Department telegram of 10th January. Prosecution of Hasrat Mohani. Opinion asked for in this is urgently required, and Government of India hope that this will be furnished at very early date.

(10)

Telegram P., No. S.D.-270, dated the 26th January 1922.

From

The Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Special Department;

To

The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

Please refer your telegram No. F.-489-Political, dated the 25th January 1922. As soon as the opinion of the law officers of this Government, who have been consulted in regard to speeches of Hasrat Mohani as President of the Moslem League Conference held at Ahmedabad, is received a reply to your telegram of the 10th January will be sent.

(14)

Telegram P., No. S.D. 299, dated the 27th January 1922.

From

The Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Special Department;

To

The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

This is in continuation of my telegram No. S.D.-176, dated the 18th January. Situation is still fluid. There is every likelihood of action being taken against Gandhi in the event of his starting civil disobedience, as seems probable, early next month. The Governor in Council therefore requests you to be good enough to direct the retention of the troops at Broach and Surat pending further orders. As soon as the Governor in Council considers that these troops can be safely withdrawn intimation will be sent to the Government of India. (Addressed Army, repeated Home Department.)

(16)

Telegram P., No. 494, dated London, the 2nd (received the 3rd) February 1922.

From

His Majesty's Secretary of State for India;

To

His Excellency the Viceroy (Home Department).

Priority A.—In perusing the telegrams regarding action against seditious speakers, writers and others who directly challenge Government authority, I have been struck by the length of time

which elapses between the commission of an offence and the prosecution of it. I do not like to suggest that avoidable delay is permitted to occur and I do not wish to advise taking action without good consideration but every one must recognize that the emergency is serious and that it is necessary to take most prompt and effective measures to break up the anti-Government organization. Every week that passes between offence and the prosecution permits more time for the spreading of this organization. I may particularly refer to the cases of Gandhi and Hasrat Mohani.

I am aware that the Government sanction is necessary for certain prosecutions under section 196, Code of Criminal Procedure, and that the police may not arrest offenders of that class without a warrant. Sanction is also required under section 108 to action against journalists. Is it, however, not possible for a Magistrate to take immediate action, e.g., under section 108, against speaker or under section 107 or by prosecution on some charge connected with a breach of the peace and thus stop the repetition of an offence while sanction of prosecution was being obtained.

Is it the case that the Seditious Meetings Act of 1911 is not being used in some provinces although the meetings called in preparation for civil disobedience in the selected areas seems to fall under it ?

There is no doubt that you are confronted by a movement designed and supported with a view to overthrowing your Government and it is of the essence of such a situation that whatever measures are essential for dealing with it must be taken promptly. What these measures shall be is for your Government and the local Governments to decide.

(19)

Telegram P., No. S.D.-453, dated the 7th February 1922.

From

The Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Special Department;

To

The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

Clear the line.—Reference correspondence ending with my telegram No. S.D. 270, dated the 25th January. Opinion of Law Officers of the Bombay Government on Hasrat Mohani's presidential address is as follows:—The Advocate-General's opinion is that the speech constitutes an offence under section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code and that the speaker might also be prosecuted for offence by instigation under section 121, Penal Code. The Remembrancer of Legal Affairs considers that it amounts to abetment of offence under section 121,

Indian Penal Code. The above opinions are based on the text of the speeches as published in the press. *Vide, Bombay Chronicle*, dated 31st December 1921, and January 2nd, 1922, and *New Times of Karachi*, dated 1st January.

Independent evidence, as regards the correctness of the press report, is however not satisfactory. The speech was read hurriedly from the manuscript with fact averted from reporters who were unable to hear and record it in full. The text appears to have been handed by Mohani to Mr. Durga Das Saran, an official reporter of the Associated Press of India, Delhi, whose address was given care of S. K. Iyengar, B-10, Government Quarters, Timarpur, Delhi. The original message is described in note by Durga Das as authorized translation of address and is signed by Durga Das. Signature and handwriting identified by local telegraphist.

Proof would therefore depend mainly on the evidence of Durga Das and his willingness to give it. It is requested that this should be ascertained immediately by the Government of India.

The Government of Bombay are, however, decidedly of the opinion that a separate prosecution of Mohani on these charges should be deferred pending the decision on the action against other parties equally or more prominently concerned in the joint movement.

(21)

Telegram P., No. 304, dated the 8th February 1922.

From

The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department;

To

The Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay.

Clear the line—Prosecution of Gandhi.—Please refer to Home Department telegram, dated the 24th January, No. F.-489. The manifesto recently issued by Gandhi has brought matters to a head and Government of India are satisfied that the time has arrived for his immediate arrest and prosecution as approved in the telegram cited above. Prosecution should be under section 124-A, Indian Penal Code, and any other suitable section of Code and should primarily be based on action of Gandhi in promoting civil disobedience at Bardoli or elsewhere and including if lawyers assent the manifesto issued on the 4th. Charges should also include charge under section 124-A, Indian Penal Code, based on the article entitled 'Puzzle and its solution' and any other later writing or speech of seditious character. His arrest should be effected as early as possible. Government of India themselves have no doubt that incitements

to civil disobedience come within the mischief of the Penal Code if part of a general campaign to overthrow the Government, but on this point the Bombay Government will doubtless take legal advice. In any case, even if this charge (which should certainly be included) fails, the conviction should be assured by including other charges. The Government of India would be glad if prosecution were at the same time instituted against Patel and any other prominent leader who advocates or have recently advocated civil disobedience.

Your telegram No. 453 regarding Hasrat Mohani has been received and the Government of India are making the enquiries suggested; but *prima facie* now that these orders regarding Gandhi have been issued, they can see no possible reason for exempting Hasrat Mohani from prosecution.

2. As instructed in telegram No. 489, dated the 28th January, warning of actual arrest of Gandhi should be sent as far in advance as possible to other local Government by clear the line telegram.

3. Government of India suggest that if considered necessary steps should be taken to strengthen the armed police even at the risk that money may not be sanctioned by the local Legislative Council and that budget provision may have to be restored.

(Sd.) S. P. O'DONNELL.
27th January 1922.
W. H. V (INCENT).
27th January 1922.

(14)

*Telegram from the Government of Bombay, Special Department,
No. S.D.-299, dated the 27th January 1922.*

Submitted. For information only.

(Sd.) C. E. C.,
27th/28th January 1922.

Honourable Member has seen. Copy should be sent to Private Secretary to Governor-General for His Excellency's information at once.

(Sd.) S. P. O'DONNELL.
28th January 1922.

Local Government should be warned. I put up a draft telegram.

(Sd.) H. D. CRAIK.
28th January 1922.

In paragraph 3 of our telegram Bombay have been told that, as indicated in our letter of 24th November, no fresh reference need be made to Government of India before a prosecution is instituted against Gandhi, if he directly embarks on an active campaign of civil disobedience. Should Gandhi therefore take this step, he will be arrested without further reference to the Government of India, and we shall probably not hear of the arrest till it has been, or is on the point of being made. In these circumstances, I think the draft telegram below should issue. It is still far from certain that Gandhi will start civil disobedience but we should not neglect any precaution.

(Sd.) S. P. O'DONNELL.
28th January 1922.

Issue as amended.

(Sd.) W. H V (INCENT).
29th January 1922.

(15)

*Telegram to local Governments and Administrations, No. 489,
dated the 28th January 1922, and endorsement to
Chief Commissioner, Delhi.*

Demi-official letter from J. Wilson Johnstone, Esq., C.B.E., I.C.S., Chief Secretary to the Government of the Punjab, to H. D. Craik, Esq., I.C.S., Deputy Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, No. 31-1-Judl., dated Lahore, the 30th January 1922.

I am directed by the Governor in Council to enclose for your information, in case it has not already been brought to the notice of the Government of India, the enclosed article, which was published in the *Al-Hokam* of the 14th January. The article in question is reproduced from the *Ittifaq*, a Delhi newspaper.

2. I am to point out that it would seem that Hasrat Mohani (though probably quite unintentionally) is playing into the hands of Government by making speeches of this nature and suggest that it might be possible under these circumstances, if the Government of India agree with the above, for you to hint to the local Government concerned the inadvisability of any prosecution being launched against him at this juncture.

Al-Hokam (Kadian).

YAKUB ALI,

Editor.

Al-Hokam of the 14th January 1922 reproduces an article from the *Ittifaq* (Delhi) which reports that Hasrat Mohani quoted figures (at the Congress) to show that the number of Muslim non-co-operators was far greater than that of Hindu non-co-operators and that every post vacated by Muhammadans was filled up by Hindus. Hasrat Mohani also stated that during the Moplah disturbances Hindus gave a sum of 18 lakhs of rupees as a financial aid to Government in order that it might punish the Moplahs by indenting for war material. Mahatma Gandhi interrupted him and asked him what the Moplahs had done for the Hindus. Maulana Hasrat Mohani inadvertently replied that when the Moplahs learnt that the Hindus were giving every kind of help to the Government they at once punished them. The Moplahs thought the Hindus as their friends but when they realised that they were their secret enemies they began to crush their heads and it was their duty to do so. Hakim Ajmal Khan remarked that, that was not the time to give expression to such views and that Hindu-Muslim unity would suffer thereby. Hasrat Mohani replied that he had already come to know that he (Hakim Ajmal Khan) also was a friend of the English like Mr. Gandhi and that Khan Bahadur Pirzada Mohammad Husain and Hakim Ahmad Said Khan were his agents. He also remarked that he could not tolerate the massacre and ruin of his community. He then asked why Hakim Ajmal Khan and Mr. Gandhi had not yet been arrested, urged Muhammadans to leave the Congress Pandal. Thereupon, 75 per cent, of Muhammadans left the Congress Pandal and Moulaha Hasrat Mohani held his meeting elsewhere.

Please see the Punjab Government's demi-official letter of the 13th January 1922.

2. In our telegram of the 10th January we asked the Government of Bombay whether they considered that Hasrat Mohani should be prosecuted for his presidential address to the Muslim League. We have not yet received the Bombay Government's views, but they promise in their telegram of 26th January to forward them as soon as they have received the opinion of their law officers.

3. The Secretary of State has also enquired whether any action is being taken in regard to Mohani. He has been informed how matters stand.

4. I do not see that the newspaper article which the Punjab Government have now forwarded to us affects the question of Hasrat Mohani's prosecution. In the first place, we do not know that the account of the Congress proceedings given in that article is accurate, and to the best of my recollection it does not altogether agree with other accounts which we received at the time, although according to the published accounts of Hasrat Mohani's speech he did speak of the Moplahs as waging war against the British and justified their looting of Hindu houses as the commandeering of supplies by an army on active service. Secondly, the fact that Hasrat Mohani is apparently aiming at detaching the extreme wing of the Khilafat party from Gandhi and his Hindu friends does not seem to me to justify Government in taking no action against Mohani, if the latter has in fact broken the law. In any case, we have no evidence that Mohani has been pursuing that policy since the beginning of the present year.

5. For these reasons I would not take any action on the Punjab Government's letter.

(Sd.) H. D. CRAIK.

1st February 1922.

I suppose that the Punjab Government's point is that a prosecution at this moment might lay the Government open to the charge of taking advantage of Mohani's unpopularity with the Hindus. The real argument, however, against an immediate prosecution is that such a prosecution might be regarded as a further case of selecting a prominent Muhammadan whilst the leader of the Hindus is still at large. Whether that argument is or is not conclusive is a matter to be considered when the reply of the Bombay Government has been received. The newspaper article now forwarded by the Punjab Government seems to me to have no real bearing on the question.

(Sd.) S. P. O'DONNELL.

1st February 1922.

I agree. The decision to prosecute or not to prosecute Hasrat Mohani will be reached on other grounds. Please mention this in Council to-morrow.

(Sd.) W. H. V(INCENT).

1st February 1922.

This was mentioned in Council to-day; no reply to the Punjab Government seems to be necessary.

(Sd.) S. P. O'DONNELL.

2nd February 1922.

The draft Order in Council below is submitted for His Excellency's approval.

(Sd.) S. P. O'DONNELL.

6th February 1922.

Private Secretary to the Governor-General.

(16)

*Telegram from the Secretary of State for India, No. 494, dated the
2nd February 1922.*

Order in Council.

That a communique be prepared and issued in reply to the manifesto of Mr. Gandhi of the 4th February 1922, and that a reply be sent to the Secretaries of the Bombay Conference.

R(eading),
6th February 1922.

Notification by the Government of India, Home Department (Political).

No. 340, dated Delhi, the 6th February 1922.

The following communique, dated the 6th February 1922, is published for general information:—

The manifesto issued by Mr. Gandhi on the 4th February justifying his determination to resort to mass civil disobedience contains a series of misstatements. Some of these are so important that the Government of India cannot allow them to pass unchallenged. In the first place they emphatically repudiate the statement that they have embarked on a policy of lawless repression and also the suggestion that the present campaign of civil disobedience has been forced on the non-co-operation party in order to secure the elementary rights of free association, free speech and of free press. *In limine* the Government of India desire to draw attention to the fact that the decision to adopt a programme of civil disobedience was finally accepted on the 4th November before the recent notifications relating either to the Seditious Meetings Act or the Criminal Law Amendment Act, to which Mr. Gandhi unmistakably refers, were issued. It was in consequence of serious acts of lawlessness committed by persons who professed to be followers of Mr. Gandhi and the non-co-operation movement that the Government were forced to take measures which are in strict accordance with the law for the protection of peaceful citizens in the pursuit of their lawful avocations.

2. Since the inauguration of the non-co-operation movement, the Government of India, actuated by a desire to avoid anything in the nature of the repressions of political activity, even though it

was of an extreme character, have restricted their action in relation thereto to such measures as were necessary for the maintenance of law and order and the preservation of public tranquillity. Up to November no steps save in Delhi last year were taken against volunteer associations. In November, however, the Government were confronted with a new and dangerous situation. In the course of the past year, there had been systematic attempts to tamper with the loyalty of the soldiers and the police and there had occurred numerous outbreaks of serious disorder directly attributable to the propaganda of the non-co-operation party amongst the ignorant and excitable masses. These outbreaks had resulted in grave loss of life ; the growth of a dangerous spirit of lawlessness ; and an increasing disregard for lawful authority. In November they culminated in the grave riots in Bombay, in which 53 persons lost their lives and approximately 400 were wounded, On the same date dangerous manifestations of lawlessness occurred in many other places and at this period it became clear that many of the volunteer associations had embarked on a systematic campaign of violence, intimidation and obstruction, to combat which proceedings under the Penal Code and the Code of Criminal procedure had proved ineffective. In these circumstances the Government were compelled to resort to measures of a more comprehensive and drastic character. Nevertheless the operation of the Seditious Meetings Act was strictly limited to a few districts in which the risk of grave disturbances of the peace was specially great and the application of the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1908 was confined to associations the majority of the members of which had habitually indulged in violence and intimidation. It is impossible here to set out in detail the evidence which justified the adoption of these measures in the different provinces. Abundant proof is, however, to be found in the published proceedings of the various legislative bodies, in the communiques of different local Governments, and in the pronouncements of heads of provinces. While resolute in their determination to enforce respect for law and order and to protect loyal and peaceful subjects of the Crown, the Government have at the same time taken every precaution possible to mitigate, where desirable, the conditions of imprisonment and to avoid any action which might have the appearance of vindictive severity. Ample proof of this will be found in the orders issued by local Governments. Numerous offenders have been released; sentences have been reduced and special consideration has been shown in the case of persons convicted of offences under the Seditious Meetings Act or the Criminal Law Amendment Act. There is thus no shadow of justification for the charge that their policy has been one of indiscriminate and lawless repression.

3. A further charge which has been brought by Mr. Gandhi is that the recent measures of Government have involved a departure from " the civilised policy laid down by His Excellency at the time of the apology of the Ali brothers, namely that the Government of India should not interfere with the activities of non-co-operators so long as they remained non-violent in word and deed." The following citation from the communique of the Government of India issued on the 30th May conclusively disproves this statement. After explaining that in view of the solemn undertaking contained in the statement over their signature, it had been decided to refrain from instituting criminal proceedings against Messrs. Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali, the Government of India observed:—

" It must not be inferred from the original determination of the Government to prosecute for speeches inciting to violence, that promoting disaffection of a less violent character is not an offence against the law. The Government of India desire to make it plain that they will enforce the law relating to offences against the State as and when they may think fit against any persons who have committed breaches of it."

4. It remains for the Government of India to deal with the allegation that His Excellency summarily rejected the proposal for a Conference although the terms put forward by the Conference at Bombay and accepted by the Working Committee of the Congress were "quite in keeping with His Excellency's own requirements as indicated in his speech at Calcutta ". How far this is from being the case will be manifest from a comparison of His Excellency's speech with the terms proposed by the Conference. His Excellency in that speech insisted on the imperative necessity as a fundamental condition precedent to the discussion of any question of a Conference, of the discontinuance of the unlawful activities of the non-Go-Operation party. No assurance on this point was, however, contained in the proposals advanced by the Conference. On the contrary, whilst the Government were asked to make concessions which not only included the withdrawal of the notification under the Criminal Law Amendment and Seditious Meetings Acts and the release of persons convicted thereunder, but also the release of persons convicted of offences designed to affect the loyalty of the army, and the submission to an arbitration committee of the cases of other persons convicted under the ordinary law of the land—there was no suggestion that any of the illegal activities of the non-co-operators other than hartals, picketing and civil disobedience should cease. Moreover it was evident from the statements made by Mr. Gandhi at the Conference that he intended to continue the enrolment of volunteers in prohibited associations and preparations for civil disobedience. Further, Mr. Gandhi also made it apparent

that the proposed Round Table Conference would be called merely to register his decrees. It is idle to suggest that terms of this character fulfilled in any way the essentials laid down by His Excellency or can reasonably be described as having been made in response to the sentiments expressed by him. Finally, the Government of India desire to draw attention to the demands put forward in the concluding paragraph of Mr. Gandhi's present manifesto which exceed even the demands made by the Working Committee of the Congress. Mr. Gandhi's demands now include:—

(1) the release of all prisoners " convicted or under trial for non-violent activities " ;

(2) a guarantee that Government will refrain absolutely from interference with all non-violent activities of the non-co-operation party even though they fall within the purview of the Indian Penal Code ; or, in other words, an undertaking that Government will indefinitely hold in abeyance in regard to the non-co-operators the ordinary and long-established law of the land.

In return for these concessions he indicates that he intends to continue the illegal and seditious propaganda and operations of the non-co-operation party, and merely offers to postpone civil disobedience of an aggressive character until the offenders now in jail have had an opportunity of reviewing the whole situation. In the same paragraph he re-affirms the unalterable character of the demands of his party.

The Government of India are confident that all right-thinking citizens will recognise that this manifesto constitutes no response whatever to the speech of His Excellency at Calcutta and that the demands made are such as no Government could discuss, much less accept.

5. The alternatives that now confront the people of India are such as sophistry can no longer obscure or disguise. The issue is no longer between this or that programme of political advance, but between lawlessness with all its dangerous consequences on the one hand and on the other maintenance of those principles which lie at the root of all civilised government.

Mass civil disobedience is fraught with such danger to the State that it must be met with strenuousness and severity. The Government entertain no doubt that in any measures which they may have to take for its suppression they can count on the support and assistance of all law-abiding and loyal citizens of His Majesty.

(Sd.) S. P. O'DONNELL,
Secretary to the Government of India.

As verbally ordered by Honourable Member the text of the communique was telegraphed (1-30 a.m. on 6th February 1922) *en clair* the line to the Secretary of State and three copies were supplied Mr. Roy and Mr. Haward was sent one copy.

(Sd.) C. E. C,
6th February 1922.

(17)

*Telegram from the Secretary of State, No. 290, dated the
6th February 1922.*

(18)

*Telegram from the Secretary of State, No. 541, dated the
6th February 1922.*

(19)

*Telegram from the Government of Bombay, No. S.D. 453, dated the
7th February 1922.*

This telegram, I fear, does not help.

1. The Secretary of State gives only two instances of alleged delay, namely, the cases of Gandhi and Hasrat Mohani. In the case of Hasrat Mohani, there has been delay (for reasons which we can only surmise) on the part of the Bombay Government. In the case of Gandhi, there has been no delay. If a prosecution has not yet been instituted, that is because it has been considered that the right moment has not arrived. As regards the prosecutions instituted by local Governments, I doubt if there has been much avoidable delay.

I agree.

(Sd.) W. H. V (INCENT).

4th February 1922.

In cases under section 124-A, and in all important cases references have to be made to the local Governments by the local authorities, legal opinion has to be obtained, and considered, and a certain time must therefore elapse before a prosecution can be instituted.

2. The suggestion that pending sanction to a prosecution intermediate action of a preventive character should be taken under section 108 or section 107 is not in my opinion sound or practicable. Section 107 has been used in a number of cases to prevent inflammable speeches, and section 108 can, except in the case of journalists, printers and publishers, be used by magistrates without

reference to the local Government; but these sections are not the most suitable for the purpose which the Secretary of State has in view. Section 144 is the obvious section to employ in such circumstances. Whether this section has even been used as a means of preventing speeches pending a prosecution, I cannot say, but certainly it has been used very freely to prohibit speeches of a dangerous character.

3. The Seditious Meetings Act of 1911 can only be employed to prevent public meetings and meetings held to arrange for civil disobedience have usually been meetings of bodies such as the Working Committee of Congress or Provincial Congress Committees which are not public meetings. Section 144 though it might perhaps be used to prevent an individual from making a speech even at a private meeting, can hardly be used to prevent meetings other than public meetings, and it is being used for the latter purpose in Guntur. In Bardoli, a few days ago a public meeting was held to discuss the question of civil disobedience and was apparently not prohibited, doubtless because no disturbance was anticipated and also perhaps on grounds of policy. In our letter of the 24th November last the local Governments were told that the Seditious Meetings Act would be readily extended and its extension has, as a matter of fact, been sanctioned wherever any local Government has asked for this.

4. I cannot believe that there would be any difficulty in securing a conviction under section 124-A, against any person worth prosecuting who takes active steps in the direction of civil disobedience. Whether or not it is necessarily an offence to tell people to withhold taxes (and I think all that the Advocates-General of Bombay and Bengal meant was that it was not necessarily such), it seems to me impossible to doubt that having regard to the evidence which could be adduced in regard to intention and purpose, etc., a prosecution would be successful against Gandhi and any other prominent non-co-operator who takes this line. In any case, a selected prosecution would not, in all probability, prove anything because the accused would not appeal and there would therefore be no ruling of a High Court. (We have, as a matter of fact, instructed local Government to prosecute any person who directly embarked on an active campaign of civil disobedience.) Legislation seems to me therefore not to be required. If it were, I think we should have difficulty in getting the Assembly to sanction an adequate punishment, but I cannot believe that the existing law is inadequate.

5. The final suggestion of the Secretary of State, namely, that sections 407 and 108 should be employed against Gandhi and apparently Hasrat Mohani to be followed by deportation seems

to me to be utterly impracticable and impolitic. Apart from the question whether it is advisable to prevent Gandhi from embarking on civil disobedience—and my own view is very decidedly that it is not—nothing could be more impolitic than a prosecution under minor sections with the necessity, when the time for their release came, to resort to deportation. Circumstances are of course conceivable in which deportation under the Regulations or an Ordinance might be necessary but when a prosecution is practicable under section 124-A, it would surely be unwise to employ against Gandhi or Hasrat Mohani the most unpopular weapon in our armoury.

(Sd.) S. P. O'DONNELL.
4th February 1922.

I agree throughout. Please draft reply. An abortive prosecution for civil disobedience would produce very bad results but we can really prosecute any one we want to get under section 124-A, as their languages often offends against this section.

(Sd.) W. H. V(INCENT).
4th February 1922.

A draft telegram to the Secretary of State is placed below for approval.

(Sd.) S. P. O'DONNELL.
5th February 1922.

(Sd.) W. H. V(INCENT).
6th February 1922.

The draft telegram below, in reply to the Secretary of State's telegram of the 2nd February, is submitted for His Excellency's approval.

(Sd.) S. P. O'DONNELL,
Private Secretary to the Governor-General.
8th February 1922.

This case was mentioned to His Excellency to-day. His Excellency considered that in view of our telegram of to-day's date, the reply need deal only with the question Of delay in the institution of prosecutions. A revised draft telegram (D. F. A. B.) is submitted for His Excellency's approval.

(Sd.) S. P. O'DONNELL,
Private Secretary to the Governor-General.
8th February 1922.

R (eading),
9th February 1922.

The telegram (B), approved by His Excellency, should now issue.

(Sd.) S. P. O'DONNELL.

9th February 1922.

(20)

*Telegram to His Majesty's Secretary of State for India, No. 164,
dated the 10th February 1922.*

ORDER IN COUNCIL

I. That the Bombay Government be informed in continuation of the previous telegram to their address:—

- a. that action should be taken at once for the immediate arrest and prosecution of Gandhi already approved. The prosecution should be under section 124-A and any other suitable section of the Indian Penal Code and should be based primarily on action of Gandhi in promoting civil disobedience at Bardoli or elsewhere, and include, if legal advisers assent, manifesto published on the 4th February. Charges should also include charge under section 124-A based on article entitled "A puzzle and its solution" and any other later speech or writing of a seditious character. The arrest should be effected as quickly as possible;
- b. that the Government of India would be glad if prosecutions were instituted simultaneously against Patel and any other prominent leader who has recently advocated or advocates civil disobedience;
- c. that the Government of India see *prima facie* no possible reason for exempting Hasrat Mohani from prosecution now that above orders regarding Gandhi have issued.

II. That all other local Governments should be directed to prosecute all prominent leaders who have recently advocated or advocate civil disobedience.

III. That a telegram be prepared for His Excellency's approval in answer to the Secretary of State's telegram of the 6th February.

R (eading),
8th February 1922.

Mr. O'Donnell,

I have not drafted the wire to local Governments but I think some wire should be sent to them urging —

- (1) arrest of prominent leaders advocating civil disobedience, subject to legal advice ;
- (2) strengthening armed police even at risk that money may not be granted and that budget will have to be restored;
- (3) taking action against papers advocating civil disobedience.

In the wire to Bombay add a line reminding them of the necessity of warning other local Governments something about strengthening armed police and get Kaye to make the enquiry they want at once.

I am not clear if we should mention 2 and 3 again to the Secretary of State but we certainly ought to say what instructions we are issuing to other local Governments.

W. H. V(incent),
8th February 1922.

(27)

Telegram P., No. 351, dated the 11th February 1922.

From

The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department,

To

The Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Special Department.

Clear the line.—Please see your telegram No. 498-S., dated the 10th February. In view of the opinions expressed by the law officers of the Bombay Government the Government of India agrees to the proposal of the local Government that main basis of the prosecution should be the article of the 15th December. They also agree that full freedom should be accorded to the local Government in all matters relating to the proceedings which are consequent on the main decision to prosecute. They must however stipulate that it should be brought out by Counsel for the prosecution in his opening address that one of the principal considerations which has influenced Government in deciding to prosecute has been the part taken by Gandhi in promoting or making preparations for civil disobedience. The mere fact that civil disobedience is being postponed again does not affect the matter since active preparations for civil disobedience have been and are being carried on, and as should be pointed out by Counsel, it would be folly to wait till these preparations are complete.

(2)As regards arrest, the Government of India desire that definite arrangements should be made for the arrest, of Gandhi on Tuesday evening. They attach the greatest importance to his not being arrested before that time, owing to the arrival of the Prince of Wales at Delhi on Tuesday, and equal importance to his being arrested before Wednesday in order that the Secretary of State should be in a position during the course of Tuesday's debate in Parliament to announce that this step is being taken. Please wire immediately clear the line to the Government of India intimation that action will be taken accordingly in order that the necessary communication may be made to the Secretary of State.

(3)As regards Gorakhpur incident, the United Provinces Government have issued full communiques and matter has been ventilated in the press.

(30)

Telegram P., No. dated the 11/12th February 1922.

From

The Government of Bombay, Special Department,

To

The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

Clear the line.—Please refer to your telegram No. 151, dated the 11th February. Action will be taken accordingly.

(31)

Telegram P., No. S.D.-505, dated the 11th February 1922.

From

The Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Special Department.

To

The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

Please refer to your telegram No. 308-Poll., dated the 8th February 1922. Hasrat Mohani. The Government of Bombay is enquiring into the possibility of obtaining other collateral evidence in respect of the presidential address but it appears to them that the evidence of Durga Das will be indispensable. It is therefore requested that the Director, Intelligence Bureau, be asked to have Das' statement recorded in the first instance. The evidence which is required from him is data proving that the message to the New Times and the Bombay Chronicle and other papers. Original on record here, was handed in by him on the afternoon of the 30th December at the Congress Camp telegraph office, was a full text of the

authorized translation of the presidential speech as stated in the message, e.g., (a) whether translation of the address was handed in to him before it was actually delivered by Hasrat Mohani, whether he has a copy with him now and by whom it was handed in to him, etc., (b) whether he can suggest any corroborative evidence.

(32)

Telegram No. S.D. 511, dated the 12th February 1922.

From

The Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Special Department,

To

The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

Clear line.—Meeting at Bardoli. Gandhi, Kelkar, Malaviya, Patel and others decided to call off civil disobedience indefinitely. Date to be fixed later by Congress Committee.

(34)

Telegram P., No. 173, dated the 12th February 1922.

From

His Excellency the Viceroy (Home Department),

To

The Secretary of State for India, London.

Clear the line.—Government of Bombay have sent the following telegram:—

Begins. Please refer to correspondence ending with your telegram No. 304-Political, dated the 8th instant. The opinion of the law officers of this Government is unanimous and emphatic against the prosecution of Gandhi being based primarily on the resolutions and his speeches at Bardoli conference on the 29th January. The speech by itself provides very inadequate basis for a successful prosecution under section 124-A., especially as compared with other far more violent and specific utterances of Gandhi on record. The value of the resolutions depends entirely on the precise interpretation and meaning of the phrase "civil disobedience". On this, though general effect and tendency are obvious, Gandhi's pronouncements have been studiously vague as to matters of method and practical detail and formal judicial proof would be doubtful and difficult. It would be highly inadvisable to select as the main basis for a prosecution matter on which failure is possible. Moreover, the selection of civil disobedience as the main issue will be further weakened both judicially and in respect of its effect on

public opinion if, as is highly probable, Gandhi decides to postpone the campaign of civil disobedience at the meeting of the Working Committee of Congress which he has summoned at Bardoli on the 11th February. The main argument in favour of this charge is presumably that it relates to action as distinct from mere words, written or spoken. At most, however, Bardoli proceedings would only support a charge of preparation for action by verbal incitements and even this will be seriously impaired if, as above indicated, the campaign of non-payment of taxes as the principal item in the scheme of civil disobedience is declared to be suspended. So far as their effect on public opinion is concerned, this has already been secured by the wide publicity which has already been given to them in the press. It would be desirable, if possible, to add a charge on the ground of active steps in the pursuance of the campaign, but for the above reason there is no immediate prospect of this.

The law officers conclude that the main basis for the prosecution should be the article in *Young India* of the 15th December 1921 which is clear, explicit and self contained and supported by the material detailed in the Bombay Government's telegram No. S.D.-150, dated the 17th January 1922. As regards the manifesto of the 4th February, this has now been superseded by the rejoinder of the 9th instant. There are objections, in view of the circumstances and the character of the correspondence, to this being utilised as a basis for a criminal charge, and in view of the publicity it has already received its inclusion in charge would not materially affect public opinion either way while judicially it has little value.

These views strongly commend themselves to the Governor in Council, and he would be glad to receive without delay the approval of the Government of India to the immediate proceedings on this basis. He would also urge that in view of the constant fluctuation in the situation, complete freedom of action should be given to this Government in all matters relating to the proceedings which are consequent on the main decision to prosecute.

With reference to the probable announcement of the postponement of civil disobedience at Bardoli meeting to-morrow, the Governor in Council is confident he need not emphasise that it would be a grave error to permit such an announcement to qualify in any way Government's decision to arrest Gandhi at the earliest possible date. A postponement of an active campaign will almost certainly be subject to the maintenance of the propaganda which will continue and further develop the most dangerous features of the present situation. In fact the primary object of the postpone- ment will merely be preparation for more favourable conditions for a resumption of the campaign. It might be expedient to defer

arrest for a day or two in order that it may not follow immediately on the ostensible pacific announcement by Gandhi at Bardoli meeting. In this interval the Governor in Council would suggest the issue of an authoritative account of events at Gorakhpur, which, in his opinion, might have a powerful effect on public opinion. Steps to collect material for the prosecution of other local leaders have already been taken. It will, however, probably be impracticable to take simultaneous steps against them.

A very immediate reply by clear the line is requested.

2. We replied as follows :—

Begins. Please see your telegram No. 498, dated the 10th February. In view of the opinion expressed by the law officers of the Government of Bombay, the Government of India agree to the proposal of the local Government that the main basis of the prosecution should be the article of the 15th December. They also agree that full freedom should be accorded to the Bombay Government in all matters relating to the proceedings which are consequent on the main decision to prosecute. The Government of India must, however, stipulate that Counsel for the prosecution should bring out in his opening address that one of the principal considerations which has influenced the Government in deciding upon a prosecution has been the part played by Mr. Gandhi in promoting or making preparations for civil disobedience. The mere fact that civil disobedience is being again postponed does not affect the matter since active preparations for civil disobedience have been and are being carried on, and, as should be pointed out by Counsel, it would be folly to wait till these preparations are complete.

(1) As regards arrest, the Government of India desire that definite arrangements should be made for arrest of Gandhi on Tuesday evening. They attach the greatest importance to his not being arrested before that time owing to the arrival of the Prince of Wales at Delhi on Tuesday, and equal importance to his being arrested before Wednesday in order that the Secretary of State should be in a position during the course of Tuesday's debate in Parliament to announce that this step is being taken. Please wire immediately clear the line to the Government of India intimation that action will be taken accordingly in order that the necessary communication may be made to the Secretary of State.

(2) As regards the Gorakhpur incident, the Government of the United Provinces have issued full communiques and the matter has been ventilated in the press.

3. We will telegraph to you clear the line immediately on receipt from Bombay Government of intimation asked for in paragraph 2 of our telegram above to them.

(35)

Telegram P., No. 179, dated the 12th February 1922.

From

His Excellency the Viceroy (Home Department),

To

The Secretary of State for India.

Clear the line.—This is in continuation of my telegram of the 11th instant, Bombay Government telegraph that action will be taken accordingly, that is, that Gandhi will be arrested on the evening of Tuesday, the 14th instant.

(36)

Telegram P., No. S.D.-518, dated the 13th February 1922.

From

The Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Special Department,

To

The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

Immediately on receipt of news of Gandhi's arrest, the Government of Bombay propose to issue a communique to the following effect:—

The Government of Bombay have sanctioned the prosecution of Mr. M. K. Gandhi under section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code ; and he was accordingly arrested at time and date. Ends.

2. Having regard to pendency of judicial proceedings in Sessions Court the Government of Bombay venture to suggest that pronouncement of Government of India—at any rate at the present stage—should be limited to the above. This Government would be glad to learn the views of the Government of India as quickly as possible.

(39)

Telegram P., No. 373, dated the 13th February 1922.

From

The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

To

The Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Home Department.

Clear the line.—Please postpone arrest of Gandhi for the present and till further instructions in view of resolutions passed by Working Committee at Bardoli and inform other local Governments. This is with reference to your telegram No. 518, dated the 13th February 1922.

SECRET*H. D. (Spl) No. 355 (35) (E), P. 3.*

No. S.D. 520.

HOME DEPARTMENT.

Bombay, 13th February 1922.

From

P. CRERAR, Esquire, C.S.I., C.I.E., M.L.C.,
Secretary to the Government of Bombay;

To

THE COMMISSIONER OF POLICE,
Bombay.

Sir,

I am directed by the Governor in Council to forward herewith three orders issued under section 5 of the Indian Telegraph Act, addressed to the Postmaster-General, the Deputy Postmaster-General, Traffic, and yourself, directing the interception in Bombay of all telegrams relating to the arrest or movements of Mr. Gandhi, and to request that the orders should be handed to the Postmaster-General and the Deputy Postmaster-General, Traffic, Bombay, and brought into force only in the event of Mr. M. K. Gandhi arriving in Bombay and being arrested here.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.).....,

Secretary to the Government of Bombay,

Home Department.

CONFIDENTIAL*H. D. (Spl.) 355 (35) (E), P. 5.*

No. S.D. 521.

Order

In exercise of the powers conferred by section 5 of the Indian Telegraph Act, 1885 (XIII of 1885), the Governor in Council is pleased to direct that all messages referring to the arrest of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, or to his movements, brought for transmission by, or transmitted or received by, any telegraph office within the municipal limits of the City of Bombay shall be intercepted and forwarded to the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, for disposal.

This Order shall remain in force for 24 hours from receipt by the Telegraph authorities.

By order of the Governor of Bombay in Council,

(Sd.).....,

Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department.

Dated at Bombay, this 15th day of February 1922.

CONFIDENTIAL

H. D. (Spl.) 355 (35) (E), P. 7.

No. S.D. 522.

In exercise of the powers conferred by section 5 of the Indian Telegraph Act, 1885 (XIII of 1885), the Governor in Council is pleased to direct that all messages relating to the non-co-operation movement brought for transmission by, or transmitted or received by, any telegraph office within the municipal limits of the City of Ahmedabad shall be intercepted and forwarded for disposal to the Personal Assistant to the Collector of Ahmedabad, or, in his absence, to the Collector of Ahmedabad.

By order of the Governor of Bombay in Council,

(Sd.).....,

Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department.

Dated at Bombay, this 13th day of February 1922.

CONFIDENTIAL

H. D. (Spl.) 355 (35) (E), P. 9.

No. S.D. 523.

Order

In exercise of the powers conferred by section 5 of the Indian Telegraph Act, 1885 (XIII of 1885), the Governor in Council is pleased to direct that all messages relating to the non-co-operation movement brought for transmission by, or transmitted or received by, any telegraph office within the municipal limits of the City of Surat shall be intercepted and forwarded for disposal to the Collector of Surat.

By order of the Governor of Bombay in Council,

(Sd.).....,

Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department.

Dated at Bombay, this 13th day of February 1922.

SECRET*H. D. (Spl.) 355 (35) (E), P. 15.*

No. S.D. 553.

HOME DEPARTMENT.

Bombay, 15th February 1922.

From

J. CRERAR, Esquire, C.S.I., C.I.E., M.L.C.,
Secretary to the Government of Bombay;

To

THE COMMISSIONER, Northern Division, Ahmedabad.

Sir,

In continuation of my telegram, dated the 13th February 1922, I am directed by the Governor in Council to forward herewith two Orders No. S.D. 544, dated the 14th instant, under section 5 of the Indian Telegraph Act, 1885 (XIII of 1885), one addressed to you and the other to the District Magistrate of Surat, and to request that you will be so good when forwarding the District Magistrate, Surat, his copy to inform him that the order is intended to be acted on in the event of the receipt of further instructions to proceed with the action directed in my telegram to you, dated the 11th instant.

2. Similar instructions should be issued to the District Magistrate, Ahmedabad, in respect of Government Order, No. S.D. 522, dated the 13th February 1922.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd).....,

for Secretary to the Government of Bombay,

Home Department.

H.D.(Spl) 355 (35) (E), P. 17.

POST AND TELEGRAPHS

Prefix Class:—XT. KA.

11th March 1922.

To

Secretary to Government of Bombay, Home Department

By Information regarding the arrest of Mr. Gandhi is being telegraphed in press commercial and social telegrams since 1 a.m. today. Kindly say if such cases are to be referred as there will probably be several hundreds.

From:

Superintendent in Charge,
Central Telegraph Office, Bombay.

H. D. (Spl.) 355 (35) (E), P. 19.

Superintendent of Telegraph is informed by telephone that only messages what appear objectionable and fall under Rule 15 should be referred to us. The rest to go on without reference to us.

(Sd.) D. J. M.
11th March 1922.

CONFIDENTIAL

H. D. (Spl.) 355 (35) (E), P. 27.

No. S.D. 909.
HOME DEPARTMENT (SPECIAL).
Bombay, 24th March 1922.

My dear Ghosal,

Please refer to the correspondence ending with my letter No. S.D. 553, dated the 15th February last, regarding the imposition of a censorship of telegrams, relating to the non-co-operation movement, at Ahmedabad and in the Surat District. You are being informed separately of the cancellation of the order No. S.D. 444, dated the 14th February 1922, pertaining to the Surat District.

2. As regards the Ahmedabad order No. S.D. 522, dated the 13th February 1922, the Governor in Council does not consider it necessary to cancel or amend the order, in case, at any time, necessity arises for its effective enforcement. You should however instruct Chatfield to make informal arrangements with the Telegraph authorities for the suspension of the pre-censorship of messages of the nature defined, and for copies only to be sent to him, except, of course, in the case of telegrams which specifically fall under Rule 15 of the Indian Telegraph Rules. In this connection, I would invite your attention to my demi-official letter to the Collector of Ahmedabad No. S.D. 1171, dated the 10th June 1921, copy of which was endorsed to you under No. S.D. 1172 of the same date.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) J. C.

To

J. Ghosal, Esquire, CLE., M.L.C.,
Commissioner, Northern Division.

CONFIDENTIAL

H. D. (Spl.) 355 (35) (E), P. 39

No. S.D. 534.

HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL).

Bombay, Secretariat, 14th February 1922,

From

G. WILES, Esquire,

Deputy Secretary to the Government of Bombay;

To

THE DIRECTOR, Western Circle,

Government Telegraph Department, Engineering, Bombay.

Sir,

I am directed to inform you that the Governor in Council is pleased to cancel Order No. S.D. 530 of today's date, directing the closing to the public of telephonic communications between Ahmedabad, Surat and Bombay.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.).....

H. D. (Spl.) 355 (35) (E), P. 41.

Submitted—

2. A draft Order under the Telegraph Act closing the telephone between Ahmedabad, Surat, Broach and Bombay, to the general public is put up for approval. It may be dated and issued during the afternoon of the day before that fixed for the arrest to be carried out.

Home Secretary—

This would seem to be a very necessary precaution. At the most it would mean closing down for only half a day.

(Sd.) J. C.

4th March 1922.

CONFIDENTIAL

H. D. (Spl.) 355 (35) (E), P. 43.

N. S.B. 728.

Order

In exercise of the powers conferred by section 5 of the Indian Telegraph Act, 1885 (XIII of 1885), the Governor in Council hereby authorises the Director, Western Circle, Government Telegraph

Department (Engineering), to close from 6 p.m. on the 9th to the midnight of 10th instant all telephonic communication between Surat, Broach, Ahmedabad and Bombay, except official messages sent by or on behalf of the Commissioner, N. D., the District Magistrates and the District Superintendents of Police, Surat, Broach and Ahmedabad, respectively or by the Officers Commanding troops at these places, and from Bombay by or on behalf of the Government of Bombay or the General Officer Commanding, Bombay District.

By order of the Governor of Bombay in Council,

(Sd.) J. C,
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department

Dated at Bombay, this 4th day of March 1922.

No. 729.

Copy forwarded to—

The Commissioner, N. D.,
The District Magistrate, Surat,
The District Magistrate, Broach,
The District Magistrate, Ahmedabad.

For communication to military and
Telegraph authorities and D. S. Ps.

To issue on 2.2 with above order.

The G. O. C, Bombay District.

Issued on 7th March 1922.

(43)

Telegram P., No. 476, dated 1st March 1922.

From

The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department;

To

The Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay.

Clear the line.—Reference, Home Department, telegram No. 373 of the 13th February and your telegram No. S.D. 536 of the 14th February. In view of resolutions of All-India Congress Committee which make it clear that there has been no fundamental change in policy of non-co-operation party, Government of India agree with your proposal that steps should now be taken for the arrest and prosecution of Gandhi under section 124-A and any other suitable section of the Code. Prosecution may be based on article of the;

15th December or on that and earlier speeches or writings or on later articles or speeches, but Government of India consider it desirable that if practicable, charges should include articles or speeches of date later than 15th December. In this connection the Bombay Government will doubtless consider the interview given by Gandhi to the Press. As previously arranged the Government of India agree that full freedom should be accorded to the Government of Bombay in all matters consequent on the main decision to prosecute. Warning of arrest should be communicated to other local Governments as far in advance as practicable.

(44)

Telegram No. 475, dated the 1st March 1922.

From

The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department;

To

The all local Governments except Bombay.

Clear the line.—Please see the Home Department, telegram No. 313, dated the 8th February.

In view of resolutions of All-India Congress Committee, which have made it clear that there is to be no fundamental change in the policy of the non-co-operation party, the Government of India have asked the Government of Bombay to proceed with the steps they had proposed to take for the arrest and prosecution of the Code. Bombay Government have been asked to give warning to other local Governments of date of arrest as far in advance as possible.

(49)

Telegram P., No. S.D. 685, dated the 5th March 1922.

From

The Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Home (Special) Department.

To

The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

Reference correspondence ending with your telegram No. 476, dated the 1st March 1922. Governor in Council has decided unanimously to proceed with the prosecution of Gandhi under

section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code in respect of the following articles published in *Young India*:—

- (1) "Disaffection a Virtue," dated the 15th June 1921;
- (2) "Tampering with Loyalty," dated the 29th September 1921;
- (3) "A Puzzle and its Solution," dated the 15th December 1921; and
- (4) "Shaking the Manes," dated the 23rd February 1922.

It was also decided to proceed simultaneously against S. G. Banker, Printer of *Young India* on the same charge.

2. Careful consideration was also given to report of Gandhi's interview with representative of Associated Press at Delhi; but law officers advise that it does not form a suitable basis for prosecution.

3. Gandhi's arrest will probably be effected at Bardoli on Thursday evening, the 9th March. All local Governments and officers mentioned in the telegram from the Government of India in the Foreign and Political Department, No. 267-S, dated the 1st March have been duly informed.

(51)

Telegram P., dated Bombay, the 9th March 1922.

From

The Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Special Department;

To

The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

Gandhi left Ahmedabad for Ajmer on the evening of the 8th. As Ajmer authorities are apprehensive of results of his arrest there it is proposed to effect his arrest at Sabarmati Station, Ahmedabad. It has been ascertained that Gandhi's intention is to return by a train arriving at Sabarmati on the afternoon of Friday the 10th ; he will then be immediately arrested.

(55)

Telegram P. No. S.D. 764, dated the 11th March 1922.

From

The Secretary to the Government of Bombay Special Department;

To

The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

Gandhi was arrested last evening.

(62)

Telegram, dated Ahmedabad, the 18th March 1922.

From

The Commissioner, Northern Division, Ahmedabad ;

To

The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

Clear the line.—Gandhi sentenced two years' simple imprisonment on each of three charges total six years. Banker sentenced one year simple imprisonment and fine Rs. 1,000 or six months' simple in default; all quiet.

Telegram No. S.D. 845, dated the 18th March 1922.

From

The Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Special Department;

To

The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

Gandhi sentenced to-day to six years' simple imprisonment in all.

Maharashtra State Gazetteers

SECTION II
Records from Office of the Commissioner of Police, Bombay
about Gandhi

Police Commissioner, 3001/H/19-P. 173.

Copy of No. 754-C, dated the 29th July 1919, from the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Railways and C. I. D. Madras.

Kindly refer to my D. O. letter No. 690/C dated the 14th instant regarding Gandhi. I am withdrawing my Inspector from Guntakal as doubtless if Gandhi intends to enter the Madras Presidency he will publicly announce his intention. In any case should he propose to do so, kindly send me an express telegram and I will send my Inspector back to Guntakal in time or if he should come via Bangalore to the first station in my jurisdiction on that line.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. S. B. 1189 of 1919.

Poona, 1st August 1919.

Forwarded with compliments to the Deputy Commissioner of Police, C. I. D. Bombay, in continuation of No. S.B. 1953 dated the 17th July 1919.

(Sd.)

P. A. to the D. I. G. of Police, C. I. D.

F. No. 3001/H/19 P. 175.

Below copies of demi-official letter from the Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Political Department, to Mr. M. K. Gandhi, dated the 18th July 1919.

No. S. D. 985.

Special Department,

Poona, 21st July 1919.

Copies forwarded to the Inspector-General of Police, and the Commissioner of Police, Bombay for information.

(Sd.).....,

Secretary to Government.

F. No. 3001/H/19, P. 177

Political Department,
Secretariat, Bombay, 18th July 1919.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

I am to inform you that the Government of India have desired His Excellency the Governor of Bombay to convey to you a grave warning of the consequences which must inevitably be anticipated from the resumption of any action or propaganda involving the disobedience of the law and of the heavy moral responsibility that must lie on those who take or advise this course.

In making this communication to you I am to say that His Excellency would add a further warning that an assumption that such action can be undertaken without most serious consequences to the public security is entirely unwarranted by the situation in this Presidency.

Yours

(Sd.) A. MONTGOMERIE,
for Political Secretary to Government.

Commissioner of Police, 3001/H/19-P. 174.

**Mr. Gandhi and Civil Resistance—Temporary suspension
to continue.**

To the Editor of "The Chronicle."

Sir,

The Government of India have given me through His Excellency the Governor of Bombay, a grave warning that resumption of Civil Disobedience is likely to be attended with serious consequences to the public security. This warning has been enforced by His Excellency the Governor himself at interviews to which I was summoned. In response to this warning and to the urgent desire, publicly expressed, by Dewan Bahadur Govinda Raghava Iyer, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar and several Editors, I have, after deep consideration, decided not to resume Civil Resistance for the time

being. I may add that several prominent friends belonging to what is called the Extremist party have given me the same advice on the sole ground of their fear of recrudescence of violence on the part of those who might not have understood the doctrine of Civil Resistance. When in common with most other Satyagrahis I came to the conclusion that time was ripe for the resumption of the Civil Resistance part of Satyagraha I sent a respectful letter to His Excellency the Viceroy advising him of my intention to do so and urging that Rowlatt Legislation should be withdrawn, that an early declaration be made as to the appointment of a strong and impartial committee to investigate the Punjab disturbances, with power to revise the sentences passed and that Babu Kalinath Roy who was, as could be proved from the record of the case, unjustly convicted, should be released. The Government of India deserve thanks for the decision in Mr. Roy's case. Though it does not do full justice to Mr. Roy the very material reduction in the sentence is a substantial measure of justice. I have been assured that the Committee of Inquiry such as I have urged for is in the process of being appointed. With these indications of goodwill, it would be unwise on my part not to listen to the warning given by the Government. Indeed my acceptance of the Government's advice is a further demonstration of the true nature of Civil Resistance. A Civil Resister never seeks to embarrass Government. He often co-operates and does not hesitate civilly to resist where Resistance becomes a duty. He attains the goal by creating goodwill, believing as he does that unfailing exercise of goodwill even in the face of unjust acts of a Government can only result in goodwill being ultimately returned by the Government. Further suspension of Civil Resistance is, therefore, nothing but a practical application of Satyagraha.

Yet it is not smaller matter for me to suspend Civil Resistance even for a day while Rowlatt Legislation continues to disfigure our Statute Book. The Lahore and Amritsar judgments make suspension still more difficult. Those judgments read by me with an unbiased mind have left an indelible impression that most of the Punjab Leaders have been convicted without sufficient proof and that the punishments inflicted on them are inhuman and outrageous. The judgments go to show that they have been convicted for no other reason than that they were connected with stubborn agitation against Rowlatt Legislation. I would, if I had my way, have therefore preferred to court imprisonment to retaining the restricted liberty vouchsafed to me by the Government of India. But a Satyagrahi has to swallow many a bitter pill and the present suspension is one such. I feel that I shall better serve the

country and the Government and those Punjabi Leaders who in my opinion have been so unjustly convicted and so cruelly sentenced, by suspension of Civil Resistance for the time being.

But this suspension while it lightens my responsibility by reason of the feared outbreak of violence, makes it incumbent upon the Government and the eminent public men who have advised suspension to see that the Rowlatt Legislation is removed without delay.

I have been accused of throwing lighted matches. If my occasional Civil Resistance be a lighted match, Rowlatt Legislation and persistence in retaining it on the Statute Book is a thousand matches scattered throughout India, and the only way to avoid Civil Resistance altogether is to withdraw the legislation. Nothing that the Government have published in justification of that legislation has moved the Indian public from the attitude of opposition to it.

I have thus suspended Civil Resistance to hasten the end of that Legislation. But Satyagrahis will pay for its removal by their lives if it cannot be removed by lesser means. The period of suspension is for Satyagrahis an opportunity for further discipline in an enlightened and willing obedience to the laws of the State. The right of Civil Resistance is derived from the duty of obedience voluntarily performed. And Satyagraha consists not merely or even chiefly, in civilly resisting laws, but mainly in promoting national welfare by strict adherence to Truth. I would respectively advise fellow-Satyagrahis and seek the co-operation of all great and small in the propagation of pure Swadeshi and promotion of Hindu-Moslem Unity.

Swadeshi is, I hold, a necessity of national existence. No Englishmen or Indian can view with equanimity the huge enforced waste of the labour of twenty crore peasants during half the year. That labour can be quickly and immediately utilised only by restoring to the women their spinning wheels and to the men their handlooms. This means the elimination of the unnatural Lancashire interest and the Japanese menace. The elimination of the unnatural Lancashire interest purifies the British connection and makes the position of equality possible. The elimination of the Japanese menace will avert a national and Imperial disaster. Extension of Japan's hold upon India through her commerce can end only in India's degradation or a bloody war.

The Hindu Moslem Unity is equally a national and Imperial necessity. A voluntary league between Hindus, Mahomedans and

Englishmen is a league in my conception infinitely superior to and purer than the League of Nations, just formed. Permanent Union between Hindus and Mahomedans is the preliminary to such Triple Union. That Unity can be materially advanced by the Hindus wholeheartedly associating themselves with the Mahomedans in their very just aspirations regarding the Caliphate, the holy Mecca and the other holy places of Islam.

The Swadeshi propaganda and work for Hindu-Moslem Unity require powers of organisation, honesty of purpose, integrity in trade, and immense self-sacrifice and self-restraint. It is therefore easy enough to perceive that Swadeshi propaganda on the purest lines and promotion of Hindu-Moslem Unity cannot but have an indirect, though nonetheless effective, bearing on the movement for securing withdrawal of Rowlatt Legislation, for which the Government can claim no justification—little as they claim even now—when we give an unexampled demonstration of the qualities named above.

Yours, etc.,

M. K. GANDHI.

Laburnum Road, July 21.

F. No. 3001/H/19, P. 189.

6th September 1919.

"Mahatma Gandhijini Bhishma-Pratignya" or "Mahatma Gandhiji's terrible vow " : A Gujarati book entitled—

1183. *C. I. D. Bombay Presidency, September 1st.*—The following review by the Oriental Translator to Government is published for general information :—

The two Gujarati pamphlets which form parts I and II of a book entitled " Mahatma Gandhijini Bhishma Pratignya " or " Mahatma Gandhiji's terrible vow " were compiled by Thakor Mohanlal Vithaldas Kaira and published by Brahmakshatri Kalianji Kalidas Valera of Jamnagar, Old Post Office, Kalbadevi, Bombay. They were printed at the New Anand Sagar Press, Bombay, but the name of the printer has not been given on them. The New Anand Sagar Press is not under security. Its keeper made his declaration on the 15th February 1918.

The title of the book, " Mahatma Gandhiji's terrible vow ", bears no real connection with its contents. It seems to have been suggested to the compiler of the book by the following incident in the life of Mr. Gandhi:—On one occasion one of the students of his Ashram committed a fault knowingly. The fact that it was

committed knowingly grieved Mr. Gandhi very much and as a sort of vicarious expiation for it, he took the terrible vow of fasting for fourteen days. The teachers and students of the Ashram all came to him and besought him with tears in their eyes not to carry out a vow which put his life in jeopardy. But Mr. Gandhi stuck to his word and fasted for fourteen days.

Part I professes to be a sort of biography of Mr. Gandhi. There is however, very little biography in it, but much of panegyric interspersed with anecdotes illustrative of the selflessness, love of truth, kindness of heart, unflinching adherence to vows made and promises given, and other virtues possessed by Mr. Gandhi.

Part II appears to be made up of a rambling dissertation on truth and Satyagraha, and some selections from the writings of Mr. Gandhi. The preliminary dissertation is headed: "The triumph of Satyagrahi heroes". It is an imaginary dialogue between "Hind-devi" and "Hindi". Both in turn bewail the wretched plight and degeneration to which the present day Indians have reduced themselves. At one place "Hind-devi" exclaims: "Must not my inner feelings be weeping to see my progeny starving before my eyes owing to their unsophisticated nature?". This wretchedness and degeneration are ascribed to the Indians having fallen away from their ancient religion and morality. Hind-devi assigns to Hindi the task of raising her children from their fallen condition; and she promises him that success is sure to crown his efforts and that his aim of Swarajya will in a very short time be achieved. Hindi then communes within himself as to the means he should adopt to carry out the task assigned to him; and the decision he comes to is that as he has always been following the path of truth, he will still follow it, and in doing so he will not care even for his life. The next section of the dissertation is headed: "The golden age and swarajya (are) only (possible) through (the observance of) one's own religion (duty)". It is a curious medley of Satyayug and Kaliyug, high prices, the evils of a bad milk supply and of the vice of tea-drinking, and also dwells on the harm done by disunion in the family and among the community. It points out how several men are labouring with singleness of purpose to bring about harmony and unity in India.

The third section headed: "Our fitness for swarajya" is an extract from a writing of Mr. Gandhi which has been taken from the volume "Mahatma Gandhi" in the "Gandhi Hindi Pustak Bhandar" series. It opens by quoting Mrs. Besant's remark that "as long as India will not get swarajya, so long will the disease of starvation go on spreading in it". It goes on to make the usual

complaints about the poverty of India and the enormous drain of wealth from the country. The Government political economists declare that India is continuously progressing. But even if the gods came down from the skies to ask him, asserts Mr. Gandhi, he would tell them that India was day by day becoming more wretched. Regret is expressed that the Government have kept the Indians from receiving military training ; if they had not done so, thousands of educated people would have entered the war. India must be given a Parliament; Indians should be given a chance of making mistakes and correcting them. Only then will they apply speedy remedies for putting an end to their poverty. The history of the House of Commons is a record of mistakes made. We must first demand swarajya from our own brethren. When they come to understand the real nature of swarajya, then nobody will be able to check its progress. The next section is " Mahatma Gandhiji in Champaran ". This gives an account of Mr. Gandhi's visit to the Champaran District of Behar in 1917 and of what he did there for the amelioration of the condition of the coolies on the indigo plantations. It is stated to have been reproduced from the "Gandhi Hindi Pustak Bhandar", as well as from a Gujarati book entitled " Mahatma Gandhini Vichar Srishti" (Mahatma Gandhi's Thought-world), a collection of Mr. Gandhi's speeches and writings. The next section is " The Mahatma's two words to educated women ", a paper specially written for the Gujarati Hindu Stree Mandal on the occasion of the Samwat New Year 1947. It complains of the defectiveness of the present system of female education, failing as it does to train women for their proper functions in life, and exhorts educated women to take up the problem of Indian widows. By this Mr. Gandhi does not mean the question of widow remarriage. What he wants is that the time and energies of the vast number of Hindu widows, which are at present wasted in gossip and in the service of sadhus, should be utilised in such activities as spinning and weaving which would help to stem the enormous drain of wealth from the country. The heading of the next section is " History of Satyagraha". It is stated to be a portion of an article contributed to the Indian Opinion of Natal. It refers to the saying that the country which has no history is happy, and its aim appears to show that in so far as a country or community is influenced by the principle of Satyagraha to the extent it will have no history and be free from wars, quarrels and dissensions and will be happy. The following passage In this section appears noteworthy. "The Blacks of Australia have become exterminated. The Whites of Australia have allowed hardly any of them to live. Those who have been destroyed are those who were not Satyagrahis. Those who will live

will see that the fate of the Whites of Australia will also be the same. Those who wield the sword will also perish by the sword." The next section is headed "The Laws and Satyagraha". It insists upon the principle that every man has a right to disobey an unjust law, provided of course that he suffers the punishment entailed by such disobedience. The teaching that a man must act according to a law which he does not approve, is against manliness and religion ; and to do so is the extreme limit of slavery. Even Government do not say that you must do such and such a thing. They will only say that if you do not do such and such thing you will be punished. The concluding sentences of this section are as follows :—" As long as the superstition that an unjust law must be obeyed is not removed, our slavery will not go. And such a superstition can be removed only by a Satyagrahi." This section is also stated to be a portion of an article contributed to the Indian Opinion of Natal. The next section, " Mahatma Gandhiji's Satyagraha against the Rowlatt Bills" is how famous letter to the Press with which Mr. Gandhi circulated the draft of the Satyagraha vow against the Rowlatt Bills. The last section " The Secretary of State for India, Mr. Montagu and Mahatma Gandhi". It contains the remarks about Mr. Gandhi made by Mr. Montagu in his recent speech in introducing the Indian Budget in Parliament. This section is stated to have been reproduced from the issue of the Gujarati newspaper dated the 8th June 1919.

The compiler concludes with the promise that a third part of this publication will soon be out.

F. No. 3001/H/19, P. 201.

The Bombay Chronicle dated 22nd September.

The Patriot Saint.

Mr. Gandhi's Golden Jubilee Day.

Celebration in Bombay.

Yesterday, the Bhagini Samaj of Bombay, celebrated the fifty-first birthday of Mr. M. K. Gandhi, at the Vanita-Vishram Hall, Mrs. Jaiji J. Petit presiding. There was a large gathering of ladies and gentlemen from all communities in Bombay. The proceedings began with music. The soul-s,tirring song of "Bharat Hamara Desh Hai" was sung by Mrs. Avantikabai Gokhale. The Secretary of the Samaj read several messages of sympathy with the object of the meeting and announced several donations to the purse to be presented to Mr. Gandhi, from various parts of the country. Mrs. Jaiji Jehangir Petit, during the course of her speech, said

that they had assembled there to celebrate the fifty-first birthday, i.e. the golden jubilee day of the famous patriot, Mr. Gandhi. She said that those men or women, who would meet him on any occasion for any purpose would know him better than by reading books of his biography or by hearing any lectures on him. The Bhagini Samaj of Bombay celebrated his birthday every year, because on such occasion it was possible to think over his life and take account what he had to teach. Mr. Gandhi, she said, was a great link between the poor and the rich, the small and the great, the illiterate and the literate, between those of advance views and of conservative ones, as well as between different communities. Such a link uniting one another led on a divine path the country and humanity.

His incalculable services

Proceeding further, she said that it was not possible to calculate what he had done for his country and specially for women. It was seldom possible to return such great obligation, but if they moulded their life assimilating, his ideals, and if they devoted themselves to the service! of the country according to their might, it would be that they understood some ideals of his life. Their country was in a miserable condition, and in the attempt to elevate her from that position, if every man and woman would help her, it was but certain that there would be a great change in the condition of their country.

It was not possible she said, to gain any insight into the condition of India by observing the state of cities like Bombay and it was quite misleading to get an idea of the condition of village people by observing the state of people living in cities. If the women, who, by living in cities got more independence and other advantages, attempted to reform the condition of women living in villages, then only it could be said that they understood and assimilated the ideals of Mr. Gandhi. There were innumerable ways for women to render some sort of useful service in Bombay. They could impart knowledge to those of their sisters, who knew less than they. They could also help those who had not sufficient means to obtain education. And if they were not able to render such kind of help themselves they could give pecuniary help to those who wanted to do such work.

Concluding she said they would express their real feeling of love and respect for Mr. Gandhi, by following in his foot-steps. Last year, Gandhiji was critically ill. God spared him for them and they were all thankful to Him for that. That day Gandhiji completed

his fiftieth year and they wished him long life and prayed to God that he might continue to do work for the salvation of the country.

Lady Laxmibai Jagmohandas gave a short sketch of Mr. Gandhi's career during the course of which, she alluded to the brilliant success of the Satyagraha doctrine in South Africa. She convincingly demonstrated how he stuck firm to his pledge in face of sufferings, including that of imprisonment, and gave a vivid picture of the saintly life he lived.

A resolution authorising the president, to send a message to Mr. Gandhi, greeting him and wishing him long life and the realisation of his ideals, was unanimously passed.

Contributions to the Purse Fund.

The president, at the close of the proceedings, declared that the local and up country donations towards the purse fund, amounted to Rs. 23,000.

The Secretary of the fund announced that the fund would remain open upto 2nd October, and that those who desired to remit any contributions, might send them to him, c/o the Servants of India Society.

F. No. 3001/H/19, P. 203.

M. K. GANDHI.

The Ascetic of Gujarat.

The following is a translation by the author, Mr. Nanalal D. Kavi, of his Gujarati poem read at the celebration of the Golden Jubilee of Mr. Gandhi at the Vanita Vishram Hall yesterday:—

Let fifty lamp-wreaths be lit in temples,
Let fifty Artis be performed,
Let fifty temple bells ring out:
To-day is the festival, of fifty years.
And who he is such a one ?
Like one who goes hungry for humanity,
Like one who goes thirsty for all,
Like one who holds a perpetual fast :
Who is he—such a one ?
Revered of the people, adored by all ?
Like a natural brother unto Sudama ?
Life is not for the like of him,
Rejoice, ring out the joy-bells.
To-day is the jubilee of fifty years.
What ? Is he a straw-man ?
Thinner than a straw, more slender even than a line,
He is a ray of the Great Sun;
Unshaken and unchanging,
Entire and incommensurable.

He is the ascetic.
Of the high banks of the Sabarmati:
Of the rich mansions of Rajnagar.
He is an all-forsaking Yogindra.
He is of the world, and a Saint;
Being a householder, he practises renunciation.
Always inviting miseries,
He is a little younger brother.
To Jesus, one of the great Yogindra's of Asia.
A flame at knowledge of grief of others,
He is a descendant of the great Vaishnavas ;
As if a Narsinh Mehta of the City of Wealth.
In his heart blazeth up a conflagration,
His, eyes are aglow like embers,
On his face sit shades of sorrow ;.
The creeper of his body is scorched searingly.
By burning love for his country.
Loving towards his opponents,
Preacher of ' Truth even unto the crafty',
Follower of ' Resist not the evil',
Practiser of ' Soul is victorious over body',
He is a Darvesh of this pain-seething World.
Once upon a time the flourish of his kettle-drum ordered,
And an army of four thousand injury equipped,
Of unarmed men, women and children,
Set out to the invasion of the Transvaal.
A wonder-stricken world beheld
That march of the four thousand aggrieved,
Unparalleled in world's history.
At the head was he, the generalissimo.
A lion bears no arms,
Nor did he bear any, the man-lion.
And years rolled by thereafter:
The high shades of night and day rose and set.
In the last world-war, unprecedented in history,
The final tidal wave rose.
Of the great conceit-squaundering German nation.
Like the cloud-series of Pralaya.
The four quarters (of the globe) began to tremble,
(The earth began to quake,
The vulture-like airships.
Began flying athwart the atmosphere,
With tremendous roars of frightful cannonade
The dome of heavens resounded.
With anxiety-bewildered eyes all were looking.

At what happened and what would happen.
Not witnessed by the world,
Not known to the earth,
Not recorded in the story of man,
Not imagined in poems of humanity.
A stupendous Mahabharat commenced
Of all the great nations of the globe,
The last outburst of the flare of volcano
Was a blaze in the world-battlefields of Europe.
Then arrived a message of the Emperor,
And the Viceroy and the Governor-General
Invited a great national war conference
Of kings and princes, and the great amongst men.
In the most ancient capital of empires
Assembled once again
The great assemblage for war deliberations.
Then broke he, his great vows,
In dire critical moments of the Empire,
That ascetic, the champion of no-arms,
Has proclaimed the war-cry of arming,
Has blown the mighty-toned war-conch.
The world-teacher Krishnachandra, too, oh great souled !
For once did take up arms in Kurukshetra,
For once did break his vow of no arms,
In that great War Council of Hastinapura,
How resplendent did look that ascetic ?
Like Prince Dhruva at the Court of Vishnu.
Like Sudama amidst lion-thrones of the City of the Yadus.
A brahmin seer in investigating rules of life.
A valiant Kshatriya hero in battleplay,
A wise great Vaishya in determining policy.
A through-going Shudra in service of man ;
All the Varnas are well concentrated in him.
He turneth sand-atoms into diamonds,
He unfolds gods out of stones.
He transforms slabs into Ahalyas,
He shapes sinners into saints,
He creates all-sacrificers of the arrogant,
The asylum and saviour of the afflicted;
The heart's solace of the anguished,
The ambrosial herb to the soul of the wounded;
He is a Dhanvantari unto the unhealthy.
Amidst changing shadow-circlings of clouds.
He is the one changeless element;
He is the world of eternal truth

Spoken in history ;
 The supreme teaching ancients ;
 Newest of the new,
 He is the oldest of the old.
 Truth is his motto,
 Asceticism is his armour,
 His banner is of Brahmacharya, his saints' bowl,
 Inexhaustible waters of forgiveness are in,
 His skin is of forbearance,
 An heir to the Yoga of the eternal Yogi family,
 Above storm-winds of passions,
 The great living teacher of Bharata,
 He is the ascetic of Gujarat,
 The great-souled Mohandas Gandhi,
 Life is not for the like of him
 Learning is not for the neglectful of learning,
 Riches are not for the regardless of riches,
 Life is not for the reckless of life.
 Rejoice, oh rejoice, men and women !
 To-day is the festival of fifty years.
 And Yogindra ! Pause.
 Open thy magnificent treasures of soul,
 Brimful, and examine them.
 Pierce the endless sky-curtains,
 Go beyond, and look behind them.
 In pain, in sin, even in darkness,
 Dwelleth and shines the God-ray.
 In thy heart are fires of sacrificial altar:
 Not those fires, oh Guru !
 But kindle their light
 In soul-lamp of every man.
 There can't be, oh Sadhu! obstinate persistence even in truth.
 It is but a transfiguration of Hath Yoga,
 And not a high road of Raj Yoga
 Not man's, but God's will worketh
 Even in propagation of truth.
 It is man's to put forth Purusharthas,
 It is God's to fulfil them.
 Even in Purusharthas man has to bow to God's will.
 And whether the forgetful of history remember or forget.
 This yoga was still practised by God centred Mansur,
 By Jesus the Christ, a great Yogindra,
 By the sea-faring Pilgrim Fathers of the Mayflower,
 By the sun-fire-worshipping Zoroastrians, welcomed in India,
 By countless devotees of true religion

Instead of flames in eyes, oh saintly one !
And shades of sadness on the face,
Install moonlight in the pupil-urn
And nectar-moon on the face-circle.
Rain God's light in God's universe.
Even while practising penance, oh ascetic!
Why shouldst thou wear an emaciated body ?
Oh you all-sacrificing supreme Vaishnava !
Rejoice in the joy of thy all-sacrifice.
Beware lest mighty forestfires of thy penance
Wither up thy soul-creeper.
In seven coloured variagations of the world
Transfix the gaze on the one white ray.
In thy hearth-like burning soul
Light up the divine cheer.
Let ecstasy surge in thy heart.
Let smile-curles play on thy moon-face.
Even whilst thou roamest bearing the world's Cross
Do the world-pilgrimage with a gladsome face.
Even while practising dreadful Karma Yoga :
Inspire consciousness of cheer,
Arouse Joy-waves of festivity
Ever there is God in God's universe,
And ever writes that God-finger
World's all histories, good and bad.
Enjoy, and make others always enjoy
Divine cheer in this good-bad world.
Have patience, oh you saintly one !
Individuals as well as nations.
All have to gather fruitions of their deeds.
Is the penance epoch over
Of India, or of the Indians ?
Ere the penance period be over,
How will dawn heavenly mornings
For you, for us, or for any one ?
Mighty Karma accumulations of long history.
Have they been burnt to ashes ?
And behold, ye nations! this penance epochs
Of the great Indian people,
And distill teachings thereof.
How many have commenced that penance,
Dire as thou hast done ?
By such expiations of a few,
When and how many will be destroyed.
The historic Karma-heaps of the nations,

Thou administereth penance to the people,
Ordaineth fasting for them,
That is the truest rite :
Self-discipline of the nation's soul
Discipline wonderfully develops the soul-power.
Lead on the summit of the Mount Senai.
Admonish repentance for the deeds,
Commence the festival of the nation's penitance.
A prophet's message will be obtained,
Light divine will descend,
Supreme Godly bliss will pour.
The Universe will be overwhelmed
With flood of that supreme divine bliss.
And who is shy by his side ?
That female ascetic, redolent like musk ?
The saintly consort of a saintly husband,
The noblest among wives,
She is the ideal Gujaratan in the world :
The prototype of her soul's master,
The supreme adornment of her loved one,
The splendour, the effulgence, the halo
Of the lord of her life.
She is the hermit of the penance-forest,
Above fear, above dread, above doubt.
In light and shade of pleasure and pain.
In glens and glades of chequered life.
In desert regions of this and other lands,
Like body unto soul,
Like shadow unto body,
Ever accompanies (him) that weal-worker of the homestead
As if she were an incarnation
Of some Kshatriya heroine of Sparta or of Chitod
She is a Brahmacharini though in wed-lock
She is of the world and a great Yogini,
She is the Gunial of the province ;
She symbolizes the best womanhood of Gujarat,
She is the mother of the hermitage,
She is the Jogan of the City,
She is an inspiration of the nation
Ornament of world's noble wives,
She is our peerless Gujaratan,
The saintly Kasturbai Gandhi.
Oh desireless Karma Yogin !
Oh Sadhu living in ecstasy of Gita!
Oh great-souled in the family of man!

Unarmed thou wouldst fain play
The world's Mahabharat;
You, the Soul advocate, would fain
Conquer the body-advocates: is it not ?
Oh you comrade of Shri Krishna!
Oh you who hail from the city of Sudama
You wish, is it not, to verify
Those time-old truths.
All know that all proved fact
That the soul is separate from
And transcends the body.
All soul-believers declare their blessing that
' Victory-victory unto thee,
Unto thee, the spirit-worshipper,
In the assemblage of matter-worshippers:
Victory-victory unto thee,
Unto thee, the strong in soul-strength
Amidst populace strong in body-strength'
All know it, but the atheists,
That body is mortal,
That soul is immortal.
And the soul-forces preached by you, oh Mahatma !
Are equally immortal in soul-world,
A festival of fifty years!
Half a hundred years have gone by
Since that celestial juncture at thy birth,
Meliorates all, working weal of the people.
It is not for the like of him.
Such a length of life.
Jesus has not lived it,
Shanker hath not enjoyed it.
The Bombay Chronicle:—22nd September.

For such fire-images of grand truths,
Burning of both the ends, top and toe,
Long life periods are not destined.
Rejoice, therefore rejoice, ye people!
To-day is the festival of fifty years.
Let fifty Swastikas be floor-marked in temples.
Let fifty lamp-wreaths be lit,
Let fifty flower-arches be woven,
Let fifty "Artis" be ordained,
Let fifty temple bells ring out.
To-day in the hermitage, oh ye people of the world;
Is the hermit's festival, the hermit's festival.

F. No. 3001/H/19, P. 221.

Below copies of a confidential letter from the Additional Secretary to the Government of the Punjab, Simla, No. 5004-S.B., dated the 10th October 1919, and of its enclosure.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. S. D.-1272.
Judicial Department.
Poona, 16th October 1919.

Copies forwarded for information and guidance to :—

The Commissioner, Northern Division,
The Inspector-General of Police,
The District Superintendent of Police,
Ahmedabad.
The Deputy Inspector-General of Police,
C. I. D., Poona,
The Commissioner of Police, Bombay.

with reference to this Department
endorsement No. S.D. 1265,
dated 14th October 1919.

2. The attention of the District Superintendent of Police, Ahmedabad, is specially drawn to the fact that Mr. Gandhi is now free to visit the Punjab.

(Sd.)
Secretary to Government.

F. No. 3001/H/19, P. 223.

Copy of a confidential letter from the Additional Secretary to the Government of the Punjab, to the Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Special Department, No. 5004-S.B., dated Simla, the 10th October 1919.

I am directed to forward for the information of the Government of Bombay, a copy of an order which is to be served on Mr. Gandhi at the request of the Punjab Government.

Enclosure to above.

Order under the Defence of India Consolidated Rules, 1915.

Whereas under Rule 3 of the Defence of India (Consolidated) Rules, 1915, and with previous sanction of the Governor General-in-Council, the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab was pleased on the 9th April 1919 to prohibit the entry of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi into the Punjab and was further pleased to order him to return to and reside within the limits of the Bombay Presidency:—

AND WHEREAS the necessity for this order has ceased to exist; now therefore, the Lieutenant Governor is pleased with the

sanction of the Governor-General hereby to cancel the said order with effect from this day, the 15th October 1919.

By order of His Honour the
Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab.

(Sd.) Shaikh Asghar Ali,
Additional Secretary to the Government, Punjab.

Dated Simla, the 15th day of October 1919.

F. No. 3001/H/19, P. 241.

The Bombay Chronicle Date 3-11-19.

India cannot celebrate peace until Khilafat question settled.

Mr Gandhi's Letter.

(From our Sunday Edition),

Delhi, Nov. 1, Mr. M. K. Gandhi has addressed the following letter to the Press:—

" Several friends have enquired what should be the position regarding the forthcoming Peace celebrations. On the Khilafat day, I know that resolutions were passed at some meetings to the effect that the Mahomedans could not participate in the celebrations if the Khilafat question was not satisfactorily settled, as there can be no peace in Indian estimation. So long as the great question remains unsolved and the Mahomedan sentiment is in danger of being lacerated and millions of Mahomedans remaining in suspense or grief, it is hardly possible for the Hindus, Parsis, Christians, Jews and others for whom India is the land of their adoption or birth, to take part in the forthcoming rejoicings. I venture to think that his Excellency the Viceroy can, if he will, tell His Majesty's Ministers that Indians cannot participate in the celebrations so long as the Khilafat question remains unsettled, and I do hope that His Majesty's Ministers will recognise the necessity of securing and publishing an honourable settlement of the question before asking us to take part in the Peace celebrations.

C. P.

Should any reference be made to this in W. L.? R. B. R. has reported on results in his D. L. S.

We need not refer to this in W. L., I will write a para, for next week in which the fact of Gandhi's propaganda will be reported to.

(Sd.)

6-11-19.

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

Extract from File No. 3001/H/20-23.

Bombay, 22nd April 1920.

Sir,

Gandhi will leave Bombay for Ahmedabad tomorrow night. Our friend will go with him and return with him to Bombay on the 27th instant. Our friend has secured the copy of Mr. Gandhi's telegram to his son (I am not quite sure of relationship—making inquiries) Devidas where in he had said " England uncertain". He has secured this from the waste paper basket. Gandhi has issued invitations in Gujarati (copy attached) signed by him for the marriage of the daughter of Imam Sahe'b Abdul Kadar Bavazir of South Africa who is at present residing in his Ahmedabad Ashram. It is interesting in the way that a Hindu like Gandhi performs the marriage ceremony of a mahomedan girl in his Ashram at Ahmedabad and invites people to attend to a mahomedan ceremony known as " Maulud Shariff ".

Gandhi will of course say he is obliging a friend but the maho-medans may perhaps attach greater importance to this occurrence.

Gandhi is trying to get the Bombay people subscribe for the shares of the Servant Publishing Co. Ltd. of Calcutta the object of which is to start a paper known as "Servant".

Gandhi attended the meeting at Bhotane's house last evening. He put the viceroy's telegram before the meeting and said that his understanding was that the viceroy was not quite favourable if he went to England. This is simply an excuse on his part not to go.

Our friend says that he does not mean to go at all and his next excuse will be that he is suffering from rheumatism.

(Sd.) KAVASJI.

W.L.

1. I attach a copy of Gujarati invitation, issued and signed by Gandhi to the wedding of the daughter of a South African mahomedan. The girl is living in the Ashram at Ahmedabad.

2. Gandhi is trying to boom in Bombay the Servant Publishing Co. of Calcutta.

(Sd.)

P. C.s Office, Bombay.

Extract from File No. 3001/H/20-23. P. 33.

M. K. Gandhi came to see me on the 6th April and asked me whether I could see my way to subscribing to the Jallianwalah Bagh fund. He told me that his object in wanting to advertise me as a subscriber was that he should be in a better position to induce

other Europeans to subscribe. His object in securing subscriptions from Europeans is to prove that there is nothing anti-British in the movement. He was quite prepared for my refusal which, he said, paved the way for his second request, namely, that I would give him the names of a few European non-officials, both men and women, who were free of racial prejudice and anxious to help in bridging the gulf between the East and the West. This I was able to do.

He looks very much fitter than he did a month or two ago.

He told me that his son was so horrified at the speech of Abdul Bari in Calcutta that he wrote and said he could no longer associate himself with him.

(Sd.) F. C. GRIFFITH.

6-4-20.

Bombay Police Commissioner's File No. 3001/H/20-23, P. 147.

CONFIDENTIAL.

No. 11-D.

Home Department.

Secretariat, Fort, Bombay, 24th November 1921.

CIRCULAR.

As some doubts appear to exist as to the treatment which should be accorded when in Police custody to persons accused or convicted of offences against the State or cognate offences, the Governor in Council is pleased to direct that such persons should be treated with the same consideration on the ground of social status, physical infirmity or otherwise as is and should be, extended to persons under arrest on other criminal charge's.

2. Paragraph 53 of Volume II of the Police Manual gives discretion in the use of handcuffs to certain senior Police officers. The use of handcuffs or similar measures of restraint should be resorted to only in cases of actual or reasonably apprehended violence or attempts at escape or rescue, without inflicting unnecessary harshness or indignity on the prisoner. It is undesirable that any public parade should be made of accused or convicted persons in handcuffs or in circumstances likely to cause public excitement, especially in the case of persons accused or convicted of offences referred to in paragraph 1 above.

3. Garlanding of, or speeches by, prisoners of this class on no account should be allowed and any other form of demonstration should as far as possible be prevented.

G. WILES,
Deputy Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department.

P. C.s Office, Bombay.

Extract from File No. 3001/H/20-23. P. 63.

Confidential not for publication.

Bardoli, 8th February 1922.

Dear Friend,

This is the third time that I have received a rude shock when I have been on the eve of embarking upon Mass Civil Disobedience. The first was in April 1919, the second in November last and now again I am violently agitated by the events in the Gorakhpur District. What has happened in Bareilly and Shahjanpur where volunteers have been attempting to take possession of Town Halls has added considerably to the shaking. The Civil disobedience of Bardoli can make no impression upon the country when disobedience of a criminal character goes on in other parts of the country, both for the same end. The whole conception of civil disobedience is based upon the assumption that it works in and through the completely non-violent character. I may be a bad student of human nature to believe that such an atmosphere can even be brought about in a vast country like India, but that would be an argument for condemning my capacity for sound judgment, not for continuing a movement which is in that case bound to be unsuccessful. I personally can never be party to a movement half-violent and half non-violent, even though it may result in the attainment of so-called Swaraj, for it will not be real Swaraj as I have conceived it. A meeting of the Working Committee is therefore being called to consider the question on the 11th instant at Bardoli, first whether Mass Civil Disobedience, should not be suspended for the time being and secondly, whether if it is suspended it should not be discontinued for a definite and sufficiently long period to enable the country to do organizing constructive work and to establish an indisputably non-violent atmosphere. I want to have the guidance of all the friends I can. I would like you to send me your opinion even though you may not be able to attend, either by letter if it reaches in time or by wire.

I am sending this letter only to the members of the Working Committee, but I would like you to consult all the friends you meet and if any of them wishes to come to take part in the deliberations please bring or send him or them.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

Extract from File No. 3001/H/20-23. P. 61.

Head Police Office,
Bombay, 9th February 1922.

Government of Bombay.

My Dear Crerar,

Malaviya yesterday sent a telegram to Gandhi asking him to come here for a discussion. Gandhi arrived this morning and has been closeted with Malaviya for some time. I hear there is to be a meeting between Gandhi, Malaviya, Vishweswaraya, S. R. Bomanji, Ambalal Sarabhai and Natarajan at 2 p.m. in Ambalal Sarabhai's bungalow.

I send you herewith a copy of a letter noticed in to-day's censorship from Gandhi to Chotani. Chotani is going to see him this afternoon.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) R. L. MECULLOCH.
9-2.

J. Crerar, Esqr., C.S.I., C.I.E., Bombay.

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

Extract from File No. 3001/H/20-23. (P. 65-66).

Head Police Office,
Bombay, 10-2-1922.

CONFIDENTIAL.

S. B.

No. 40181P/192 of 1922.
Government of Bombay.

My dear Crerar,
Please see my No. 0404/P-192, dated 9th instant.

I hear Malaviya yesterday strongly urged on Gandhi the necessity of abandoning civil disobedience or at least postponing it for six months ; one of the arguments he used was that there was a prospect of an early settlement of the Turkish trouble and once that was settled, Gandhi could no longer count on the support of the Mahomedans in the Swaraj movement. Gandhi fully recognised the danger of his civil disobedience programme and expressed his willingness to postpone it, but he said he could not do so without referring the matter to the working Committee. A meeting was held in the afternoon which was attended by Gandhi, Malaviya, Jinnah, Jayakar, Visveswaraya, S. R. Bomanji, Reva Shankar Jagjiwan Natarajan, Chotani, Khatri, Azmal Khan and five or six

others. The question was again discussed ad nauseam; the general opinion was in favour of postponement for six months; the only dissentient was S. R. Bomanji who was for going ahead.

Before the meeting Chotani had two interviews with Gandhi. Nothing is known yet of what transpired at these meetings. At the general meeting Chotani was questioned by Gandhi whether in the event of a satisfactory Turkish Treaty, the Mahomedans would continue to support the Swaraj movement and he said he could not give any definite reply to the question without consulting his friends.

Gandhi left for Bardoli last night where a meeting of the Working Committee is fixed for the 11th. Wires have been sent out by Patel summoning the members.

Malaviya is also leaving for Bardoli to-night.

The rumour that Gandhi is to be arrested on the 14th is now very thick in Bombay and there have been many inquiries at this office. One man who was assiduous in asserting the truth of the rumour said he had the information from a member of Government.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) R. L. MECULLOCH.

J. Crerar, Esqr., C.S.I., C.I.E.,

P. C.s Office, Bombay.

Extract from File No. 3001/H/20-23. P. 67.

Head Police Office,
Bombay, 13th February 1922.

CONFIDENTIAL.

(P. 67).

S. B.

No. 4032/P-192 of 1st.
Government of Bombay.

My dear Crerar,

The rumours still persist in the City that Gandhi is going to be arrested on the 14th. The other day at a meeting nearly all the speakers referred to his pending arrest and one of them stated with an air of authority that the Criminal Law Amendment Act and the Seditious Meetings Act were going to be applied to this Presidency either immediately before or immediately after the arrest. One gentleman in the city has stated that orders to arrest Gandhi have come from Delhi, and that Delhi acted under pressure from the Home Government.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) R. L. MECULLOCH.

J. Crerar, Esqr., C.S.J., C.I.E., Bombay.

Extract from File No. 3001/H/20-23. P. 75.

CONFIDENTIAL.

Head Police Office,
Bombay, 16th February 1922. My dear Crerar,

I send you herewith leaflets Nos. 1 and 2 issued by the W. I. N. Liberal Association which are being distributed through the City of Bombay. I don't know yet what sort of reception they are getting.

I also attach a cutting from the Chronicle containing the resolutions passed by the Malaviya Conference Committee.

I hear there are loud paeans of praise for the wisdom and state-manship of H. E. the Governor in deciding to postpone the arrest of Gandhi. The postponement is ascribed to him alone.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) F. C. GRIFFITH.

J. Crerar, Esqr.,
C. S. I., C. I. E., Bombay.

P.C.'s Office, Bombay.

Extract from File No. 3001/H/20-23.

Head Police Office,
Bombay, 17th February 1922.

CONFIDENTIAL.

S. B.

No. 0479/P-192 of 191.
Government of India.

My dear Crerar,

Last night there were rumours that there was going to be a hartal to-day; the reasons given were (i) that the Prince had made no announcement of concessions as expected and (ii) that many leaders had been arrested in Karachi without sufficient cause. However, nothing happened to-day.

I hear Gandhi is receiving many abusive letters, particularly from Bengal. It is implied in many of them that we can look on complacently while others go to jail according to his doctrines but when jail looms largely in front of himself he is able to slip past it. Mrs. C. R. Das is one of his correspondents.

Gandhi is going direct from Bardoli to Delhi to attend the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee on the 24th instant; he may go on to Calcutta from there in reply to various telegraphic invitations to go there.

H. E. is still being given the credit of postponing the arrest of Gandhi.

The leaflets issued by the National Liberal Association against Gandhism are treated with indifference and contempt.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) R. L. MECULLOCH.

J. Crerar, Esqr., C.S.I., C.I., Bombay.

*P. C.'s Office, Bombay.
Extract from File No. 3001/H/20-23, P. 73.*

Head Police Office,
Bombay, 18th February 1922.

CONFIDENTIAL.

Government of Bombay.

My dear Crerar,

The man who is said to have received the first information of Gandhi's impending arrest is Sir Sassoon David, I hear Pandit Malaviya heard of it only after his arrival in Bombay.

It is expected that the All-India Congress Committee meeting on the 24th instant at Delhi will confirm the Bardoli resolutions.

Malaviya has told some of his friends that the Viceroy would consider the question of releasing political offenders after the All-India Congress Committee meeting.

A new rumour is that at a conference in London between Turkey and England to arrange about peace terms H. E. the Viceroy will represent India or failing him H. E. the Governor of Bombay.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) R. L. MECULLOCH.
18/2.

J. Crerar, Esqr., C.S.I., C.I.E., Bombay.
P. 137.

Head Police Office,
Bombay, 6th March 1922.

CONFIDENTIAL.

My dear C.

Since Friday last there have been rumours in the City of Gandhi's impending arrest. Some say he will be arrested on the 16th, some

say immediately the Prince leaves India, some say a day or two. The Sunday Chronicle refers to the rumour.

Gandhi is at present in Bardoli.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) . C. GRIFFITH.

J. Crerar, Esq., C.S.I., C.I.E., M.L.C., I.C.S
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department (Special).

*P. C.'s Office, Bombay.
Extract from File No. 3001/H/20-23, P. 73.*

Head Police Office,
Bombay, 13th March 1922.

P. 141.

No. 0607/P. 192 of 1922.

CONFIDENTIAL.

My dear Crerar,

The news of Gandhi's arrest has been received with perfect calm in the City. The Chronicle states that N. C. O. agents went round the City pacifying the people' implying thereby that their efforts were responsible to a certain extent for the maintenance of peace, but police reports show that at no time and at no place in the City was there any exhibition of rowdiness or even restlessness. In business circles there appears to be a feeling of relief that Gandhi has been taken up at last. Both the Congress Committees and the Khilafat Committee have placarded the City with posters asking the people to remain calm. No special meeting to discuss the arrest and future programme of work has yet been called. A meeting of the Working Committee has been arranged for the 17th at Ahmedabad to appoint a successor to Gandhi and Ajmal Khan's and Malaviya's names are mentioned.

Rumours are now rife that warrants have been issued for the arrest of Chotani, Bomanji, Mrs. Naidu and 16 or 17 others including the Editor of the *Sanj Vartaman*. The rumours have caused much perturbation in Nationalist circles particularly amongst those whose names are mentioned.

The resignation of Mr. Montagu appears to have aroused feelings of general regret in all-Indian circles and it is strongly rumoured that Lord Reading will also resign.

One no longer hears praise for H. E. the Governor's moderation and statesmanship in having called off Gandhi's arrest; on the

contrary the responsibility for the' arrest and the change of policy implied therein are all put to his personal account.

The mills are closed to-day, tomorrow and Wednesday on account of Holi.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) R. L. MACULLOCH.

J. Crerar, Esqr., C.S.I., C.I.E., M.L.C., I.C.S.,
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department.

P.C.'s Office, Bombay.

Extract from File No. 3001/H/20-23. P. 143.

CONFIDENTIAL AND URGENT.

No. S.D. 801.
Home Department (Political),
Secretariat, Fort,
Bombay, 15th March 1922.

From

J. Crerar, Esq., C.S.I., C.I.E., M.L.C.,
Secretary to the Government of Bombay ;

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons.

Sir,

The proceedings in the Sessions Court, Ahmedabad, against Messrs. Gandhi and Banker will commence' on Saturday 18th instant and will probably conclude the same day. Government desire that, in the event of conviction, both prisoners should be with the least possible delay transferred to the Yeravda Prison. They should be taken by special train *via* Dadar Junction and Kirkee, and every steps should be taken, including the timing of the special train, to effect the transfer as secretly as possible in order to minimise the risk of public demonstrations en route. The arrangements should be made in consultation with the Commissioner, Northern Division, the Inspector General of Police and the Commissioner of Police, Bombay (to whom copies of this letter are being addressed).

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,

D. J. McDONALD,
for Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department (Political).

P.C.'s Office, Bombay.

Extract from File No, 3001/H/20-23. P. 149.

Government of Bombay.

Ahmedabad, 17th March 1922.

My dear Holman,

Could you arrange to send me up a basket of fruit for G.'s journey so as to reach me on Monday ?

It will also be necessary for you to have fruit and Goat's milk put on the train at Dadar.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) D. HEALEY.

Complied with.

(Sd.) K. J. PETIGARA.

23-3-22.

Commissioner of Police, 3001/H/20-23, P. 151.

No. 0648/P. 192.

Dated 18th March 1922.

Dear Sir,

Reference your D. O. Letter, dated the 17th instant to the Commissioner of Police.

I am directed to forward you a parcel of fruits on Sunday by a Policeman which will reach you on Monday morning by the Gujerat Mail.

Yours truly,
(Sd.)

D. Healy, Esqr., D.S.P., Ahmedabad.

Bombay Police Commissioner's File No. 3001/H/20-23, P. 153.

Head Police Office,
Bombay, 20th March 1922.

CONFIDENTIAL.

No. 0651 of 1922.

P. 192.

My dear Crerar,

The news of Gandhi's conviction was received very quietly in Bombay. It was known in the early afternoon of Saturday. The

only exhibition of feeling was that the Cotton Bazar, C6laba, did not open for business at 4 o'clock as usual on Saturday afternoon. Today business is going on everywhere as usual. The Share Bazar after opening closed for ten minutes or so but Mrs. Sarojini Naidu appeared on the scene and explained that it was Gandhi's wish that there should be no stoppage of work, and business was then resumed.

There is now no immediate intention of picketing cloth shops or liquor shops. V. V. Jerajani who was instructed at the meeting of the Provincial Congress Committee on the 14th instant to arrange for volunteers to parade the cloth market now informs one of my officers that it is not intended to proceed with this movement. The change of programme is due to the advice of Gandhi who was consulted by Jerajani in the meantime. Gandhi's advice was that the workers should for the present confine themselves to the popularization of Khadar, and that the conversion of cloth merchants should be brought about by love and reason rather than by intimidation.

A notice was put in the press calling all active volunteers to turn out in Dean Lane, Fort, on Sunday morning. Only about 20 put in an appearance. Jerajani told them all was quiet and their services were not required. It is probable that the object of calling them out in the first instance was to instruct them in the methods of picketing cloth shops but as this idea was abandoned in the meantime, Jerajani in addressing them gave them to understand that they had been called to assist in the pacification of the City in the case of trouble ensuing on Gandhi's conviction. They dispersed after about five minutes.

Leaflet issued by the Provincial Congress Committee enjoining peace were distributed in large numbers on Saturday and Sunday. 25,000 copies are said to have been printed. I enclose a copy of the leaflet and its translation. Posters to the same effect were also affixed at conspicuous places.

A C. I. D. Inspector who was driving in a victoria at about 7 p.m. on Saturday evening was struck on the head by a stone thrown by somebody near Charni Road Station : the son of a Superintendent of Police was also hit by a stone on the same evening. But neither of them saw who threw the stone.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.)

J. Crerar, Esqr., C.S.I., C.I.E., M.L.C., I.C.S.,
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department (Special).

APPENDIX

From Bombay Chronicle dated 12th December 1919.

(Page 8)

An application was argued by the Advocate General (The Hon. Mr. D. N. Bahadurji). yesterday before Justices Shah and Crump in the High Court for issuing a rule for contempt of Court by Mr. M. K. Gandhi and Mr. M. H. Desai, the Editor and the Printer and Publisher of the paper ' Young India ' respectively.

The Advocate General.—I should be allowed special leave to move for a rule against Mr. M. K. Gandhi, the Editor of ' Young India' and Mr. M. H. Desai, the Printer and Publisher of the said paper, for contempt of Court arising out of the disciplinary jurisdiction proceedings instituted against certain barristers and pleaders of Ahmedabad which were lately heard by a Special Branch of this Hon. High Court. The affidavit of Mr. N. D. Gharda the Registrar of the High Court on the Appellate side narrated the circumstances under which the alleged contempt took place.

The affidavit *inter alia* stated that Mr. B. C. Kennedy, the District Judge of Ahmedabad had addressed a letter to the Registrar, Appellate side High Court regarding the conduct of certain barristers and pleaders of Ahmedabad. In the said letter certain questions regarding the conduct of the pleaders were referred for determination. In consequence of the said letter notices were issued against the barristers and the pleaders concerned. During the pendency of the proceedings a copy of the said letter from Mr. Kenedy was given to Mr. H. V. Divetia, pleader for one of the respondents, Mr. J. V. Desai. Mr. J. V. Desai gave the said copy to Mr. Kalidas J. Jhaveri, another of the pleaders to whom notices had been issued. Mr. Jhaveri handed over the copy to Mr. M. K. Gandhi. Mr. Gandhi as the Editor of the newspaper Published it in that paper and made certain comments thereon. The Proceedings against the pleaders were not disposed off when the matter was published and they were finally disposed off on 15th October 1919.

CRIMINAL APPELLATE

BEFORE MR. JUSTICE MARTEN. MR. JUSTICE HAYWARD AND
MR. JUSTICE KAJIJI.

IN REFERENCE

MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI and MAHADEO HARIBHAI DESAI Criminal Application No. 449 of
1919.

1920, March 12.

Contempt of Court—Publication of proceedings pending in a Court without leave of the Court—Comments on proceedings pending in a Court—Jurisdiction of the High Court in respect of contempt of inferior Courts—High Court has power to protect inferior Courts against contempt—Practice.

Comments on or extracts from any pending proceedings before a Court cannot be published unless the leave of the Court be first obtained.

Any act done or writing published calculated (a) to obstruct or interfere with the due course of justice or the lawful process of the Court, or (b) to bring a Court or a Judge of the Court into contempt or to lower his authority, is a contempt of Court

Reg. v. Gray (I), followed.

The High Court has power to protect in a proper case Courts in the mofussil, over which it exercises supervision, against contempt.

Rex v. Parke (2) and Rex v. Davies (3), followed.

The District Judge of Ahmedabad submitted in a letter to the High Court for the determination of certain questions regarding the conduct of two barristers and

three pleaders who had taken Satyagraha pledge, i.e. a pledge "to refuse civilly to obey the Rowlatt Act and such other laws as a Committee to be thereafter appointed may think fit. The opponents, Editor and Manager, of a weekly newspaper, published the letter with comments while proceedings against those barristers and pleaders under the disciplinary jurisdiction of the High Court were pending :—

Held, (1) that the opponents were guilty of contempt of Court in publishing the letter pending the hearing of the proceedings ;

(2) that the comments made on the letter were of a particularly intemperate and reprehensible character and constituted a serious contempt of Court.

Proceedings in contempt of Court.

On 22nd of April 1919, B. C. Kennedy, the District Judge of Ahmedabad. addressed a letter to the Registrar of the High Court submitting for the determination of the High Court certain questions regarding the conduct of two barristers and three pleaders who had taken Satyagraha pledge. The letter is reproduced in the judgment of Macleod C. J. at p. 21, ante, in the proceedings against those barristers and pleaders under the disciplinary jurisdiction of the High Court.

On 12th of July 1919, notices were issued by the High Court in its disciplinary jurisdiction to the barristers and pleaders mentioned in the said letter.

On 6th August 1919, the opponent No. 1, the editor, and opponent No. 2, the publisher, of a weekly newspaper called the ' Young India' published the said letter under the heading " O" 'Dwyerism in Ahmedabad". In an article the following comments appeared on the then pending proceedings in the High Court under its disciplinary jurisdiction

Shaking Civil Registers.

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But an echo of the spirit is heard nearer Bombay also. We now know more fully than we did before the cause of the High Court notice served upon some of the Satyagrahi lawyers of Ahmedabad. The notice was prompted by a letter addressed by the District Judge of Ahmedabad to the Registrar of the Bombay High Court. We give the full text of the letter elsewhere. It remains to be seen what action the High Court will take when the case is argued before it on the 25th instant. But it is curious the way the District Judge has prejudged the issue. He considers the activities of the " League "—we suppose he means the Satyagrahi Sabha—to be illegal. He does not hesitate to make the impudent suggestion that ' there can be no doubt that the suspension is merely a device to avoid the possibility of punishment falling on the Satyagrahis in respect of acts directly or indirectly due to their teaching and influence'. We use the adjective 'impudent' advisedly, to the very next paragraph of the precious letter states the belief of the writer that the above gentlemen are sincerely and conscientiously under the impression that the Rowlatt legislation is a crime. As they have that impression, I would not blame them for going to the edge of the law to oppose it'. The imputation of an unworthy motive to such men would be ungentlemanly in a stranger, it is unpardonable in one who claims to have the high opinion that the learned District Judge claims to have of the lawyers in question. The last paragraph of the letter clearly discloses the feelings of the District Judge in the matter. He says he has ' no power to deal with the two barristers'. and adds ' very likely recent events in Ahmedabad may make it unnecessary to proceed against them' meaning, we presumed, that they would be charged and convicted by the Special Tribunal. They have not been charged and convicted by the Special Tribunal. They have not been charged, it is true. But that was no fault of the District Judge. He had made up his mind that they had committed a criminal breach of the law of the land.

Thus we see that the attempts are being made with more or less vigour to suppress civil resisters. Those who are making the attempt are beating against

the wind. The spirit of civil resistance thrives under suffering. Here and there a civil resister so-called may succumb and under the pressure of suffering deny his doctrine. But once kindled it is impossible to kill the spirit of civil resistance. The only pity of it is that these traducers of civil resistance and civil resisters are consciously or unconsciously becoming the instruments for propagating Bolshevism as it is interpreted to us in India, i.e. the spirit of lawlessness accompanied with violence. Bolshevism is nothing but an extension of the present method of forcibly imposing one's doctrine or will upon others. The Government of Burma, the Government of the Punjab, the District Judge of Ahmedabad are all in their own way endeavouring forcibly to impose their will upon others, in this case, civil resisters. But they forget that the essence of civil resistance is to resist the will of the wrong-doer by patient endurance of the penalty of resistance. Civil resistance is, therefore, a most powerful antidote against Bolshevism and those who are trying to crush the spirit of civil resistance are but fanning the fire of Bolshevism."

On 18th of October, the Registrar, High Court, wrote to Gandhi :—

" I am directed by the Honourable the Chief Justice to request you to attend His Lordship's Chamber on Monday the 20th instant at 11 O' Clock a.m. So that you may have opportunity of giving an explanation regarding the publication in 'Young India' on the 6th August of a private letter addressed by Mr. Kennedy, District Judge of Ahmedabad, to the Registrar, Bombay High Court, together with certain comments thereon."

To this Gandhi wired saying that he was unable to attend as he was going to the Punjab and asked whether an explanation in writing would do.

On 20th October 1919, the Registrar, High Court, wrote to Gandhi:—

" With reference to your telegram of the 20th instant, I am directed by the Honourable the Chief Justice to say that His Lordship does not want to interfere with your preparations for going to the Punjab. His Lordship is therefore willing for the present to receive a written explanation. The point I am directed to state is that the letter and the comments thereon were published without the permission of this Court at a time when proceedings were pending in the Court in connection with the said letter".

On 22nd October 1919, Gandhi replied :—

" I am in receipt of your letter of the 20th instant regarding the " publication in ' Young India' on the 6th August of a private letter addressed by Mr. Kennedy, District Judge of Ahmedabad", and comments thereon in ' Young India'.

I am grateful to the Honourable the Chief Justice for not interrupting any preparations for going to the Punjab. The letter in question was in no way understood by me to be private nor did the contents lead me to think so. It came into my possession in the ordinary course, and I decided to publish it only after I understood that it was received by the giver in a proper, regular and open manner. In my humble opinion I was within the rights of a journalist in publishing the letter in question and making comments thereon. I believe the letter to be of great public importance and one that called for public criticism.

I trust the His Lordship will be satisfied with the explanation submitted by me. On 31st October 1919, the Registrar, High Court, wrote to Gandhi:—

" I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 22nd instant and to inform you that the Honourable the Chief Justice regrets that he cannot regard your explanation as satisfactory. However his Lordship is willing to concede that you were unaware that you were exceeding the privilege of a journalist provided that you publish in the next issue of 'Young India'an apology in the accompanying form."

The apology ran as follows:—

"Whereas on the 6th August 1919 we published in 'Young India' a private letter written by Mr. Kennedy. District Judge of Ahmedabad, to the Registrar of

the High Court of Justice at Bombay, and whereas on the same date we also published certain comments on the said letter and whereas it has been pointed out to us that pending certain proceedings in the said High Court in connection with the said letter we were not justified in publishing the said letter or in commenting thereon. Now we do hereby express our regret and apologise to the Honourable the Chief Justice and Judges of the said High Court for the publication of the said letter and the comments thereon."

On 7th November 1919 Gandhi wired to the Registrar:—

"Letter 31st ultimo just received, Lahore. Regret explanation unsatisfactory. Am referring matter to counsel. Hope address on receipt counsel's opinion."

On 11th December 1919, Gandhi wrote to the Registrar:—

" With reference to your letter regarding the publication of the letter of the District Judge, Ahmedabad, in the matter of the Satyagrahi lawyers, I beg to state that I have now consulted legal friends and given much anxious consideration to the suggestion made by his Lordship the Chief Justice. But I regret to state that I find myself unable to publish the suggested apology. The document in question came into my possession in the ordinary course and being of great public importance I decided to publish and comment upon it. In doing so I performed in my humble opinion a useful public duty at a time when there was great tension and when even the judiciary was being affected by the popular prejudice. I need hardly say that I had no desire whatsoever to prejudge the issues that their Lordships had to decide.

I am anxious to assure his Lordship the Chief Justice that at the time I decided to publish the document in question I had fully in mind the honour of journalism as also the fact that I was a member of the Bombay Bar and as such expected to be aware of the traditions thereof. But thinking of my action in the light of what has happened I am unable to say that in similar circumstances I would act differently from what I did when I decided to publish and comment upon Mr. Kennedy's letter. Much, therefore, as I would have liked to set upon his Lordship's suggest'on, I feel that I could not conscientiously offer any apology for my action. Should this explanation be not considered sufficient by his Lordship. I shall respectfully suffer the penalty that their Lordship may be pleased to impose upon me. I beg to apologise for the delay caused in replying to your letter. I have been touring continuously in the Punjab, and am not likely to be free before the beginning of the next month."

On 11th November 1919. before the receipt of the above letter, the Registrar applied for a rule nisi calling upon the opponents to show cause why they should not be committed or otherwise dealt with according to law for contempt of Court in respect of the publication of the said letter.

The rule was granted by Shah and Crump JJ.

On 27th February 1920, Gandhi wrote to the Registrar :—

" 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 issued against me. I enclose also Mahadeo H. Desai's statement."

(The statements are reproduced in the judgment of Mr. Justice Marten.)

Strangman and Bahadurji, instructed by Little & Co., in support of the rule.

The opponents appeared in person.

Strangman.—The publication of the letter and the comment on it, in ' Young India' constituted contempt! of Court in two respects : firstly, in scandalising Mr. Kenedy, and secondly, as an attempt to interfere with the course of justice in the High Court: see Reg. Gray. The High Court could punish for contempt of inferior Courts. If anything was done in the face of the Court which amounted to contempt, the Court (i.e. the District Court) could take action, but if anything was done outside the District Court and which the High Court thought

would amount to contempt of that Court then the High Court could punish such contempt of the inferior Court : see *Rex. v. Davies*.

Publication of the letter while the matter was *sub-judice* amounted to contempt of Court: see *Rex V. Parke*. Publication after the trial was different from publication before trial.

Gandhi.—I do not wish to argue the legal points because I do not rest my case such as it is on a point of law. The Court has many undefended cases and I wish to be considered as undefended. I would be entirely content with your Lordships findings on points of law. Yet I would say that the arguments of the Advocate General have not convinced me. What I felt was that I had not prejudiced any party. I have commented on the District Judge not as a Judge but as an individual.

(Marten J.—Take the case of a sensational murder trial. Suppose the press commented on the events while the case was going on. What would happen ?).

There is a distinction, as a layman would find, between these two cases. The District Judge wrote that letter as a complainant and was not sitting in Court to decide an action. The whole law of contempt of Court was that one ought not to do anything, or comment on the proceedings in Court, while the matter was *sub-judice*. But here the District Judge did something in his private capacity. I have not endeavoured to prejudice in any shape or form the decision of the High Court

(Marten J.—If the Press made comments during pendency of proceedings, it would be dangerous.)

If a son brought a suit against his father and if a journalist thought that his action was wrong, the journalist would be justified in holding the son to public ridicule in the public press, notwithstanding that the suit was still undecided. Did our Courts prevent public men from inducing litigants to settle their claims outside ? There was not an iota of disrespect shown to the Judge or the Judges in comments on this letter. I have not endeavoured to prejudice in any shape or form the course of justice.

Desai, opponent No. 2, associated himself with all that was said by Gandhi and submitted that he would cheerfully and respectfully abide by the orders of the Court.

Cur. adu. vult

Marten J.—The respondents Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi and Mahadev Haribhai Desai are the editor and publisher respectively of a newspaper called *Young India*. They are charged with contempt of Court in publishing in that newspaper, on the 6th August 1919, a letter dated the 22nd April 1919 and written by the District Judge of Ahmedabad (Mr. B. C. Kennedy) to the Registrar of this Court, and also with publishing comments on that letter. The gist of the charge is that the letter in question was a private official letter forming part of certain proceedings then pending in this Court, and that the comments which the respondents made in their newspaper were comments on that pending case.

The facts are not in dispute, and may be stated briefly. The case which I have referred to is in re : Jivanlal Varajrai Desai. It arose under the disciplinary jurisdiction of this Court, in consequence of the above letter from the District Judge, whereby he submitted for the determination of this Court the question of the pleaders of the Ahmedabad Court who had signed what is known as the " Satya-graha pledge," whereby they undertook (amongst other things) " to refuse civilly to obey these laws (viz. the Rowlatt Act) and such other laws as a committee to be hereafter appointed may think fit." The learned District Judge also mentioned the names of two barristers who had signed the pledge. The point was whether that pledge was consistent with their duties as advocates and pleaders. The result of that letter was that notices were issued by this Court, on the 12th July, 1919, against the advocates and pleaders in question, and it was eventually held, on the 15th October, 1919, by a Bench of this Court consisting of my Lord the Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Heaton and Mr. Justice Kajiji that the Satyagraha pledge which

these advocates and pleaders had taken was not consistent with the performance of their duties as such to the Court and the public.

Meanwhile, viz., on the 6th August 1919, the present respondents had published the letter in question in Young India, and made there the comments complained of. They had obtained the letter in this way. For the purposes of the defence to the charge, a copy of the District Judge's letter had been supplied by the High Court to Jivanlal v. Desai, one of the counsel in question. He gave a copy to another respondent Kalidas J. Jhaveri, and the latter handed it to the editor of Young India, who is reputed to be the author of the Satyagraha pledge. For his conduct in so doing, Mr. Kalidas J. Jhaveri was severely reprimanded by the Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Heaton on the 10th November 1919 : See in re. Kalidas J. Jhaveri.

I may now turn to the newspaper itself. On page 1 under the heading " O'Dwyerism in Ahmedabad", the District Judge's letter to this Court is set out in full. On page 2 there is a leading article headed " Shaking Civil Resisters ". We have read the whole of it and I need only refer to some of its more salient features. At the outset, I mention an alleged declaration by Sir Michael O'Dwyer of his intention of taking note of the anti-Rowlatt legislation agitation and passive resistance demonstration before there was any disturbance of the peace. It then states that Sir Michael had succeeded to an eminent degree in disturbing the peace in the Punjab, and that " the O'Dwyerean spirit" had travelled to Burma. Then follows a comment on the local government there. The article then proceeds to say that an echo of the spirit is heard nearer Bombay, and mentions the above High Court notice to the Ahmedabad lawyers, and that it was prompted by the above letter from the District Judge, and that it remains to be seen what action will be taken by the High Court when the case is argued before it. The article then states that the District Judge has prejudged the issue : that he has made an impudent suggestion which is then quoted : that the adjective " impudent" is used advisedly : that his imputation would be ungentlemanly in a stranger and is unpardonable in his case. The article then suggests that the last paragraph of the letter means that the two barristers would be charged and convicted by the Special Bench, and that it was not the fault of the District Judge that they had not been so charged, and that the District Judge had made up his mind that they had committed a criminal breach of the law of the land. Then in the concluding portion, the article states that these traducers of civil resistance and civil resisters are becoming the instruments for propagating Bolshevism, i.e. the spirit of lawlessness accompanied with violence, and that the Government of Burma, the Government of the Punjab and the District Judge of Ahmedabad are all in their own way endeavouring forcibly to impose their will upon civil resisters, but that those who are trying to crush the spirit of civil resistance are but fanning the fire of Bolshevism. It will be noticed that this article shows on the face of it that the proceedings were then *sub-judice*, and that it nowhere mentions Mr. Kennedy's name, but refers to him throughout as the District Judge of Ahmedabad.

After the proceedings against the pleaders had been disposed of, the editor of Young India was asked, on the 18th October 1919, to give an explanation regarding the publication of the letter and the above comments. Certain correspondence thereupon passed between him and the Registrar of this Court acting under the directions of the Chief Justice. We have read all this correspondence, and I need not repeat it in full. In his letter of the 22nd October, the respondent Gandhi wrote :—

" In my humble opinion I was within the rights of a journalist in publishing the letter in question and making comments thereon. I believed the letter to be of great public importance and one that called for public criticism."

The reply of the 31st October was that this could not be regarded as a satisfactory explanation, but that the Chief Justice was willing to concede that the editor was unaware that he was exceeding the privilege of a journalist, provided he would publish in Young India an apology in the form therewith enclosed.

On the 7th November, the respondent Gandhi telegraphed that he was referring the matter to counsel.

On the 11th December, the Acting Advocate General initiated the present proceedings by applying for a rule nisi against the respondents.

This application was granted by Mr. Justice Shah and Mr. Justice Crump on that day, but the rule itself was not actually issued till the 19th December, and it bears the latter date. Meanwhile, a further letter, dated the 11th December had been received from the respondent Gandhi. The writer expressed his inability to publish the suggested apology, and stated that in publishing and commenting on the latter, he had performed a useful public duty at a time when there was great tension and when even the judiciary was being affected by the popular prejudice, but that he had no desire whatsoever to prejudge the issues which their Lordships had to decide. Then, after referring to the honour of journalism and to his membership of the Bombay Bar and its traditions, the writer stated that in similar circumstances he would not act differently and that he could not conscientiously offer any apology, and that, if that explanation was not considered sufficient, he would respectfully suffer the penalty.

Subsequently, at the respondents' request, the hearing of the rule was postponed, and on the 27th February 1920 they made the following statements :—

The respondent Gandhi stated :—

" With reference to the rule nisi issued against me I beg to state as follows :— Before the issue of the rule certain correspondence passed between the Registrar of the Honourable Court and myself. On the 11th December, I addressed to the Registrar a letter which sufficiently explains my conduct. I therefore attach a copy of the same letter. I regret that I have not found it possible to accept the advice given by His Lordship the Chief Justice. 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 on the contents thereof. 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."

The respondent Desai stated :—

" 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 him in justification of his action. I shall therefore cheerfully and respectfully abide by any penalty that this Honourable Court may be pleased to inflict on me."

At the hearing before us, both the respondents appeared in person. The respondent Gandhi stated (*inter alia*) that he did not want to go beyond the above statements already made by him. that he would accept any ruling of law laid down by this Court, and that while submitting he had not committed any contempt of Court, he did not want to argue the point. The respondent Desai stated that he associated himself with his co-respondent.

As to the general principles of law to be applied to this case, there can, I think, be no doubt. Speaking generally, it is not permissible to publish comments on or extracts from any pending proceedings in this Court, unless the leave of the Court be first obtained. Many good reasons may be advanced for this but the underlying principle is, I think, that of the due administration of justice for the public benefit, one incident of which demands that as a matter of common fairness, both parties shall be heard at the same time and in the presence of each other on proper evidence by an independent and unprejudiced tribunal. That object would be frustrated if newspapers were free to comment on or to make extracts from proceedings which

were still *sub-judice*. It matters not whether those comments and extracts favour prosecutor or accused, plaintiff or defendant. The vice is the interference with what is the Court's duty and not a newspaper's viz. the decision of the pending case.

In *Rex. v. Parke*, Mr. Justice Wills in delivering the judgment of the Court (the other members of which were Lord Alverstone and Mr. Justice Channell) said at pp. 436-7 as follows :—

" The reason why the publication of articles like those with which we have to deal is treated as a contempt of Court is because their tendency and sometimes their object is to deprive the Court of the power of doing that which is the end for which it exists—namely, to administer justice duly, impartially, and with reference solely to the facts judicially brought before it. Their tendency is to reduce the Court which has to try the case to impotence, so far as the effectual elimination of prejudice and prepossession is concerned. It is difficult to conceive an apter description of such conduct than is conveyed by the expression ' contempt of Court.' "

In *Rex. v. Davies*, Mr. Justice Wills again delivered the Judgment of the Court At page 40 the learned Judge says :—

" What then is the principle which is the root of and underlies the cases in which persons have been punished for attacks upon Courts and interferences with the due execution of their orders ? It will be found to be not the purpose of protecting either the Court as a whole or the individual Judges of the Court from a repetition of them, but of protecting the public, and especially those who either voluntarily or by compulsion, are subject to its jurisdiction, from the mischief they will incur if the authority of the tribunal be undermined or impaired." Lower down on the same page, the learned Judge refers with approval to an undelivered judgment of Wilmot C. J. in 1765 which showed that—

" The real offences is the wrong done to the public by weakening the authority and influence of a tribunal which exists for their good alone."

So, too, in *Helmore v. Smith*, Lord Justice Bowen says :—

"The object of the discipline enforced by the Court in case of contempt of Court is not to vindicate the dignity of the Court or the person of the judge, but to prevent undue interference with the administration of justice."

In *Reg. v. Gray*, Lord Russel of Killowen, in speaking of one class of contempt, said at p. 40.—

" Any act done or writing published calculated to obstruct or interferes with the due course of justice or the lawful process of the Courts is a contempt of Court."

Within that class fall comments on pending proceedings, and also I think premature publication of documents. Earlier in the same page, Lord Chief Justice had dealt with another class of contempt which he thus describes :—

" Any act done or writing published calculated to bring a Court or a Judge of the Court into contempt, or to lower his authority, is a contempt of Court."

Within this class come the personal acurrilous abuse of a judge as a Judge, which was the case the Court there had to deal with. It was this class of contempt which Lord Hardwicke characterised in 1742 as " scandalising a court or a Judge". Speaking for myself, I do not think that the expression is a happy one as it is open to misconstruction and I doubt whether it is much used by modern lawyers. At any rate I personally prefer Lord Russell's own description of this particular class of contempt.

It makes no difference, I think, that the alleged abuse here was of a District and not of a High Court Judge. *Rex v. Davies* shews that in England the High Court has power to protect Courts of inferior jurisdiction and that in a proper case it should do So. I think the same power exists in India, and that subject to the precautions which Lord Russel mentions on pp. 40 and 41 this Court should extend its protection to all Courts in the mofussil over which it exercises supervision.

As regards the premature publication of documents, the law is thus stated in Oswald on Contempt, 3rd Edn. p. 95.—

" Printing, even without comments, and circulating the brief, pleadings, petition, or evidence of one side only, is a contempt."

So. too. in Halsbury's Laws of England, Vol. VII, p. 287, it is stated :—

" It is a contempt to publish copies of the pleadings or evidence in a cause. while proceedings are pending."

For these propositions, cases beginning from 1754 are cited and they include instances of affidavits, winding-up petitions and statements of claim which latter correspond to complaints in this country. One can easily see the evils which would arise if it were permissible to publish a complaint containing (say) charges of fraud against some respectable man before he could even put in his answer, and long before the charges could be judicially determined.

It may refer to one more case not because it lays down any new law, but because it brings the English authorities down to date, and illustrates the restrictions imposed there on the liberty of the Press, which, as pointed out by Lord Russell in *Reg. v. Gray*, is in these matters "no greater and no less than the liberty of every subject of the King." The case is *Rex. v. Empire News Limited* and was heard by the Lord Chief Justice of England and Mr. Justice Avory and Mr. Justice Sankey. There the newspaper had commented on a pending murder case, but did not attempt to justify its action in so doing, and the proprietors and editor expressed their deepest regret and contrition to the Court. In delivering judgment, the Earl of Reading said :—

" The Court could not permit the investigation of murder to be taken out of the hands of the proper authorities and to be carried on by newspapers. The liberty of the individual even when he was suspected of crime and indeed even more so when he was charged with crime must be protected and it was the function of that Court to prevent the publication of articles which were likely to cause prejudice. The only doubt in the case was whether the Court ought to commit the editor to prison.

"The Court had come to the conclusion that in the circumstances it must mark its sense of the offence committed which was an offence both by the proprietors and editor by imposing a fine of £1000."

The principles of law then being clear, how ought they to be applied to the facts of this particular case ? In my judgment those principles prohibited the publication of the District Judge's letter pending the hearing of the notices issued by the High Court. It was contended by the respondent Gandhi that, that letter was written by Mr. Kennedy in his private capacity, and not as District Judge. I think that contention is erroneous. The letter is an official letter written by the District Judge in the exercise of his duties as such, and submitting the case to the High Court for orders. As my brother Hayward has pointed out to me, the letter follows the procedure laid down in the Civil Circulars of this Court in cases of alleged misconduct by a pleader. It very properly sets out what the learned Judge considers to be the facts both for and against the pleaders, and gives his reasons for bringing the matter before the High Court. Indeed if he had not done so, he would presumably have been asked by the High Court for further particulars before they took any action. The letter is on lines quite familiar to this Court in other cases where the Sessions Judge in the exercise of his duties as such brings some matter before this Court with a view to the exercise of its exceptional powers. I may instance criminal references where the Sessions Judge, for the reasons given in his official letter, recommends the revision of some illegal or indicate sentence which has been passed by a subordinate Court, and which the High Court alone can alter in such contingencies. If in the present case the District Judge's letter contained any statements which the respondent pleaders or barristers contended were inaccurate, that would be a matter for decision at the hearing of the notices, when all they had to say would be fully considered.

But even if the letter was written by Mr. Kennedy in his private capacity, I do not think it would make any substantial difference as regards mere publication. The letter would still form part, and a most important part, of the pending proceedings and the record thereof, and I do not think that any substantial differences can be drawn between it and the other classes of documents mentioned in the authorities cited in Oswald and in Halsbury to which I have already referred.

In my judgment, therefore, the publication of this letter was a contempt of Court.

That brings me to the comments made in the newspaper including the heading "O" 'Dwyerism in Ahmedabad' under which the letter was published. These comments are not only comments on pending proceedings, but are of a particularly intemperate and reprehensible character. They prejudice the case and tend to undermine any decision which the High Court may come to at the trial. They also amount in my opinion to what Lord Russell describes as "scurrilous abuse of the Judge as such". In this latter connection, the question whether the letter was written by Mr. Kennedy in his private or in his judicial capacity becomes material, but as I have already stated it was in my judgment written in his judicial capacity.

Accordingly; on the authorities which I have already referred to, these comments are clearly a contempt of Court and come within both the classes to which Lord Russell refers, and in my judgment they constitute a serious contempt of Court.

We have carefully considered the various statements made by the respondents, and invited them at the hearing to give any intelligible explanation or excuse for their conduct. None such was forthcoming. In his letter of the 11th December 1919 the respondent Gandhi contends that in publishing and commenting on the letter "performed a useful public duty at a time when there was great tension and when even the judiciary was being affected by the popular prejudice." Common sense would answer that if that tension and popular prejudice existed, it would be increased rather than diminished by abuse of the local Judge, and that that could not be the public duty of any good citizen.

But there would seem to be some strange misconceptions in the minds of the respondents as to the legitimate liberties of a journalist.. Otherwise the respondent Gandhi could hardly have contended before us as he in fact did - that if a son brought a suit against a father, and if a journalist thought that the son's action was wrong, the journalist would be justified in holding the son up to public ridicule in the public press, notwithstanding that the suit was still undecided. I need hardly say that this contention is quite erroneous. It may however be that principles which are quite familiar in England are imperfectly known or understood in India, and that the respondents have paid more attention to the liberty of the press than to the duties which accompany that and every other liberty.

This was much weighed with me in considering what order the Court ought to pass in this case. We have large powers and in appropriate cases can commit offenders to prison for such period as we think fit and can impose fines of such amount as we may judge right. But just as our powers are large, so ought we, I think, to use them with discretion and with moderation, remembering that the only object we have in view is to enforce the due administration of justice for the public benefit.

In the present case, the Court has very seriously considered whether it ought not to impose a substantial fine on one, if not both, of the respondents. But on the whole, I think it sufficient for the Court to state the law in terms which I hope will leave no room for doubt in the future, and to confine our order to severely reprimanding the respondents and cautioning them both as to their future conduct. That accordingly is the order I think we should pass in the present case.

Hayward J.—I concur.. A contempt of Court was, in my opinion, committed in the mere publication of the letter of Mr. Kennedy before the trial of the matter by this Court. It might not have been realised but the reason for the rule has been explained by my brother Marten and shown to rest on numerous precedents quoted under para 615 at p. 287 of Vol. VII of Halsbury's Laws of England.

A contempt of Court of a more serious nature was, in my opinion, committed in commenting in the particular manner on that letter. It amounted clearly to "scandalising" Mr. Kennedy as District Judge within the dicta of Lord Hardwicke quoted by Lord Russell in *Reg. v. Gray*. It was Mr. Kennedy's duty, according to established practice, to report the matter in question as District Judge for the orders of the High Court. It was in my opinion his duty under the general powers of superintendence vested in him as District Judge under section 9 of the Bombay Civil Court Act, 1869, and the duty was moreover expressly prescribed as follows :— "The Judge who notices the misconduct of the pleader should charge the pleader therewith and, after such preliminary enquiry as he may think fit to make, should write to the Registrar requesting him to lay the charge before the Honourable the Chief Justice and Judges, who, if necessary, will call on the pleader for any further explanation he may wish to make. The Judges will then consider the whole matter in Chambers after which the matter will be determined by a chamber. Resolution or, where necessary, by formal proceedings in Court", by para 14 of Chapter XVIII at p. 259 of the Civil Circulars Manual of the High Court. It has therefore become our duty to protect the proceedings of the District Judge under the powers shown by the precedents of *Rex. v. Parke* and *Rex v. Davies* to be vested in us as Judges of the High Court.

A contempt of Court of an even more serious nature was, in my opinion, further committed in that the comments tended to interfere with a fair trial and to prejudice public justice. They tended to substitute what has been termed a newspaper trial for the regular proceedings before the established tribunal, the High Court. The precedents for the position include those already quoted as well as the later cases of *Higgins v. Richards* and *Rex. v. Empire News Ltd.*, quoted by brother Marten. The respondents have not denied the facts nor seriously disputed the law. They have expressed their readiness in their replies to submit to whatever punishment might be imposed on them for what they have termed "the vindication of the majesty of law" by the High Court.

It is difficult to appreciate the position taken up by the respondents. They have expressed their inability to apologise formally but have at the same time represented their readiness to submit to any punishment meted out to them.

It is probable that the Editor, the respondent Gandhi, did not realize that he was breaking the law and there would be no doubt, if that were so, that it was not realised by his publisher, the respondent Desai. The respondents seem to have posed not as law-breakers but rather as passive resisters of the law. It would, therefore, be sufficient, in my opinion to enunciate unmistakeably for them the law in these matters, to severely reprimand them for their proceedings and to warn them of the penalties imposed by the High Court.

Kajiji J—I concur. (After Mr. Justice Hayward and Mr. Justice Kajiji delivered their judgments, Mr. Justice Marten said as follows :—

The order of the Court will therefore be.—"The Court finds the charges proved, it severely reprimands the respondents and cautions them both as to their future conduct."

Rule made absolute.

APPENDIX II

SATVAGRAHI LEAFLETS.

Read this and circulate copies of it amongst friends and request them to circulate the copies.

Price one Pice per copy.

1st Issue

"SATYAGRAHI"

Publisher—Mohanlal Karamchand Gandhi.

(This paper will be published every Monday at 10 a.m.)

(Bombay-Gamdevi, Labournum Road, Chaitra Sudi 7th- 1975)

Hints to readers—

This paper has not been registered according to law and hence there cannot be any annual subscription for it. It cannot be guaranteed that the paper will be regularly received by readers because Government can arrest the publisher and it is impossible to guarantee as above unless India arrives at the happy stage of substituting the publisher arrested by Government. We will not spare any means to arrange to have a continuous spring of such publishers.

In conclusion, it is not the intention to permanently break the laws governing the newspapers but this paper will be issued upto the time the Rowlatt bills are not repealed.

OUR ACQUAINTANCE

What will the Satyagrahi do ? Our acquaintance will be made by the reply to the question. The existence of Satyagraha is only for the repeal of the Rowlatt acts; that is to say the duty of a Satyagrahi is to show to the people the means of repealing these laws according to the principles of Satyagraha. According to the Satyagraha vow the Satyagrahis have to undergo the pilgrimage to Jail after disrespecting certain laws. The best way which the paper can show will be in one way and it will be the breach of law on publishing this paper.

Amongst the other suggestions, it would do if the lecturer does not himself follow the advice he gives and it is not the object here to say that the fault would be with the suggestions. It is one system of doing work. The Satyagraha system is different. In that advice can be given only after doing the act. Whatever ways will be shown in this paper will be experienced ones only. And as the price of an experienced medicine is more than a new one it is our desire that the readers of this paper will unhesitatingly adopt the ways believing them as valuable ways indicated by experience ;

Many happy incidents took place yesterday but the most beautiful incident was that the mill hands passed the day in working in the mills when they did not get permission from their masters, though the great exertions of the Satyagrahis.

(10th April 1919).

MAHATMA GANDHI ARRESTED

Receives Orders With Joy

Desire all to Participate in his Joy

Mahatma Gandhi on his way to Delhi was served with an order at Kosi not to enter Punjab and Delhi and restrict himself to Bombay. He refused to obey the order and was arrested. He submitted to the arrest with the greatest joy and desired all to participate in his joy. He has sent the following message by wire.

" TO MY COUNTRYMEN :

It is a matter of the highest concern to me, as I hope! to you, that I have received an order from the Punjab Government not to enter that province and another from the Delhi Government not to enter Delhi, while an order of the Government of India which was served on me immediately after restricts me to Bombay. I had no hesitation in saying to the Officer, who served the order on me, that I was bound in virtue of the pledge to disregard it, which I have done and I shall presently find myself a free man, my body being taken by them in their custody.

It was galling to me to remain free whilst the Rowlatt legislation disfigured the Statute Book. My arrest makes me free. It now remains for you to do your duty which is clearly stated in the Satyagraha pledge. Follow it and you will find it will be your Kamadhenu. I hope there will be no resentment about my arrest. I have received what I was seeking, either the withdrawal of the Rowlatt legislation or imprisonment. A departure from the truth by a hair's breadth of violence committed against anybody whether Englishman or Indian will surely damn the great Cause, the Satyagrahis are handling.

I hope the Hindu-Moslem unity, which seems now to have taken a firm hold of the people, will become a reality and I feel convinced that it will only be a reality if the suggestions I have ventured to make in my communication to the press are carried out. The responsibility of the Hindus in this matter is greater than that of the Mohammedans, they being in minority, and I hope they will discharge their responsibility in a manner worthy of their country.

I have also made certain suggestions regarding the proposed Swadeshi vow. I commend them to your serious attention and you will find that as your ideas of Satyagraha become matured the Hindu-Moslem unity are but parts of Satyagraha. Finally it is my firm belief that we shall obtain salvation only through suffering and not by reforms dropping on us from England, no matter how unstintingly they might be granted. The English are a great nation, but the weaker also go to the wall, if they, come in contact with them. When they are themselves courageous they have borne untold sufferings and they only respond to courage and sufferings and the partnership with them is only possible after we have developed indomitable courage and the faculty for unlimited suffering. There is a fundamental difference between their civilization and ours. They believe in the doctrine of violence or brute force as the final arbiter. My reading of our civilization is that we are expected to believe in soul-force or moral force as the final arbiter and this is Satyagraha.

We are groaning under sufferings which we would avoid if we could, because we have swerved from the path laid down for us by the ancient civilization.

I hope that Hindus, Mahommadans, Sikhs, Parsis, Christians. Jews, and all who are born in India or who made India their land of adoption will fully participate in these national observances and I hope—too, that women will take therein as full a share as men."

MAHATMA GANDHI'S MESSAGE

Brothers and Sisters.

With great sorrow and equal pleasure I have to inform you that the Government have to-day removed Mr. Horniman from Bombay and he has been placed on board a steamer bound for England. Mr. Horniman is a very brave and generous Englishman. He has given us the Mantram of Liberty, he has fearlessly exposed wrong wherever he has seen it and thus been an ornament to the race to which he belongs, and rendered it a great service. Every Indian knows his services to India. I am sorry for the event because a brave Satyagrahi has been deported while I retain my physical liberty. I am glad because Mr. Horniman has been given the occasion of fulfilling his pledge.

The publicat'on of the Chronicle will for the time being be discontinued, because the Directors have wisely decided not to accede to the improper demands of the Government. In reality, however, the continuance of the Chronicle without Mr. Horniman would be like an attempt to sustain a body when the soul has departed.

The condition I have described is truly serious. Satyagraha is on the anvil. At the same time, this is a fine opportunity for demonstrating its purity and its invincibility. It will rest with Satyagrahis and other inhabitants of India to take advantage of the opportunity. I can fully appreciate the deep wound that will be caused to every Satyagrahi by the separation of a dear comrade. The nation will certainly feel hurt to find that the one who presented it with a daily draught of liberty is no more in its midst. At a time like this Satyagrahis and others will, in my opinion demonstrate their true affection for Mr. Horniman only by remaining perfectly calm. It will be sheer thoughtlessness to break the peace. Modern Civilization challenges the Ancient. Satyagraha now going on is based upon the teachings of the Ancient Civilization and if India accepts Satyagraha the superiority of the Ancient Civilization will be indicated. The world will see Modern Civilization in its nakedness and there is no doubt that its votaries will retrace their steps.

The following are the practical suggestions I venture to place before you. There should be no stoppage of business anywhere in Hindustan, there should be no large public meetings of protests, no processions, no violence of any kind whatsoever and every effort should be made to stop any tendency thereto. I ask Satyagrahis and the sympathisers not to lose faith in the efficacy of Satyagraha and firmly to believe that the Satyagraha pledge will be carried out in its entirety.

More later.

M. K. Gandhi.

Satyagraha Series No. 3

MAHATMA GANDHI'S WARNING TO SATYAGRAHIS AND SYMPATHISERS

(On Friday evening the 12th day of April, 1919, on the Chawpati sea beach Mahatma Gandhi sounded the following note of warning to Satyagrahis and sympathisers assembled in a mass meeting);

Brothers and sisters, this is not the moment for me to enter into the near past. I must refer to what has just happened. As you see I have been set free by the Government. The two days' detention was no detention for me. It was like heavenly bliss. The officials in charge of me were all attention and all kindness to me. Whatever I needed was supplied to me, and was afforded greater comforts than I am used to when free. I have not been able to understand so much excitement and disturbance that followed my detention. It is not Satyagraha. It is worse than Duragraha.

Those who join Satyagraha demonstration are bound at all hazards to refrain from violence, not to throw stones or in any way whatsoever to injure anybody. But in Bombay we have been throwing stones. We have obstructed tram-cars by putting obstacles in the way. This is not Satyagraha.

We have demanded the release of about 50 men who have been arrested for committing deeds of violence. Our duty is quietly to submit to being arrested. It is a breach of religion or duty to endeavour to secure the release of those who have committed deeds of violence. We are not therefore justified on any grounds whatsoever for demanding the release of those who have been arrested.

I have been asked whether a Satyagrahi is liable for the results that follow from that movement. I have replied that they are. I therefore wish to suggest that if we cannot conduct this movement without the slightest violence from our side, the movement might have to be abandoned or it may be necessary to give it a different and still more restricted shape. The time may come for me to offer Satyagraha against ourselves.

I would not deem it a disgrace that we die, I shall be pained to hear of the death of Satyagrahi. But I shall consider it to be a proper sacrifice given for the sake of the struggle. But if those who are not Satyagrahis, who have not joined

the movement, who are even against it, receive any injury at all, every Satyagrahi will be responsible for that sinful injury. My responsibility will be a million times heavier. I have embarked upon the struggle with a due sense of such responsibility.

I have even just heard that some Englishmen have been injured. Some may have died from such injuries. If so, it would be a great blot upon Satyagraha. For me Englishmen too are our brethren. We can have nothing against them. And for me sins such as I have described are simply unbearable.

But I know how to offer Satyagraha against ourselves as against the rulers. What kind of Satyagraha can I offer against ourselves on such occasions ? What penance can I do for such sins ? The Satyagraha and the penance I can conceive can only be one and that is for me to fast and if need be by so doing to give up this body and thus to prove the truth of Satyagraha.

I appeal to you that you will all quietly disperse, keep the peace and even refrain from acts that may in any way bring disgrace upon the people of Bombay.

We need not consider the conduct of the police, nor is this occasion for such consideration. We are beholden to H.E. the Governor and the Police for the entire absence of rifle fire, or gun-fire. But the one thing to be remembered is that we should learn how to observe perfect peace and how to undergo intelligent sufferings.

Without this there is no Satyagraha.

Satyagraha Sabha,
Apollo Street.

Satyagraha Series No. 4.

"To My Sisters and Brothers "

I could not speak to you at length in my address at the Satyagrahashram on Monday last: but I wish to place my thoughts before the public through a few leaflets Let me first render accounts. I had received till yesterday Rs. 770 towards the Fund suggested by me. I request that there should be no delay with regard to this fund, and that none in Ahmedabad should be found wanting in his duty. This fund has had its origin in the idea of penance, but its public utility is no less than its penitential value. I visited the Civil Hospital yesterday in company with Ben Anasuya and Mr. Krishnalal Desai and spoke to all the patients there. I see that we shall have to get pecuniary help to the families of the many of the wounded. I learnt on the spot that 22 of the men brought there had died of the wounds. There is no doubt, there have been many more deaths. A clear duty, therefore, lies upon us, as citizens, to find out the families of the deceased and to give them what help we can. I have been asked as to who will be the beneficiaries of these money ? I am afraid that we could not compensate those, who have sustained loss of property ; we can render some little help only to the families of the dead and wounded. These include two or three Englishmen ; (now ascertained to be one); our first duty is to render help to their families, since we are responsible for their death. We had no excuse whatsoever for killing them. They have been killed simply out of animosity. If we do really repent for what we have done, it is our duty to aid their families. That is the least penance we can do. I have been able to see that most of our brethren, too, who have died, were altogether innocent. I saw amongst the wounded several boys of 10 or 11. Our next duty is to help all these. A man from Viramgam came to me complaining that he had lost two of his brothers. Very likely many more such cases will be forthcoming. If Viramgam also pays its quota to the fund, we might be able to extend our help to them. If it fails, I am afraid, we shall not be able to render that assistance.

Some of us believe that we can obtain our rights by such acts of terrorisation. violence and arson. Satyagraha, on the contrary, holds that the rights so obtained

should be rejected. I admit that of the two parties using brute force, the one possessing more of it than the other apparently gains its end. My 40 years experience tells me that objects so attained do not permanently benefit the winner. There may well be two opinions on this point. But there can be no difference of opinion on the fact that so far as brute force is concerned we are no match for the Government. Our physical force is as nought before theirs. I would dare say, therefore, that those who advise us to use physical force are sadly mistaken, and we should never listen to their advise. Expediency tells us that there is one and only one recourse for us and that is Satyagraha or Dharmabala (i.e., spirit force). Now Dharmabala can spring only from suffering. Oppressing, harrasing, or assulting others cannot add to our spiritual strength. The events in Ahmedabad would have been impossible, had we but a true sense of Dharma. It is one of our duties to prevent mischief. If the men and women of Ahmedabad could be brave all mischief would cease. It is obviously a far grater thing to overcome mischief by Spirit Force, than to do so by Brute Force. We have seen that violent outbreaks have not benefited us at all. I have already said that they had nothing to do with my release. The outbreaks commenced on the 10th. The decision to release me in Bombay was arrived at on the 9th. It cannot therefore have been in any way the result of those outbreaks. Moreover, those who have faith in Satyagraha should be the last men to resort to violence to secure my release.

Let us now consider what further loss we have sustained. I reminded you on Monday that the offices which were burnt down belonged to ourselves. But we have on indirect ownership therein, and the fact that the expenses of rebuilding them may perhaps not fall directly on us may make us indifferent to the mischief done. The loss to our commerce by closing of the Telegraph Office may also fail to affect us. But consider the consequences of burning down the University Examination Pandal. I understand that it was erected by a contractor, it was his property and was worth about Rs. 18,000. Who will compensate the contractor ? Can we imagine the soreness of his feelings ? Surely the incendiaries must never have thought of making up for the loss. I am informed that there were many ornaments deposited in the District Court Treasury as being matter of dispute in Civil cases and otherwise. Some estimate their value at Rs. 50,000 while others value them at a higher figure still. We know nothing about the owners of these ornaments. They have lost them for good. Government may not compensate them; and even if they do it will be from our money. The poor innocent people, who have thus lost their ornaments, will not perhaps so much as approach the Government to demand them. Where was the justice of our ferreting out from Rao Bahadur Bulakhidas' house, all the things therein and making a *bon fire* of them ? I have been told the Rao Bahadur's carrer has been far from good ; that he harasses the people. Granting that this is so, may we, therefore, burn the property of such officers ? If people were thus to take the law into their own hands, there would be an end to peace and public safety and a per-pectual reign of terror would prevail. If any and every person, aggrieved by an Officer's conduct were to be regarded as within his rights to violate the person and property of that officer, no officer would be safe. A country, where such a state of affairs prevails, is not considered to be civilised, and the people there leave in constant fear. Consider the hideous barbarity of burning alive the Aval Karkun of Virarngam. What offence had he committed ? Or, if he had committed any, why had we not the courage to obtain his dismissal ? Seargant Fraser, an innocent Englishman who had sought refuge in an Indian house was marched out of the house and hacked to pieces. What can India gain out of such a piece of brutality ? One direct result we have already had and that is the bitterness of feeling between the English and ourselves, has been augmented, and several innocent lives have been lost. The only result to obtain rights through association and co-operation with such hooligans can be that if such attempts succeed, the rights so obtained could be enjoyed only on conditions imposed by the hoolings. Rights so obtained are not rights at all, they are rather the signs of our enslavement. The events of Ahmedabad and Viramgam are no indication of our heroism, they do not in any way prove our manliness ; they have simply disgraced us ; our movement has received a set back ;

Satyagraha has had to be restricted. In giving you this bare picture, my purpose is to show thousands of people, who disliked such violence, put up with it as helpless and powerless creatures. It indicates that at this moment, we do not possess the true force of Dharma and Truth. It is therefore that I have said that there is no salvation for India except through Satyagraha. I shall endeavour as best as I can. to explain what this Satyagraha is in later leaflets, which I entreat my sisters and brothers to carefully read and understand and ponder upon and carry out the suggestions made therein.

M. K. Gandhi.

Satyagraha Series No. 5.

CHARACTERISTICS OF MAHATMA GANDHI'S WRITINGS

There are two poems published and being distributed entitled "Mahatma Gandhino Satyagraha" and "Mahatma Gandhina Udgar". They bear the signature of Labhshanker Harjiwandas Dihorkar. The ideas expressed in these verses are not mine. Some of them are poisonous, calculated to promote ill-will and excite passions. They are, therefore, opposed to Satyagraha. I therefore advise all brothers and sisters not to accept anything as written by me unless it is signed by me. The present times are so critical that one cannot be too cautious about anything lest he might be led astray.

My writings cannot be poisonous, they must be free from anger, for it is my special religious conviction that we cannot truly attain our goal by promoting ill-will against the rulers or any one else. There can be no room for untruth in my writings, because it is my unshakable belief that there is no religion other than truth and because I am capable of rejecting aught obtained at the cost of truth. My writings cannot but be free from hatred towards any individual because it is my firm belief that it is love that sustains the earth. There only is life where there is love. Life without love is death. Love is the reverse of the coin of which the obverse is truth. It is my firm faith and it is my experience of forty years that we can conquer the world by truth and love. I believe that we can remedy the mistakes of our rulers by means of truth and live and love and my writings can therefore have no incitement to violence to person or property. It is obviously not possible for me to read everything that is written or printed in my name and I would therefore ask everyone to apply the above-mentioned test to all that purports to be published in my name and I further wish and pray that every one should reject anything that has the slightest trace of untruth, disaffection, hatred, violence and the like. I do not know the author of the poems mentioned above, but should he see this leaflet I advise him that it is necessary for him before attributing any words or statements to any one to show them to him and obtain his permission to publish them as his. This is the least that prudence and self-restraint demands.

M. K. Gandhi.

Satyagraha Leaflet Series No. 6.

SATYAGRAHA: ITS SIGNIFICANCE

In the first leaflet, I hinted that I would consider the meaning of Satyagraha in a later number of this series. I feel that the time has now arrived to examine the meaning of Satyagraha. The word was newly coined some years ago, but the principle which it denotes is as ancient as Time. This is the literal meaning of Satyagraha-insistence on truth, and force derivable from such insistence. In the present movement, we are making use of Satyagraha as a force : that is to say,

in order to cure the evil in the shape of the Rowlatt Legislation, we have been making use of the force generated by Satyagraha, that is, insistence on truth. One of the axioms of religion is, there is no religion other than truth. Another is, religion is love. And as there can be only one religion, it follows that truth is love and love is truth. We shall find too, on further reflection that conduct based on truth is impossible without love. Truth force then is love-force. We cannot remedy evil by harbouring ill-will against the evil-doer. This is not difficult of comprehension. It is easy enough to understand. In thousands of our acts, the propelling power is truth or love. The relations between father and son, husband and wife, indeed our family relations are largely guided by truth or love. And we therefore consciously or unconsciously apply Satyagraha in regulating these relations.

If we were to cast a retrospective glance over our past life, we would find that out of a thousand of our acts affecting our families in nine hundred and ninety-nine, we were dominated by truth. That in our deeds, it is not right to say we generally resort to untruth or ill-will. It is only where a conflict of interests arises then arise the progeny of untruth, viz., anger, ill-will, etc., and then we see nothing but poison in our midst. A little hard thinking will show us that the standard that we apply to the regulation of domestic relations is the standard that should be applied to regulate the relations between rulers and the ruled, and between man and man. Those men and women who do not recognise the domestic tie are considered to be very like brutes or barbarous, even though they in form have the human body. They have never known the law of Satyagraha. Those who recognise the domestic tie and its obligations have to a certain extent gone beyond that brute stage. But if challenged, they would say "what do we care though the whole universe may perish so long as we guard the family interest ?" The measure of their Satyagraha, therefore, is less than that of a drop in the ocean.

When men and women have gone a stage further, they would extend the law of love, i.e., Satyagraha, from the family to the village. A still further stage away from the brute-life is reached when the Law of Satyagraha is applied to provincial life, and the people inhabiting a province regulate their relations by love rather than by hatred. And when as in Hindustan we recognise the Law of Satyagraha as a binding force even between province and province and the millions of Hindustan treat one another as brothers and sisters, we have advanced a stage further still from the brute nature.

In modern times, in no part of the earth have the people gone beyond the nation-stage in the application of Satyagraha. In reality however, there need be no reason for the clashing of interest between nation and nation thus arresting the operation of the great Law. If we were not in the habit generally of giving no thought to our daily conduct, if we did not accept local custom and habit as matters of course as we accept the current coin, we would immediately perceive that to the extent that we bear ill-will towards other nations, or show disregard at all for life, to that extent we disregard the Law of Satyagraha or love, and to that extent we are still not free from the brute-nature. But there is no religion apart from that which enables us entirely to rid ourselves of the brute-nature. All religious sects and, divisions, all churches and temples, are useful only so long as they serve as a means towards enabling us to recognise the universality of Satyagraha. In India we have been trained from ages past in this teaching and hence it is that we are taught to consider the whole universe as one family. I do wish to submit as a matter of experience that it is not only possible to live the full national life, by rendering obedience to the law of Satyagraha, but that the fullness of national life is impossible without Satyagraha, i.e., without a life of true religion. That nation which wars against another has to an extent disregarded the great law of life. I shall never abandon the faith I have that India is capable of delivering this truth to the whole world, and I wish that all Indians, men and women, whether they are Hindus or Mahommedans, Parsis, Christians or Jews will share with me this unquenchable faith.

M. K. Gandhi.

*Satyagraha Series Leaflet No, 8.***MAHATMA GANDHI'S MESSAGE**

It is a good omen for Satyagraha that Bombay has preserved peace in spite of the unendurable separation of Mr. Horniman from us. I hope that it will be preserved whenever our other friends are arrested and even if I am arrested. The Government are entitled to arrest those whom they suspect. Moreover in our movement we consider it the proper thing to be arrested and imprisoned, when before our conscience we are found guiltless. How can we therefore be angry when my Satyagrahi is arrested ? We ought to know that the sooner innocent men are arrested the sooner will this struggle end. I have heard some people say that in Satyagraha also the end is achieved by violence. They argue that when Satyagrahis are arrested, people become excited resort to violence and thus get their demands acceded to. I held this to be a dreadful superstition. The reverse is the truth. By the arrest of Satyagrahi violence ensued in Ahmedabad and we have experienced the results of that violence. The people there are cowed down. Gujarat which never had the military in its midst has had an experience of it. It is my firm conviction that the victory of Satyagraha is attainable only by adherence to truth, avoidance of violence and by suffering. My experience in South Africa, Champaran, Kaira and other places fully bear out the truth of my statement. So long as we do not appreciate this truth we are in no way fitted for Satyagraha. The question arises " What then ought we to do ? Are we to sit with folded hands in spite of Mr. Horniman's deportation ?" I reply that the observance of perfect calm is itself a demonstration of our grief over the separation, and of our intense activity along Satyagraha lines and by containing the same calmness of spirit we shall be better able to reach our goal and to welcome back our friend. When Hindustan accustomed in the course of this struggle to rely only upon truth and non-violence we shall be able to begin civil disobedience. Some say that it will take years before India recognises the supremacy of Truth and Non-violence and therefore it must take years to bring this struggle to a successful end. I would content myself with saying that when once the forces of Truth and Ahimsa are set in motion the speed as they move becomes so accelerated that they take no time in permeating millions. For what is needful is to produce an impression of Truth and Non-violence upon their hearts and to infect them with faith in the efficacy of these two forces the Satyagrahis are true it need not take longer than a month or two to bring about this result.

I venture to tender the following advice in order that as suggested above Truth and Non-Violence may permeate the masses with an ever-increasing velocity. Great movements all the world over depend for their success largely upon the merchantile class. Bombay is a great emporium of trade in Hindustan, indeed in the world. With, what rapidity with the force of truth move if the Merchants of Bombay were to avoid untruth and all the faults flowing from it even though introduction of truth in their business may mean smaller profits or even loss. What greater honour can we pay to Mr. Horniman than by adopting honesty as our watch-word in our merchantile transactions. The foundations of our success rests in Truth and if it pervades merchantile affairs it will be a play-thing to pull down the other citadels of untruth ? Feel convinced that it is not difficult for those Merchants of Bombay who have regard for Mr. Horniman to act according to the advice tendered by me that if we can impress the Government with the truth in us and by strictly observing the principle of non-violence assure them of their firmness it may not be necessary for us to resume civil disobedience.

Bombay : 28th April 1919.

M. K. Gandhi.

Satyagraha Series Leaflet No. 9

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

Friends have been incessantly telling me a strong feeling prevails that some way ought to be found to give expression to popular feeling in the matter of Mr. Horni-

man's deportation. The desire is quite natural. But as I have already observed, the fact that we have preserved peace is itself an eloquent demonstration of our feelings. It is my special opinion that such preservation of peace is only possible where Satyagraha is going on. I believe that the authorities have also been amazed at the profound peace prevailing throughout the city. And no wonder. The Government know that popular feeling regarding Mr. Horniman runs high. In order that a demonstration of this feeling may not run in undesirable channels the Government have made elaborate military dispositions. But it is highly creditable to Bombay that the Military have had to remain idle. It is a worthy achievement for Satyagraha. I have no doubt that if people could thus restrain themselves on all occasions the nation would occupy a much higher status. No one need assume that we have not been taking or that we shall no longer take measures for getting Mr. Horniman back in our midst. Of all measures the present calmness is the greatest. Yet I suggest that those who are keen on suspension of business may devote a day's profits to some public activity. But the chief thing I am desirous of in this leaflet is the following. The agitation hitherto adopted in this country is as different from Satyagraha as the North Pole is from the South. An appreciation of this fact will of itself remove many of our perplexities. We have seen that there is a difference between satyagraha meetings and others. Satyagraha is based upon Religion. In it only truth, calmness, serenity, patience fearlessness, etc., should alone be seen. A Satyagraha strike must differ from the others. I have already quoted an occasion when a Satyagraha-strike had to be suspended when a different strike was declared. What we expect to attain by acclamations in ordinary movements we often gain by silence, in Satyagraha. The human voice can never reach the distance that is covered by the still small voice of conscience. Instances to show the unique character of Satyagraha can easily be multiplied and we ought not to be surprised to see things not going in the orthodox fashion. And I therefore beseech all not to be agitated because they see no outward demonstration over Mr. Horniman's deportation. I ask them to be patient and to have full faith that by going along the path of Satyagraha we shall meet our brother all the sooner for it.

Bombay : 28th April, 1919.

M. K. Gandhi,

3001/H/19-P. 41

Satyagraha Series Leaflet No. 10

SISTERS AND BROTHERS,

I have two letters from Mr. Horniman which I expect you must all be anxious to read. The one addressed to me reads :—

My Dear Mahatmaji,

They are taking me away at last. I have been rushed off without notice. This is only to say " Au revoir" and to ask your blessing. God speed you in your work for the Indian people.

I shall do what I can wherever I am.

Ever yours affectionately.

(Signed) B. G. HORNIMAN,

That to Mr. Jamnadas is as follows :—

My dear Jamnadas,

I hope whatever happens Bombay will remain quiet.

I don't know whether this letter will reach you, but if it does, give my love to everybody. In the meanwhile I shall work for India wherever I may be.

Every Yours.

(Signed) B. G. HORNIMAN.

Both these letters were written by him from S. S. Takada. Further news is that his health is alright that he is being well looked after and that the officers have treated him with all courtesy. The order of deportation means that Mr. Horniman will be absolutely free on reaching England that there, will be no restrictions whatsoever on his liberty, and as he is resolved to work for India wherever he is. it is likely that he will render great service to India while in England. This however is but a poor consolation for the people. They would be satisfied only if the order of deportation is withdrawn and we cannot sit still till we find him back in our midst. We know how we can get him back in our midst. The first and the foremost thing is to observe selfrestraint and to learn to keep peace. If we break the peace we shall only be delaying Mr. Horniman's return and paining him.

30th April 1919.

M. K. Gandhi.

(Printed by M. N. Kulkarni at the Karnatak Printing Press. 434, Thakurdwar, Bombay and Published by S. G. Banker, 72, Apollo Street, Fort, Bombay.).

Satyagraha Leaflet No. 11.

MAHATMA GANDHI'S MESSAGE

Extract from Sanj Vartaman dated 1st May 1919

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

Letters continue to pour in containing complaints about the so-called inactivity regarding Mr. Horniman's deportation. Most of these letters are anonymous. One of them states that it does not matter even if violence be the result of our holding large meetings etc. It adds that we shall gain nothing without violence and that without it we shall not be able to bring Mr. Horniman back to India.

It is simple enough to give a reply to the foregoing along the lines of Satyagraha : If violence be the condition of Mr. Horniman's return to India, then Satyagraha. have to be content with separation. But there is absolutely no fear of any such result from non-violence. We can centrainly bring about his return by Satyagraha. Indeed we can hasten it by Satyagraha alone. Satyagraha consists at times in civil disobedience and other times in civil obedience. It consists at times in declaring hartal, or holding large public meetings or arranging processions and other times in refraining from any one or all of these things. Satyagrahis may not do a single thing that would bring about or encourage violence. At the present moment people are in a ferment, they are angry and it is likely that large meetings, processions, hartals may increase excitements and even end in violence. Both the people and the Police are liable to err and both may have to suffer for the mistake of either. It is therefore clear that Satyagrahis ought to prevent such untoward results by every means at their disposal. Therein lies their Satyagrah. The nation can only rise higher by reason of the effort to be put forth, the discipline to be undergone and the soul force to be exerted for' the attainment of such an end. When the people have disciplined themselves to remain calm, to curb anger, to handle processions with self-restraint, to bring about hartals without threat or violence, when volunteers are so trained that the people listen to and act according to their instructions, we are in a position to hold meetings, declare hartals and arrange processions. It is enough to see that the just demands of a people so trained become irresistible. The present activity is directed towards the attainment of that end and I urge all to read this leaflet and those who are able to help, to go to the Satyagraha Sabha offices and have their names registered as helpers.

Now let us for a moment examine, not from the Satyagraha but from the ordinary standpoint the proposition that we can by violence bring about Mr. Horniman's early return or accomplish our other objects. I believe that what is true and possible in other countries is not necessarily true and possible in Hindustan. India has from times

immemorial received a different training. In India one cannot recall a time when the whole people were engaged in the use of brute force. It is my belief that India deliberately abandoned universal use of brute force. We have noted the results of violence in the Punjab. Ahmedabad is still suffering. We shall hereafter be able to measure the full dreadful effect of violence. One such effect is the suspension of Civil Disobedience. We ought therefore to consider as erroneous the belief that by violence we can hasten Mr. Horniman's return or gain other objects.

In one of the letters received by me it is argued that Satyagrahis have no right to advise others to refrain from demonstrations etc even if they choose to do so. But we observe at the present moment in Hindustan a vast number of people are desirous of taking part in all Satyagraha activities, other than Civil disobedience. This state of things causes as much anxiety as pleasure. It throws a tremendous responsibility upon Satyagrahis. One of them is this : If the people are interested in Satyagraha and are desirous of experiencing its wonderful results, Satyagrahis have to so act that the people may become trained to participate in the movement in starting accordance with its principles and its fundamental principle is adherence to truth and non-violence to person or property and when the people have accepted this principle the whole work will have a demonstration of the efficacy of Satyagraha.

1st May 1919.

M. K. Gandhi.

Satyagraha Leaflet No. 12.

MAHATMA GANDHI'S MESSAGE

When is Satyagraha going to be resumed ?

We have received the following message from Mahatma Gandhi to day :—

When is Satyagraha going to be resumed ? is the question many have been asking me. There are two answers. One is that Satyagraha has not at all ceased. As long as we practise truth, and ask others to do so so long Satyagraha can never be said to have ceased. And if all practise truth, and refrain from violence to person and property we would immediately get what we want But when all are not prepared to do so, when Satyagrahis are only a handful then we have to devise other methods deducible from Satyagraha. One Such method is Civil disobedience. I have already explained the reason why this civil disobedience has been for the time being suspended. As long as we know that there is every likelihood, bordering on certainty, of rioting and violence following civil disobedience, so long disobedience of laws cannot be regarded as civil disobedience, but it is disobedience that is thoughtless, uncivil, and devoid of truth. Satyagrahis may never commit such disobedience. The resumption of civil disobedience can however be hastened by the Satyagrahis completely fulfilling their duty. My confidence in Satyagrahis has led me to assurance that we shall be fitted for resuming civil disobedience in about two months i.e., if the Rowlatt legislation is not withdrawn in the meantime we may resume civil disobedience by the beginning of July. In provisionally fixing this period I am guided by the following consideration : One of them is that we shall have by that time spread our message throughout the country, viz., that during the pendency of civil disobedience no one, under cover of Satyagraha, or the pretence of helping it, should resort to rioting or violence. It may be hoped that the people being convinced that the true interest of the country will be served by acting in according with the message will preserve peace. And peace thus voluntarily sustained will materially contribute towards India's progress. But it is possible that India may not understand Satyagraha to this extent. In that case there is one more hope of the nonrecurrence of violence, though the condition upon which the hope is based is humiliating for us. It is open to the Satyagrahis however to avoid of this condition. Indeed it becomes their duty to resume Satyagraha under such conditions. The military dispositions that are now going on will naturally ensure non-recurrence of violence that is so detrimental

to the country. The recent outbreaks were all so sudden that the Government were not prepared to cope with them there and then. But the Governmental arrangements are quite likely to be completed in two months' time and breach of public peace will then be well nigh impossible, and therefore, also conscious or unconscious abuse of Satyagraha. Under such a state of things the Satyagrahis may without any fear of disturbance commit civil disobedience and thereby demonstrate that not violence but Satyagraha alone can help us to secure justice.

2nd May 1919.

M. K. Gandhi,

Satyagraha Leaflet No. 13.

Satyagraha Movement MAHATMA GANDHI'S MESSAGE

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

A proper understanding of two things in Satyagraha enables one to solve without effort many doubts. One of them is that a Satyagrahi never does anything out of fear from without. He should fear only God. By bearing this thing in mind, we shall clearly see why we have suspended Civil disobedience, why over Mr. Horniman's deportation we have not declared hartal, not held large meetings and not arranged processions. In so refraining we have not been actuated, if we are true Satyagrahis, by fear, but purely by a sense of duty. The more a Satyagrahi fulfils his duty as such the nearer he brings victory. The other thing to be remembered and which is at the present moment perhaps of greater importance than the first is that a Satyagrahi never desires to reach the goal by harbouring or increasing ill-will or hatred against his opponent. He will look upon him even as a friend, and yet ever resist the wrong done by him without bearing malice towards him. By such conduct worthy of a Satyagrahi, clauses conducing to enmity will decrease and both parties will acknowledge and avoid mistakes. We know the Rowlatt legislation to be altogether bad, but that is no reason for harbouring ill will against the Government. The harbouring of it will in no way enable us the better to assess that evil legislation, or to advance the movement against it. On the contrary, such ill-will can only damage the movement. For, obsessed by it we refuse to understand or weigh the opponent's argument. We thus disable ourselves from producing the necessary impression upon the opponent and to that extent retard victory if we do not make it impossible. We are aware that the questions regarding Turkey etc., have caused greater hurt to our Mahomedan brethren than has been caused to Hindus, Mahomedans and others by the Rowlatt legislation. But they cannot solve their difficulties by ill-will. These difficulties can only be solved by proper deliberation by properly framing and publishing their demands and by firm adherence thereto.—So doing they can enlist the help of Hindus, Parsis, Christians, in fact, the whole world, and thus make their demands irresistible. If we harbour anger, or ill-will against the Government on account of the Rowlatt legislation, or Islamic or other questions, and therefore resort to violence, we shall be powerless even to consolidate Indian opinion, let alone the world's opinion. The gulf between the English and ourselves will widen and we shall be no nearer the goal. Victory attained by violence is tantamount to a defeat, for it is momentary. Then there is increase of ill-will between both the parties and each prepares to give battle to the other. There is no such untoward end to Satyagrah. A Satyagrahi by reason of suffering for his principles draws towards himself universal sympathy and even melts the heart of the so-called enemy. Had we not erred in Ahmedabad and Viramgam. the history of the movement would have been written differently. There would have been no increase of ill-will between the English and ourselves, no military dispositions such as we see about us and yet our determination to get rid of the Rowlatt legislation would have remained just as firm, the movement against it would have gone much further forward, probably by this time it might have been crowned with success, resulting at the same time in a bridging of the gulf between the English and ourselves. It is however never too late to mend: We can retrace our steps. The retracing consists in curbing anger and ill-will against the English and therefore refraining from

violence. As a matter of tact, the mistake in passing the Rowlatt legislation is not of the English nation, nor of the English in India. It is purely of those in authority. Nations are often ignorant of what is done in their names. The powers that be do not make deliberate mistakes, they act as they think fit. That fact however does not cause the people any the less harm and therefore whilst we harbour no ill-will against those in authority we spare no pains in taking effective steps for mending the mistake, but regarding it only as such and no more, we refrain from violence and secure its reversal by self-suffering.

M.K. Gandhi.

3rd May, 1919.

Printed by Rustom N. Vatchaghandy, at
the Sanj Vartaman Press, No. 22, 24, 26
Mint Road, Fort, Bombay.

Satyagraha Leaflet No. 14.

SATYAGRAHA IS IMPOSSIBLE SO LONG AS THERE IS ILL-WILL.

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

We have seen in our last leaflet that the actions of a Satyagrahi should not be prompted by fear from without but by the voice from within, and that a Satyagrahi should not think of attaining his objects by harbouring ill-will towards his opponents but should win him over by his friendliness. I see that many hesitate to accept the second proposition. They argue; 'How can we help being angry with wrongdoers? It is against human nature to do otherwise. How can we separate the wrong from the wrong-doer? How is it possible to direct our anger against the wrong without directing it against the wrong-doer?' A father, far from getting angry with his son, often expresses his disapproval of wrong action by taking suffering on his own person. Only on such mutual conduct is continuance of friendly relations between father and son possible. These relations cease with the ceasing of such conduct. It is our daily lot to go through these experiences and hence the proverb, "Let quarrels perish." We can live in peace and be free from our fearful position only if we apply the domestic law to our relations with the Government. The doubt need not be raised whether the domestic law can at all be extended to our relations with the Government, and whether the law of love does not for its operation require reciprocity. In Satyagraha both the parties need not be Satyagrahis. Where both the parties are Satyagrahis there is no play for Satyagraha, no opportunity for the test of love. Insistence on truth can come into play only when one party practises untruth or injustice. Only then can love be tested. True friendship is put to the test only when one party disregards the obligations of friendship. We stand to lose everything when we are angry against the Government. Mutual distrust and mutual ill-will are thereby augmented. But if we act without in the least being angry with the Government, but also without being cowed down by their armed force, and without submitting to what we believe to be injustice, injustice would of itself be removed and we would easily attain the equality which is our goal. This equality does not depend on our power to answer their brute-force with brute-force, but on our ability to stand our ground without fear of brute-force, and real fearlessness is not possible without love. A clear victory for Satyagraha is impossible so long as there is ill-will. But those who believe themselves to be weak, are incapable of loving. Let then our first act every morning be to make the following resolve for the day: "I shall not fear any one on earth. I shall fear only God; I shall not bear ill-will towards anyone. I shall not submit to injustice from any one. I shall conquer untruth by truth and in resisting untruth I shall put up with all suffering."

M. K. Gandhi,

4th May, 1919.

Printed by Rustom N. Vatchaghandy at
the Sanj Vartaman Press, No. 22, 24, 26
Mint Road, Fort, Bombay.

Satyagraha Leaflet No. 15.

Satyagraha Hartal Next Sunday.

Fasting for 24 Hours and Religious Devotion in every home.

MAHATMA GANDHI'S MESSAGE.

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

Bombay has borne with great calmness the separation of Mr. Horniman. The long sustained calmness observed by Bombay even under unendurable circumstance has demonstrated its capacity for self-restraint. But the discussions at the meetings of the Satyagraha Sabha and Reports of popular discussions show that the minds of the people are by no means appeased. They are desirous of publicly expressing their grief and feelings in some way or other. The desire is and must be irrepressible. The people will never forget what Mr. Horniman has done for them. He has given them a new life, a new hope and there is no doubt that they have remained calm in the hope that an occasion would be provided for them to mark their pure affection for Mr. Horniman. The Satyagraha Sabha last night decided after mature deliberation that next Sunday, 11th instant, should be the day of observance of hartal, fasting for 24 hours reckoning from previous evening, and private religious devotion in every home.

The first suggestion i.e. hartal is applicable to the City of Bombay. In times of unrest such as we are passing through, it does not seem proper to declare hartal in other places. Not to observe it in other places is for the people thereof an act of self-restraint and in the City of Bombay, too, it is to be confined to independent business men. Those who are employed in public or private offices are in no way to suspend business unless they obtain leave. There should be no pressure exerted upon anybody, no force used against any one with a view to induce suspension. For suspension brought about by force is no suspension, for a mind acted upon by force continues to contemplate the act from which it is restrained by force. We are bound not only not to interfere with a man who wants to open a shop or a ghariwalla who wishes to play for hire, but to afford him every protection. I hope that Both men and women in Bombay and elsewhere who have no religious or medical objection will observe the fast and devote the day to religious contemplation and try to understand the true nature of Satyagraha by recalling the illustrations of Satyagraha from their own scriptures. We shall consider hereafter the efficacy of fasting as an aid to national progress, to the development of national ideals and to the attainment of restraint over our passions such as hunger etc. For the time being it is enough that we observe an absolutely voluntary Satyagraha hartal next Sunday in the city of Bombay, we observe a fast everywhere and engage in private religious devotion in a spirit of calmness and love. We shall thereby add to our honour and speed Mr. Horniman's return.

M. K. Gandhi,

5th May, 1919.

Printed by Rustom N. Vatchaghandy at
the Sanj Vertaman Press. Nos. 22, 24,
26, Mint Road, Fort, Bombay.

Satyagraha Leaflet No. 16

Sunday's Hartal, its Religious Spirit

BROTHERS AND SISTERS.

To declare a hartal is no small matter. It requires strong reasons to support it. Let us therefore, examine the justification for it. The citizens of Bombay are impatient to give some outward evidence of their deep affection for Mr. Horniman. They can provide it in a striking manner by means of hartal. Everybody's feelings will be tested thereby. Moreover, hartal is an ancient Indian institution for expressing national sorrow and we can therefore demonstrate through hartal our grief over the deportation and hartal is the best method of marking our strong disapproval of the action of the Government. It is a means, more powerful than monster meetings

of expressing national opinion. Thus we serve three purposes by hartal and all of them are so great that we do not expose ourselves to the charge of exaggeration in declaring hartal.

This much is clear that none of the purposes above named will be served if suspension of business is brought about through fear of public opprobrium or physical pressure. If suspension were to be brought about by terrorism and if Mr. Horniman came to know it, he could not but be displeased and grieved by the knowledge, and such artificial hartal would fail to produce any effect upon the Government. Hartal forcibly brought about cannot be considered Satyagrahi hartal. In any thing Satyagrahi there should be purity of motive, means and end. I therefore hope that no man or woman who is unwilling to suspend business will in any way be interfered with, but that he or she will be guaranteed protection from any harm whatsoever. I would far rather wish that people did not suspend business on Sunday in the city of Bombay and that the organisers were exposed to ridicule than that force was used upon a single person in order to make him suspend business. In order to avoid all risk of commotion in Bombay on Sunday, the idea of holding public meetings has been discountenanced and all have been advised to remain indoors. As all Satyagraha activity should be guided by the religious spirit, I have suggested that we should fast for twenty four hours and devote the day to religious contemplation, and it is to be hoped that all the members of families including children and servants will take part in the religious observance. Hindus may have Bhagwadgita read to them. It takes four hours to read through it with clear pronunciation and other Hindu religious books might be read in addition or in place of it. The Mahomedans and others may have their own scriptures read to them. It will be a proper way of spending the day to read the stories of great Satyagrahis such as Prahlad, Harishchandra, Mirabai, Imams Hasan and Hoosein, Socrates and others. It will be opportune also to explain to family gatherings Mr. Horniman's title to our affection. The chief thing to be remembered is that we may not fritter away next Sunday in playing cards, Chowpat, gambling or in sheer laziness, but that it should be so spent as to make us better men and women for national service. Better placed and well-to do families will, I hope, invite such of their neighbours as may be poor, solitary or ignorant, to participate in the religious devotion. A brotherly spirit is cultivated not by words but only by deeds.

Mr. Motilal Dahyabhai Zaveri of Kalbadevi Road has just dropped in and informed me that before the news of the declaration of hartal next Sunday, he had issued invitations for a wedding party on that day. He also said there were many such parties to be given on the same day. Mr. Motilal was most anxious that he and his friends should take part in the observance. I venture to advise that so far as the religious part of the wedding ceremonial was concerned, it should be gone through without disturbance, but that dinner parties and other rejoicings might be postponed to Monday. His patriotic affection for Mr. Horniman was such that he immediately accepted the advice and I tender it for the acceptance of those who may be similarly situated.

6th May, 1919.

M. K. Gandhi.

Printed by Rustom N. Vatchaghandy at
the Sanj Veraman Press, Nos. 22-24-26,
Mint Road, Fort, Bombay.

Satyagraha Leaflet No. 17

Sunday's Hartal And Fasting

MAHATMA GANDHI'S MESSAGE

Brothers and Sisters,

By hartal, fasting and religious devotion on Sunday next the people proposed to demonstrate to the Government in terms of Satyagraha that it is not possible for them to bring about true contentment by force of arms. So long as the Rowlatt legislation is not withdrawn, so long as the Government continue to suppress men like Mr. Horniman who carry on innocent agitations against such acts of the Government not

only is true contentment impossible, out discontent must increase. All the world a true peace depends not upon gunpowder but upon pure justice. When Government perpetrate injustice and fortify it by the use of arms, such acts are a sign of anger and they add injustice to injustice. If people also become angry by reason of such acts on the part of Government they resort to violence and the result is bad for both, mutual ill-will increases. But whenever people regard particular acts of Government as unjust and express their strong dis-approval by self-suffering. Government cannot help granting redress. This is the way of Satyagraha and Unpeople of Bombay will have an opportunity on Sunday next of giving expression in a clean manner to such disapproval.

A hartal brought about voluntarily and without pressure is a powerful means of showing popular disapproval, but fasting is even more so. When people fast in a religious spirit and thus demonstrate their grief before God it receives a certain response. Hardest hearts are impressed by it. Fasting is regarded by all religions as a great discipline. Those who voluntarily fast become gentle and purified by it. A pure fast is a very powerful prayer. It is no small thing for lakhs of people voluntarily to abstain from food and such a fast is a Satyagrahi fast. It ennobles individuals and nations. In it there should be no intention of exercising undue pressure upon the Government. But we do observe that like so many other good acts this one of fasting too is sometimes abused. In India we often see beggars threatening to fast, fasting, or pretending to fast, until they receive what they ask for. This is duragrahi fasting and the person so fasting degrades himself and it will be the proper thing to let such people fast. It is false kindness to give anything under pressure of such fasting. If it were to be otherwise, fasting may be resorted to even for securing unlawful demands. Where it is a question of determining the justice or otherwise of a particular act there is no room for any other force but that of a reason regulated by the voice of conscience. The coming fast is thus in no way to be interpreted as designed to put pressure upon the Government.

M. K. Gandhi.

7th May, 1919.

Printed by R. N. Vatchaghandy at the Sanj Vartman Press. Nos. 22. 24. 26.
Mint Road, Fort, Bombay.

Satyagraha Leaflet No. 18

Sunday's Hartal

TRUE MEANING OF BHAGWAD GITA'S TEACHINGS

Brothers and Sisters,

Even the "Times of India" which is ordinarily regarded as an impartial newspaper has seen fit to ridicule the forthcoming hartal and to distrust the religious character of fasting. It is our duty patiently to endure the ridicule and distrust. We can turn both into repentance by our own action i.e. by observing the hartal in a Satyagrahi spirit and by true religious devotion. But the more grievous criticism of this well-known newspaper consists in misinterpreting our calmness and inferring from it that we have felt no grief over Mr. Horniman's separation. By observing full hartal on Sunday in a quiet manner and by devoting the day to sincere religious contemplation, we can demonstrate the mistake made by the "Times of India."

I shall now endeavour to consider in all humility a doubt raised by some Hindu friends regarding the meaning of the Bhagwad Gita. They say that in the Bhagwad Gita Sri Krishna has encouraged Arjun to slay his relations and they therefore argue that there is warrant in that work for violence and that there is no Satyagraha in it. Now the Bhagwad Gita is not a Historical work, it is great religious book.

summing up the teaching of all religions. The poet has seized the occasion of the War between the Pandawas and the Kauravas on the field of Kurukshetra for drawing attention to the war going on in our bodies between the forces of Good (Pandavas) and the forces of Evil (Kauravas) and has shown that the latter should be destroyed and there should be no remissness in carrying on the battle against the force of Evil, mistaking them through ignorance for force of Good. In Islam, Christianity, Judaism, it is a war between God and Satan, in Zoroastrianism between Aurmazd and Ahriman. To confuse the description of this universally acknowledged spiritual war with a momentary world strife is to call holy unholy. We, who are saturated with the teachings of the Bhagwad Gita but who do not pretend to any special spiritual qualifications, do not draw our sword against our relations when even they perpetrate an injustice but we win them over by our affection for them. If the physical interpretation alluded to of the Bhagwad Gita be correct, we sin against it in not inflicting physical punishment upon our relatives who we consider to have done us injustice. Everywhere in that Divine Song we note the following advice given to Arjun : " Fight. without anger, conquer the two great enemies desire and anger; be the same to friend and foe physical objects cause pleasure and pain, they are fleeting; endure them." That one cannot strike down an adversary without anger is universal experience. Only an Arjun who destroys the devil within him can live without attachment It was Ramdas brought up in the teaching of the Bhagwad Gita who not only vendured the lashes of a wrong doer but actually produced for him a Jageer. Narsinh Mehta the first poet of Gujarat and the prince among Bhaktas was natured in the Bhagwad Gita teaching. He conquered his enemies only by love and has given through one single poem of a matchless beauty the great text of their conduct to his fellow Vaishnavas. That encourage ment from violence can be deduced to from the Bhagwad Gita demonstrates the dead-liness of Kaliyuga. It is only too true that we often find an echo of our sentiments in what we read and see. If it is true that God made men in his own image it is equally true that man makes God also in his own image. I have found nothing but love in every page of the Gita and I hope and pray that every one will have similar experience of Sunday.

M. K. Gandhi.

8th May, 1919.

Printed by R. N. Vatchaghandy at the Sanj Vartman Press, Nos. 22, 24, 26, Mint Road, Fort, Bombay.

Leaflet No. 19

The Sanj Vartaman, 9th May 19 .

Brothers and Sisters,

Bombay will be tested on Sunday. To observe hartal, fast, religious contemplation are easy enough for sensible people. Bombay will prove her sensibility on Sunday. In England, more especially in Scotland, business is suspended every Sunday for religious reasons. Trains too are run most sparingly. Even in India public offices are closed on Sunday. There would therefore, generally, be no occasion of anxiety over hartal. There is just a little anxiety about our hartal because of the present unrest and because ours is intended to be an expression of our grief and respect. From the news received from different quarters and from the impresson gathered from meetings that have been held to explain the reasons for the Sunday observance there is every reason to hope that Bombay will do credit to herself and India by observing perfect calm on Sunday.

It is to be wished that in every mosque, church and temple and in every assembly visitors will be held to suspend business and advised to fast, and devote the day in religious contemplation and observe peace.

I have stated in the first leaflet on the hartal that employees may only suspend work on receiving permission from their employers. But those who are working in hospitals, or in connection with the sanitation of the town, dock labourers handling the grain to be despatched to famine areas ought not to suspend work at all. In a Satyagrahi hartal we are bound to give the first place to public weal, more especially the requirements of the poor. And when we use the sense of discrimination fully in all our activities our difficulties will disappear even as the mist before the morning sun.

M. K. Gandhi.

9th May 1919.

Leaflet No. 20

Sanj Vartman: 10th May 1919

Sunday's Hartal

HATRED KILLS—LOVE EVER DIES

Brothers and Sisters,

My one request to Hindus, Mahomedans, Parsis, Christians and Jews is that by our conduct to-morrow we may demonstrate to the Government our absolutely harmless intentions and show that no body in Bombay wishes to commit a breach of the peace, and further show that Bombay is capable of discharging heavy responsibilities with patent calmness. We should at the same time demonstrate that we are capable of acting in perfect unity and determined to secure a fulfilment of our cherished will. But we do not desire to obtain justice by harbouring ill will against the Government but by good will. Hatred ever kills. Love ever dies. Such is the vast difference between the two. What is obtained by love is retained for all time. What is obtained by Hatred, proves a burden in reality, for it increases Hatred. The duty of human beings is to diminish Hatred and to promote Love. I pray that Bombay will observe full hartal, fast and pray and do all this in a living spirit.

M. K. Gandhi.

10th May, 1919.

Satyagraha Leaflet No. 21

Peaceful Hartal—Bombay's Worthy Example

Brothers and Sisters,

Bombay covered itself with glory by preserving perfect calm, and the citizens have shown by their peaceful hartal they have understood a portion of Satyagraha. They have done true honour to Mr. Horniman and demonstrated to Government that they disapprove of his deportation. Bombay has set a worthy example to the whole of India. It is a matter of pride for Bombay, from the Satyagraha standpoint, that some shops were open, This fact proved the voluntary character of the hartal. Many causes contributed to the success of this remarkable demonstration, but the chief among them was the performance of their duty by volunteers under Mr. Vithaldas Jerajani. They had commenced operations from the commencement of the talk of hartal, and we had the results of their efforts yesterday. Our thanks are due also to the police. If aggressive military dispositions had been made, the people would have become excited and the task of preserving peace would have been much more difficult.

A nation enjoying or desiring to enjoy Swaraj must possess the following four attributes :—

- (1) The Police should be the least needed for self-protection and there should be concord between them and the people ;
- (2) Jails should be the least patronised;
- (3) The Hospitals should have few cases ; and
- (4) The law courts should have the least work.

Where people do violence, commit crimes, and not exercising control over their senses and committing a breach of nature's laws become diseased and engage in perpetual quarrels resulting in law-suits, they are not free but in bondage. We shall learn the first chapter of Swaraj and Liberty when India adopts the example of Bombay as a permanent way of life.

M. K. Gandhi,

12th May 1919.

Not for publications

**Institutions for Satyagraha in terms and in virtue of the resolution Of the Committee of the Sabha
passed on the 15th June 1919.**

(Translated from Gujarati)

1. As it is or should be the belief of Satyagrahi's that those are the best fitted for offering Civil Disobedience who are the most free from anger, untruth and ill-will or hatred and as I consider myself to be from this point of view the best fitted amongst the Satyagrahis I have decided that I should be the first to offer Civil Disobedience.

2. The manner in which I propose to offer Civil Disobedience about the beginning of July is by disobeying the orders against me of internment and externment.

3. I firmly believe that our victory lies in the nation preserving perfect peace and equanimity at the time after and during my incarceration. Such preservation will be the best way of bringing about the withdrawal of the Rowlatt legislation.

4. I therefore advise that upon my incarceration there should be no demonstration of any kind whatsoever, no hartal and no mass meetings.

5. I advise that Civil Disobedience by the others be not resumed at least for one month after the day of my incarceration as distinguished from my arrest or some such final act on the part of the Government.

6. This month should be treated as one of discipline and preparation for Civil Disobedience and assuming that no disturbances take place after my incarceration it should be devoted to the following constructive programme :—

(a) The preaching of the cardinal principles of the doctrine of Satyagraha namely the necessity of strictest adherence to Truth and Ahinsa and the duty of Civil Disobedience as the natural corollary and the equally paramount duty of refraining from criminal disobedience and with this end in view literature such as Thoreau's civil Disobedience, Hind Swaraj, Defence of Socrates by me, Tolstoy's "Letter to Russian Liberals " and Ruskin's " Unto this last" should be widely distributed. It is true that we sold some of this literature as part of the plan of actual Civil Disobedience. But now we have the knowledge that the Government have been advised that reprints and the sale of prohibited literature is not an offence except in so far as such or any literature may be covered by section 124A. We would therefore now sell this literature as part of our propaganda but not as an act rendering us liable to penalty for breach of any law.

(b) Propaganda of Swadeshi should be taken upon an intensive and extensive scale. It should cover so far as possible the whole of India. Propaganda should be free from all bitterness and from even a suspicion of boycott, Swadeshi being regarded as an economic political and even religious necessity for all time. And this propaganda should include in an equal degree both the presentation of the different pledges to the public for acceptance and activity for the new production of cotton cloth principally by the encouragement of hand spinning and weaving even though it may be for the time being at a loss.

(c) The advocating of the Hindu-Moslem unity not by means of public speeches but by concrete acts of help kindness on the part of Hindus towards Mohamadans and on the part of the latter towards the former. Hindus would therefore, naturally give enthusiastic support to the Mohamadans in their just claims regarding the retention of Turkey as a Mohamadan Sovereign state with full regard for their feelings as to the holy places and the Khaliphate.

(d) Meetings should be held to pass resolutions praying for the repeal of the Rowlatt legislation, the appointment of an independent impartial committee of enquiry with the power to enquire into the causes of the Punjab disturbances, the administration of Martial Law and to revise the sentences passed by the Punjab Martial Law Tribunal the release of Babu Kalinath Roy without the necessity of an enquiry and cancellation of the order of deportation against Mr. Horniman.

7. If full peace is observed for one month as per paragraph 3 and it has been ascertained that the people have understood the doctrine of Satyagraha, time will have arrived for offering further Civil Disobedience assuming of course that the Rowlatt legislation has not been repealed.

8. Civil Disobedience may then be offered by those who may be selected by the leaders appointed in paragraph 15. I however advise that not more than two at a time should offer Civil Disobedience from any one centre nor should Civil Disobedience be commenced simultaneously at all the centres. But the effect of resumption of Civil Disobedience in one or more centres on the public mind should be watched before resuming it in the other centres.

9. The recommending of the laws for Civil Disobedience is a most difficult task. In the present state of the country when it is highly debatable whether the spirit of Civil Disobedience replacing and entirely superseding Criminal Disobedience has been understood by the masses, I am unable to advise Civil Disobedience of the Revenue laws i.e., the salt tax, land tax and the forest laws. I also feel that the Satyagrahis may not disobey any orders issued by the Government regarding processions and mass meetings.

10. The income tax is a feasible proposition on the ground of safety from any violent disturbance but I am more than doubtful as to any response being made by those who pay the income tax, Nevertheless if any Satyagrahi desires to offer Satyagraha by not paying this tax, he may do so at his own cost with the permission of his leader. There remain therefore the political laws, and only the Press Act and other laws regarding printing lend themselves to Civil Disobedience but there also the only possible manner of civil breach is the establishing of unlicensed printing presses. And it is open to a satyagrahi desirous of establishing an unlicensed press or of issuing an unlicensed news paper, to do so at his own cost with the permission of his leader.

11. I can therefore only advise that individual Satyagrahis when they receive orders of internment or orders prohibiting them from speaking or publishing any matter which the Government may consider to be obnoxious but which from the Satyagraha standpoint may be flawless such orders should be disregarded.

12. It may be that the Government may not view with indifference the propaganda of the doctrine of Civil Disobedience or the distribution of reprints of prohibited literature although such literature from the moral i.e., Satyagraha stand point are perfectly innocuous. In that event Civil Disobedience is offered in the easiest and most dignified way. It is open however to the leaders to add to the ways above mentioned by thinking out other laws which may have escaped my notice.

But it will be no fault in them to confine themselves to the limits mentioned in these paragraphs but it would be considered a grave indiscretion on their part if they select laws which do not hold proper matter for Civil Disobedience or a civil breach of which is likely to lead to a criminal breach.

13. In the event of a prosecution for Civil Disobedience, a Satyagrahi, if he has committed it should plead guilty, offer no defence and invite the severest penalty. If he is falsely charged with Civil Disobedience he should make that statement but not enter upon any further defence and accept the penalty he receives. If a Satyagrahi is prosecuted for criminal breach as for instance for having actually uttered sedition or incited to sedition he should make a statement denying the guilt and producing his witnesses. It is open to him also to engage a lawyer if he wishes to, but it is no part of the duty of the Sabha or of Co-satyagrahis to find funds for engaging lawyers, as the essence of Satyagraha lies in inviting penalty for deliberate Civil Disobedience and in accepting penalty where one is falsely charged with criminal disobedience because a Satyagrahi is indifferent to the pain of imprisonment. He glories in it when it is self-invited and resigns to it when a false and malicious charge has been brought against him. That he may by not making effort to get the best lawyer possible, be found guilty not only by the court but be considered such by the public should not concern a Satyagrahi. The voice of a clear disciplined conscience is the final arbiter for him.

14. I have come to the conclusion that it is better to divide the Bombay Presidency into so many independent self sustained centres, each seeking co-operation with and advice from the rest but none being under the orders of any, and I select Bombay, Surat, Broach, Nadiad and Ahmedabad as such centres. I make no selection in the other presidencies for the Bombay Sabha's jurisdiction is limited only to that presidency and the resolutions giving me extensive powers can refer only to this Presidency.

15. I therefore propose to give separate brief instructions using this as a basis to be adopted by the centres outside the presidency. The centres appointed under this paragraph will be responsible each for its own district, for instance Nadiad for the whole of Kaira. For Bombay I appoint Mrs. Naidu if she has returned in time, Messrs. Umar Sobhani, Shankerlal G. Banker and I. K. Yagnik if he can be spared from Ahmedabad, successively as leaders. In Surat Messrs. Dayalji Nanubhai Desai and Kalyanji Vithalbhai Mehta. In Broach Mr. Haribhai Javerbhai Amin. In Nadiad Messrs. Foolchand Bapooji Shah and Mohanlal K. Pandya. In Ahmedabad Messrs. Vallabhai J. Patel, Balwantrao Narasingh Prasad Kanuga, Indulal Kannaiyalal Yajnik all successively leaders as in Bombay. I advise the leaders to form small committees and for their guidance consult the feelings of such committees and other fellow Satyagrahis.

16. All along I have assumed that there will be no disturbance. If however the worst happens and there is a disturbance every Satyagrahi living in the disturbed centre will be expected to lose his life in preventing loss of other lives whether English or Indian. He will at the same peril prevent destruction of property and if he thought there was shooting of innocent men he will offer himself also to be shot.

17. Wherever there are individual Satyagrahis whether within the presidency or outside who either for want of ability, confidence in themselves or otherwise are unable to remain in their respective places, it is open to them to go preferably to Bombay or to some other active centre and work under the direction of the leader acting for the time being.

18. The above instructions are for general guidance but in emergencies every leader is free to depart from them at his own risk. Read paragraph II in this connection.

19. Satyagraha in action is in some respects like physical warfare. The laws of discipline for instance are mostly common to Satyagraha (Spiritual) warfare and the physical warfare. Therefore a Satyagrahi is expected to render implicit obedience to the instructions of the leader and is not to reason why. He must obey instructions

first and then question the leader as to the propriety of a particular action but unlike as in physical warfare a Satyagrahi does retain his final independence in vital matters and then on occasions of such vital difference as a true Satyagrahi yielding to the leader the same right of independent Judgment will without irritation place his resignation in his hands. But it should be remembered that in the vast majority of cases difference arise not on vital matters but on trifles. A Satyagrahi therefore will not mistake the voice of Satan for the voice of conscience and dignify trifles into things of the essence and then precipitate differences. My experience is that it is only he who has obeyed in nine hundred and ninety nine things finds the thousandth perhaps to be a legitimate matter for difference. With him every one else is first, himself last.

M. K. Gandhi,

Bombay, 30th June 1919.

No. 2689/47 of 1919

Spl-Magte 21/1

To :

The Commissioner of Police, Bombay.

Sir,

I have the honour to forward the accompanying witness Summons in duplicate and to request that you will be so good as to cause the same to be served on the person named in the margin who is said to be residing in Bombay and return the original duly signed by him on or before the 28th instant.

M. K. G

I have the honour
to be, Sir,
Your most obedient Servant,
(Signed)
Presidency Magistrate, Bombay.

Presidency Magistrate's Court :
Bombay, 24th May 1919.

Very Urgent
No. of 19 .

Forwarded to the Superintendent of Police, C. I. D., for service and return.

(Signed)
for Commissioner of Police,
24th August

Returned duly served,

(Signed) (Cawasji),

No.03189/N 106 of 27th May 1919.

Superintendent, C. I. D.

Times of India, 29th May 1919.

Mr. Gandhi gives Evidence.

Page :9

At the Esplanade Police Court, Bombay on Wednesday, before Mr. A. H. S. Aston, Chief Presidency Magistrate, Mr. M. K. Gandhi was examined on Commission as

a witness in the case in which Lala Harkishanlal, Rambhai Dutt Chowdhary, and others are being tried at Lahore on charges of conspiracy etc., under section 121, 124 and 124-A of the Indian Penal Code.

Mr. Gandhi said " he was fifty years old and was a farmer by occupation. He lived at Sabarmati, Ahmedabad. It was not true that he was in anyway concerned with the alleged conspiracy. He thought he had met Pandit Rambhaj Dutt Chowdhary once or twice in his life. That was only on the occasion of the Kumbha Mela at Haradwar about two years ago. Chowdhary wrote to him once almost after the Kumbha Mela at Haradwar inviting him to go to the Punjab, and if he did so, offering him his hospitality. It was not true that he and Chowdhary met each other on the 1st January 1919. To his knowledge the disturbances in the Punjab had nothing to do with his Satyagraha Movement.

Bombay, May 23,

Dear Mr. Griffith,

Could you please lend me, or procure for me a loan of the Regulations framed under the Defence of India Act, today ? I will return those towards evening.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) M. K. GANDHI

Bombay 1, May 23.

Dear Mr. Griffith,

Many thanks for the great pains you have taken to procure the D. I. Regulation for me.

I received your message that you would like to see me tomorrow. I am however going to Ahmedabad under appointment by to-night's mail. I could see you anytime today between 4-30 and 5 or on Tuesday at anytime you like, for I return that day morning.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) M. K. GANDHI,

Laburman Road, Bombay, May 25.

Dear Mr. Griffith,

Thanks for your note. Tuesday between 2 to 4 p.m. will suit me alright. I return herewith ' legislation and orders relating to the War' containing the D. I. Regulations.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) M. K. GANDHI,

EXTRACTS FROM ' BOMBAY CHRONICLE' SATYAGRAHA SABHA

The Bombay Chronicle, dated 1st March 1919 Page 9, Col. 3 & 4

PASSIVE RESISTANCE AGAINST THE BLACK BILLS

Mr. Gandhi Leads the Movement

Pledge to disobey Laws

Passive Resistance or Satyagraha against the Rowlatt Bills was inaugurated at a meeting held at the Ashram of Mahatma Gandhi at Ahmedabad on Monday. Below we publish the Satyagraha Vow, with the first lists of signatories in Bombay and Ahmedabad and Mr. Gandhi's manifesto.

The Satyagraha Vow

Being conscientiously of opinion that the Bills known as the Indian Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill No. 1 of 1919 and the Criminal Law (Emergency Powers) Bill No. 11 of 1919 are unjust subversive of the principles of liberty and justice, and destructive of the elementary rights of individuals on which the safety of the community, as a whole, and the State itself is based, we solemnly affirm that, in the event of these bills becoming law and until they are withdrawn, we shall refuse civilly to obey these laws and such other laws as a Committee to be hereafter appointed may think fit, and we further affirm that in this struggle we will faithfully follow truth and refrain from violence to life, person or property.

Mr. GANDHI'S MANIFESTO

To The Editor of "The Chronicle".

Sir,

I enclose herewith the Satyagraha pledge regarding the Rowlatt Bills. The step taken is probably the most momentous in the history of India. I give my assurance that it has not been hastily taken. Personally I have passed many a sleepless night over it. I have endeavoured duly to appreciate Government's position but I have been unable to find any justification for the extraordinary bills. I have read the Rowlatt Committee's report. I have gone through its narrative with admiration. Its reading has driven me to conclusions just the opposite of the Committee's. I should conclude from the Reports that secret violence is confined to isolated and very small parts of India, and to a microscopic body of people. The existence of such men is truly a danger to Society. But the passing of the Bills, designed to affect the whole of India and its people and arming the Government with powers out of all proportion to the situation sought to be dealt with, is a greater danger. The Committee utterly ignores the historical fact that the millions in India are by nature the gentlest on earth.

Now look at the setting of the Bills. Their introduction is accompanied by certain assurances given by the Viceroy, regarding the civil service and the British commercial interests. Many of us are filled with the greatest misgivings about the Viceregal utterance. I frankly confess I do not understand its full scope and intention. If it means that the civil service and the British commercial interests are to be held superior to those of India and its political and commercial requirements, no Indian can accept the doctrine. It can but end in a fratricidal struggle within the Empire. Reforms may or may not come. The need of the moment is a proper and just understanding upon the vital issue. No tinkering with it will produce real satisfaction. Let the great Civil Service corporation understand that it can remain in India only as its trustee and servant, not in name but in deed, and let the British commercial houses understand that they can remain in India only to

supplement her requirements and not to destroy indigenous art, trade and manufacture ; and you have two measures to replace the Rowlatt Bills. They, I promise will successfully deal with any conspiracy against the state.

Sir George Lowndes simply added fuel to the fire when he flouted public opinion. He has forgotten his Indian History or he would have known that the Government he represents has, before now, surrendered its own considered opinion to the force of public opinion.

It will be now easy to see why I consider the Bills to be an unmistakable symptom of a deep-seated disease in the Governing body. It needs therefore to be drastically treated. Subterranean violence will be the remedy applied by impetuous, hot-headed youths who will have grown impatient of the spirit under-lying the Bills and the circumstances attending their introduction. The Bills must intensify the hatred and ill-will against the State, of which the deeds of violence are undoubtedly an evidence. The Indian Covenanters by their determination to undergo every form of suffering make an irresistible appeal to the Government towards which they bear no ill-will and provide to the believers in the efficiency of violence, as a means of securing redress of grievances, with an infallible remedy, and withal a remedy that blesses those that use it and also those against whom it is used. If the covenanters know the use of this remedy, I fear no ill from it, I have no business to doubt their ability. They must ascertain whether the disease is sufficiently great to justify the strong remedy and whether all milder ones have been tried. They have convinced themselves that the disease is serious enough, and that milder measures have utterly failed. The rest lies in the lap of the gods. I am yours, etc.

M. K. Gandhi,

The Bombay Chronicle, dated 3rd March 1919

Page 9. Col. 3 & 4.

PASSIVE RESISTANCE AGAINST THE BLACK BILLS

Mr. Gandhi Leads the Movement

Pledge to Disobey Laws

Passive Resistance or Satyagraha against the Rowlatt Bills was inaugurated at a meeting held at the Ashram, of Mahatma Gandhi at Ahmedabad on Monday. Below we publish the Satyagraha Vow with the first lists of signatories in Bombay and Ahmedabad.

The Satyagraha Vow

Being conscientiously of opinion that the Bills known as the Indian Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill No. 1 of 1919 and the Criminal Law (Emergency Powers) Bill No. 11 of 1919, are unjust, subversive of the principles of liberty and justice, and destructive of the elementary rights of individuals on which the safety of the community, as a whole, and the State itself is based, we solemnly affirm that, in the event of these Bills becoming law and until they are withdrawn, we shall refuse civilly to obey these laws and such other laws as a Committee to be hereafter appointed may think fit, and we further affirm that in this struggle we will faithfully follow truth and refrain from violence to life, person or property.

Bombay Chronicle.

Dated 3rd March 1919.

Page 9. Col. 3&4

SATYAGRAHA SABHA.

At a meeting of the signatories to the Satyagraha Pledge held on Saturday. The following Executive Committee was appointed :—

President:—Mahatma Gandhi. Vice President:—Mr. B. G. Horniman.

Members of the Committee

1. Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas.
 2. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu.
 3. Dr. Erulker.
 4. Mr. M. Subedar.
 5. Mr. L. R. Tairsee.
 6. Mr. Azad.
 7. Dr. Welker.
 8. Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta.
 9. Mr. L. G. Khare.
 10. Mr. V. A. Desai.
 11. Mrs. Awantikabai Gokhale.
 12. Mr. Chunilal Ujamsi.
 13. Mr. R. N. Mandlik,
 14. Mr. Jethmal Narandas.
 15. Mr. Hansraj P. Thakersey.
 16. Mr. Vithaldas V. Jerajani.
- with power to add,

Secretaries

Dr. Sathaye,
Mr. Shankerlal Banker,
Mr. Umar Sabani.



The Bombay Chronicle

Dated 4th March 1919.

Page 8. Cols. 3 & 4.

PASSIVE RESISTANCE AGAINST THE BLACK BILLS

MRS. BESANT JOINS THE MOVEMENT

Pledge to Disobey Laws

Passive Resistance or Satyagraha against the Rowlatt Bills was inaugurated at a meeting held at the Ashram of Mahatma Gandhi at Ahmedabad on Monday. Below we publish the Satyagraha Vow, with the first lists of signatories in Bombay and Ahmedabad. Mrs. Besant telegraphed yesterday announcing that she had signed the Satyagraha Vow of passive resistance against the Rowlatt Bills. In view of the fact, however, that no committee has as yet been formed in Madras she is not committed to the other part of the pledge.

SATYAGRAHA SABHA

At a meeting of the Executive Committee held on the 2nd March, Sub-Committees were appointed for collecting funds and carrying out the propaganda work. Messrs. L. R. Thairsey and Hansraj Pragjee Thakersey, were elected Hon. Tresurers and the following names were added on the Executive Committee :—

Mr. P. K. Telang.
Dr. C. M. Desai.
Mr. Kanji Dwarkadas.

The Bombay Chronicle

Dated 5th March 1919.
Page 7 Cols. 3 & 4.

SATYAGRAHA SABHA

Offices of the Satyagraha Sabha have been opened at 251, Hornby Road. Fort, and the Public are requested to address all letters and enquiries to the Hon. Secretaries at the above address. The Office hours will be from 12 a.m. (S.T.) to 6-30 p.m. (S.T.).

The Bombay Chronicle Dated 8th March 1919. Page 9. Cols. 5 & 6.

PASSIVE RESISTANCE AGAINST THE BLACK BILLS

The Total number of signatories to the Satyagraha Pledge stood yesterday at 292, of whom 211 are from Bombay and 81 from the mofussil.

The Bombay Chronicle.

Dated 11th March 1919.
Page 8. Cols. 3 & 4.

LATEST NUMBER OF SIGNATORIES TO SATYAGRAHA PLEDGE

At the Satyagraha Sabha, Bombay, the total number of signatories stood yesterday at 468 out of whom 345 are from Bombay and 123 from mofussil. This does not include the Karachi number.

The Bombay Chronicle

Dated 12th March 1919.
Page 10, Col. 1 & Col. 3 & 4.

SATYAGRAHA VOW

WHAT IT MEANS.

Instructions to Volunteers.

The following instructions to Satyagraha volunteers have been issued by the Committee of the Sabha to be strictly followed in taking signatures

Special Instructions.

Volunteers shall read and explain the Satyagraha pledge to every intending signatory before taking his signature to the vow. The pledge is in three parts: The first lays down the objects of the pledge. It declares that the signatories are of opinion that the Rowlatt Bills are " unjust, subversive of the principles of liberty and justice, and destructive of the elementary rights of individuals." In order to be able to make this statement one must fully understand the Rowlatt Bills, hence it is the duty of the volunteers to explain the Bills clearly to the intending signatory.

The vow forms the second part of the pledge. Here the signatory solemnly affirms that he will refuse civilly to disobey certain laws. Volunteers must explain to the signatory the full significance of the word " civilly". For instance, to break moral laws is not civil disobedience. Nor is it civil disobedience to be discourteous to officials with whom one may have to deal while disobeying laws. On the other hand the possession and distribution to the public of literature prescribed by Government and which one sincerely believes to be harmless, would be civil disobedience. Volunteers must explain to the would be signatory with the help of such illustrations the full significance of the pledge.

Volunteers must explain to every intending signatory that he must be prepared to bear every kind of suffering and to sacrifice, if necessary, both his person and property. He should also be made to understand that he must be prepared to carry on the struggle single handed even if left alone. The volunteer must accept the signature only after satisfying himself that the signatory is prepared to take all these risks.

The third part of the pledge declares that the Satyagrahi will during the struggle fearlessly adhere to truth and " Ahinsa"; for instance he must not misrepresent any thing or hurt anybody's feelings. Volunteers must urge upon people necessity of fully realising the grave responsibility of adhering to truth and " Ahinsa " before signing the pledge. Volunteers must not speak of things they do not understand and must not hold out false hopes to anybody. If they find themselves unable to explain anything, they must consult the committee or refer the would-be signatory to it. Ahinsa includes " Advasha ". Volunteers therefore must never resort to unfair criticism of the movement. If in performing their duties they are obstructed by the police or others, they must not lose their temper but must courteously explain to those opposing them, their (volunteers) duty and their determination under any circumstances to perform the same.

General Instructions

1. Every volunteer taking signatures has to remember that a single intelligent recruit to Satyagraha is worth a hundred signatories who have not realised their responsibility. Volunteers must therefore never aim at merely increasing the number of signatories.

2. The volunteer shall have carefully read and understood the summary of the Rowlatt Bills published by the Sabha and must explain the same to such would-be signatories as have not read the bills or the summary.

3. In explaining the pledge the volunteer must lay due emphasis upon the fact that the real strength, the true test of the Satyagraha, lies in his capacity to bear pain and must warn the signatory that resort to Satyagraha may lead to loss of personal liberty and property and ask him to sign the pledge only if he is prepared for these sacrifices. If the volunteer is then convinced that the would-be signatory has made up his mind he will take his signature.

4. Volunteers must not accept the signatures of persons under 18 and students. And even in the case of those over 18 he must make sure that the signatory has decided after careful consideration. Volunteers must not induce persons to sign; upon whose earnings their families are solely dependent for their maintenance.

5. After taking the signature, the volunteer must himself take down the designation and full address of the signatory in neat and legible handwriting. If the signature is not legible the volunteers should copy it down neatly. He must note the date on which the signature is taken.

6. The volunteer must attest every signature.

APPEAL TO NON-OFFICIAL INDIAN MEMBERS.

The following telegram was sent to the Hon. Mr. V. J. Patel, the Hon. Sir Dinshaw Wacha, and the Hon. Mr. Jinnah :—

"Association of non-official Indian Members of Bombay Legislative Council unanimously resolved at their meeting to-day requesting you to express emphatic protest against Rowlatt Bills. Please read this telegram at Council meeting-Gokuldas Parekh, Chairman."

LATEST NUMBER OF SIGNATORIES TO SATYAGRAHA PLEDGE.

At the Satyagraha Sabha Bombay, the total number of signatories to the Satyagraha pledge stands at 507, out of whom 361 are from Bombay and 146 from mofussil.

The Bombay Chronicle.

Dated 13th March 1919.

LATEST SIGNATORIES TO SATYAGRAHA PLEDGE.

At the Satyagraha Sabha, Bombay the total signatories to the Satyagraha pledge stands at 531, out of whom 382 are from Bombay and 149 from mofussil.

The Bombay Chronicle

Dated 13th March 1919.

Page 8. Col. 6.

Mr. Gandhi in Allahabad.

EXORTATION TO SIGN THE SATYAGRAHA.

(Associated Press.)

Allahabad, March 12.

At the public meeting in Allahabad, Mr. Gandhi was present, but could not address the meeting owing to weak health. Instead a message written by him was read to the audience, in which he exhorted the people to sign the " Satyagraha " vow. About fifty people signed the vow. Mr. Gandhi left to-day for Bombay.

The Bombay Chronicle

Dated 14th March 1919.

Page 9.

SATYAGRAHA SABHA

At the Satyagraha Sabha, Bombay the total number of signatories stands at 600, out of whom 369 are from Bombay and 231 from mofussil.

The Bombay Chronicle

Dated 15th March 1919, Page 8

SATYAGRAHA SABHA

At the Satyagraha Sabha Bombay, the total number of signatories stands at 608 out of whom 375 are from Bombay and 233 from mofussil.

SATYAGRAHA SABHA

A general meeting of the Satyagraha Sabha will be held to-day at 6-30 p.m. (ST.) at the office of Mr. Vaikunthlal A. Desai. Secretary. All-India United Insurance Co., Appollo Street to consider the rules drafted by the Executive Committee of the Sabha.

The Bombay Chronicle

Dated 18th March 1919, Page 5.

At the Satyagraha Sabha, Bombay, the total number of signatories to the pledge stands at 667, out of whom 390 are from Bombay and 277 from mofussil.

The Bombay Chronicle.

Dated 19th March 1919, page 10.

SATYAGRAHA SABHA

At the Satyagraha Sabha, Bombay, the total number of signatories to the pledge stands at 681 out of whom 395 are from Bombay and 286 from Mofussil.

The Bombay Chronicle.

Dated 20th March 1919, Page 8.

SATYAGRAHA SABHA—March 19.

At the Satyagraha Sabha the total number of signatories to the pledge stands at 881 out of whom 397 are from Bombay and 484 are from mofussil. The Karachi number 101 is not included.

The Bombay Chronicle

Dated 20th March 1919, Page 9, Column 6.

MR. GANDHI IN MADRAS.

PUBLIC MEETING PLEDGES SUPPORT TO SATYAGRAHA.

Associated Press.

Madras. March 18.

At a meeting held at Triplicane Beach to-day Mr. S. Kasturiranga Iyengar presiding addresses on "Satyagraha" vow were delivered in English and vernaculars. The chairman, referring to the "moderate" manifesto, said what was most amusing of all was their having launched a thunderbolt against "Satyagraha" movement on the very day when Mr. Gandhi had, come down there with a view to hold conference with the leaders on the subject. Defection on the part of those "moderates," would not diminish their faith in the cause in which they were engaged.

Mr. Gandhi in the course of his speech said, "Beware before you sign the pledge, but if you do you will see to it you shall never undo the pledge you have signed, May God Help you."

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu spoke on the principle and importance of the "Satyagraha" vow.

Resolutions offering hearty and respectful welcome to Mr. Gandhi on arrival at Madras and trusting his inspiring presence would be a powerful incentive for the spread of "satyagraha" movement which was the only weapon left to fight the Rowlatt Bill were put from the chair and carried.

The Bombay Chronicle.

Dated 21st March 1919, Page 8,

LATEST NUMBER OF SIGNATORIES TO SATYAGRAHA PLEDGE

At the Satyagraha Sabha the total number of signatories to the Satyagraha Pledge stands at 927 out of whom 443 are from Bombay and 484 from mofussil. Karachi number 111 is not included.

The Bombay Chronicle.

Dated 22nd March 1919, Page 6, Column 1.

Mr. Gandhi in Madras.

MESSAGE TO SATYAGRAHIS.

" We Shall be Judged not by our Words, but Solely by our Deeds. "

A very largely attended public meeting was held on the Beach on Tuesday evening with Mr. S. Kasturi Ranga Iyengar in the chair, when speeches were made on the " Satyagraha Vow". Mr. Gandhi and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu were among the speakers.

Messrs. S. Satyamurti, V. O. Chidambaram Pillay and G. Harisarvothma Row requested, in English, Tamil and Telugu respectively, the audience to preserve perfect silence without any demonstration as it would affect the feeble health of Mr. Gandhi.

The Bombay Chronicle.

Dated 22nd March 1919, Page: 10

SATYAGRAHA SABHA.

At the Satyagraha Sabha, the total number of signatories to the Pledge stands at 938, out whom 450 are from Bombay and 488 from mofussil. Karachi number is not included.

The Bombay Chronicle.

Dated 24th March 1919, Page 8.

SATYAGRAHA SABHA.

The total number of signatories to the pledge stands at 962 out of whom 456 are from Bombay and 506 from mofussil. This does not include the Karachi number 111.

The Bombay Chronicle.

Dated 26th March 1919, Page : 10.

SATYAGRAHA SABHA.

At the Satyagraha Sabha Bombay, the total number of signatories to the Satyagraha Pledge stands to-day at 1,016 out of whom 461 are from Bombay, and 555 from mofussil.

The Bombay Chronicle.

Dated 27th March 1919, Page 8.

SATYAGRAHA SABHA.

At the Satyagraha Sabha the total number of Signatories to the Satyagraha Pledge stands to-day at 1,020, out of whom 464 are from Bombay and 556 are from mofussil. Our list does not include Karachi names and number.

The Bombay Chronicle.

Dated 28th March 1919, Page 8, Col. 3 & 4.

SATYAGRAHA SABHA.

At the Satyagraha Sabha the total number of signatories to the pledge stands at 1.033 out of whom 469 are from Bombay and 504 are from the mofussil. Our list does not include Karachi names and number.

The Bombay Chronicle,
Dated 29th March 1919, Page 10.

SATYAGRAHA SABHA.

All communications regarding Satyagraha, especially signatures to the Vow, should be addressed to the Hon. Secretaries of the Satyagraha Sabha, 251, Hornby Road.

LATEST NUMBER OF SIGNATORIES TO SATYAGRAHA PLEDGE.

The Total number of signatories at the Satyagraha. Sabha stand at 1,039 out of which 470 are from Bombay and 569 are from mofussil. Our list does not contain that of Karachi.

The Bombay Chronicle.

Dated 1st April 1919, Page 8.

At the Satyagraha Sabha the total number of signatories stands at 1,054 out of whom 474 are from Bombay and 580 from mofussil. Our list does not include Karachi number.217.

The Bombay Chronicle,

Dated 3rd April 1919, Page 9.

SATYAGRAHA SABHA.

At the Satyagraha Sabha the total number of signatories stands at 1,299. Out of whom 480 are from Bombay and 819 from mofussil. Our lists does not include Karachi names numbering 264.

The Bombay Chronicle

Dated 4th April 1919, Page 4.

Mr. GANDHI IN MADURA

ANOTHER HEROIC STORY OF A YOUNG SATYAGRAHI " GATEWAY OF LIBERTY THROUGH THE PRISON DOOR".

Mr. M. K. Gandhi arrived from Trichinopoly accompanied by Dr. Kelkar. Mr. Desai and Dr. Y. S. Rajam. In the evening in the College Square a huge gathering had met to do honour to Mr. Gandhi and hear his message. The Hon. Mr. K. Rama Aiyangar who was voted to the chair, in opening the meeting paid a tribute to Mr. Gandhi for leading India in these troublous days of the Rowlatt Legislation and for condescending to visit Madura at great personal inconvenience.

Mr. Gandhi's Address

Mr. Gandhi then addressed the gathering thus :—

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen—You will pardon me not for standing up whilst I speak to you, because I am too weak to do so. I owe you a thousand apologies also for my inability to speak to you in Tamil. But I cannot entirely acquit you of blame in that I have to speak to you in the English language. If those of you who have received a liberal education had recognised that Hindi and Hindi alone could become the national language of India, you would have learnt it at any cost before this. But it is never too late to mend our mistakes. You have in your midst-to-day-only in Madras and a few other places an opportunity offered to you of learning Hindi. It is probably the easiest language to learn in the world. I know something of the Tamil language ; it is most beautiful and musical; but its grammar is most difficult to master. Whereas the grammar of Hindi is merely a child's work. I hope, therefore, that you will all avail yourself of the opportunity that is before

you. But I cannot detain you on the topic of Hindi and I must hasten on to my subject.

I have come here after visiting Tanjore and Trichinopoly, as you know, to extend to you an invitation which I have already extended in those two places. I have come to ask to sign the Satyagraha pledge. You know its contents ; it is designed to offer resistance to the Rowlatt legislation. It is not necessary for me to describe the effect of that legislation. The public press and our orators have been before you and you have gathered from them the contents of that legislation and also its far reaching effects. It is enough for me to say that the legislation is of such a character that no self-respecting nation can accept it. It is calculated to degrade the nation against whom it is brought into operation. It was carried in the teeth of unanimous opposition on our behalf.

A Double Wrong

The Government have committed a double wrong and it is your duty, it is my duty and that of every man and woman in this country, to undo the wrong by every legitimate means in his or her power. We have exhausted all the orthodox measures in order to gain the end. We have passed resolutions ; we have petitioned and our representatives in the Imperial Legislative Council have endeavoured their best to secure a withdrawal of this legislation and all our attempts have failed. And yet we must somehow or other undo this wrong because it is like poison corroding the whole of the body politic. When the national conscience is hurt, people whose conscience is hurt either seek redress through methods of violence or through methods which I have described as Satyagraha. I consider that methods of violence prove in the end to be of absolute failure. They are moreover wholly unsuited to the genius of our people. Methods of violence are not consistent with human dignity. It is no answer to say that this day. Europe is saturated with the belief in brute force. True Paurush, true bravery, consists in driving out the brute in us and then only you can give freest play to your conscience. The other force which I have in various places described as Satyagraha soul force or love force is best illustrated in the story of Prahlada, as you know, offered respectful disobedience to the laws and orders of his own father. He did not resort to violence ; but he had unquenchable belief in what he was doing. He obeyed a higher call in dis-obeying the orders of his father. And in applying Satyagraha to this movement we shall be only copying the brilliant and eternal insistence of Prahalada. But we are living to-day in a world of unbelief. We are sceptical about our past records and many of you may be inclined to consider the story of Prahlada to be a mere fable. I therefore propose to give to you this evening two instances that have happened practically before your eyes. The one instance I related last evening and that was of a beautiful Tamil girl called Valliamma eighteen years old, who died as Satyagrahi girl. She had joined the Satyagraha movement in South Africa which lasted for eight years. She was arrested and imprisoned during the struggle. In her prison she got, typhoid fever and died of it. It was she and her fellow Satyagrahis who secured the relief that you all are aware of in South Africa.

A Young Satyagrahi.

There was a lad of about the same age as Valliamma's whose name was Nagappan and who suffered imprisonment in the same struggle. He did not reason why he should join the struggle. He had an instinctive faith in its righteousness. He instinctly believed that the remedy adopted was the only true and effective remedy. The climate of South Africa is not so beneficent as the climate on the Indian plains. The South African winter is inclement and it was winter time when Nagappan was imprisoned. He was exposed to the inclemencies of the weather because he was put under a tent life. As a prisoner he was made to work with the spade. He had the option of paying a fine at any time he might have chosen. He would not pay the fine. He believed that the gateway to liberty lay through the prison door and he died of cold and fever contracted during his prison life. Nagappan was an educated lad born of indentured parents. But he had a brave heart. And I have come this afternoon to ask everyone of you, man and woman if you disapprove of

the Rowlatt legislation to copy the examples not of Prahlada but of Valliamma and Nagappan. There is, however, one other condition ; it is not enough that you disapprove of the Rowlatt legislation. You must have also faith in the efficacy of this remedy and ability to undergo the suffering that it may involve. But I am sure you will agree with me that no nation has as yet become great without having undergone suffering whether it is throughout inflicting with which you have listened to my remarks. I hope you will ponder well over what is going on to-day in this country and do what you may conceive to be your duty. I pray to God that he may give you the wisdom to see your way. Once again I thank you."

Dr. T. S. Rajam of Trichnopoly interpreted Mr. Gandhi's speech sentence by sentence in Tamil.

The Hon'ble Mr. K. Rama Aiyangar then put the following resolution which was carried unanimously:—" As a protest against the Rowlatt legislation this public meeting of the citizens of Madura resolves to observe the 6th of April, 1919 as a day of humiliation and prayer and to observe the fast, suspend work and conduct themselves on the day in the manner laid down by Mahatma Gandhi."

Mr. Rajam, at the request of the Chairman made an interesting and instructive speech in fluent Tamil on the life and work of Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Sri Raman Chettiar also spoke, Mr. Rama Aiyangar exhorted the audience to follow the lead of Mahatma Gandhi in this supreme moment of this struggle for liberty and thus do their duty to their country.

More than twenty persons signed the pledge at the meeting. Mr. Gandhi visited the temple and a few other places of local interest and left for Tuticorin the same night.

—"The Hindoo."

**The Bombay Chronicle,
Dated 4th April 1919 Page 8 Col. 3 & 4.
SATYAGRAHA SABHA**

The total number of signatories stands at 1,305 out of whom 482 are from Bombay and 823 are from the mofussil. Our list does not contain the Karachi number.

**The Bombay Chronicle.
Dated 4th April 1919, page. 9.
"Black Sunday"**

GREAT POPULAR DEMONSTRATION AGAINST THE BLACK ACT.

The following is the Programme of the demonstrations which have been arranged for SUNDAY NEXT :—

Sunday, 6th April, 1919.
Sea Bath 7 a.m.—8 a.m. Chowpatty.
Procession 8-15, 10 a.m. :
Chowpatty Sea Girguam Back Road
Sandhurst Bridge C. P. Tank Road.
Sandhurst Road Madhav Baug.
3-30—Ladies' Meeting ?
China Baug,
Mrs. Jayakar Presiding.
Mrs. Sarojini Naidu ; Mahatma Gandhi: Speakers.
6-30—MASS MEETING—FRENCH BRIDGE.
IF YOU VALUE YOUR FREEDOM YOU-WILL JOIN.

The Bombay Chronicle,

Dated 5th April 1919, Page 9.

DUTIES OF SUNDAY DEMONSTRATORS.

A DAY OF HUMILIATION, PRAYER AND MOURNING.

We have received the following communication from the Secretaries of the Satyagraha Sabha :—

It should be remembered that to-morrow is a day of humiliation and prayer and also of mourning by reason of the Delhi tragedy. It is therefore absolutely necessary that when the demonstrators go out to bathe and form the procession there will be no noise, no talking, amongst themselves, but that they will march in absolute silence and disperse likewise.

At all the meetings that may be held there should be no demonstration made by cheers, applause, or cries of approval or disapproval or of any other character. The behaviour of the mourners should be worthy of the occasion.

The demonstrators should carry out the instructions that might be given to them by volunteers.

No pressure of any kind whatever should be put upon those who do not fast or suspend work and all those who may not desire to participate in the national mourning and demonstrations should be left absolutely undisturbed.

It is the duty of the demonstrators to obey and carry out all police instructions as it is as yet no part of the movement to offer civil disobedience against police orders that may be given in connection with demonstrations, processions, organised by Satyagraha associations.

The Bombay Chronicle,

Dated 5th April 1919, Page 9.

MR. GANDHI'S MESSAGE TO MADRAS SABHA.

"WE SHALL KILL THE SPIRIT OF TERRORISM."

(Associated Press.)

Madras, April. 4.

Mr. Gandhi has sent to Mr. S. Kasturi Ranga Iyengar, Vice-President of the Satyagraha Sabha. Madras, the following telegram from Bombay dated 3rd instant : —

I hope the Delhi tragedy will make Satyagrahis steel their hearts and that the waverers will reconsider their position. I have no shadow of doubt that by remaining true to the pledge we shall not only secure the withdrawal of the Rowlatt legislation but we shall kill the spirit of terrorism lying behind. I hope speeches on Sunday will be free from anger or unworthy passion. The cause is too great and sacred to be damaged by an exhibition of passion. We have no right to cry out against sufferings which are self-invited. It is undoubtedly there should be no coercion for suspension of business or fast.

The Bombay Chronicle,

Dated 5th April 1919, Page 10.

The total number of signatories to the pledge stands at 1,313, out of whom 488 are from Bombay and 825 from the mofussil. Our list does not include the Karachi number.

SATYAGRAHA SABHA.

A general meeting of the Satyagraha Sabha will be held on Monday the 7th instant at 6-15 p.m. (S.T.) in the office of Mr. Vaikuntrao Desai, Secretary of the

All-India United Assurance Co. Ltd., 72, Apollo Street, Fort, to receive instructions regarding the breach of laws and to consider a suggestion from the President that the following words shall be added to rule 15 "provided that for matters of emergency the minimum period fixed for notice shall not be necessary".

The Bombay Chronicle

Dated 7th April 1919 Page 9.

PASSIVE RESISTANCE AGAINST BLACK BILLS.

The total number of signatories to the pledge stands at 1,360 out of whom 491 are from Bombay and 869 are from mofussil. Our list does not contain the names of Karachi numbering 285.

The Bombay Chronicle

Dated 8th April 1919.

Page 7,

SATYAGRAHA STRUGGLE COMMENCES

Laws for Civil Disobedience

The following statement has been issued by the Satyagraha Sabha.

The Committee contemplated by the Satyagraha Pledge has advised that for the time being laws regarding prohibited literature and registration of newspapers may be civilly disobeyed.

With reference to prohibited literature, the Committee has selected the following prohibited works for dissemination :

"HIND SWARAJYA" by M. K. Gandhi.

"SARVODAYA" or UNIVERSAL DAWN, by M. K. Gandhi. (being a paraphrase of " Unto This Last.")

"THE STORY OF A SATYAGRAHI," by M. K. Gandhi (being a paraphrase of the ' Defence and Death Of Socrates ' Plato).

"THE LIFE AND ADDRESS OF MUSTAFA KAMAL PASHA" (Printed at the International Printing Press).

In making this selection, the Committee has been guided by the following considerations :—

- (1) To cause as little disturbance as possible among the governors and the governed ;
- (2) Until Satyagrahis have become seasoned, disciplined and capable of handling delicately organised movements, to select such laws only as can be disobeyed individually ;
- (3) To select, as a first step, laws that have evoked popular disapproval and that from the Satyagraha standpoint, are the most open to attack ;
- (4) To select laws whose civil breach would constitute an education for the people, showing them a clear way out of the difficulties that lie in the path of honest men desiring to do public work ;
- (5) Regarding prohibited literature, to select such books and pamphlets as are not inconsistent with Satyagraha, and which are therefore, of a clean type and which do not, either directly or indirectly, approve of or encourage violence.

How to commit Civil Disobedience

Satyagrahis should receive copies of prohibited literature for distribution. A limited number of copies can be had from the Secretaries of the Satya-graha Sabha. Satyagrahis should, so far as possible, write their names and addresses as sellers, so that they may be traced easily when wanted by Government for prosecution. Naturally there can be no question of secret sale of this literature. At the same time there should be no forwardness, either, in distributing it.

It is open to Satyagrahis to form small groups of men and women to whom they may read this class of literature. The object in selected prohibited literature is not merely to commit a civil breach of the law regarding it, but it is also to supply people with clean literature of a high moral value. It is expected that the Government will confiscate such literature. Satyagraha is and has to be as independent of finance as possible. When, therefore, copies are confiscated, Satyagrahis are required to make copies of prohibited literature themselves or by securing the assistance of willing friends and to make use of it until it is confiscated by giving readings to the people from it. It is stated that such readings would amount to dissemination of prohibited literature. ' When whole copies are exhausted by dissemination or confiscation Satyagrahis may continue civil disobedience by writing out and distributing extracts from accessible books.

Regarding civil breach of the law governing the publication of newspapers, the idea is to publish in every Satyagraha centre a written newspapers, without registering it. It need not occupy more than one side of half a foolscap. When such a newspaper is edited, it will be found how difficult it is to fill up half a sheet. It is a well-known fact that a vast majority of newspapers contain much padding. Further, it cannot be denied that newspaper articles written under the terror of the very strict newspaper law have a double meaning. A Satyagrahi for whom punishments provided by law have lost all terror, can give only in an unregistered newspaper his thoughts and opinions unhampered by any other consideration than that of his own conscience. His newspaper, therefore, if otherwise well edited, can become a most powerful vehicle for transmitting pure ideas in a concise manner, and there need be no fear of inability to circulate a handwritten newspaper; for it will be the duty of those who may receive the first copies to recopy till at last the process of multiplication is made to cover, if necessary, the whole of the masses of India. And it must not be forgotten that we have in India the tradition of imparting instruction by oral teaching.

M. K. GANDHI,

President, Satyagraha Sabha.

D. D. Sathye,

Umar Sobani.

Shankarlal Ghelabhai,

Secretaries.

The Bombay Chronicle

Dated 12th April 1919.

Page : 10.

VIGOROUS SATYAGRAHA PROPAGANDA

SALE OF PROSCRIBED LITERATURE

[About 75 persons sold the literature. The total price was Rs. 251-10-6]

The Bombay Chronicle

Dated 12th April 1919.

Page : 11 Column :

SATYAGRAHA SABHA

All communications regarding Satyagraha, especially signatures to the Vow, should be addressed to the Hon. Secretaries of the Satyagraha Sabha. 251, Hornby Road.

The total number of signatories to the pledge stand at 1,536 out of whom 594 are from Bombay and 942 are from the mofussil. This list does not include Karachi number.

The Bombay Chronicle.

Dated 14th April 1919.

Page 9.

MAHATMA GANDHI'S ADVICE TO THE PUBLIC

In order that Satyagraha may have full play and a chance of permeating the masses, in my humble opinion, the following instructions should be STRICTLY obeyed.

Some of the items may require change later. The rest are INVOLABLE PRINCIPLES of Satyagraha.

No Processions,

No Organised Demonstrations.

No Hartals on any account whatsoever without previous instructions of the committee.

ALL POLICE ORDERS TO BE IMPLICITLY OBEYED.

No Violence.

No Stone-Throwing.

No Obstructions of Tram-cars or Traffic.

No Pressure to be exercised against anyone.

At Public Meetings.

No Clapping of Hands.

No Demonstrations of approval or disapproval.

No Cries of Shame.

No Cheers.

Perfect Stillness.

PERFECT OBEDIENCE TO INSTRUCTIONS OF VOLUNTEERS OR MANAGEMENT.

(Signed) Mohandas K. Gandhi.

The Bombay Chronicle.

Dated 15th April 1919

Page 7,

" SATYAGRAHI"

Mahatma Gandhi's Unregistered Newspaper.

The Second number of the " Satyagrahi" edited by Mahatma Gandhi, in Gujarati as well as in English, the contents of which we publish below was issued yesterday

morning. It has been printed and priced at one pice per copy. A large number of copies were sold yesterday in the streets of Bombay. A copy of the paper was sent to Mr. F. C. Griffith, Police Commissioner, Bombay. The printed copies of the Life of Kamal Pasha were being sold all over the city; and another edition of English Translation of Mahatma Gandhi's "Hindi Swarajya" is in the press and it is expected that it would come out to-day.

Mahatma Gandhi is at Ahmedabad now. After an interview with Mr. Pratt, on Sunday evening he announced his intention to convene a public meeting under the auspices of the Satyagraha Sabha, on Monday evening.

SATYAGRAHI

No. 2

Price—1 pice

(Editor):

(Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi)

Laburnum Road, Gamdevi, Bombay.

Self Examination.

Satyagraha has made unexpectedly rapid progress in the course of one short week. But it is necessary to consider whether the movement is progressing in the right direction or not. Several very regrettable and untoward incidents have occurred.

It has been brought home to Satyagrahis that Satyagraha is not an easy weapon to handle. Satyagrahis have been often asked if they are not responsible for the varied consequences of this struggle. We have always answered this inquiry in the affirmative. Satyagrahis will always follow truth, and will not by thought, word or deed hurt anybody. They will carry on the struggle with such self-restraint and discipline as will enable them to acquire firm control over the people whose sympathy and co-operation they desire and have already been successful in winning in such an appreciable degree. The experience of the last week has clearly shown that Satyagrahis are not yet in a position to control the masses. The true spirit of Satyagraha has not yet permeated the people with the result that they are not yet able to express their feelings in a manner worthy of Satyagraha. This undoubtedly casts a slur upon Satyagraha.

All the same the Satyagrahi will not be discouraged. It is only when the Rowlatt legislation is withdrawn or when he has sacrificed himself at the altar of truth that he will rest. He will learn from his daily experiences during the struggle, educate the people, explain to them in public and in private the secret of Satyagraha. He will make it clear to them what priceless happiness can be found in suffering, in refraining from returning evil for evil, in adhering to truth, in sacrificing himself. He will capture their hearts with love and will show them how to conquer our enemies by love. The path of a Satyagrahi is beset with insurmountable difficulties. But in true Satyagraha there is neither disappointment nor defeat. As truth is all powerful, Satyagraha can never be defeated. India is a vast country and the ancient law of Satyagraha appears new to our countrymen, but this cannot deter us. Satyagrahis will work day and night to educate the people and will show to them that true Satyagraha can be our "Kamdhenu". If he is not heeded, he will plead with the people, will offer Satyagraha even to them, by fasting unto death and so will induce his countrymen to join in the crusade, which must end in victory.

News—Mahatma Gandhi.

Mahatma Gandhi was arrested on his way to Delhi for refusing to obey the orders prohibiting him from entering the Punjab and Delhi, and was escorted back to Bombay, where he was set free. He has now gone to Ahmedabad.

Punjab Deportations.

Serious disturbances have occurred at Lahore and Amritsar owing to the deportation of Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal.

The Movement in Bombay

The sale of proscribed literature is proceeding in Bombay. The Mahomedans are beginning to be interested in the movement.

A new press called the Satyagraha Press has been established where this paper will henceforth be printed.

Satyagraha in Behar

The Hon. Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque and Mr. Hassan Imam, the President of the Special Sessions of the Congress in Bombay, have signed the Satyagraha pledge.

Resignation from the Imperial Council.

The Hon. Mr. B. N. Shukul, the representative of the land-holders of C.P.. has resigned from the Imperial Council as a protest against the Rowlatt Bill.

The Bombay Chronicle

Dated 15th April 1919
page 7.

SEQUEL TO DISTURBANCES IN THE COUNTRY.

Mr. Gandhi Fasts.

Mahatma Gandhi was deeply affected by the news of the disturbances that broke out in some parts of the country last week. Before starting for Ahmedabad he attended a meeting of cloth merchants which was called at his instance, when he made an earnest appeal to the public to refrain from acts of violence. He added he had been greatly distressed by the news of the disturbances. His arrest would in no way have stopped the Satyagraha work and people should not have created disturbances. Even if he proceeded to Delhi and was arrested a second time, there should be no disturbance. People should be prepared to suffer in the true spirit of Satyagraha. Even if a strike occurred anywhere, no coercion should be used towards those who did not wish to join in it. Their attitude should be one of good will towards all men.

At Mr. Gandhi's suggestion a committee of leading men was appointed to raise a body of volunteers to assist in the preservation of order at the cloth market and the surrounding locality.

Mahatma Gandhi next visited several other associations, where also he emphasised the supreme necessity of conducting the struggle against the Rowlatt Bills in the true spirit of Satyagraha. He also attended a meeting held at the Marwari chamber where he was deeply moved and actually broke down on hearing the news of the disturbance at Ahmedabad, and he went without food the next day. The same night he was to have addressed a meeting at the Morarji Goculdas Hall, which however he was not able to do as he left Bombay for Ahmedabad. In his absence Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas laid before the meeting the suggestions which Mr. Gandhi was to have made about conducting the struggle in a peaceful and orderly manner.

The Bombay Chronicle.

Dated 15th April 1919
Page 5

SATYAGRAHA SABHA

All communications regarding Satyagraha, especially signatures to the Vow, should be addressed to the Hon. Secretaries of the Satyagraha Sabha, 251, Hornby Road.

The total number of signatories to the pledge stands at 1,701, out of whom 680 are from Bombay and 1,021 from mofussil. Our list does not contain the Karachi number.

SATYAGRAHA SABHA

The office of the Satyagraha Sabha has been removed to 72, Appollo Street.

The Bombay Chronicle.

Dated 16th April 1919

Page 9.

SATYAGRAHA WORK IN BOMBAY.

Yesterday the Satyagraha propaganda work was carried on as usual in Bombay. The Satyagraha Sabha was informed by a letter from the Sabarmati Satyagraha Ashram, that Martial Law being withdrawn all was quiet in Ahmedabad now. Mahatma Gandhi addressed a public meeting on Monday and greatly regretted the serious incidents that took place during the last few days. He has suggested a penance for the public of Ahmedabad in the form of a day's fast and to raise a fund for the relief of the helpless dependents of those, fallen during the disturbance. As for himself he has suggested a fast of 72 hours and thereby hopes that the people will understand the impropriety of resorting to violence.

The Bombay Chronicle.

Dated 16th April 1919.

Page 10,

SATYAGRAHA SABHA

The total number of signatories to the pledge stands at 1,735, out of whom 703 are from Bombay and 1,032 are from the mofussil. Our list does not contain the Karachi number.

The Bombay Chronicle

Dated 17th April 1919.

Page 7.

SATYAGRAHA LITERATURE

We are asked by the Secretary Satyagraha Sabha, to announce that the prescribed literature, viz., " Hind Swaraj ", " Socrates Defence ", and the " Life of Kamal Pasha " published by the Satyagraha Sabha is now out of stock and therefore not available. And the Sabha is not in a position to undertake to send books per V.P.P.

The Bombay Chronicle

Dated 22nd April 1919.

Page 7.

SATYAGRAHA

We have been informed by the Satyagraha Sabha that as civil disobedience has been temporarily suspended the publication of the weekly " Satyagrahi " will be discontinued and the unlicensed printing press will also be closed during the suspension period.

The Bombay Chronicle

Dated 26th April 1919.

Page 9,

SATYAGRAHA SABHA

The total number of signatories to the pledge stands at 1,963, out of whom 743 are from Bombay and 1,220 are from mofussil. Our list does not contain Karachi List.

The Bombay Chronicle

Dated 4th June 1919.

Page 7,

Mr. JAMNADAS DWARKADAS RESIGNS FROM SATYAGRAHA SABHA

Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas has resigned from the Satyagraha Sabha, a difference of opinion having arisen between Mr. Gandhi and himself on the question of the law breaking propaganda, which the Satyagraha Sabha has still on its programme with a view to be resumed in July. Further it is understood that Mr. Jamnadas has now rejoined the National Home Rule League, the newly started organisation of Mrs. Besant. Mrs. Besant having offered the membership of the deputation to Mr. Jamnadas on behalf of the League, he has accepted it and will be shortly leaving for England.

APPENDIX IX**File No. 584 (B)**

HOME DEPARTMENT.

Special Branch.

Subject.—Non-Co-operation Movement.

Copy of a telegram.

Dated the 13th January 1922.

From

District Superintendent of Police, Panch Mahals;

To

Bombay Special.

Your telegram No. S.D. 109 to Distrate. Stop. Order under section 42 District Police Act issued on 17th November prohibited for two months processions, late at night—causing annoyance to public and likely to disturb peace Stop. No procession up to 11th instant. Stop On 12th N.C.O.'s held procession from five to seven P.M. Stop. As it did not amount to disobedience no action taken. Distrate consulted before-hand.

HOME DEPARTMENT (SPL).

Under Government Endst. No. S.D. 37, dated 12th January 1922. the D.M. Panch Mahals was requested to furnish a copy of the order.

This may be awaited.

Camp Bhadarora.

15th January 1922.

Dear Crerar,

Your "clear the line" S.D. 109 was correctly answered by D.S.P. I know of the intended disobedience, (mentioned it in my weekly letter I think) and came away on tour after giving full instructions as the business was too infantile to keep me tied to headquarters. I shall not be able to tour at all if things like this are to keep me in, and I thought also that it would be much more effective if I publicly 'despised' the business.

The Resident Magistrate passed an order as the result of many verbal complaints from members of the public that they were kept awake till the small hours by bands of N.C.O. serenaders. I intended to take action myself but apparently things became intolerable as soon as I left for Bombay and the R.M. issued his order in consultation with D.S.P. As it was un-vetted it was not well worded and does actually forbid all processions, thought its general intention is clearly to present the serenading. It had this effect, and nobody was deterred by it from holding processions. I met one myself escorting some silks which were being paraded for being burnt. We made way for each other in the politest way, but no one thought about the order.

So the order was intended to stop a public nuisance of which the public had complained. Now the "disobedience" was for a party of 10 to 'process' from 5 p.m. till 7 p.m. I left full instructions, to the effect that I had no objection to the procession. Locally it was regarded as an infantile disobedience. The order was to expire on the 16th. No one could convict for the "disobedience" and if he did, the conviction would take place after expiry of the order and the severest punishment that could be inflicted would be a fine of a few annas. I am to try such cases myself and being on tour purposely made it impossible to try the case during

the continuance of the order. The most serious part about the matter is the advertisement in ' The Bombay Chronicle.' But that is a thing that can be discounted.

The " Reform League" was given the full facts *before* the disobedience was to occur and published a leaflet of which I am sending a copy with this. A copy was to be sent to various news papers and I do not think that the gentlemen who have made their " last speeches " will get much change out of the business.

" The " Reform League" is a body with which I have no connection. It is free to criticise me, and consequently its treatment of our local N.C.O. is thoroughly enjoyed by a large section of the public which would not listen to official explanations I give it as full information as I can some times this is used and some times not. The public watches the conflict as one would watch a dog fight so to speak and has no bias against the R.L. as it is extremely careful not to offend reasonable susceptibilities even of N.C.O.s. In fact some N.C.O. s belong to it—people who do not know quite what they are.

You need not take Godhra seriously till I tell you to.

Yours sincerely,
C. A. BEYTS

During November complaints were received of annoyance caused to the public of Godhra by persons singing and shouting in the streets late at night, particularly before the houses of persons known to be loyal to Government. When the practice became intolerable the Resident Magistrate on complaint from the Police issued the following order under section 42 District Police Act, in the absence of the District Magistrate.

"Whereas it is brought to my notice that Home Rule and Khilafatwalas move in gangs and procession, singing songs and raising cries, on public streets of Godhra Town till late hours at night and that this may probably incite to the commission of an offence, to a disturbance of public peace or contempt of lawful authority.

I Rao Saheb R. P. Kagalvala, Resident First Class Magistrate, Godhra, under the authority vested in me under section 42 of the Bombay District Police Act IV of 1890, prohibit movements in gangs and procession, signing of songs, and raising of cries in the town of Godhra for a period of; two months from the date of publication of this notice.

Dated this 17th day of November 1921 "

The order had the effect of preventing the nuisance set forth in the preamble, and the District Magistrate confirmed it with instructions that daylight processions were not to be interfered with. It was advertised that a procession would be held for the purpose of breaking this order a few days before its lapse. Meetings were held and " last messages" delivered and advertised. The District Magistrate gave instructions for publication in Godhra of the fact that there was no objection to processions which did not contravene the object of the order. The organiser of " disobedience" was personally informed by the District Superintendent of Police on the 11th instant. the day previous to the advertised " disobedience," that no objection would be taken to his holding his procession till 10 p.m., but that after that hour the Police would take appropriate action. The " Reform League" was informed of the facts, and published a leaflet emphasising them. Again the District Superintendent of Police personally explained to a large Mahomedan audience at the Bazar Mosque after prayers on the 13th the conditions which had been laid down.

Processions were held by way of "disobedience" on the 12th and 13th between 5 and 7 p.m. and on the 14th between 8 and 9-30 p.m. their organiser scrupulously obeying the regulations authorised by the District Magistrate.

(Signed) C. A. BEYTS,
District Magistrate.
Panch Mahals.

18th January 1922.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE IN PANCHMAHALS.

(Vide The Bombay Chronicle, dated 20th January 1922.)

Was it Success ?

The Secretary, Panchmahals Congress Committee, wires under date January 18:—

With the permission of the Gujarat Provincial Committee, the Panchmahals disobeyed the order of the Resident Magistrate of Godhra, prohibiting processions up to the 17th January. A batch of National Volunteers moved in procession on the 12th and 13th in the evening and on the 14th from 8 to 10 at night. Neither arrest nor prosecution is yet made. The local Reform League, created by the officials, took this opportunity and published handbills to stop the waning prestige of Government stating that the circular issued by Government was to prohibit procession at night and so the people should not consider that Non-Co-operators are successful. The League says that the Government never wanted to stop procession at day time. The District Superintendent of Police spoke also in the Masjid that the circular was meant to prohibit procession moving after 10 at night. In short, the official version is that Non-Co-operators are not successful. As District Secretary it is my duty to put the facts before the public to enable them to decide. The circular was issued by the Resident Magistrate of Godhra on the 17th noon, for the prohibition of the processions for two months. No man with commonsense would think that the circular was issued to stop night processions only, as the Police department has got sufficient power to stop the night procession according to the Police Act. The prohibition order was not for the late hours at night only but it was for the day time too.

Where is Swaraj ?

Nawjivan — January 22nd 1922.

God known what has happened, but ever since the arrest of Lalaji. Das. Nehru and Maulana Abul Kalam, people have entirely stopped asking me the question "Where is Swaraj ?". The anxiety of which my mind was full has gone away and I thought now nobody again will ask me this question. Telegrams have been sent to me by people with congratulations to you for the winning of Swaraj. Paul Richards came on the 31st December and gave a speech that now a new era has begun. Pearson sent me a letter from Shantiket saying I have come to India again after a five years' absence, and find that India has become independent.

Swaraj is a condition of the mind. When it will be come established, its image will be apparent. But the fact is that Swaraj has become established from the moment that the mental condition has become changed. Although I will miss no opportunity of a settlement, still after having come to know the strength of India, I am afraid of a settlement. What will be our condition if a settlement is made before we have been thoroughly tested ? It will be like that of a child prematurely born which will perish in a short time. In Portugal the Government was changed in a moment as the result of revolution, and in that country now, revolutions are constantly occurring and no one constitution endures. In Turkey when all of a sudden the Government was changed in the year 1906, congratulations came in from all sides. But this was only a nine days wonder. The change was like a dream. After that. Turkey had to suffer much and who knows how much more suffering is still in store for that brave people.

On account of such experiences, I am often plunged in anxiety. I do not know what is the best course. At this moment I am positively shaking with fear. If a settlement were to be made, then where are we to go ?

Up till now people have not clearly understood that it is possible to win Swaraj by means of a machine, which any untrained village carpenter can make, and which any innocent young maiden can work. Nevertheless, my conviction grows daily stronger and stronger that it is by means of that machine alone that India will win Swaraj, and, without it, India will not win it.

Up till now, is it possible to say that in- our mind the conviction is established that true education of the people does not consist in the knowledge of letters but in character, and manual industry and manual labour ?

Parents in Gujarat also have not been weaned from the charm of the knowledge of letters. Up till now they also have yet to learn the true place of knowledge of letters. Up till now they also do not acknowledge that children must first of all be taught morality, and after the physical culture and some trade to enable them to earn their living : and then, and not till then, should their minds be developed and adorned by the knowledge of letters. Mr Abbas tells me that in Nadiad many parents are not at all prepared to remove their children from the Government High Schools. Up till now, parents in Gujarat are not all yet prepared to send their children to the national schools, which improved their mental condition, and to appreciate at its true value the education in independence which they receive in those schools.

As to pleaders — What are we to ask ? Have they broken loose from the spell of the courts ? How do we stand as regards private settlement of disputes ? Have we anywhere come to know that justice must not be costly ? Up to this very moment the leaders of religious sects, who are looked upon as the pillars of religion, are still hoping to get decisions from the Privy Council on their religious disputes. Pleadors are not yet free from the charm of heavy fees, and so justice is still weighed out in return for gold mohars. If at this moment the settlement were to be made, the true spirit would not be infused into the courts of law, and after the conclusion of the settlement all values would disappear. The courts would continue to operate just as they are operating now. Then where would we look for our Ram Raj Under Ram Raj justice is not to be bought or sold.

Can it be said that up till now complete harmony has been established between Hindus and Mahomedans ? Has mutual suspicion disappeared ? Are they united in the pursuit of one goal for the country ? Both parties recognized the necessity of being friends but their hearts are not yet united, though they are on the way of being so. If a settlement were now to be made, that process would be interrupted. I mean that until complete union has been established talk about Swaraj is useless. until the essence of the spirit has been absorbed all our efforts are false.

This saying is altogether true in its application to Swaraj. In this couplet substitute the word " Swaraj" for " spirit" and the meaning will become clear. We have still to understand the essence of Swaraj. If Hindu-Mussalman friendship implies hostility to Parsis. Christians and Jews, then that friendship is a friendship which would destroy the whole world. That is to say, until we have completely understood the meaning of Hindu-Mussalman friendship, until then it would be a mistake even to wish for a settlement

And when are we to get peace which is the medicine which will give us all our desires ? Where have we found the admission that Non-co-operation is peaceful and that is a sign of strength ? We regard peace as the weapon of the weak man and do not appreciate the value of this weapon, and so we degrade it. This is a folly comparable to the folly of a man who would use a gold mohar as a eight anna piece. Peace is the weapon of the strong and in his hand it is beautiful. Peace is forgiveness, and forgiveness is the ornament of the brave man. The man, who has no stomach does not eat. and so he gets no credit for fasting. The man, who is unable to strike and therefore does not strike, does not win any credit.

Virtue is not to be acquired by force. When the warriors, who have made all the preparations in Anand and Bardoli, have learnt that they must not molest or bear ill-will against Parsi or Englishmen or co-operator, even if there be only one of those, then and then only may they be considered worthy of being enrolled in the army of peace. Those who use the name of peace for the purpose of doing deeds of violence are traitors not Only to their country, but to the whole world ; because, the whole world is standing in eager expectation to see how we are going to use our weapon of peace. Until India has learnt the lesson of using peace as the weapon of the strong, until then we must keep a mile off any settlement as if it

were a thing untouchable. Now, what am I to say to my Hindu readers 'I make bold to say, I, who consider myself a staunch Hindu, that so long as Hindu do not regard Dheds and Bunghis as their full brothers so long they do not deserve the name of Hindus. Blessings will come down from heaven when the Hindu will embrace the Bunghi with love. Then and then only will there be cow protection. Contempt for human beings and pity cannot exist side by side. The vice of Dheds and Bunghis can be redeemed by love. The words of Anand Shanker Bhruva are always ringing in my ears. Our real enemies are the Dheds and Bunghis, who are locked in our own bosoms. Those are the real untouchables. Those bodily Dheds, and Bunghis, whom we in our sinfulness consider as untouchables, those Dheds and Bhunghis are our brethren. It is by touching them, it is by rendering service to them that we can achieve virtue. When a Vaishnav, after sucking out the poison from Dhed or Bunghis who has been bitten by a snake, without bathing enters the Maharaj Haveli, then I say that, that Haveli will be counted holy. Such a Vaishnav will be as welcomes in the Haveli as Sudama or Vidur in the house of Krishna. Until we have plucked up by the root the tree of untouchability, or until we have learnt the true meaning of untouchability, as taught us by Anand Shanker Dhruva, until then we should not entertain the idea of settlement even in our thoughts.

Such noble deeds, such purification of the soul can only be achieved by us at the cost of suffering. He who for his salvation knows how to die he will find salvation. He who dies without the will to die goes to hell. He who dies of his own free will he has even to-day become worthy of salvation. When we can get rid of the fear of dying in the attainment of our aims, then and then only will we win independence and Swaraj. Das Lalaji, Motilalji and Abdul Kalam Azad and others are teaching us the lesson of dying. The reason why nobody asks the question "where is Swaraj" is that we wear the appearance of men who have learnt this lessons everybody is saying that when we have acquired the strength of dying of our own free will, then there is Swaraj. Everything else is like a mirage.

Mohanlal Karamchand Gandhi.

He who takes must die :

I hear that the purification of Kaira District is only nominal. It will not attack (lit. beat) any servant of Government, but if the goods of any Patidar is to be auctioned and if another comes forward to buy it, he (the latter) will certainly not escape alive. Opportunity offering, a born Patidar will not but avenge himself on that man at least. What sort of non-violence can this be ? Anyone who buys our goods becomes a man of the Government. How can that buyer be attacked after accepting the resolution that men of the Government must not be attacked ? Moreover, there are no such exceptions in our pledge. And if Patidars or others thus make their pledge unclean even in their thoughts then *Swaraj* will certainly not be gained. Our pledge is not to gain *Swaraj* by any possible means, fair or foul *Swaraj* it to be gained by peace and truth, such is the general duty of the Congress such is the particular duty of a non-co-operator. It must not be forgotten that truth and peace are binding on all who enter the Congress. As there is more occasion for anger and, violence in non-co-operation, the word "peaceful" has been joined with non-co-operation for greater precaution. Therefore my hope is that Patidars or others eager to uphold the credit of Gujarat will immediately remove every uncleanness and every fear from their minds.

Bardoli—Anand.

These two Talukas have special duties. If they do not now get ready soon, they and Gujarat will be disgraced. The Hindus and Mussalman of the United Provinces, the Hindus and Muslims of Bengal, Hindus, Pathans and Sikhs of the Punjab, and —others, have all passed (the test) as regards fearlessness, going to jails, bearing beatings etc. If now Bardoli and Anand which have been much praised do not get ready soon, our credit will be lost. To jail we needs must go . but we have to

gain fitness and strength to die. If fitness comes, the strength must come. All must become Khadi-wearers. They must use the holy Khadi used in the Khadinagar, which is with the Congress, and must henceforward wear the Khadi produced in the Taluka alone. Women must also observe this which is the common duty of all. In every house people should become industrious and work the *Charkha* and spin good, strong yarn. In every village there must go on fine carding. All must consider Dheds and Bhangis as brothers and serve them, and must admit their children in National schools; must call them and show kindness to them. They must make the co-operators also who may be among them feel secure. Hindus, Musalmans, Parsis, Christians, should all unite. What is difficult in (all) this ? What is costly (in it) ? The *Charkha* and Khadi in fact bring money to us. No difficulty should be felt as regards the other things which consist in removing mental faults. I beg that the people of Bardoli will work strenuously day and night, become fit, and send me at the latest on the 20th the certificate of their Secretary or President regarding their fitness and preparedness ; and similarly on that day or before that the people of Nadiad will send Abbas Saheb's certificate.

If they be true—

If these brothers be true and brave, they will even from to-day put off paying the Government's land revenue. He who has determined in his mind that he must fight, needs must finally refrain from paying land revenue. All persons in the Taluka cannot pay the revenue and then say " Now we want to fight."

What about others ?

Some inform me that the whole of Gujarat is ready not to pay revenue. Should I not give even them advice to refuse paying land revenue ? I cannot, indeed, give it. I would not constrain him who of his own accord does not want to pay. And who am I to constrain (any one) thus ? But I would not incur the risk of advising the entire population to hold back the land revenue. There is no personal self-interest of ours in not paying land revenue. Civility has to be shown in not paying the land revenue. And if we intend to make a civil breach of the revenue law, we must become pure. Therefore, those who consider the unity of Hindus, Musalmans, Christians and Parsis as a religious duty, those who know how to be peaceful, those who look upon Dheds and Bhangis as brothers and who do not believe themselves to be polluted if they touch them, those who are users of *Khadi* alone for dress, and those who have the courage to die and to let their property go, may, without taking my advice, not pay land revenue.

But this is about individuals. As for a general population which requires in the least to be persuaded, I certainly cannot advise it to hold back land revenue. The chief reason of this is that I have no faith that the people in all the Taluka of Gujarat are so prepared that they would refuse to pay land revenue and allow their property to be sold and yet would not be angry. Therefore, as regards the general public wisdom lies only in advising it to pay land revenue. In spite of it, if any do not pay, let them not. Those who pay the land revenue should do something else that they can. If the whole of India pays land revenue, it cannot be considered to have fallen. We shall—obtain many kinds of help from it. Thus I give two advices: (1) If Bardoli and Anand want to practise mass civil disobedience, then they certainly must not pay land revenue, never mind if even their Inam lands are confiscated. (2) To the public of Talukas other than these my advice is that they should pay land revenue, but should give other helps to non-co-operation. If in spite of receiving such advice, those who are firm in fulfilling all the conditions. at their own risk do not pay land revenue, they will certainly deserve praise. But they should not feel pride that they are very courageous and that others should be called timid. Even he who makes a great sacrifice should think that all are acting according to their respective powers, and should remain humble and be ready to give more.

M. K. Gandhi.

Postponement of picketing of schools.

While the Kaira District (Congress.) Committee was vigorously making preparations to carry out the programme of the Nagpur Congress and while enlistment for the National Volunteer Corps had already begun, the District Collector issued a notice —threatening with punishment those who prevented students either from going to the Government schools or schools receiving grants-in-aid from Government. The Committee had not even thought of picketing when the notice was issued. (But) to show how far the notice issued by the Collector and the threats therein mentioned were useless and baseless, the Committee made arrangements for two companies of volunteers and very successfully carried out the picketing of the Government High School and the New English School which was receiving grants-in-aid from Government. Picketing is going on for the past thirteen days, and if the parents and guardians have not realised what great sin they are committing by forcing their children to go to Government and State-aided schools because we have learnt in our talks with boys that they are going to Government schools owing to the pressure of the parents it is not possible for us to do anything more to dissuade them from doing so. For the Committee has to take other more important work in hand. In these circumstances it has been decided to stop picketing from to-morrow. But before doing so I want to remind all the parents and guardians as to what the Congress and our great leader Mahatma Gandhiji expect of them in this critical juncture in our country's history and at the same time exhort them to accede to the request of Mahatmajiji by removing their boys from Government schools. For the present we shall rest content with the effect produced by volunteers going from house to house and persuading the parents and guardians.

(Signed) ABBAS S. TVEBJI

President.

18th January 1922.

Kaira District
(Congress) Committee, Nadiad,
Wednesday. Paush Vad. 6. 1978.—Samvat

—————
A leaflet of Panch Mahal Reform League

A way to make a name easily

To give people wrong information and to lead them to a wrong path.

The humbug of Civil disobedience.

Ali are aware that in November some of the Home Rulers were moving about on the public roads late at night shouting loudly so as to disturb the sleep of the people of the neighbourhood, and were behaving in a way to injure the feeling of some people. In order to remove the unnecessary trouble and harassment thus caused the Resident Magistrate issued a notice upon the application of the town people on the 17th November prohibiting such actions. The reasons for the notice are clearly given in it, and Government servants have from time to time explained the order in the same way. In spite of this the Home Rulers are to make a show today that they are going to perform Civil disobedience to show that they are more powerful than Government and are not afraid of them. In this way they mean to persuade people wrongly to lead them astray and thus bring their own names into prominence.

These actions are not disobedience of the law. This is simply a plan to get a name with the public by deceiving the people.

Let us ask if the Home Rule leaders of this place did explain the above true facts to Mahatma Gandhi.

Surely if they had stated the true facts Mahatma Gandhiji would already have censured them.

If they have any real courage and are working sincerely let them start processions late at night as before, so as to bring them to the notice of the public. Let them sing songs and disturb the public in any other way, and then only will there be true civil disobedience. Other-wise it clearly appears that this is all humbug and done to get a name easily with the public.

We request all brethren to try to understand thoroughly the true facts and how much the country will suffer by creating such unnecessary troubles.

Panch Mahals Reform League.

File No. 584

Non-Co-operation Movement: Civil Disobedience

Bombay Chronicle—30th January 1922

The Conference

Since early morning to-day the peasants of Bardoli Taluka are mustering in strong numbers round about the gracefully decorated Mandap near the railway station. The morning train to which were attached a number of additional carriages brought among the hundreds of passengers, Mahatma Gandhi, Messrs. Abbas Tyebji, Banker and Vallabhbhai Patel, Bardoli has a noisy and merry appearance of a fair. On every face is imprinted mark of confidence and active intention of justifying the high hopes raised about Bardoli.

The Civil Disobedience Resolution

As the result of the day's deliberations, a Resolution was moved, by Mahatma Gandhi and passed unanimously which was drafted in Gujarati and ran to the effect that having fully grasped the conditions laid down by the Congress, the Conference resolved that Bardoli Taluka was ready for mass civil disobedience :—

(1) The Conference believed in the necessity of unity between Hindus, Moslems, Parsees, Christians and the members of other communities. (2) That the remedy of the grievances of Hindus and Mussalmans lay in non-violence, patience and toleration. (3) That for Swaraj spinning wheels and use of hand-spun and hand-woven Khadi were essential. (4) That Swaraj was impossible of achievement unless Hindus totally wiped off the sin of un-touchability. (5) That it was necessary for the people to lose property and if necessary even to risk their lives without retaliation for the uplift of the country and attainment of Swaraj and the Conference expected that Bardoli Taluka would secure the earliest opportunity for sacrifice. (6) *The Conference gave notice to the Working Committee that if it did not pass a prohibitory resolution and if the Round Table Conference did not come about the Bardoli Taluka would begin mass civil disobedience under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi*, and President of the Conference. (7) That the Conference recommended that till another resolution was passed those of the residents of Bardoli Taluka who were ready to abide by the condition laid down by the Congress would not pay land revenue.

Bombay Chronicle—31st January 1922.

BARDOLI PREPARATION

CONDITIONS NOT ENTIRELY FULFILLED

Mahatma Gandhi's Speech

(By our Special Representative)

Bardoli, January 30.

The proceedings of the Conference opened at 2-30 p.m. before a crowded gathering of nine thousand people, including five hundred ladies, most of whom were clad in Khadi. When Mahatma Gandhi entered the pandal, in

the company of Messrs. Tyebji, Vithalbai, Banker, Dayal Abhai and a dozen more, there was an absence of every sort of demonstration. There were no vociferous shouts of victory or clapping by hands. Songs having been sung Mr. Kunverji Mehta, Chairman of the Reception Committee, gave a brief review of the progress made by the Non-Co-operation movement in the Taluka and expressed how far conditions preliminary to starting of no-tax campaign were satisfied. National education, the Chairman said, had taken deep root into their soil as the number of schools and students attending them, indicated. He confessed the Taluka did not come up to the requirement so far as Swadeshi was concerned. Khadi produced in the Taluka was not sufficient to clothe the people of the Taluka. Bardoli gave a successful trial to picketing. The speaker made no secret of the amount of suffering they might be required to undergo if they were intent on seeing a happy ending of their struggle. They should be prepared for all imaginable sacrifices. When once Satyagraha was begun, there was no retreat. He in a moving appeal, charged the people of Bardoli of the task which was as honourable as it was difficult and which they had to undertake and fulfill, if they wanted to testify the high expectations raised of the Taluka and accomplish the highest aspirations of the country. Mr. Mehta concluded in stirring manner as his voice choked up " the honour of winning freedom for the country would be theirs if they strictly adhered to the condition."

Mr. Vithalbai Patel, proposed by Mr. Kalyanji Mehta, seconded by Mr. Khusalbai and supported by Mr. Ismael Wadiwala took the Presidential chair.

Chairman's Address.

Mr. Vithalbai in slow accents said Bardoli was too much sung in India. It was as much as on the tongues of those of their countrymen who were in jails as those outside. People asked if men of Bardoli were gods, or mortals. That was a historic and important occasion on which they met. That was the last occasion to gauge their strength. What the Congress failed to do after thirty-five years' work, Non-Co-operation movement did in sixteen months. The Congress was no longer dominated by classes, but it was as much of the masses.

Referring to the Reforms, Mr. Vithalbai said that it was fortunate of them not to be tempted by bait of Reforms. Even the leading Moderates such as Sir Hormasji Wadia and Mr. Gokarannath Misra considered them to be of not much worth. The reforms, despite which Government could clap into jails their leaders were no reforms.

Mr. Patel, continuing, said that not only was he their president, but he had also come there as an investigating officer. He had moved among two villages and seen for himself the prevalent conditions there. It was not for him to pronounce whether they stood the required test. It was the work of Mr. Dayalji Desai who was the president of the District Congress Committee. He had only to speak out to them that for the fame they had purchased they should be prepared to pay its price. If they hesitated or if people found that they were not yet fit for Mass Civil Disobedience they should plainly say so. It is part of bravery to speak out frankly. If they felt that they were not prepared let them say so. The Mahatma would select some other Taluka for the purpose. Government officers complain that the no tax pledges were signed by the peasants without being fully conscious of the consequences. During his investigation he found that it was untrue. Ninety-nine per cent. of those who signed the pledges were aware of the results. However, there was one more opportunity for them to examine themselves. The President warned the peasants from being deluded that Mahatma Gandhi could spare them suffering or imprisonment. He made it quite clear that Mahatma Gandhi's strength lay in their resolve. He entirely

depended upon their resolve. He entirely depended upon their strength. For the noble cause of winning freedom for their country, if one Bardoli, 5 Bardolis or 25 Bardoli Talukas disappeared from the map of India, the people who thus would die in serving their country would live for ever. They should not be under the delusion, continued Mr. Vithalbhai, that Government would only deprive them of their cotton that was standing. They had thousand ways of recovering their revenue. They might confiscate their property. It was part of wisdom to be prepared for the worst. Examining the essential conditions for launching the campaign, he declared that he was quite sure of ready support of the Patidars who numbered twenty-five thousand and Dulelas and the members of depressed classes who numbered over forty thousand were not against their campaign if not in complete accord with it. Untouchability was certainly dis-appearing, though sufficient efforts were not made. He was quite satisfied with the progress that national education had made. There were fifty-one national schools with about three thousand students as against thirty-seven Government schools with eight hundred students. There was no doubt, said Mr. Patel, that there was awakening down from children. Concluding Mr. Patel asked the people to speak out plainly if they were ready and say to the Mahatma that till a single man among them was living they were going to fight out the battle.

MAHATMA'S SPEECH

Mahatma Gandhi was then invited to speak. The Mahatma made a long speech which was listened to with rapt attention. Among the preliminary conditions to be fulfilled before Civil Disobedience could be started, Mahatmaji particularly emphasised untouchability and Swadeshi. He said that it was his third visit to Bardoli. While he visited the second time, on inquiry being made, he was not satisfied with the progress made regarding untouchability and Swadeshi. At other places there could be separate schools for untouchables, but that could not be the case so far as Bardoli was concerned. The children of the untouchables should have free access to national schools and must sit side by side with other children. He said he found the promise that was given him at the time of his second visit was not fulfilled. That was all due to indifference and not owing to contempt. But indifference is no excuse, if the Khilafat and Punjab wrongs were to be rightful. He was of opinion that Bardoli people did not do all that was expected of them even in case of Swadeshi. Progress was certainly made over what was being done a month back. If Bardoli were to maintain its honour people should have

Referring to unity among the members of different communities Gandhiji said that Hindu-Moslem unity should not be a source of danger to minor communities. It should all the more make them safe in the midst of others. Every officer in the Taluka should feel completely safe. He should be able to move amidst people with perfect security. Swaraj obtained by intimidation and force could not last long. Every officer should be duly respected. He should not be insulted even when he misbehaved. Reminding people of their responsibility before they committed themselves to the resolutions the Mahatma said that they would win Swaraj when they were able to court imprisonment, death and were prepared to forfeit their property. They were rushing to jails quite deliberately and, therefore, they would best support the resolution if they were determined to ply on the spinning wheel and if necessary even to move with loin cloth. *He said while he was thinking of granting period of fifteen days to fulfil the conditions*, representatives of 25 villages assured him that they were thoroughly prepared for Mass Civil Disobedience. When questioned, if they would admit children of the untouchables in their school, the representatives assented. If they the people of Bardoli thought that untouchability was not easy to be removed they should so speak out so that he might go to some other place and find out who else was ready to fulfil all the conditions. Mahatma Gandhi then asked them to clean their minds of the delusion that he

had the power to save them from showers of bullets or from sufferings. He assured them he had none of those powers. He then described to them the sufferings they might have to undergo as a result of non-payment of revenue. He put to vote the following items to the Conference to which all unanimously accorded their approval :—

- (1) That they believed in unity of all the communities Hindus, Moslems, Parsis, Christians and others.
- (2) That non-violence was the only remedy for the solution of the Khilafat and Punjab wrongs and for the attainment of Swaraj, looking to the condition of the country.
- (3) That in Swadeshi lies welfare of the country.
- (4) That they would all undertake to purchase Khadi prepared in Bardoli Taluka after fifth of February.
- (5) That removal of untouchability was their religious duty.
- (6) That they would court imprisonment assault or death without retaliation.

The main resolution deciding upon no tax campaign which was wired last night was then put to vote and carried unanimously.

Mr. Abbas Tyebji was then asked to speak a few words. He said that Bardoli Taluka people had left his (Nadiad Taluka) people in the background. He congratulated them on their resolve and wished them every success.

After short speeches by Messrs. Nanalal Kavi and Vallabhbbhai Patel having been delivered Mr. Vithalbhai in closing the proceedings of the Conference said that he was quite sure of victory if they only stuck fast to their determination. He wished them success.

Thus the proceedings terminated. After this Hindu and Muslim women made offerings of money at the feet of Mahatma Gandhi with Mr. Vithalbhai who is going to stay indefinitely at Bardoli. The local workers are resolved to do their level best to come up to the requirements so far as untouchability and Swadeshi are concerned.

Bombay Chronicle, Thursday, 2nd February 1922.

BARDOLI'S DECISION

WORKING COMMITTEE'S SUPPORT

Appeal to the Country.

(Associated Press)

The following resolution was passed by the Working Committee of the All-India Congress at a meeting held in Surat on the 31st January Hakim Ajmal Khan presiding :—

The Working Committee, having considered the resolution of the Bardoli Taluqa Conference, desires to congratulate the people of that Taluqa upon their self-sacrificing resolve to offer mass Civil Disobedience and wishes them every success in their patriotic effort. The Working Committee advises all other parts of India to co-operate with the people of Bardoli Taluqa by refraining from Mass or Individual Civil Disobedience of an aggressive character, except upon the express consent of Mahatma Gandhi previously obtained. Provided that in no case shall there be any relaxation in the conditions laid down therefore, either by the All-India Congress Committee at Delhi, or by the Congress at Ahmedabad. Provided further that this resolution shall in no way be interpreted so as to interfere with the present defensive Civil Disobedience going on in the county whether in respect of notifications

under the Criminal law Amendment Act or the Seditious Meetings Act or orders under the ordinary law of the country restricting the liberty of the citizens.

The Working Committee advises the people throughout the Provinces to pay up the tax due by them to the Government, whether directly or indirectly, through Zemindars or Taluqdars, except in such cases of direct payment to the Government where the previous consent has been obtained from Mahatma Gandhi for the suspension of payment preparatory to Civil Disobedience.

Times of India.

7th February 1922

GOVERNMENT REPLIES

Mr. GANDHI'S MISSTATEMENTS

Meeting the New Disobedience Movement

" Mass civil disobedience is fraught with such danger to the State that it must be met with sternness and severity."

So say the Government of India (Home Department) in the communicaue published in reply to Mr. Gandhi's Manifesto offering a postponement of civil disobedience on certain conditions which Government regard as impossible.

The Government statement makes it clear that the issue is between lawlessness and the maintenance of civilised government.

The manifesto issued by Mr. Gandhi on the 4th February justifying his determination to resort to mass civil disobedience contains a series of misstatements. Some of these are so important that the Government of India cannot allow them to pass unchallenged. In the first place they emphatically repudiate the statement that they have embarked on a policy of lawless repression and also the suggestion that, the present campaign of civil disobedience has been forced on the non-co-operation party. in order to secure the elementary rights of free association, free speech and of a free press. The Government of India desire to draw attention to the fact that the decision to adopt a programme of civil disobedience was finally accepted on the 4th November before the recent notifications relating either to the Seditious Meetings Act or the Criminal Law Amendment Act, to which Mr. Gandhi unmistakeably refers were issued. It was in consequence of serious acts of lawlessness, committed by persons who professed to be followers of Mr. Gandhi and the non-co-operation movement, that the Government were forced to take measures which are in strict accordance with the law for the protection of peaceful citizens in the pursuit of their lawful avocations.

A NEW AND DANGEROUS SITUATION.

2. Since the inauguration of the non-co-operation movement the Government of India, actuated by a desire to avoid anything in the nature of the repression of political activity, even though it was of an extreme character, have restricted their action in relation thereto to such measures as were necessary for the maintenance of law and order and the preservation of public tranquillity. Up to November no steps, save in Delhi last year, were taken against the volunteers associations. In November, however, the Government were confronted with a new and dangerous situation. In the course of the past year, there had been systematic attempts to tamper with the loyalty of the soldiers and the police, and there had occurred numerous outbreaks of serious disorders, directly attributable to the propaganda of the non-co-operation party amongst the ignorant and excitable masses. These outbreaks had resulted in grave loss of life, the growth of a dangerous spirit of lawlessness and an increasing disregard for lawful authority. In November they culminated in the grave riots in Bombay, in which 53 persons lost their lives and approximately 400 were wounded. On the same date dangerous manifestations of lawlessness occurred in many other places and at this period it became clear that many of the volunteer associations had

embarked on a systematic campaign of violence, intimidation and obstruction, to combat which proceedings under the Penal Code and the Code of Criminal procedure had proved ineffective.

MORE DRASTIC MEASURES

In these circumstances the Government were reluctantly compelled to resort to measures of a more comprehensive and drastic character. Nevertheless, the operation of the Seditious Meetings' Act was strictly limited to a few districts in which the risk of grave disturbances of the peace was specially great, and the application of the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1908 was confined to associations, the majority of the members of which had habitually indulged in violence and intimidation. It is impossible here to set out in detail the evidence which justified the adoption of these measures in the different provinces. Abundant proof is, however, to be found in the published proceedings of the various legislative bodies, in the communiques of the different local Government's and in the pronouncements of the heads of the provinces. While resolute in their determination to enforce respect for law and order and to protect loyal and peaceful subjects of the Crown, the Government have at the same time taken every precaution possible to mitigate where desirable the conditions of imprisonment and to avoid any action which might have the appearance of vindictive severity. Ample proof of this will be found in the orders issued by the local Governments. Numerous offenders have been released, sentences have been reduced and special consideration has been shown in the case of persons convicted of offences under the Seditious Meetings' Act or the Criminal Law Amendment Act. There is thus no shadow of justification for the charge that their policy has been one of indiscriminate and lawless repression.

A STATE DISPROVED

3. A further charge, which has been brought by Mr. Gandhi, is that the recent measures of Government have involved a departure from the civilised policy laid down by His Excellency at the time of the apology of the Ali brothers, namely, that the Government of India should not interfere with the activities of the non-co-operators so long as they remained non-violent in word and deed. The following citation from the communique of the Government of India issued on the 30th May, conclusively disproves this statements :—" After explaining that in view of the solemn undertaking contained in the statement over their signature it had been decided to refrain from instituting criminal proceedings against Messrs. Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali, the Government of India observed, it must not be inferred from the original determination of the Government to prosecute for speeches inciting to violence promoting disaffection of a less violent character is not an offence against the law. The Government of India desire to make it plain that they will enforce the law relating to offences against the State, as and when they may think fit against any persons who. have committed breaches of it."

THE PROPOSED CONFERENCE

4. It remains for the Government of India to deal with the allegation that His Excellency summarily rejected the proposal for a conference, although the terms put forward by the conference at Bombay and accepted by the Working Committee of the Congress were quite in keeping with His Excellency's own requirements as indicated in his speech at Calcutta. How far this is from being the case will be manifest from a comparison of His Excellency's speech with the terms proposed by the conference. His Excellency in that speech insisted on the imperative necessity, as a fundamental condition precedent to the discussion of any question of a conference, of the discontinuance of the unlawful activities of the non-co-operation party. No assurance on this point was, however, contained in the proposals advanced by the conference. On the contrary, whilst the Government were asked to make concessions which not only included the withdrawal of the notification under the Criminal Law Amendment and Seditious Meetings' Acts and the release of persons convicted thereunder, but also the release of persons convicted of offences designed to affect the

loyalty of the army, and the submission to an arbitration committee of the cases of other persons convicted under the ordinary law of the land, there was no suggestion that any of the illegal activities of the non-co-operators other than hartals, picquetting and civil-disobedience should cease. Moreover, it was evident from the statements made by Mr. Gandhi at the conference, that he intended to continue the enrolment of volunteers in prohibited associations and preparations for civil disobedience. Further Mr. Gandhi also made it apparent that the proposed round table conference would be called merely to register his decrees. It is idle to suggest that terms of this character fulfilled in any way the essentials laid down by His Excellency or can reasonably be described as having been made in response to the sentiments expressed by him.

IMPOSSIBLE REQUESTS

Finally, the Government of India desire to draw attention to the demands put forward in the concluding para of Mr. Gandhi's present manifesto, which exceeded even the demands made by the Working Committee of the Congress, Mr. Gandhi's demands now include (1) the release of all prisoners convicted or under trial for non-violent activities ; (2) a guarantee that Government will refrain absolutely from interference with all non-violent activities of the non-co-operation party, even though they fall within the purview of the Indian Penal Code, or in other words an undertaking that Government will indefinitely hold in abeyance in regard to the non-co-operators the ordinary and long established law of the land. In return for these concessions he indicated that he intends to continue the illegal and seditious propaganda and operations of the non-co-operation party and merely appears to postpone civil disobedience of an aggressive character until the offenders now in jail had an opportunity of reviewing the whole situation. In the same paragraph he re-affirms the unalterable character of the demands of his party. The Government of India are confident that all right thinking citizens will recognise that this manifesto constitutes no response whatever to the speech of His Excellency at Calcutta and that the demands made are such as no Government could discuss, much less accept.

ISSUE—LAW VERSUS LAWLESSNESS

5. The alternatives that now confront the people of India are such as sophistry can no longer obscure or disguise. The issue is no longer between this or that programme of political advance, but between lawlessness with all its dangerous consequences on the one hand, and on the other the maintenance of those principles which lie at the root of all civilised Government. Mass civil disobedience is fraught with such danger to the State, that it must be met with sternness and severity. The Government entertain no doubt that in any measures which they may have to take for its suppression, they can count on the support and assistance of all law abiding and loyal citizens of His Majesty.

Bombay Chronicle, dated 9th. February 1922.

BARDOLI'S PREPARATIONS

MAHATMA ISSUING LEAFLETS

(From our Special Representative.)

Bardoli, February 7.

Monday was the day of silence for Mahatmaji. He observes complete silence on the day and generally does much writing work for the " Young India " and the " Naw Jivan." Mr, Vithalbhai Patel arrived at Bardoli in the morning. Mr. Andrews was clad in Khadi having a short dhotie, a Khadi shirt and leather chappals. He went direct to Gandhiji from the station and talked to him for about 3 hours. I cannot say discussed with Gandhiji for the latter was not talking but was putting questions when necessary in writing. In the afternoon Mr. Andrews visited a few villages in the taluka

only to have an idea of the village non-co-operation and Satyagraha activities. He left for Bombay by the evening train. Mr. Vithalbhai is staying on.

A DAILY LEAFLET.

Mahatmajī is thinking of issuing a daily leaflet or patrika everyday in Gujarati to be distributed among the people of Bardoli taluka. The first of these was published yesterday in the course of which he states addressing the Bardoli people.

" You and I have taken over our shoulders no small responsibilities. You have lifted the burden of the whole country. You want to stand at the top in the test.

With a view to make the greatest sacrifice you are unsparingly devoting yourselves to self-purification.

Only a short time back I learnt that the children of the " untouchables " are admitted in eighteen national schools. I was much delighted to hear the news. As long as there is a single national school without the children of the " untouchables " the resolution of the Conference cannot be said to have been accomplished.

Similarly a spinning wheel must be introduced in every house. No non-co-operating man or woman can use any other sort of cloth excepting hand-spun and hand-woven Khadi.

I hope not a single thoughtful man of Bardoli would pay revenue. Well may the Government confiscate property, demand *chothai* or sell away the cattle. We have, at least got to suffer this much."

He proceeding, says that everyone should be prepared to forfeit all property. But a staunch believer in Swaraj must have confidence that as soon as Swaraj is won the property would be restored. He concludes by saying " our every struggle is based upon self confidence and so we should confide in God. May you all get that confidence."

MR. NANALAL'S VIEWS.

Mr. Nanalal Kavi had moved in more than half a dozen villages of Bardoli and had presided over an Antyaj Parishad. On my requesting him to state what he thought of Bardoli's preparations. Mr. Nanalal said that of all the places he had moved—and they were Anand, Nadiad, Surat, Ahmedabad. Bardoli undoubtedly stands beyond comparison in the progress it has made in many directions. He was favourably impressed by the farmers of Bardoli and expressed that women's awakening was a sound factor in the movement. The soil he said, was rich and reminded him of the most fertile garden land. He said that in the course of his visit to a village when women of that place were questioned how they would behave when their husbands would be arrested and imprisoned replied that they would follow them quite readily. He mentioned three causes for the incomparable advance made by Bardoli which are striking to the imagination of all workers on this part.

First.—In almost every village there are men who had been to South Africa and are acquainted with the South African struggle of Passive Resistance.

Second.—There are a good many many people in the taluka who actually took part in the struggle and were acquainted with Gandhibhai. They have prepared healthy atmosphere in the villages and made people familiar with the nature and possible results of the sufferings.

Third.—He spoke in highly eulogistic terms of the work and energy of three men of Bardoli namely Messrs. Kalyanji and Kunverji Mehta and Dayalji Desai. He was of the opinion that the Ashrams, for students that these

gentlemen were conducting in Surat brought them in close contact with Bardoli farmers and convinced them of their unselfish motives.

NAVAJIVAN (5TH FEBRUARY 1922)

In the course of the leading article in the Navajivan dated the 5 th February, Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes :—This time the issue is different. We have to settle first an account with the Government and their supporters before we solve the questions of the Khilafat, the—Punjab or Swaraj. The Government have always maintained their hold by distracting the attention of the people : if it is a particular disease, they diagnose some—other.

The Bengalis suffered from the disease of—partition and for that bombs were thrown by them ; so Government called the bomb-throwing a disease, tried to make them forget the first disease and in the name of bombs organised a plan to oppress the innocent and emasculate the people. Similar was the disease of the Rowlatt Act—under the effects of it, there was the convulsion in the Punjab. In order to avert this convulsion, they planned a massacre and tried to conceal the original disease.

Now India is suffering under the triple disease of the Khilafat, the Punjab and Swaraj. The suffering has set her on fire. Owing to the internal burning, at times madness manifests itself. Regarding this madness as the original disease, the Government carry on repression. Thus it has become a rule to cause the original disease to be forgotten, to make the effects of it to be believed as the disease and to carry on repression in order to cure it. We have learnt from experience not to give Government scope for deluding the people. It is with such efforts that the Government have established this authority so far. The people may suffer owing to the error or autocracy of Government and as a result of it, the people may lose their heads but in that event we shall not allow them to make us forget, in suppressing it,—their autocracy. If we can deprive them of this weapon for ever, the Government cannot remain autocrat. Where repression is stopped, instead of autocracy, public opinion will rule. Fortunately the Government themselves have raised this question, by commencing repression. We must take up the challenge. The Government may inflict upon us any amount of suffering they like but in our triple demand this is added as the fourth and it must be the supreme one. We should bring matters to such a pass as to make it impossible for Government to carry on repression. To gag us, to disperse our assemblies and to suppress our organs, is repression. The Government who do not wish to obey public opinion will always attempt to smother it. When they cannot do so, they are defeated. It is, therefore, that importance has been given to the demand for stopping repression, in the message that has been sent from Bardoli. We are as good as free, when we can speak, when our organs are printed and when we can freely associate. Then three fourths of Swaraj would be established. We are practising defensive Civil Disobedience, and will practise it as long as absurd orders are issued. But besides this, there is the Civil Disobedience which is not defensive, which is aggressive, and which is in the form of revolt and that Civil Disobedience we shall stop if Government will stop repression. I believe that we should stop it on that condition, because if the Government allow us the freedom of speech, the freedom of writing and the freedom of association, the only course left open to them is to accept our demands in a short time. Thus the burden that rests upon Bardoli now is to get the release of our warriors and the abandonment of the policy of repression. If Bardoli can do this, it will be deemed to have fully discharged its duty. Our message to the Viceroy shows that we are perfectly civil. Its meaning is this that if the Viceroy should accept by the 11th the demand of Bardoli, the Civil Disobedience of Bardoli would for the moment be postponed. After the release of the warriors, we would carry on the war in the manner we might decide after joint deliberation. I believe that if the demand is accepted, there will be little chance of our having to embark on Civil Disobedience. There can be no other meaning of the acceptance of our demand. I, therefore, believe that it is well-nigh impossible for our demand for freedom of speech, writing and association to be accepted.

Submitted to the Secretary to Government, Home Department, for perusal in advance of the Weekly Report.

Telegram dated 8th February 1922.

From

Collector, Surat.

To

Home Department, Special, Bombay.

Gandhi has issued a leaflet Patrika No. 1 dated Bardoli Mahasud 8th, 5th February which includes the following, Begins. I hope that not a single sensible person of Bardoli Taluka will pay land revenue. Let Government take away property; let them take one fourth fine; let them take away cattle; this is the least we have to endure. Ends. He then goes on to give assurances that they will get back their lands when Swaraj is attained.

Confidential.

No. 64.

From

J. R. Martin, Esquire, I.C.S., Collector of Surat.

To

The Secretary to Government, Home Department, (Special), Surat, 8th February 1922.

Sir,

In continuation of my telegram of to-day's date I have the honour to forward herewith a copy of the translation of the leaflet " Patrika No. 1 ", dated Bardoli, Maha Sud 8th, (i.e. 5th February 1922) issued by Mr. Gandhi..

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Signed) J. R. MARTIN,
Collector of Surat.

Bombay Chronicle, 9th February 1922

MAHATMA GANDHI'S REJOINDER

" CHOICE BEFORE THE PEOPLE "

" LAWLESS REPRESSION OF MASS CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE "

Government's Evasion of Realities

Mahatma Gandhi has sent the following reply to the Government of India's communique* of the 6th instant :—

I have very carefully read the Government's reply to my letter to His Excellency. I confess that I was totally unprepared for such an evasion of the realities of the case as the reply betrays. I will take the very first repudiation. The reply says : " They (the Government;) emphatically repudiate the statement that they have embarked on a policy of lawless repression and also the suggestion that the present campaign of Civil Disobedience has been forced on the Non-Co-operation party in

* Government of India's Communique is printed on page 529.

order to secure the elementary rights of free association, free speech and a free Press,". Even a cursory glance at my letter would show that whilst Civil Disobedience was authorized by the All-India Congress Committee meeting held on the 4th November at Delhi it, has not commenced. I have made it clear in my letter that the contemplated Mass Civil Disobedience was indefinitely postponed on account of the regrettable events of the 17th November in Bombay. That decision was duly published, and it is within the knowledge of the Government as also the public that herculean efforts were being made to combat the still lingering violent tendency amongst the people. It is also within the knowledge of the Government and the public that a special form of pledge was devised to be signed by volunteers with the deliberate purpose of keeping out all but men of proved character. The primary object of these volunteer associations was to inculcate amongst the masses the lessons of non-violence and to keep the peace at all Non-Co-operation functions. Unfortunately the Government of India lost its head completely over the Bombay events and perhaps still more over the very complete hartal on the same date of Calcutta. I do not wish to deny that there might have been some intimidation practised in Calcutta, but it was not, I venture to submit, the fact of intimidation but the irritation caused by the completeness of the hartal that maddened the Government of India as also the Government of Bengal. Repression there was even before that time, but nothing which was said or done in connection with it but the repression that came in the wake of the notifications proclaiming the Criminal Law Amendment Act for the purpose of dealing with volunteer associations and the Seditious Meetings Act for the purpose of dealing with public meetings held by Non-Co-operators came upon the Non-Co-operation community as a bombshell. I repeat then that these notifications and the arrests of Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das and Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad in Bengal, the arrest of Pandit Motilal Nehru and his co-workers in the U. P. and of Lala Lajpat Rai and his party in the Punjab made it absolutely necessary to take up not yet aggressive civil disobedience but only defensive Civil Dis-obedience — otherwise described as Passive Resistance. Even Sir Hormusjee Wadhya was obliged to declare that if the Bombay Government followed the precedents set by the Governments of Bengal, U.P. and the Punjab he would be bound to resist such notifications, that is, to enrol himself as a volunteer or to attend public meetings in defiance of Government orders to the contrary. It is thus clear that a case has been completely made out for Civil Disobedience unless the Government revises its policy which has resulted in the stopping of public meetings, public associations and the Non-Co-operation Press in many parts of India.

FACTS BEYOND CHALLENGE

Now for the statement that the Government " have embarked on a policy of lawless repression". Instead of an ample expression of regret and apology for the barbarous deeds that have been committed by officials in the name of law and order I regret to find in the Government reply a categorical denial of any " lawless repression ". In this connection I urge the public and Government carefully to consider the following facts whose substance is beyond challenge :—

- (1) The official shooting at Entally in Calcutta and the callous treatment even of a corpse.
- (2) The admitted brutality of the Civil Guards.
- (3) The forcible dispersal of a meeting at Dacca, and the dragging of innocent men by their legs although they had given no offence or cause whatsoever.
- (4) Similar treatment of volunteers in Alighrah.
- (5) The conclusive (in my opinion) findings of the Committee presided over by Dr. Gokul Chand Nerang about the brutal and uncalled-for assaults upon volunteers and the public in Lahore.
- (6) Wicked and inhuman treatment of volunteers and the public at Jullunder.
- (7) The shooting of a boy at Dehra Dun and the cruelly forcible dispersal of a public meeting at that place.

(8) The looting admitted by the Bihar Government of villages by an officer and his company without any permission whatsoever from any one, but as stated by non-co-operators at the invitation of a planter and the assaults upon volunteers and burning of Khaddar and papers belonging to the Congress at Sonapur.

(9) Midnight searches and arrests in Congress and Khilafat offices.

I have merely given a sample of the many "infallible proofs" of official lawlessness and barbarism. I have mentioned not even a title of what is happening all over the country, and I wish to state without fear of its successful contradiction that the scale on which this lawlessness has gone on in so many Provinces of India puts into shade the inhumanities that were practised in the Punjab if we accept the crawling order and the massacre at Jallianwalla Bagh. It is my certain conviction that the massacre at Jallianwalla Bagh was a clean transaction compared to the unclean transactions described above, and the pity of it is that because people are not shot or butchered the tortures through which hundreds of inoffensive men have gone through do not produce a shock sufficient to turn everybody's face against this Government, but as in this warfare against innocence was not enough, the reins are being tightened in the jails. We know nothing of what is happening to-day in the Karachi jail, to a solitary prisoner in the Sabarmati jail and to a batch in Benares are being tightened in the jails. We know nothing of what is happening today in their constituting themselves trustees of national honour and dignity. I am hoping that these proud and defiant spirits will not be bent into submission to insolence masquerading in the official garb. I deny the right of the Authorities to insist on high-souled men appearing before them almost naked or pay any obsequious respect to them by way of salaaming with open palms brought together or rising to the intonation of " Sarkar Ek Hai". No God-fearing man will do the latter even if he has to be kept standing in stocks for days and nights as a Bengal schoolmaster is reported to have been.

For the sake of the dignity of human nature I trust that Lord Reading and his draughtsmen do not know the facts that I have adduced or, being carried away by their belief in the infallibility of their employees, refuse to believe in the statements which the public regard as God's truth. If there is the slightest exaggeration in the statements that I have made I shall as publicly withdraw them and apologize for them as I am making them now, but as it is I undertake to prove the substance of every one of these charges if not the very letter, and much more of them before any impartial tribunal of men or women unconnected with the Government. I invite Pandit Malaviyaji and those who are performing the thankless task of securing a Round Table Conference to form an impartial commission to investigate these charges by which I stand or fall.

It is the physical and brutal ill-treatment of humanity which has made many of my co-workers and myself impatient of life and in the face of these things I do not wish to take public time by dealing in detail with what I mean by abuse of the common law of the country, but I cannot help correcting the misimpression which is likely to be created in connection with the Bombay disorders. Disgraceful and deplorable as they were, let it be remembered that of the 53 persons who lost their lives over 45 were non-co-operators or their sympathisers the hooligans, and of the 400 wounded, to be absolutely on the safe side, over 350 were also derived from the same class. I do not complain. The non-co-operators and the friendly hooligans got what they deserved. They began the violence — they reaped the reward. Let it also not be forgotten that with all deference to the Bombay Government it was Non-co-operators, ably assisted by Independents and Co-operators, who brought peace out of the chaos of the two days following the fateful 17th.

I must totally deny the imputation that "the application of the Criminal Law Amendment Act was confined to associations the majority of the members of which had habitually indulged in violence and intimidation.". The prisons of India today hold some of the most inoffensive men and hardly any who have either resorted to violence or intimidation and who are convicted under that law. Abundant proof can

be produced in support of this statement as also of the statement of the fact that almost wherever meetings have been broken up there was absolutely no risk of violence.

The Government of India deny that the Viceroy had laid down upon the apology of the Ali Brothers the civilised policy of non-interference with the non-violent activities of non-co-operators. I am extremely sorry for this repudiation. The very part of the communique reproduced in the reply is in my opinion sufficient proof that the Government did not intend to interfere with such activities. The Government did not wish it to be inferred that " speeches promoting disaffection of a less violent character were not an offence against the law". I have never stated that breach of any law was not to be an offence against it, but I have stated, as I repeat now, that it was not the intention of the Government then to prosecute for non-violent activities although they might amount to a technical breach of the law.

CONDITIONS OF ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

As to conditions of the Conference the Government reply evidently omits to mention the two words " and otherwise" after the words" Calcutta speech," in my letter. I repeat that the terms as I could gather from " the Calcutta speech and otherwise" were nearly the same that were mentioned in the resolutions of the Malaviya Conference. What are called unlawful activities of the N.C.O. party being a reply to the notifications of the Government would have ceased automatically with the withdrawal of those notifications, because the formation of volunteer corps and public meetings would not be unlawful activities after the withdrawal of the offending notifications. Even while the negotiations were going on in Calcutta the discharge of Fatwa prisoners was asked for, and I can only repeat what I have said elsewhere that if it is disloyal to say that Military or any service under the existing system of Government is a sin against God and humanity I fear that such disloyalty must continue.

The Government communique does me a cruel wrong by imputting to me a desire that the proposed Round Table Conference should be called " merely to register" my " decrees". I did state in order to avoid any misunderstanding the Congress demands as I feel I was in duty bound in as clear terms as possible. No Congressman could approach any Conference without making his position clear. I expected the ordinary courtesy of not considering me or any Congressman to be impervious to reason and argument It is open to anybody to convince me that the demands of the Congress regarding the Khilafat, the Punjab and Swaraj are wrong or unreasonable, and I would certainly retrace my steps and so far as I am concerned, rectify the wrong. The Government of India know that such has been always my attitude.

The communique strongly enough says that the demands set forth in my Manifesto are even larger than those of the Working Committee. I claim that they fall far below the demands of the Working Committee, for what I now ask against total suspension of Civil Disobedience of an aggressive character is merely the stoppage of ruthless repression, the release of prisoners convicted under it and a clear declaration of policy. The demands of the Working Committee included a Round Table Conference. In my Manifesto I have not asked for a Round Table Conference at all. It is true that this waiving of a Round Table Conference does not proceed from any expedience, but it is a confession of present weakness. I freely recognise that unless India becomes saturated with the spirit of non-violence and generates disciplined strength that can only come from non-violence she cannot enforce her demands, and it is for that reason that I now consider that the first thing for the people to do is to secure a reversal of this mad repression and then to concentrate upon more complete organization and more construction, and here again the communique does me an injustice by merely stating that Civil Disobedience of an aggressive character will be postponed until the opportunity is given to the imprisoned leaders of reviewing the whole situation after their discharge, and by conveniently omitting to mention the following concluding sentences of my letter:—

"If the Government make the requested declaration I shall regard it as an honest desire on its part to give effect to public opinion and shall therefore, have no hesitation

in advising the country to be engaged in further moulding public opinion without violent restraint from either side and trust to its working to secure the fulfilment of its unalterable demands. Aggressive Civil Disobedience in that case will be taken up only when the Government departs from its policy of strictest neutrality or refuses to yield to clearly expressed opinion of the vast majority of the people of India."

I venture to claim extreme reasonableness and moderation for the above presentation of the case.

THE ALTERNATIVE BEFORE PEOPLE

The alternative before the people therefore is not, as the communique concludes, " between lawlessness with all its disastrous consequences on the one hand and on the other the maintenance of those principles which at the root of all civilised Government. " Mass Civil Disobedience," it adds, " is fraught with such danger to the State that it must be met with sternness and severity.' The choice before the people is Mass Civil Disobedience, with all its undoubted dangers and lawless repression of lawful activities of the people. I hold that it is impossible for anybody of self-respecting men for fear of unknown dangers to sit still and do nothing effective while looting of property and assaulting of innocent men are going on all over the country in the name of law and order.

M. K. Gandhi.

Bombay Chronicle — 10th February 1922

MAHATMA AND GOVERNMENT

SIR W. VINCENTS DEFENDS REPRESSION

CHARGES ANSWERED.

(Associated Press)

Delhi, February 9.

The following is the full text of the reply of Sir William Vincent to Dr. Gour's question about Mr. Gandhi :—

In the Legislative Assembly to-day replying to a private question by Dr. Gour regarding Mr. Gandhi's recent statement Sir William Vincent said: " I have not seen any written question myself, but I received an oral notice that I was to be asked a question as to the action, if any, the Government intended to take in regard to the recent statement made by Mr. Gandhi. The attention of the Government of India has been drawn to that statement. The Government have already made an announcement on the 6th of February which contains a full statement of their policy and they have given a mere detailed explanation of it in this Assembly. They have nothing to add to those pronouncements. As regards the specific charges of misconduct made in Mr. Gandhi's last statement I will have enquiries made from the local governments as to the truth of the allegations and I will place any information I receive at the disposal of the Honourable Member, but I must remind the Assembly that all these questions are really matters for provincial administrations to deal with and many of them have I believe been taken up or are being investigated by local governments. I would also ask the Assembly not to place too much reliance on vague statements of this kind, bearing in mind the fact that similar allegations those for instance regarding the jail administration in Delhi have proved to be without foundation.

GOVERNMENT DETERMINED TO USE FORCE

There are two particular charges however to which I must draw attention. One relates to the dispersal of unlawful assemblies by force and I want to make it quite clear that where it is necessary to disperse unlawful assemblies and such

assemblies refuse to disperse when ordered to do so by competent authority, it is the intention of the Government that as in all other countries they should be dispersed by force when this is necessary. In such cases force is the only remedy. In the second place attention is drawn in this statement of Mr. Gandhi's to the question of searches and arrests by night. The Government of India will give no undertaking that searches and arrests will not be made by night or by day as may be found necessary. There is one more point to which I shall refer and that is, the statement that a special form of pledge has been devised to be signed by volunteers with the deliberate purpose of keeping out all but men of approved character. I want the Assembly to bear in mind the recent tragic occurrences at Gorakhpur where so many servants of the Crown have lost their lives and to consider whether that is any indication that this new pledge is being kept. In my judgment it remains for Mr. Gandhi to consider that occurrence in the light of some of the remarks which he made after the more fatal disturbance in Bombay".

Bombay Chronicle — 13th February 1922

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE SUSPENDED

TILL NON-VIOLENCE IS ENSURED

WORKING COMMITTEES DECISION

HOW TO PROMOTE PEACEFUL ATMOSPHERE

FOLLOW THE CONGRESS MANDATE

To remove obstacles to realisation of national aim

(Associated Press)

Bardoli, February 12.

The Working Committee of the Congress met at Bardoli on the 11th and 12th instant and passed the following important resolutions :—

(1) (1) The Working Committee deplores the inhuman conduct of the mob at Chauri Charua, in having brutally murdered constabls and watonly burned the police Thana, and tenders its sympathy to the families of the bereaved.

SUSPENSION OF MASS CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

(2) In view of nature's repeated warnings, everytime mass civil disobedience has been inimminent, some popular violent outburst has taken place, indicating that the atmosphere in the country is not non-violent enough for mass civil disobedience, the latest instance being the tragic and terrible events at Chauri Chaura near Gorakhpur, the Working Committee of the Congress resolves that mass civil disobedience contemplated at Bardoli and elsewhere be suspended and instructs the Local Congress Committees forthwith to advise the cultivators to pay the land revenue and other taxes due to the Government and whose payment might have been suspended in anticipation of mass civil disobedience and instructs them to suspend every other preparatory activity of an offensive nature.

(3) The suspension of mass civil disobedience shall be continued till the atmosphere is so non-violent as to ensure the non-repetition of popular atrocities such as at Gorakhpur, or hooliganism such as at Bombay and Madras, respectively on the 17th November 1921 and 13th January last.

(4) In order to promote a peaceful atmosphere the Working Committee advises till further instruction to all Congress organisation to stop activities specially designed to court arrest and imprisonment, save normal Congress activities including voluntary hartals wherever an absolutely peaceful atmosphere can be assured,

and for that end all picketing shall be stopped save for the bona-fide and peaceful purpose of warning the visitors to liquor shops against the evils of drinking. Such picketing to be controlled by persons of known good characters and specially selected by the Congress Committee concerned.

(5) The Working Committee advises, till further instructions, the stoppage of all volunteer processions and public meetings merely for the purpose of defiance of the notifications regarding such meetings. This, however, shall not interfere with the private meetings of the Congress and other committees or public meetings which are required for the conduct of the normal activities of the Congress.

NON-PAYMENT OF TAX TO ZAMINDARS INJURIOUS

(6) Complaints having been brought to the notice of the Working Committee that ryots are not paying rents to the Zamindars the Working Committee advises Congress workers and organisations to inform the ryots that such withholding of rents is contrary to the resolutions of the Congress and that it is injurious to the best interests of the country.

(7) The Working Committee assures the Zamindars that the Congress movement is in no way intended to attack their legal rights and that even where the ryots have grievances the Committees desire that redress should be sought by mutual consultations and by the usual recourse to arbitrations.

LAXITY IN SELECTION OF VOLUNTEERS.

(8) Complaints having been brought to the notice of the Working Committee that in the formation of volunteers corps great laxity prevails in the selection and that insistence is not had on the full use of hand-spun and handwoven khaddar, and on the full observance by Hindus of the rule as to the removal of untouchability nor is care being taken to ascertain that the candidates believe fully in the observance of non-violence in intent, word and deed, in terms of the Congress resolution the Working Committee calls upon 11 Congress organisations to revise their lists and remove from them the names of all such volunteers as do not strictly conform to the requirements of the pledge.

(9) The Working Committee is of opinion that unless Congress men carry out to the full the Congress constitution and the resolutions from time to time issued by the Working Committee it is not possible to achieve its objects expeditiously or at all.

(10) The foregoing resolutions will have effect only pending the meeting to be specially convened of the All-India Congress Committee and thereafter subject to confirmation by it the Secretary to call such meeting as early as possible after consultation with Hakim Ajmal Khan.

GORAKHPUR TRAGEDY, A PROOF OF MASS MIND

Whereas the Gorakhpur tragedy is a powerful proof of the fact that the mass mind has not yet fully realised the necessity of non-violence as an integral, active, and chief part of mass civil disobedience and whereas the reported indiscriminate acceptance of persons as volunteers in contravention of the Congress instructions betrays want of appreciation of vital part of Satyagraha, and whereas, in the opinion of the Working Committee, the delay in the attainment of national aim is solely due to the weak and incomplete execution in practice of the constitution of the Congress and with a view to perfecting the internal organisation, the Working Committee advises all Congress organisations to be engaged in the following activities :—

FUTURE ACTIVITIES OF CONGRESS ORGANISATIONS.

(1) To enlist at least one crore of members of the Congress.

Notes.—(1) since peace (non-violence and legitimacy), and truth are the essence of the Congress creed, no person should be enlisted who does not believe

in non-violence and truth as indispensable for the attainment of Swaraj. The creed of the Congress must therefore, be carefully explained to each person who is appealed to join the Congress.

Note.—(2) The workers should note that no one who does not pay the annual subscription can be regarded as a qualified Congress man. All the old members are, therefore, to be advised to reregister their names.

Note.—(2) To popularise the spinning wheel and organise the manufacture of hand-spun and handwoven khaddar.

Note.—(2) To this end all workers and office bearers should be dressed in khaddar, and it is recommended that with a view to encourage others they should themselves learn handspinning.

(3) To organise national schools.

Note.—No picketing of Government schools should be resorted to; best reliance should be placed upon the superiority of national schools in all vital matters to command attendance.

(4) To organise the depressed classes for a better life to improve their social, mental and moral condition, to induce them to send their children to national schools, and to provide for them the ordinary facilities which other citizens enjoy.

Note.—Whilst, therefore, where the prejudice against the untouchables is still strong in places separate schools and separate wells must be maintained out of Congress funds. Every effort should be made to draw such children to national schools and to persuade the people to allow the untouchables to use the common wells.

(5) To organise the temperance campaign amongst the people addicted to the drink habit by house to house visits and to rely more upon appeal to the drinker in his home than upon picketing.

(6) To organise village and town " Panchayats" for the private settlement of all disputes, reliance being placed solely upon the force of public opinion and the truthfulness of " Panchayat " decision to ensure obedience to them.

Note.—In order to avoid even the appearance of coercion, no social boycott should be resorted to against those who will not obey the panchayats decision.

(7) In order to promote and emphasize unity among all classes and races and mutual goodwill, the establishment of which is the aim of the movement of non-co-operation, to organise a social service department that will render help to all irrespective of differences in times of illness or accident.

Note.—A non-co-operator whilst firmly adhering his creed will deem it a privilege to render personal service in case of illness or accident to every person whether English or Indian.

COLLECTION FOR T.M.S. FUND TO CONTINUE

(8) To continue the Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund and to call upon every Congress man or Congress sympathiser to pay at least one hundredth part of his annual income for the year 1921. Every province to send every month 25 per cent, of its income from the Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund to the All-India Congress Committee.

(9) The above resolutions shall be brought before the forthcoming session of the All-India Congress Committee for revision, if necessary.

(10) In the opinion of the Working Committee a project is necessary for the purpose of finding employment for those who may give up Government service and to that end the Committee appoints Messrs. Mian Mahomed Haji Jan Mahomed Chotani, Jamnalal Bajaj and V. J. Patel to draw up a scheme for consideration by the said special meeting of the All-India Congress Committee.

(Second and Revised Edition)

THE HISTORIC TRIAL OF MAHATMA GANDHI

FOREWORD BY MARMADUKE PICKTHALL

INTERNATIONAL PRINTING WORKS

KARACHI

Arrest and After

Mahatma Gandhi was arrested at Ahmedabad on 10th March, 1922, on charge of sedition under orders of the Government of Bombay with the concurrence of the Government of India.

The arrest was long expected, and in fact for sometime past, Mahatmaji and his devoted comrade, Mr. Shankerlal Banker, were aware of their impending arrest. On the 10th March it was the hour of ten in the night, Mr. Banker and Shrimati Ansuya were returning from Mahatma's Ashram, when they met Mr. Healey, the District Police Superintendent who showed them warrants and informed them that he had come to arrest Mr. Gandhi adding, " Let him take his time. There is no hurry". The news was communicated to Mahatma Gandhi who was then having his bath. Meanwhile the news spread in a minute throughout the Ashram and almost all inmates, men, women and children, hastened to Mahatmaji to bid him farewell and have his blessings. At his desire, his favorite Gujarati hymn which described the qualities of a true *vaishnava* was sung in chorus. After this Mahatmaji accosted each one of the Ashramites in suitable terms, encouraged them by his sprightliness and abundant joy and then prepared to surrender himself. While proceeding from residence to the Police Officer on road, he expressed himself several times that he felt very happy and gratified over the arrest. His parting words were " Work hard and tire not".

Both Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Banker were taken to the Sabarmati Jail. Mrs. Gandhi with a small company of four or five was allowed to accompany them and see them lodged in their quarters, which consisted of a row of eight rooms with an open verandah about 10 feet wide and a fairly large courtyard with a line of small trees in the middle. The two rooms given to them were furnished each with an iron cot, a mattress, two sheets, a pillow, a blanket and a carpet. Light was provided in the evening. The doors of the rooms were made of wooden frames, the planks about six inches wide with thick iron bars fixed in them, the distance between two bars being a little over an inch. The whole place was scrupulously clean.

Lower Court Proceedings

On the following day Messrs. Gandhi and Banker were placed before Mr. Brown, Assistant Magistrate, the Court being held in the Divisional Commissioner's office at Shahibag, Ahmedabad. The prosecution was conducted by Rao Bahadur Girdharilal, Public Prosecutor.

Among those present were Mr. and Mrs. Ambalal Sarabhai, Mrs. Kasturbai Gandhi, Mrs. Naidu, Mr, Vallabhbhai Patel, Dr. Kanga and others

In the centre of the room was the Mahatma, sitting in a chair beside his young colleague, Mr. Banker. As usual he wore nothing save " Langoti" (of spotlessly clean khadhi), a garment which amounts to little more than a loincloth ; even his sandals had fallen from his feet. His head too was bare and hair close cropped, grizzled hair revealed and contours of his skull.

His whole demeanour was calm and dignified. There was no trace of anxiety in his expression, but the settled look of one who has made up his mind, counted the cost and whom nothing external can change.

Behind and quite near him sat several Indian ladies, amongst them his wife. She has a kind, simple, and motherly face with a singularly sweet and homely expression. Her sad looks betrayed the anxiety for him which he could not feel for himself, but her emotions were well under control.

The Superintendent of Police, Ahmedabad, the first witness, produced the Bombay Government's authority to lodge a complaint for four articles published in Young India, dated 15th June 1921, entitled "Disaffection a Virtue", dated 29th September, "Tampering with Loyalty", dated 15th December, "The Puzzle and its Solution" and dated, 23rd February 1922, "Shaking the Manes". He stated the warrant was issued on the 6th instant by the District Magistrate, Ahmedabad, and the case was transferred to the file of Mr. Banker. Meanwhile the warrants were also issued to the Superintendents of Police of Surat and Ajmer, as Mr. Gandhi was expected to be at those places. The original signed articles and issues of the paper in which these appeared were also produced as evidence.

The second witness produced the correspondence between Mahatma Gandhi as Editor of Young India and Mr. Kennedy, District Judge, Ahmedabad.

Mr. Chatfield, the District Magistrate of Ahmedabad was the next witness. He testified to the security deposited by Mahatma Gandhi and the declaration of Mr. Shankerlal Banker as the publisher of "Young India".

Two formal police witnesses were then produced. The accused declined to cross-examine the witnesses.

Mr. Grada, Registrar, High Court, deposed about the contempt of court case in 1919.

Mr. Gandhi was then asked about his profession. He said "Farmer and Weaver" with a slow, clear and emphatic accent. The Magistrate was as if startled, because the answer was so out of the ordinary. He paused a little before noting them down, perhaps to ascertain whether Mahatma Gandhi was really serious in making that declaration.

Mahatmaji then said. "I simply wish to state that when the proper time comes I shall plead guilty so far as disaffection towards Government is concerned. It is quite true that I am the Editor of Young India, and that the articles read in my presence were written by me and the proprietors and publishers had permitted me to control the whole policy of the paper.

Mr. Shankerlal Banker, landed proprietor, Bombay, the second accused stated that at the proper time he would plead guilty to the charge of having published the articles complained of.

Charges were framed on three counts under section 124A. The accused were committed to the sessions.

When the hearing was over the Magistrate and other court officials retired, leaving Mr. Gandhi with his friends, with whom he talked and chatted with unaffected cheerfulness.

There was a dramatic moment, too towards the end caused by the entrance of the famous India Poetess and Nationalist leader, Sarojini Naidu. She had set off at once from Ajmer on hearing of the Mahatma's arrest and travelled at night and came in haste straight up from the station. She came straight into the room and walked up to the back of the prisoner's chair. The Mahatma turned, obviously touched by her loyalty in coming at such inconvenience and haste. She seized his hands and placed them on her closed eyes—a token of affection and reverence.

What struck one most during the whole affair of Mahatma's arrest and trial was perfect peace and goodwill that prevailed between the two parties. Mahatma Gandhi seemed to have infected with his gentleness of spirit the whole atmosphere of the court-room. On the night of 10th when Mr. Healey went to arrest Mahatma Gandhi, he never entered the precincts of the

Ashram but kept on waiting on the public road till Mr. Gandhi himself felt that he should not tarry any longer. There was no show of force at all. Mr. Healey went with only one associate. When he drove away with Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Banker amidst the subdued shouts of joy of the Ashram people, it did not appear that there had been any arrest at all. He was as if one of the friends of the company. Similarly, Mr. Chatfield's graceful way of parting after his deposition, touched every heart in the court room. All this experience taught one how to differentiate a man from a system and gave practical illustration of the possibility of waging an implacable war against a system without bearing any ill-will or hatred against the persons who may form part of it. They taught also how there could be mutual appreciation of hearts between Indians and Englishmen.

Sessions Court Proceedings

At the circuit house at Shahibag the trial of Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Shankarlal G. Banker commenced on Saturday the 18th March 1922. Admission to the Court was strictly by tickets and yet the Court house was full of distinguished visitors, both from the City itself and outside. Many of the members of the Working Committee and the Provincial Congress Committees were present. Among those present might be mentioned Mrs. Naidu, Mr. Jaiji Petit, Mrs. Sarla Devi Chowdhurani, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Messrs. Abbas Tayabji, N. C. Kelkar, p. Keshaw Menon, Miss Ansuya Ben, Mrs. Gandhi, Mrs. Ambalal Sarabhai, T. Prakasam, Jawaharlal Nehru, etc.

Sir T. J. Strangman, with Rao Bahadur Girdharlal conducted the prosecution, while prisoners were undefended.

The police and military precautions were complete. While the policemen were witnessed at frequent intervals all round the compound of the Court, an Indian Infantry was stationed inside the compound, with about half a dozen European Police Officers who were also in attendance.

Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Banker arrived at the Court at 11-40 a.m. accompanied by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. All those inside the Court, stood up when Mr. Gandhi entered the hall, and remained standing until he was shown a seat to the left of the Judge. A little further up in the same row, to the right of Mr. Gandhi, sat Mr. Banker, with Pandit Malaviya on the right, while to the left of Mr. Gandhi, sat his wife with Mrs. Naidu and Mrs. Sarladevi next to her.

At 11-50, Sir Thomas Strangman, Advocate-General, entered the Court and exchanged nods with Mr. Gandhi, Mr. E. C. Wild, Legal Remembrancer to the Government of Bombay, was also present in the Court.

Punctually at 12 o'clock the Judge, Mr. C. Broomfield, took his seat.

At the outset the Judge pointed out that the charges as framed by the Public Prosecutor contained three counts. He understood the prosecution to mean that there were three distinct offences, which being three of the same kind and committed within the space of a year, were charged and committed together. If so, the charge should read and thereby committed offences punishable under section 124-A, of the Indian Penal Code.

The Advocate-General agreed with the Judge.

The charges were then read out by the Registrar the offence being in three articles published in "Young India " of September 29, December 15 of 1921 and February 23rd, 1922. The offending articles were then read out. First of them was "Tampering with Loyalty", the 2nd "The Puzzle and its Solution " and last " Shaking the Manes."

The Judge said the law required that the charges should not only be read out but explained. In this case it would not be necessary for him to say

much by way of explanation. The charge in each case was that of bringing, of attempting to bring into hatred or contempt or exciting or attempting to excite disaffection towards His Majesty's Government established by Law in British India. Both the accused were charged with the three offences under section 124-A, contained in the articles read out. written by Mr. Gandhi and printed by Mr. Banker. The words hatred and contempt were words, the meaning of which was sufficiently obvious. The words 'disaffection' was defined under the section and they were told that disaffection included disloyalty and feelings of enmity and the word used in the section had also been interpreted by the High Court of Bombay in a reported case as meaning political alienation, or discontent, a spirit of disloyalty to Government or existing authority.

The charges having been read out, the Judge asked Mahatma Gandhi whether he pleaded guilty of claimed to be tried.

Mahatma Gandhi: I plead guilty to all the charges. I observe that the King's name has been omitted from the charges and it has been properly omitted.

The Judge :—Mr. Banker do you plead guilty or do you claim to be tried ?

Mr. Banker :—I plead guilty.

The Advocate-General then pointed out that under section 271 Civil Procedure Code the Court might convict the accused on their plea or proceed with the trial. The section says : "If the accused pleads guilty, the plea shall be recorded, and he may be convicted thereon." The words were ' may ' not ' must'. He would ask the Judge to proceed with the case, firstly, because the charges were of a serious character, and secondly it was highly desirable in the public interest that those charges should be fully investigated. Sentence could not be passed simply because the accused had pleaded guilty. A judge could not deal with the matter unless all the facts of the case were laid down before him. That was the view taken by the Bombay High Court (19 Bombay Law Reports, page 356). It would be impossible to deal with the matter satisfactorily and also other matters which he would ask the Judge to take into account. On that ground also he would ask the Court to proceed with the trial.

The Judge: " I do not agree. I have under the lawful discretion to convict the accused on their own plea and in this particular case I cannot see what advantage can be gained by going through the evidence. The only evidence will be evidence to show that Mahatma Gandhi was reasonable for these particular articles and in the face of his plea it seems to me it would be futile to record any more evidence on that point."

As regards question of sentence the judge said he would like to hear what Mahatma Gandhi wished to say. He did not think that the mere recording of evidence and proceeding with the trial asked for might make any difference one way or the other. He, therefore, proposed to accept the pleas of the accused. Nothing so far remained but to pass sentence but before that he would like to hear what the Advocate-General had to say on the question of sentence.

Mr. Gandhi smiled at this . decision.

Sir J. T. Strangman :—It will be difficult to do so. I ask the Court that the whole matter may be properly considered. If I stated what has happened before the Committing Magistrate, then I can show that there are many-things which are material to the question of sentence.

The first point, he said, he wanted to make out, was that the matter which formed the subject of the present charges formed part of the campaign to spread disaffection openly and systematically to render Government impossible and to overthrow it. The earliest article that was put in from Young India was dated 25th May 1921 which said it was the duty of a non-co-operator to create disaffection towards the Government. The counsel then read out portions of articles written by Mr. Gandhi in Young India.

Court said nevertheless it seemed to it that the Court could accept a plea on the materials on which sentence had to be passed.

Sir J. Strangman said the question on sentence was entirely for the Court to decide. The Court was always entitled to deal in a more general manner in regard to the question of sentence than the particular matter resulting in the conviction. He asked leave to refer to the articles before the Court and show what result might have been produced if the trial had proceeded, in order to ascertain what the facts were. He was not going into any matter which involved dispute.

The Judge said there was not the least objection.

Sir J. Strengman said he wanted to show that these articles were not isolated. They formed part of an organised campaign, but so far as Young India was concerned, they would show that from the year 1921. The counsel then read extracts from the paper, dated June 8, on the duty of a non-co-operator, which was to preach disaffection towards the existing Government and preparing the country for civil disobedience. Then in the same number there was an article on "Disaffection—a virtue" or something to that effect. Then there was an article on the 28th of July 1921, in which it was stated that "we have to destroy the system." Again on September 30, 1921, there was an article headed, 'Panjab Prosecution' where it was stated that a non-co-operator worth his name should preach disaffection. That was all so far as Young India was concerned. They were earlier in date than the article, "Tampering with Loyalty" and it was referred to the Governor of Bombay.

Continuing, he said the accused was a man of high educational qualifications and evidently from his writings a recognised leader. The harm that was likely to be caused was considerable. They were the writings of an educated man, and not the writings of an obscure man and the Court must consider to what the results of a campaign of the nature disclosed in the writings must inevitably lead. They had examples before them in the last few months. He referred to the occurrences in Bombay last November and Chauri-Chaura, leading to murder and destruction of property, involving many people in misery and misfortune. It was true that in the course of those articles they would find Non-Violence was insisted upon as an item of the campaign and as an item of the creed. But what was the use of preaching Nonviolence when he preached disaffection towards Government or openly instigated others to overthrow it? The answer to that question appeared to him to come from Chauri-Chaura, Madras and Bombay. These were circumstances which he asked the Court to take into account in sentencing the accused and it would be for the Court to consider these circumstances which involve sentences of severity.

As regards the second accused, his offence was lesser. He did the publication and he did not write. His offence nevertheless was a serious one. His instructions were that he was a man of means and he asked the Court to impose substantial fine in addition to such term of imprisonment as might be inflicted upon. He quoted section 10 of the Press Act as bearing on the question of fine. When making a fresh declaration he said a deposit of Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 10,000 was asked in many cases.

Court: Mr. Gandhi, do you wish to make a statement on question of sentence?

Mr. Gandhi: I would like to make statement.

Court: Could you give me in writing to put it on record?

Mr. Gandhi: I shall give it as soon as I finish it reading.

Before reading his written statement Mr. Gandhi spoke a few words as introductory remarks to the whole statement. He said:—Before I read this statement I would like to state that I entirely endorse the learned Advocate General's remarks in connection with my humble self. I think that he was entirely fair to me in all the statements that he has made, because it is very true and I have no desire whatsoever to conceal from this Court the fact that to preach disaffection towards the existing system of

Government has become almost a passion with me and the learned Advocate General is also entirely in the right when he says that my preaching of disaffection did not commence with my connection with Young India, but that it commenced much earlier and in the statement that I am about to read, it will be my painful duty to admit before this Court that it commenced much earlier than the period stated by the Advocate General. It is the most painful duty with me but I have to discharge that duty knowing the responsibility that rests upon my shoulders and I wish to endorse all the blame that the learned Advocate General has thrown on my shoulders in connection with the Bombay occurrences, Madras occurrences and the Chauri Chaura occurrences. Thinking over these deeply and sleeping over them night after night, it is impossible for me to disassociate myself from the diabolical crimes of Chauri Chaura or the mad outrages of Bombay. He is quite right when he says, that as a man of responsibility, a man having received a fair share of education, having had a fair share of experience of this world, I should have known the consequences of every one of my acts. I knew them. I knew that I was playing with fire. I ran the risk and if I was set free I would still do the same. I would be failing in my duty if I do not do so. I have felt it this morning that I would have failed in my duty if I did not say what I said here just now.

I wanted to avoid violence I want to avoid violence. Non-violence is the first article of my faith. It is also the last article of any creed. But I had to make my choice; I had either to submit to a system which I considered had done an irreparable harm to my country, or incur the risk of the mad fury of my people bursting forth when they understood the truth from my lips. I know that my people have sometimes gone mad. I am deeply sorry for it and I am therefore, here to submit not to a light penalty but to the highest penalty, I do not ask for mercy. I do not plead any extenuating act. I am here, therefore, to invite and cheerfully submit to the highest penalty that can be inflicted upon me, for what in law is a deliberate crime and what appears to me to be the highest duty of a citizen. The only course open to you, the Judge is as I am just going to say in my statement, either to resign your post or inflict on me the severest penalty if you believe that the system and law you are assisting to administer are good for the people. I do not expect that kind of conversion, but by the time I have finished with my statement you will perhaps, have a glimpse of what is raging within my breast to run this maddest risk which a sane man can run.

Mahatma's Statement

The following statement was then read out.—

" I owe it perhaps to the Indian public and to the public in England to placate which this prosecution is mainly taken up that I should explain why from a staunch Royalist and co-operator I have become an uncompromising disaffectionist and non-co-operator. To the Court too I should say why I plead guilty to the charge of promoting disaffection towards the Government established by law in India.

My public life began in 1893 in South Africa in troubled weather. My first contact with British authority in that country was not of a happy character. I discovered that as a man and an Indian I had no rights. More correctly I discovered that I had no rights as a man because I was an Indian.

But I was not baffled. I thought that this treatment of Indians was an excrescence upon a system that was intrinsically and mainly good. I gave the Government my voluntary and hearty co-operation, criticising it freely where I felt it was faulty but never wishing its destruction.

Consequently when the existence of the Empire was threatened in 1899 by the Boer challenge, I offered my services to it, raised a volunteer ambulance corps and served at several actions that took place for the relief of Ladysmith. Similarly in 1906 at the time of Zulu revolt I raised stretcher-bearer party and served till the end of the ' rebellion.' On both these occasions I received medals and was even mentioned in

despatches. For my work in south Africa I was given by Lord Hardings a kaiser-i-Hind Gold Medal. When the war broke out in 1914 between England and Germany I raised a volunteer ambulance corps in London consisting of the then resident Indians in London, chiefly students. Its work was acknowledged by the authorities to be valuable. Lastly in India when a special appeal was made at the War Conference in Delhi in 1918 by Lord Chelmsford for recruits, I struggled at the cost of my health to raise a corps in Kheda and the response was being made when the hostilities ceased and orders were received that no more recruits were wanted. In all these efforts at service I was actuated by the belief that it was possible by such services to gain a status of full equality in the Empire for my countrymen.

The first shock came in the shape of the Rowlatt Act a law designed to rob the people of all real freedom. I felt called upon to lead an intensive agitation against it. Then followed the Punjab horrors beginning with the massacre of Jallianwala Bag and culminating in crawling orders, public floggings and other indescribable humiliations. I discovered too that the plighted word of the Prime Minister to the Mussalmans of India regarding the integrity of Turkey and the Holy Places of Islam was not likely to be fulfilled. But in spite of the forebodings and the grave warnings of friends, at the Amritsar Congress in 1919, I fought for co-operation and working the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, hoping that the Prime Minister would redeem his promise to the Indian Mussalmans, that the Punjab wound would be healed and that the reforms inadequate and unsatisfactory though they were marked a new era of hope in the life of India.

But all that hope was shattered. The Khilafat promise was not to be redeemed. The Punjab crime was white-washed and most culprits went not only unpunished but remained in service and some continued to draw pensions from the Indian revenue, and in some cases were even rewarded, I saw too that not only did the reforms not mark a change of heart, but they were only a method of further draining India of her wealth and of prolonging her servitude.

I came reluctantly to the conclusion that the British connection had made India more helpless than she ever was before, politically and economically. A disarmed India has no power of resistance against any aggressor if she wanted to engage in an armed conflict with him. So much is this the case that some of our best men consider that India must take generations before she can achieve the Dominion status. She has become so poor that she has little power of resisting famines. Before the British advent India spun and wove in her millions of cottages just the supplement she needed for adding to her meagre agricultural resources. The cottage industry, so vital for India's existence, has been ruined by incredibly heartless and inhuman processes as described by English witnesses. Little do town-dwellers know how the semi-starved masses of India are slowly sinking to lifelessness. Little do they know that their miserable comfort represents the brokerage they get for the work they do for the foreign exploiter, that the profits and the brokerage are sucked from the masses. 'Little do they realise that the Government established by law in British India is carried on for this exploitation of the masses. No sophistry, no jugglery in figures can explain away the evidence that the skeletons in many villages present to the naked eye. I have no doubt whatsoever that both England and the town-dwellers of India will have to answer, if there is a God above, for this crime against humanity which is perhaps unequalled in history. The law itself in this country has been used to serve the foreign exploiter. My unbiassed examination of the Punjab Martial Law cases had led me to believe that at least ninety-five percent of convictions were wholly bad. My experience of political cases in India leads me to the conclusion that in nine out of every ten the condemned men were totally innocent. Their crime consisted in the love of their country. In ninety-nine cases out of hundred justice has been

denied to Indians as against Europeans in the Courts of India. This is not an exaggerated picture. It is the experience of almost every Indian who has had anything to do with such cases; In my opinion the administration of the law is thus prostituted consciously or unconsciously for the benefit of the exploiter;

The greatest misfortune is that English men and their Indian associates in the administration of the country do not know that they are engaged in the crime I have attempted to describe. I am satisfied that many Englishmen and Indian officials honestly believe that they are administering one of the best systems devised in the world and that India is making steady though slow progress. They do not know that a subtle but effective system of terrorism and an organised display of force on the one hand and the deprivation of all powers of retaliation or self-defence on the other, have emasculated the people and induced in them, the habit of simulation. This awful habit has added to the ignorance and the self-deception of the administrators.

Section 124-A under which I am happily charged is perhaps the prince among the political sections of the Indian Penal Code designed to suppress the liberty of the citizen. Affection cannot be manufactured or regulated by law. If one has no affection for a person or system one should be free to give the fullest expression to his disaffection, so long as he does not contemplate, promote or incite to violence. But the section under which Mr. Banker and I are charged is one under which mere promotion of disaffection is a crime. I have studied some of the cases tried under it, and I know that some of the most loved of India's patriots have been convicted under it. I consider it a privilege, therefore, to be charged under that section. I have endeavoured to give in their briefest outline the reasons for my disaffection. I have no personal ill-will against, any single administrator, much less can I have any disaffection towards the King's person. But I hold it to be a virtue to be disaffected towards a Government which in its totality has done more harm to India than any previous system. India is less manly under the British rule than she ever was before. Holding such a belief I consider it to be a sin to have affection for the system. And it has been, a precious privilege for me to be able to write what I have in the various articles tendered in as evidence against me.

In fact, I believe that I have rendered a service to India and England by showing in non-co-operation the way out of the "unnatural state in which both are living. In my humble opinion, non-co-operation with evil is as much a duty as is co-operation with good. But in the past, non-co-operation has been deliberately expressed violence to the evil-doer. I am endeavouring to show to my countrymen that violent non-co-operation only multiplies evil and that as evil can only be sustained by violence, withdrawal of support of evil requires complete abstention from violence. Non-violence implies voluntary submission to the penalty for non-co-operation with evil. I am here therefore, to invite and submit cheerfully to the highest penalty that can be inflicted upon me for what in law is a deliberate crime and what appears to me to be the highest duty of a citizen. The only course open to you, the Judge, is either to resign your post and thus disassociate yourself from evil, if you feel that the law you are called upon to administer is an evil and that in reality I am innocent; or to inflict on me the severest penalty if you believe that the system and the law you are assisting to administer are good for the people of this country and that my activity is therefore injurious to the public weal."

Mr. Banker said : "I only want to say that I had the privilege of printing these articles and I plead guilty, to-the charge. I have got nothing to say as regards sentence,"

Judgment

The following is the full text of the judgment.—

Mr. Gandhi, you have made my task easy in one way by pleading guilty to the charge. Nevertheless what remains, namely the determination of a just sentence, is perhaps as difficult a proposition as a judge in this country could have to face. The law is no respecter of persons. Nevertheless, it will be impossible to ignore the fact that you are in a different category from any person I have ever tried or am likely to have to try. It would be impossible to ignore the fact that in the eyes of millions of your countrymen, you are a great patriot and a great leader. Even those who differ from you in politics look upon you as a man of high ideals and of noble and of even saintly life. I have to deal with you in one character only. It is not my duty and I do not presume to judge or criticise you in any other character. It is my duty to judge you as a man subject to the law, who by his own admission has broken the law and committed what to an ordinary man must appear to be grave offence against the State. I do not forget that you have consistently preached against violence and that you have on many occasions, as I am willing to believe, done much to prevent violence. But having regard to the nature of your political teaching and the nature of many of those to whom it was addressed, how you could have continued to believe that violence would not be the inevitable consequence, it passes my capacity to understand.

There are probably few people in India, who do not sincerely regret that you should have made it impossible for any Government to leave you at liberty. But it is so. I am trying to balance what is due to you against what appears to me to, be necessary in the interest of the public and I propose in passing sentence to follow the precedent of a case in many respects similar to this case that was decided some twelve years ago. I mean the case against Bal Gangadhar Tilak under the same section. The sentence that was passed upon him as finally stood was a sentence of simple imprisonment for six years. You will not consider it unreasonable, I think, that you should be classed with Mr. Tilak i.e. a sentence of two years' simple imprisonment on each count of the charge, six years in all, which I feel it my duty to pass upon you and I should like to say in doing so that if the course of events in India should make it possible for the Government to reduce the period and release you, no one will be better pleased than I.

The Judge to Mr. Banker :—I assume you have been to a large extent under the influence of your chief. The sentence that I propose to pass upon you is simple imprisonment for six months on each of the first two counts that is to say, simple imprisonment for one year and a fine of a thousand rupees on the third count, with six months, simple imprisonment in default.

Mr. Gandhi's Reply

Mr. Gandhi said :—I would say one word. Since you have done me the honour of recalling the trial of the late Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak, I just want to say that I consider it to be the proudest privilege and honour to be associated with his name. So far as the sentence itself is concerned, I certainly consider that it is as light as any judge would inflict on me, and so far as the whole proceedings are concerned I must say that I could not have expected greater courtesy.

Then the friends of Mahatma Gandhi crowded round him as the Judge left the court and fell at his feet. There was much sobbing on the part of both men and women. But all the while Mr. Gandhi was smiling and giving encouragement to everybody who came to him. Mr. Banker also was smiling and taking this in a light-hearted way. After all his friends had taken leave of him, Mr. Gandhi was taken out of the court to the Sabarmati Jail. And thus the great trial ended.*



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* For further reference about the "Great Trial" see: *"The trial of Mahatma Gandhi"* by Edward S. Hedlay, *"Two trials of Gandhi"* by R. K. Prabhu: *"The trial of Mahatma Gandhi and Shankarlal Banker"* edited by K. P. Kesava Menon: *"The trial of Gandhi, 1922"* by Gaubd Kanaiyalal; section B *"Trial of Gandhi In Current History (New York); Famous trials of Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad"* by Sing Durlab Hero Publications.

W. I. N. L. A.'S LEAFLET NOS. 1 AND 2.

*File No. 3001/H/20-23, P.77***W.I.N. Liberal Association (Propaganda Committee).****Leaflet No. 1***Civil Disobedience.*

I. *Its description.*—Mr. Gandhi says, "It is like the use of a knife to be used most sparingly, if at all. A man who cuts away without ceasing cuts at the very root and finds himself without the substance he was trying to reach by cutting off the superficial hard crust."

II. *Its method and aim.*—The last resolution of the Congress Committee called for Volunteers to overthrow the State—the creed of Lenin, and the communists and the Moscow International. The method of attack is defiance of the law ; the object of the attack is to bring the Government, that is the State or organised society to a standstill.

III. *What it really means.*—Stripped of all its verbiage, the creed of Gandhism, in its latest and most definite enunciation, comes to nihilism, pure and simple. And it will lead India to the same wretched state, that Leninism has taken Russia, Because Non-co-operation is Leninism—pure and unadulterated.

IV. *Its sure results.*—We have an indication of the results in the happenings in Bombay, Malabar, Malegaon, Dharwar and latest at Madras. The Swaraj resulting therefrom has already stunk in the nostrils of its great apostle. But no better picture could be drawn of it than is drawn for us by Sir Sankaran Nair in the following words :—

" The Movement will then (that is when civil disobedience will begin) stand naked in all its illegality and hideousness. It is a fitting consummation of a policy which had its origin in false promise of attainment of Swaraj within a year a 'statement calculated and therefore made to mislead the ignorant masses which all its intelligent supporters must have known to be impossible of attainment; supported by schemes, abandoned one after another in succession when the suffering caused by them and their futility exposed their absurdity and the incapacity for political leadership of the leaders, and which in its latest stages, when its consequences became apparent, has led to bloodshed, butchery of thousands, untold misery for thousands of women and children, ravishment of thousands of women."

Civil Disobedience is necessarily bound to lead to bloodshed in the existing civil and political conditions and, if carried out on an extensive scale, drench the country in bloodshed. "

V. *The duty of the Law-abiding.*—The path before one who is humble enough to love India and cherish her great future near at heart is clear. It is to resist sternly to be lured on by the will o' the wisp that the Congress is pointing out as the way to Swaraj. We must insist on progress under the aegis of law and order. The path which the Congress points out is full of peril. It is no road to Swaraj. It may lead to national suicide. Civil Disobedience is a monster which must be laid low with the consolidated resourcefulness of all who believe in peaceful progress, and in no other method as suited to the needs and situation of India.

*3001/H/20-23, P. 79.***Leaflet No. 2***"We are fully able to take charge"**What does this mean ?*

In speaking at the Bombay Conference held on January 14th and 15th, Mr. Gandhi is reported (see *Bombay Chronicle* 16th January 1922) to have spoken as follows :—

"The Non-co-operators will be satisfied with nothing less than what I have said. I am here to confess that we are fully able to take charge of all military

W. I. N. L. A.'s LEAFLET NO. 3.

dispositions of the country and that we are fully able to deal with all foreign complications. The worst that may happen is that we may be blotted out from the face of the earth. I am quite willing to be blotted out from the face of the earth so long as I can breathe the free atmosphere of India."

Now, what does it mean ? When Mr. Gandhi says that " We are fully able to take charge etc." whom does he mean by We. How has he proved his own ability, or the Non-co-operators' ability ; or the country's ability ? Who will allow him to deal with foreign complications ? Do these things come by confession ? Is it not begging ? And if we are able to do all this, where is the fear of being blotted out from the face of the earth ? Or does Mr. Gandhi fear that that will be the fate to which he is bringing the country by his mischievous activities ? And again, he may be willing to be blotted out from the face of the earth, which we doubt; perhaps the Non-co-operators may be willing ; but how does he know that the whole country is willing ? Does he speak as the dictator, the reformer, the humanitarian, or as a man ?

Again, if he is blotted out from the face of the earth, how will he breathe the free atmosphere of India ? India blotted out from the face of the earth, where will he find the free atmosphere to breathe in ? Perhaps in the Moon ? This is Insanity in Excelsis.

3001/H/20-23, P. 81.

Leaflet No. 3

*The Horrid Monster of Violence disguised as Non-Violent
Non-Co-operation
and
ITS RESULTS*

- I. Non-violence was preached in Malegaon and Dharwar. Its effect stands witness to its futility.
- II. Non-violence was supposed to be the backbone of the Khilafat agitation.

Its effect : —

- (i) Thousands of ruined homes in Malabar ;
- (ii) Tens of thousands of poor victims who have been brutally robbed of everything which make life worth-living and who are now largely dependent upon public charity to restore them to a position when they can earn bread for themselves and their children.

- III. Non-Violence was the slogan of Calcutta.

Its fruit.—The "Unseen terror" of November 17, 1921.

- IV. Non-Violence was the battle-cry of Bombay.

Its result.—The temporary reign of moblaw.

- V. Non-Violence was also the cry of the hartal activities in Madras.

Its result.—The populace saved from similar results as in Bombay and elsewhere only by the prompt intervention of the Forces of Order and the disappearance of their leaders.

When, therefore, the non-co-operators dangle non-violence in order to carry on their game of lawlessness undisturbed they do so only to receive the ignorant and put off, if they can, the forces of law and order from checking them in their lawless game.

But Non-violence is only a screen for real revolution. And the results of such a revolution will spell for the people of India sure disaster and terrible ruin of life and property. Swaraj can never come by such means. Only hooliganism, plunder, rapine, anarchy, bloodshed and civil war will be its calamitous consequences.

So beware of the non-violence of the non-co-operator. It is naked violence disguised. All law abiding people must wholeheartedly support forces of law and order to save India from red ruin.

W. I. N. L. A.'s LEAFLET NOS. 4 TO 6.

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Leaflet No. 4

*' Why the Poor Peasant ?
How Mr. Gandhi exploits the Poor and Ignorant.*

1. Lawyers were told to give up practice.
2. Titleholders were told to give up honours earned by long service to their fellow countrymen.
3. Parents were told to take their sons away from Government Schools and Colleges.
4. Mr. Gandhi promised Swaraj by 31st December 1921.
5. Non-co-operation has been rejected by the MAN WHO THINKS.
6. So Mr. Gandhi declares civil disobedience. But WHO is to disobey.—AND SUFFER ? The poor cultivator.
7. Why not civil disobedience for the well-to-do supporters of Mr. Gandhi ? It would be so easy to defy Government by refusing to pay income-tax for example.
8. But Mr. Gandhi knows the reply would be "I WILL NOT".
9. So the ignorant deluded ryots is to lose his land and the fruits of his labour. Those who deceive him lose nothing.
10. Is this honest?

F. No. 3001/H/20-23, P. 85.

Leaflet No. 5

*What does India want ?
Peace and Progress.*

1. Can PEACE come from those who, like Mr. Gandhi, calmly contemplate ANARCHY and are trying to start " such civil disobedience as will COMPEL SHOOTING " ?
2. Can PROGRESS come from those who, like Mr. Gandhi, believe that the spinning wheel is the highest form of industry, who would abolish mills and machinery, doctors and hospitals, trains and motor cars ? (see Mr. Gandhi's book " Indian Home Rule ").
3. Can FREEDOM come from those who like the non-co-operators, howl down tried and trusted workers for nationalism, who murder and assault those who differ from them (remember the Bombay mob rule during the Prince's visit), who threaten patriotic fellow countrymen with social ostracism and boycott, who even drag from the grave and dishonour the bodies of those who oppose them ? (as at Ranchi). NON-CO-OPERATION IS DISTRUTION A FALLING BACK to the bad old days of bloody civil strife and confusion. CO-OPERATION is CONSTRUCTION. The forward movement to

What India Wants,
Peace, Prosperity and Swaraj.

3001/H/20-23, P. 89.

Leaflet No. 6

What would India be like : When Gandhi-Raj Comes.

No. Railways.

No Hospitals.

No Machinery.

No army and navy will be wanted, because Gandhi will assure other nations that India would not interfere with them, and so they will not interfere with India !

W. I. N. L. A.'s LEAFLET NOS. 7 TO 9.

No laws necessary, no courts necessary, because every one will be law unto himself Everybody will be free to do what he likes. It will be a very easy life, because everybody will have to go about in a Khaddar Lungoti and sleep in the open.

F. No. 3001/H/20-23, P. 91.

Leaflet No. 7

Swaraj in one year !

Swaraj in August 1921.

It came in August in Malabar where thousands were forcibly converted and circumscised, hundreds of women ravished, and innocent people butchered and houses burnt.

Swaraj in September 1921 !

It did not come in September but it came on the 17th of November 1921, but of such a sort that it stunk in the nostrils of Gandhi.

Swaraj in December 1921 !

It did not come in December but in January came the riots in Madras.

Swaraj in February 1922 :

The horrible murders of policemen and others in Gorakhpur.

Swaraj that Gandhi is going to bring means the right and the opportunity of Indians to kill each other.

IF PEOPLE WANT THIS,

LET THEM FOLLOW GANDHI.

F. No. 3001/H/20-23, P. 93.

Leaflet No. 8

Spirit of Lawlessness and Disobedience of Authority Its fruits.

17th November 1921 ; Bombay :

Killed 53—Wounded about 300—Properties destroyed, houses and trams burnt.

13th January 1922—MADRAS.

Innocent women and children assaulted.

Property destroyed.

5th February 1922 : CHAURA CHAURI (Gorakhpur).

Brutally murdered 21.

Some burnt alive.

Worse horrors, than ever happened during the Punjab outrages.

These outrages committed by people shouting Gandhiji ki jai !

If you want repetition of these things in various places, follow " Mahatma Gandhi" and his creed of non-violnt non-co-operation.

F. No. 3001/H/ 20-23, P. 95.

Leaflet No. 9

Maintenance of Law and Order absolutely essential.

1. Because it is the fundamental duty of the Government who are keenly alive to the responsibility of safeguarding the life and property of peaceful and law-abiding citizens.

2. Because without the preservation of law and order no community can ever carry on unmolestedly and fearlessly their daily avocations much less their moral and material progress.

W. I. N. L. A.'S LEAFLET NOS. 11 AND 12.

3. Because it is recognised all the world over that law and order are the cement which go to build up the fabric of Society and keep it firmly knit for common welfare.

4. Because after the terrible acts of plunder, rapine desecration of temples and wholesale butchery in Malabar and other places it is imperative on the Government to put down with all its resources such atrocious lawlessness and punish its authors whose sole object is to overthrow its legitimate authority.

5. Because if not so put down the country is certain to be plunged into the wildest anarchy and the people subjected to the greatest oppression and tyranny accompanied by untold woes and misery.

F. No. 3001 /H/20-23, P. 97.

Leaflet No. 11

India wants to be a Nation.

1. India wants not chaos and anarchy which are the worst enemies of civilization and progress.

2. Farsighted statesmen have over and over declared that no government is worse than the worst Government.

3. No-government signifies primitive savagery and cruel barbarism. Shun it as you would shun poison.

4. A nation that has no government commits its own suicide.

5. But India wants not to commit suicide.

6. Law and order alone are her friends. With their aid alone she aspires to rise to the sovereignty of full responsible Government and stand in the front rank of the nations of the world. So let law and order be unflinchingly maintained if she, is keen on realising her noble ambitions. All else will be dismal failure, leading straight to the vast abyss of destruction.

F. No. 3001 /H/20-23, P. 99.

Leaflet No. 12

Next is Gun-powder.

(What does Mr. Gandhi mean ?)

Here is what Mr. Gandhi writes :—

(a) We must tear down the mask of the so-called enforcement of the ordinary law against so-called intimidations.

(b) We must invite and welcome martial law.

(c) The case is complete for the fiercest civil disobedience of the most aggressive type.

(d) We must draw the gunpowder on our own head and that at the earliest opportunity.

(e) We should retort by such civil disobedience as would compel shooting.

Now this means nothing if it is not,

(a) a deliberate attempt, inciting people to violence,

(b) sowing the spirit of hatred,

(c) shutting out the path to discussion and peaceful settlement.

Of course, Mr. Gandhi does all this in the name of non-violence. And yet he calls civil disobedience a dangerous adventure. What right has he to trifle with the lives of the innocent and the peaceful ryot?

W. I. N. L. A.'S LEAFLET NOS. 13 AND 14.

Making their lives meant for gunpowder will not win India Swaraj nor for him the blessings of his countrymen.

It is not saintliness.

It may be dictatorship.

It may be paralleled from many an episode in the lives of the God-emperors or Rome, like Nero, for instance.

F. No. 3001/H/20-23, P. 101.

Leaflet No. 13

Civil Disobedience—(Non-Payment of Taxes).

1. Who is it that is not to pay the taxes ?
The ryot, the agriculturist.
2. Who gives him such advice ?
The Congresswalla i.e. the Gandhi non-co-operator.
3. What is he?
Why, so far as lip sympathy goes, he is drawn from all classes.
4. Why not enumerate ?
(i) The speculator, (ii) The foreign piecegoods dealer, (iii) The Stock Jobber, (iv) The Exchange Broker, (v) The Money Lender, (vi) The Lawyer, (vii) The student, (viii) The Professional Agitator.
5. What have they done to set the example ?
Nothing better than the wearing of Khaddar. They are particular, one and all, in paying up all their dues to Government.
6. Who will suffer?
Not they but the ryot. They are patriots and they have popularity.
7. How will the ryot suffer ?
They will lose their lands, their only means of subsistence. They will be turned out of their homes. Their children will starve. No one will help them. Others will buy or possess their lands.
8. What is the ryot?
Those who have, in every way, to depend upon the Government. In times of famine and other hardships, none comes to help them. Least of all those who give them such advice.
What will be the result?
(1) Beggary. (2) Discontent. (3) Jealousy. (4) Hatred. (5) Civil War. (6) Mutual Slaughter.
Let Those Who Advise The Ryot In This Way,
Set The Example And Take The Consequences.

3001/H/ 20-23, P. 103.

Leaflet No. 14

The No Tax Campaign.

Where will it take us ?

A few press opinions.

1. Says the "New India" of Mrs. Annie Besant :
" Non-payment of taxes is about the most extreme form of civil disobedience. It will give rise to passions and feelings which a Hundred Gandhis may not be able to control. "
2. Says the " Hindu " of Madras :
"Non-payment of taxes is fraught with grave peril alike to peace and tranquillity and the movement of non-violent non-co-operation. In the very intensity of their patriotism there is a danger. The contact may light a spark which will unchain the forces of violence.

W. I. N. L. A.'S LEAFLET NO. 16.

3. Says the " Indian Social Reformer " :

" It is a remedy worse than the disease it is intended to cure. We have much respect for the Mahatma. But the interests of the country are paramount. The methods can only breed strife and disaster. " Here are three opinions of three important organs.

Mrs. Besant is a Nationalist Home Ruler.

The " Hindu" is a Nationalist non-co-operator.

The " Reformer" is an Independent who has much respect for the Mahatma.

All Three Condemn the Campaign.

Is there not a moral for us here ?

Viz. Have Nothing to do with it.

3001/H/20-23, P. 105.

Leaflet No. 16

Swaraj—the only way to achieve it.

1. Who is the Indian, the lover of his Motherland, who aspires not to achieve " Swaraj" ? And, that, at the earliest day possible and practical ?

2. It is a consummation devoutly wished for. All wish to reach the summit of their goal, their new political Jerusalem.

3. But prudence and practical experience tell us that there is but one royal road to reach it. It can be reached stage by stage only. You do not fly at once to the Himalaya or the Alps. The most expert climbers tell and warn you to hasten slowly and steadily.

4. Precipitancy must be proscribed as it may lead only to one result and that a calamitous one. Never seek to go hurriedly to the brink of the precipice lest you should fall headlong into the abyss.

5. Thus the Royal Road lies through threading the long but straight and safe path of the Constitution, the new Magna Charta which the liberal statemanship of Great Britain, the Mother of all Parliaments, has devised and offered.

6. Each national works out the Government it wants and deserves.

7. But the architects of national self-government must lay brick by brick till in time the edifice is raised. No city is built in a day. Neither a Government.

8. Every Government must be broadbased on the people's will.

9. Therefore, the people should first endeavour to lay broad and deep the foundations; and the people's will may be soon accomplished.

10. Education alone is the material on which that foundation can be truly laid.

11. It is education that forms the common mind. It is only when the common mind proceeds on lines which are sound and safe that a people's will is fulfilled.

12. You, good people, you are the electors under the new Constitution, who have to choose your men for the diverse legislatures. At present you are not educated to that point where you can express your free choice of your representatives.

13. Therefore, educate yourself. Education is the greatest solvent. It will be the solvent of all your welfare but not merely political. It will also be the solvent of your social and economic welfare.

14. Education will enable you to make your choice to represent your will in the National assemblies. And the wider your sphere of Education the broader will be your vision, and, therefore, your judgment to shun what is evil and seek what may be for your greater good.

W. I. N. L. A.'S LEAFLET NOS. 17 AND 18.

15. But education demands as a condition precedent of an essential character, the ordered constitution of Society. A Society, disordered, a Society disintegrated, a Society seized by "slave mentality" taught in the school of the Pseudo Dictator will never achieve Swaraj. History teaches us that it has never been, achieved and never will be.

16. Shun ye, therefore, true lover of your country, those who now seek to disintegrate Society, defy its laws, cast discipline to the wind and fling aside constituted authority, respect, reverence and dignity.

17. Such are not the friends but the deadliest enemies of the country. Their teachings are dark and devious, and satanic. Their darkness can never shed light. It will only obscure and blind your vision in order that you may be hurled at last in the vast abyss of fate never to rise again.

18. For ever seek light. The keener you seek it with diligence and knowledge, with experience and prudence, the sooner you will read along the illumined path which will take you over the summit of the highest mount of your aspirations.

19. It is useful to remember that there is no democratic machine that is autocrat proof.

20. And lastly, remember also, the wise saying of the noble founder of Pennsylvania.

"That Government is free to the people under it, where the Laws rule the People and the People are a Party to those laws. All the rest is tyranny, Oligarchy, and confusion. "

3001/H/ 20-23, P. 107.

Leaflet No. 17

REMEMBER SIR SANKARAN NAIRS EMPHATIC WORDS.

1. Sir Sankaran Nair remarks in his memorable letter :—

"A foreign Government inimical to Indian progress will look with indifference, if not satisfaction, at the mutual slaughter. "

2. How true are his words ! Look at the terrible havoc made by non-co-operators in Malbar, Malegaon, Dharwar, Bombay, Calcutta, and other places. Consider what the evil exercise of Civil Disobedience on a wide scale really means.

3. Will peaceful and law-abiding citizens voluntarily subject themselves to the disastrous consequences arriving therefrom ?

4. Is it not their paramount duty to come forward and courageously resist this evil practice and do all in their power, in their own self interest and preservation, to help the Government in laying low once for all this monster of frightful mien ?

5. Do people sit helplessly and in silence when fire rages burns down hearths and homes or do all in their power to extinguish the conflagration and save themselves ?

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Leaflet No. 18

What does Mr. Gandhi say ?

1. What does Mr. Gandhi say about Civil Disobedience? He says that as the result of the ill-advised Civil Disobedience there will be "No Raj".

2. "No Raj" means the raj of the robber, the dacoit, the hooligan, and the murderer, "No Raj" in actual practice will be Pindhari Raj of old. Liberty will cease to exist. It will not even be in name. Womankind and children will be in bondage. All social life will be non-existent. There will be no education, no trade, no industry, not even Gandhi's charkha ! Anarchy will stalk naked in the land. It will bring revolution.

W.I. N. L. A.'S LEAFLET NOS. 19 AND 20.

3. That revolution will bring down the ordered structure of Society. The cement which now firmly binds it will crumble into dust. All Society will be disintegrated and reduced to atoms.

4. But sober, lawabiding, peaceful citizens do not wish to see themselves face to face with this awful catastrophe.

5. India, under the benign rule of the British has been freed from the bloody internecine feuds of centuries. She wants to ameliorate further, under its aegis her social and political welfare and strengthen the reign of law and order so as to become a nation and take her proper rank among the first nations of the world.

3001/H/20-23, P. 111.

Leaflet No. 19
The Work of the Non-co-operator.

"If we were seeking our political ease and not the welfare of India we should all become non-co-operators. The creed is so easy. Nothing is simpler than destruction ; nothing more complex than construction. Nothing appeals more strongly to the second class than the pulling down of an established fabric. The house wrecker has such a simple task in comparison with the architect and the builder. All they think about and all they aim at is to destroy ; what will rise on the wreckage does not interest them for a moment. They do not know, most of them do not care. As a recent writer has said, "Wind in the stomach makes babies fractious and spoils the temper of the adult. Wind in the brain, which some people call inspiration has a similar effect and in extreme cases brings on revolutionary fever. "

3001/H/20-23, P. 113.

Leaflet No. 20
The Non-co-operator Politician.
What has he done ?

Well, he promised to achieve everything in a surprisingly short time. The time limit of the Kaiser for reaching Paris from Berlin can be matched by the time limit of the non-co-operator to reach the promised land of Swaraj. Both have egregiously failed.

But they have left behind, the trail of their mischievous march. India has nothing to do with the Kaiser. It must however know and find out the non-co-operator. Look well at the trail :

(i) False promise of attainment of Swaraj within one year, a statement calculated and therefore made to mislead the ignorant masses.

(ii) Schemes abandoned one after another in succession when the suffering caused by them and their futility exposed their absurdity, and the incapacity for political leadership of the leaders.

(iii) The policy in its last stages, when its consequences became apparent, has led to—

(a) bloodshed, (b) butchery of thousands (e.g. Malabar), (c) untold misery for thousands of women and children (read the reports of refugees in Madras), (d) Forcible conversion of thousands & c.

And now let us see where the trail has brought us. It has brought us to Civil Disobedience a dangerous adventure as Mr. Gandhi himself calls it, " which is bound to lead to bloodshed in the existing civil and political conditions and if carried out on an extensive scale drench the country in blood."

This is what the non-co-operating politician has done and hopes to do.

W. I. N. L. A.'S LEAFLET NO. 21.

3001/H/20-23, P. 117.

Leaflet No. 21*Has soul force ever crushed the forces of Monster Revolution.?*

1. In the " Navajivan" the Congress Dictator thus unburthened his peaceful soul !
" I do not know what is the best course. At this moment I am shaking with fear, etc., etc., etc.'.
2. Why is the fearless mobocrat filled with fear ? Why is he trembling in his shoes ?
3. Has his courage failed him ? Has it oozed out at the sole of his feet ?
4. Or is it that the monster of frightful mien, that he himself has raised, has frightened him out of his wits ?
5. Behold, ye good people, who are credulous, how the so-called omnipotence of ephemeral autocrats is destroyed by the very monsters that they raise. Such monsters are devoured by Revolutions themselves and Revolutions themselves lead to chaos, confusion, rivers of blood and mountains of the innocent dead.
6. It is written with the pen of iron on the pages of imperishable History— the terrific earthquakes Revolution has wrought in its train. Here are some of the instances on record :—
 - (i) The Puritan Revolution in England collapsed under the forces of General Monk.
 - (ii) The Constitutional Reform preceded the out-burst of the revolutionary fury in France. That bloody Revolution led to the horrors of the guillotine from which no mobocrat of the hour escaped; and finally to the September Massacre.
 - (iii) There is the Revolution of Prussia in 1848 which eventually culminated in the rule of Blood and Iron under Bismark.
 - (iv) There is the revolution wrought by Enver Pasha in Turkey which first deposed Abdul Hamid and then collapsed to be crushed under the iron heel of Germany.
 - (v) Lastly look at the history of the Russian Revolution which has led to the disastrous autocracy of Lenin and Trotsky, and autocracy worse than that of the tyrannical Czars themselves. Look at the unprecedented and unparalleled anarchy prevailing at this hour ! Look at the hopeless bankruptcy of the Soviet Government !

Look at the destructive economic revolution that followed. Look at the starving millions. Look at the millions of men that have died of hunger. Reflect on the first and last stage of this Revolution. Consider what will befall India with the Monster, the Congress Dictator so-called has raised, but which, flabbergasted, he is powerless to lay low !
7. That is the inevitable fate of Revolutions as recorded in History and similarly this Revolution, now in its chrysalis stage, is doomed to everlasting destruction.
8. Awake, ye good people, beware of what may be your fate. And be prepared to resist it with all your might with one mind and heart so as to save your Motherland from the throes of the Revolution now looming on the horizon.
9. Remember that no " soul force" can ever crush the Terrible Monster of Revolution. It is the shibboleth of mountebanks.

W. I. N. L. A.'S LEAFLET NOS. 23 AND 24;
3001/H/20-23, P. 118.

Leaflet No. 23

The Congress and Khilafat Volunteers.

Beware of them.

I. What are they ? Mr. Gandhi gives his own description of them.

Here it is : —" Many are enrolled as volunteers in various parts of India, although they do not wear Khaddar, do not believe in complete non-violence, in untouchability as a crime against humanity. "

So according to the definition, the so-called volunteers can commit violence at their own sweet will, unchecked and uncontrolled ? These are the " volunteers" on whom non-violent Mr. Gandhi relies to conduct his campaign of civil disobedience ! A precious corps of " volunteers" indeed !

II. What mischief they do? This is what Mr. Pal says?

" But morally there was without doubt very considerable intimidation at the back of the ' appeal' made by the Khilafat and Congress Committees to induce people to observe the hartal. Whatever else it may have been, it was not in any sense " voluntary" in the largest number of cases. People were seized by an unseen terror. A new terror has been established in Indian Politics by Mr. Gandhi's following and the elementary rights of individual freedom in matters falling strictly within the sphere of one's private and individual rights.

So Mr. Gandhi who is, time out of number, inveigling against the " satanic" British that they arbitrarily deprive people of their personal freedom and liberty (which is not true) is practically outstripping the British if what his followers are doing is in the manner described by Mr. Pal. So let the intelligent public see how far Mr. Gandhi's preaching differs from the unholy practice (over which he winks) of his precious " non-violence" volunteers ; and helpless volunteers, forsooth, who terrorise innocent and helpless people and interfere so wildly with their personal liberty ! Evidently, Mr. Gandhi and his volunteers are a law unto themselves.

(b) What Mrs. Annie Besant says : —

" Bands of young men perambulated cities and mofussil towns intimidating by their very number and threatening dire consequences if shops were opened on the forbidden day. At the Liberal Federation meeting, two Bengali delegates testified to the prevailing tyranny in their Presidency. In the United Provinces, similar tyranny exists, and in Calcutta idle mill-hands were brought on at six annas a day. to serve as volunteers, a trick exposed by their arrest."

Thus there is the British law which Mr. Gandhi irrationally condemns without irrefragable evidence and there is the Gandhi law which outherods Herod !

III. How does the mischief arise ?

It is the wrong kind of volunteers that can easily get in as the work they are set to do is that of organised lawlessness. Very few, if at all, of the right sort will come in. Such alone come in as have no stake in the country, as thrive, on other hand, on the paralysis of the policeman, and the spread of hooliganism. They stampede the rest; and the result, as has been too often shown, is quite the reverse of that Mr. Gandhi expects.

So BEWARE OF THESE VOLUNTEERS and their advice. They are brutally revolutionary. And their object is to overthrow the state.

3001 /H/20-23, P. 119.

Leaflet No. 24

At the Cross Roads.

1. The way to the constitutional road in India lies not through Dyerism or Gandhism which leads neither here nor there nor anywhere. If at all, it is the road to primeval abyss and barbarism alone.

W. I. N. L. A.'S LEAFLET NOS. 25 AND 26.

2. Ye credulous and ignorant, follow it not as the abyss will only devour ye.

3. Let evolution, pacific evolution be the road on which you travel. It is the straightest and the easiest, free from darkness, misery and all their attendant concomitants.

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Leaflet No. 25

The Congress Works for Swaraj.

1. What kind of Swaraj ?
2. Dominion Status or Independence ?
3. The Congress includes both; its creed is so broad, vague, convenient and elastic.
4. The Congress dictator cannot work for either.
5. He regards both, like all forms of government, as Satanic.
6. In a fit of inspiration, he described Swaraj as self-rule and said that he already enjoyed it.
7. Lala Lajpat Rai says he has attained it.
8. Only India is enslaved.
9. So the dictator's Swaraj can co-exist with India's slavery.
10. The ordinary man uses the word Swaraj to mean political freedom.
11. The dictator's real object has been the abolition of all government.
12. This is the last thing that the ordinary man desires.
13. And yet the ordinary man's feelings are exploited by the Congress *alias* non-co-operators to serve the dictator.
14. The Congress fetish is leading India there.
15. Don't turn the Congress i.e. non-co-operation, into a fetish

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Leaflet No. 26

" Swaraj—My Ideal ".

1. So said the dictator. It is necessary to know what that ideal is.
2. That ideal is not of a parliamentary type.
3. Because he has said and still maintains "that Parliaments are really emblems of slavery."
4. He also maintains that "if money and time wasted by the parliament were entrusted to a few good men, the English nation would be occupying to-day a much higher platform."
5. He calls the British Parliament " a sterile woman and a prostitute" because she does nothing " except under public pressure" and she is now " under the control of one Prime Minister and now another".
6. So the ideal of a national self-government as " the government of the people, by the people and for the people" is laughed by him to scorn.
7. He is out to overthrow the State in India. He would do away with the bureaucracy; but, instead, he would re-establish the autocracy of a few Indians.
8. Has he not given the country a sufficient foretaste of it by his own dictatorship and by the work of the few that call themselves the Working Congress Committee and lay down the law for the whole country ?
9. How is the W. C. C. elected ? Whom does it represent? For whom does it speak ? And what is its achievement?

W. I. N. L. A.'S LEAFLET NOS. 27 TO 29.

3001/H/20-23, P. 125.

Leaflet No. 27*Non-Co-operation A balance sheet.*

N.B. N.C.O. & Co., was floated with a definite business purpose on the 1st of August 1920. That business was to be done within the period of one year. Or else the firm was to wind up.

1. The business was threefold :—

(a) to win full Swaraj : (b) to right the Khilafat wrong; (c) to retrieve the honour of the Punjab.

2. The company was one with an unlimited liability. It was soon provided with the working capital of a crore of rupees, whether in cash or in paper is not known.

3. How does it stand at the end of 18 months?

4. The balance sheet shows that it has lost heavily.

5. The cash capital, whatever it may have been, was almost wholly gone. They are calling now for a new issue by way of debentures.

6. What are the losses ? : —

(a) Set back everywhere. See, for instance, how it stands with its constituents, (b) Boycott discounted, (c) Peaceful picketting, hartal, and nonviolence in the melting pot. (d) Excessive bleeding and burglary, (e) Saintliness and sincerity vanished.

7. Residuary assets—

(a) Race hatred and religious animosity, (b) Hypnotised and slave-mentality of N. C. O. Press, (c) Disobedience, brag, bluster, conceit, hypocrisy, insolence and mendacity. (d) Arbitrary Courts without cases and arbitrators, (e) National schools which teach impertinence irreverence and insolence. (f) Lakhs of Charkas to be yet made to order to cloth 3,000 lakhs of people, (g) No " Dry " India yet save decimal point one. (h) 5 millions of untouchables and more. (i) Non-Volunteering Corps on a blank sheet. (j) Hindu-Mohamedan unity of 0,0,000,00,000 people, (k) Fasts, ablutions and confessions which are impenitence.

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Leaflet No. 28*The Only Possible Way.*

1. "The voluntary abandonment of the rule of the British is mere moonshine".

2 " Swaraj through detachment and renunciation cannot get us a place in the sun ".

Therefore,

3. " The only possible way by which India can attain her destiny is by a policy of co-operation ".

4. The Indian and the English people must learn to work together and trudge along to a common goal.

5. They have got too intimately mixed up for common weal and common woe.

3001/H/20-23, P. 129.
Leaflet No. 29*Political Mountebank.*

1. Do you know him ? He is a politician with a penaces for all political ills. He is like the vendor of " the Pink Pills for Pale People".

W. I. N. L. A.'S LEAFLET NOS. 30 AND 31.

2. The mountebank of old had put one recipe for all human ailments. Bleed, purge and cauterize that was his universal formula. It was the swiftest, the surest and the most radical cure.
3. But experience soon pronounced him an imposter. At once he made himself scarce and disappeared.
4. The non-co-operator politician has proved to be no better than the mountebank of old. Avoid him at all cost and hazard.
5. He promised to cure all political evils but has proved himself to be an egregious failure.
6. And now he whines that people place no confidence in him. They refuse to try his inept nostrums any more.
7. As a matter of fact every thing has gone wrong with the self-styled curer of bodies and souls. The promised cure has evaporated.
8. It is for the people, for their own better health, to shake the dust off their shoes and turn their back upon him.

3001/H/20-23, P. 131.

Leaflet No. 30

What is Citizenship ?

1. Citizenship inheres in the laws of a state and in obedience to those laws.
2. But the most clamorous politician of the hour deems that to be citizenship which unmakes the one established by law.
3. And he proclaims it in the name of the people's will.
4. What is that will ? His interpretation is that it is the same as the opinion of the provincial Congress Committees, so-called.
5. He has given it a new name. Optional citizenship.
6. And what may be meant by optional citizenship ? Go and ask the citizen who exercises his opinion in obedience to the popular will as defined above.
7. Optional citizenship practically means barbaric lawlessness.
8. It cannot be either a right or a duty.

3001/H/20-23, P. 133.

Leaflet No. 31

Non-co-operation Politics—A Hotch-Potch.

1. So say now some of their own workers.
2. So says for instance Mr. N. C. Kelkar of Poona.
3. Mark his words in an article in the "Maharatta"
"It is a hotch-potch of rights and righteousness : of patriotism and piety : of incarceration and incantation ; legislation and liturgy and so on".
4. What are rights ? Not a single right has been won so far for all his effort Of righteousness, one had better not speak.
5. Neither incarceration nor incantation has helped to bring even partial Swaraj
6. Well, liturgy means nothing better than fast, prayer and hartal.
7. And his ideas of legislation are to disobey the laws and to subvert the ordered structure of society which legislation has established. No doubt, he is a law unto himself.
8. What is the fruit of it all ? Well, why mention, when everyone knows so well all about it ?

W. I. N. L. A.'s LEAFLET NO- 32.

3001/H / 20-23, P. 135.

Leaflet No. 32

Concentrate on Constructive Work.

1. Enough of the hollow pretensions of non-co-operation and civil disobedience.
2. They have made the country sick and brought it nowhere near the goal.
3. Why not abandon it ? Far better to turn over another leaf and most promising.
4. Concentrate the public mind on the solid work of sterling political progress to be accomplished in the Councils. Educate and interest the electorate to send the best men, there, of sanity, knowledge and experience.
5. This should be the serious and immediate task. Educate the electorate to lay broad and deep, the foundations of a sound system of self-governing policy.
6. Take the Reform Act as the base of that education. Let the text be lucidly explained. And let each unit go forward to reach the goal.
7. As a publicist has put it, " a heavy dead weight of putrecent matter encumbers the national work. "
8. Cease all flapdoodle touching the shadowy swaraj. And feed the electorate on the rich pabulum which will make them adept in the art of true responsible Government.
9. " Public Life", as Burke has said, "is a situation of power and energy ; he trespasses against his duty who sleeps upon his watch as well as he that goes over to the enemy. "

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	Gandhiji not to be shadowed-report 23rd January	2
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March	Gandhiji at Bolpur and Rangoon-Report 3rd March	3
	Disagreement with Servants of India Society members ; Gandhiji should study Indian problems on the spot—Report 8th March.	3
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May	Satyagraha Ashram opened in May—Report 9th June	4
June 1	Benefit performance in aid of Satyagraha Ashram by Prof. Rammurti (this Ashram was opened on the 25th May).	4
July 10-11	Attended Bombay Provincial Conference at Poona	4
September 21	Returned to Ahmedabad from Bombay	4
October	Satyagraha Ashram, teaching chiefly carried out by Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi—Report 20th October.	5
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	D. M's report on Satyagraha ashram 30th October	7, 8
December 1	At Viramgaon-a brief speech on the Railway Station.	8
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December 15	At Wadhwan— Gokhale Memorial Fund	9
December 16	Returned to Ahmedabad from Rajkot	9
December 20	Left Ahmedabad to attend the Congress Session at Bombay.	10
1916		
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January 5	Spoke in a meeting	10
January 23	At Nadiad, visited Nadiad Anath Ashram	10

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February 29	At Karachi	29
March	At Hyderabad not allowed to see the jail; Wire censored, report 3rd March.	24
	A lecture against vaccination—Report 3rd March	24
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March 4	Report of Hyderabad Jail visit 30th March	27
March 4	At Hyderabad	29
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March 6	At Shikarpur	29
March	Left for Larkana the same evening	30
	Returned to Badin, visited the Pir of Badin—Report 6th March.	27
March 16	At Hardwar Gurukul meeting, no difference between Arya-Samajists and Sanatanists.	30-
March 22	At Dehra Dun-asked students not to immitate only	31
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October 21	At Ahmedabad-attended Bombay Provincial Conference.	38
November 12	At Umreth-opened Gokhale Library	39
November 17	Returned to Ahmedabad from Bombay	39
November 22	At Ahmedabad-meeting in Polak's honour	39
December 26	At Lucknow-attended Congress Session	40
December 30	Attended the Muslim League meeting and delivered a speech.	40
	1917	
January 2	Returned to Ahmedabad	40
February 1	At Godhra-to celebrate the 2nd death anniversary of G. K. Gokhale.	43
March 1	Arrived at Karachi-Pir of Luwari was in the same train.	41
March 2	Meeting in Karachi-Spoke on indentured labour	42
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April 15	At Motihari—Served with notice under section 144, Criminal Procedure Code.	46
April 22	Wired Ahmedabad Ashram about withdrawal of proceedings.	45
May	Copy of Statement before Court on 18th April supplied to the local press-report 2nd May 1917.	45
June 4	At Ranchi—interview with the Lieutenant Governor	47
June 5	At Bankipur	47
June 18	Left for Ahmedabad	47
June 20	At Ahmedabad	47
June 23	Left for Bombay <i>enroute</i> to Bihar	47
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August 17	Left Patna for Ahmedabad	48
August 21	Returned to Ahmedabad	48
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August 27	Returned to Ahmedabad	51
August 30	Left for Bombay	51
September 2	At Bombay—Attended B. P. C. C. meeting	48
September 2	On being asked stated that the campaign of passive resistance could not be carried on by an institution like Congress.	49
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September 17	At Poona	51
September 18	Left for Ranchi	51
November 2	At Godhra—Gujarat Political Conference	53
November 5	Conference of the Dhed Community	51
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November 28	Arrived at Aligarh from Delhi and left at midnight for Calcutta.	70
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December 16	Arrived at Nadiad, visited Hindu Orphanage and left the same day.	69
December 30	At Calcutta—All India Muslim League, first sitting 1918	79
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February 18	Went to Kathlal	80
February 19	Again to Kathlal	80
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March 23	Visited Uttersanda	80
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March 28	Left for Indore	81
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March 30	At Indore a lecture on " Home Rule " .	87
March 31	Left Indore for Rutlam	88
April	Referred in the meeting about his talk with Lord Willingdon—Report 2nd April	83 87
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April 8	At Borsad addressed a meeting, not to pay assessment.	87
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April 17	Attended a meeting at Odd	88
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May 5	At Bijapur attended the Second Provincial Depressed classes Mission Conference.	89
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May 8		
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June	Visited Schools started by him (in Champaran) at Shikarpur Madhuban and Dhakka—Report 1st June	90
June 8	At Nadiad spoke on the present situation in Kaira .	92
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June	At Nadiad—Reception to Mohanlal Pandya spoke on situation in Kaira—Report 17th June	92
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July 8	At Nawagaon—one recruit enlisted	96,
July 9	Lokmanya Tilak's letter to Mahatma Gandhi published in Kesari.	97
July 11	At Kathalal lecture on recruiting	97
July	Addressed a printed appeal to the people of Kaira on recruiting—Report 15th July.	96
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July 31	At Vadthal—Recruitment meeting	99
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August 4	At Ahmedabad—presided a meeting of Home Rulers	98
October 30	Wrote to D M. Ahmedabad about Dr' s advice for complete rest.	99
December 1	Left Ahmedabad for Matheran	99
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February 13	At Bombay from Allahabad	106
February 14	Dr. D. D. Sathaye, S. G. Banker, Swami Shradhanand and Dr. N. D. Savarkar met Gandhi.	106
February 14	Presided a public meeting to protest against the Rowlatt Bills.	106
February 15	Consultation with Mrs. Besant about the pursuit of passive resistance.	105
February 16	Left Bombay for Madras	100
February 24	At Ahmedabad—had discussions with Bombay leaders regarding breaking of laws.	108
February 28	Left Ahmedabad for Bombay	106
March 1	Gandhi was elected president of the satyagraha sabha and an executive committee was also appointed.	103
March 2	Executive Committee appointed Sub-Committee to collect funds to carry out the propaganda work.	103
March 3	At Ahmedabad—Satyagraha against the Rowlatt Hills inaugurated.	100-103
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April 11-12	General hartal due to Gandhi's arrest on his way to Delhi.	119
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April 21	In the A. I. C. C. meeting deplored the violence in the country.	112
April 21	For private discussion left the A. I. C. C. meeting for an hour.	112
April 21	Attended a meeting at China Baugh— S. G. Banker and Mrs. Naidu visited him.	113
April 21	Left for Ahmedabad	113
April 22	Passed through Nadiad on his way to Ahmedabad	120
April 24	Came to Nadiad, had an interview with D. M. Kaira and went to Bombay.	120
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April 27	Addressed a public meeting under the auspices of the Satyagraha Sabha.	117
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April 30	Postponed further discussions till 2nd May	121
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May	Discussions with Abdul Bari about Hindu Muslim Unity—Report 3rd May.	139
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May 9	Addressed an important Muslim meeting about unity and Khilafat.	123
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May 22	Addressed a Vanik Yuvak Mandal on Swadeshi	135
May 24	At Ahmedabad—disapproved suggestion of suspension of business.	135
May 26	Arrived in morning at Surat, left for Bombay by 10 p.m. train.	138
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June 6	Satyagrahi meeting—asked them not to question about resignations of Jamnadas and Shradhanand.	141
June 7	15 Satyagrahis met him. He asked them whether they had consulted their parents.	141
June 7	Gave letters to Mrs. Naidu to be given to Horniman and Polak in England.	142
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June 19	Told satyagrahis his intention to go to Jail	149
June 19	At Bombay—Long interview with Jamnadas—Dr. Sathaye cabled Daily Herald re : Gandhiji's intention to start Civil Disobedience.	150
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June 23	At Ahmedabad—Presided a public meeting to establish a Swadeshi Sabha.	176
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June 28	At Bombay—Proceeding to Ahmedabad intended to proceed to Punjab.	169
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July 20	At Bombay—after the interview with the Governor's signs of excitement amongst satyagrahis prevailed.	190
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August 31	At Dohad—Spoke on forced labour	199
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September 29	At Ahmedabad-Sent ultimatum to the Government re : Navjivan.	206
October 1	At Bombay—Presided over 73rd birthday of Mrs. Annie Besant.	204
October 2	Attended a meeting of the Bhagini Samaj, Rs. 27,000 presented—a poem on Gandhi by Nanalal D. Kavi was read.	561-67
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October 2	Telegram to Shradhanand inquiring about Disturbance Committee.	205

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October 22	At Ahmedabad—Left for Lahore <i>via</i> Baroda	210
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October 24	At Lahore	220
October 26	Wanted a new warm coat to be sewn by hand and swadeshi thread.	217
October 26	Evidence recorded at Nihal Chand's house -inspected Hira Mandi spot of firing.	216
October 28	Left Lahore for Delhi with Mr. Andrews	217
October 28	Invited students to meet — told them to take to trade — and lead a simple life.	219
October 28	Demonstration of Charkha before ladies — met students.	219
October 31	At Delhi —wired Ahmedabad Ashram re : Khilalat question and Peace celebrations.	212
October 31	At tea party — practical demonstration of unity -Gandhi, Ajmal Khan, Ansari and Munshi Ram partaking sweets from the same dish.	221
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November 1	Public meeting at Pataudi House to Commemorate Delhi Martyrs;	219
November 2	Abortive meeting of the 1st inst. held again	220
November 3	Left Delhi with Mr. Andrews for Amritsar	218
November 3	Busy hearing the judgments and the evidence in the Martial Law Cases	218
November 4	At Amritsar	224
November 5	Punjab letter about the Enquiry activities	212
November 20	At Gujranwala — said in the meeting — " I wish I had been — one of the killed —".	226
November 21	Addressed a large meeting ; and another a meeting of women.	227
November 22	Left for Delhi — homage by the people including the station staff.	227
November 23-24	First meeting of the All India Khilafat Conference insisted not to mix up Punjab and Khilafat issue.	237-240
November	Contributed to anti-piece celebrations a piece, which was put up to auction and bought by Mr. Chhotani for Rs. 500.—Report, 26th November.	243
November 29	Arrived at Gujranwala and left for Akalgaxh.	228
November 30	At Ramnagar—addressed a meeting at Sarai Shivala	228

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December 2	At Hafizabad—told in a meeting ".....united with you in your griefs and sorrows."	230
December 2	At Sangla from Ramnagar	231
December 3	Speech on Swadeshi and Hindu-Muslim unity —left for Lahore at 4-00 p.m.	231
December 4	Surprise visit to Amritsar by motor	235
December 4	At Lahore —a meeting attended by Motilal Nehru, Dharam Chand, Ganpat Rai and Others.	236
December 5-6	Visit to Sheikhpura and Chuharkhana	231-232
December 7-8	At Lyallpur explained the folly of the people in burning and dismantling their own public and religious places.	232-233
December 9	At Lahore	231
December 10	Left Lahore for Delhi	234
December 11	At Delhi	231
December 12	At Lahore from Delhi	232
December 13	Gandhi a popular hero and saviour of the country. Jowahar Sing, emigrant and murderer, who was hanged at Lahore, gave all the money found on him at the time of his arrest (Rs. 100) to Gandhi for the cause of " National Work " as his last will.	234
December 15	Left for Delhi from Ahmedabad	236
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December 22	At Lahore — Private meeting discussed the report of the sub-committee and Khilafat question.	237
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December 27th to 1st January 1920.	Attended Indian National Congress	249
	1920	
January 2	Visit to Jullundar — left for Ahmedabad same night	247
January 4	At Ahmedabad from Punjab	228
January 13	Passed through Bandikui Railway Station on his way to Delhi.	249
January 16	Passed through Rewari enroute for Delhi	248
January 16	At Delhi	249
January 21	At Cawnpore-Swadeshi store opened	244
January 22	At Meerut by motor-car at 9-30 a.m. — attended a meeting of women at 2-30 p.m. — Public meeting in the evening by special request addressed the college students — left for Muzaffar nagar at 6-30 p.m. by motor.	243-245
February 11	At Gujarat (Punjab) spoke on Satyagraha, Hindu-Muslim Unity and Swadeshism—Visited two Muslim shrines and presented Rs. 10 at each place to the caretakers.	253
February 12	At Jalalpur Jattan by motor — addressed a public meeting and left for Gujarat (Punjab).	254

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February 13	A public meeting in the afternoon, left for Savagodha.	254
February 13	Left by the afternoon train for Malakwal — addressed two meetings.	256
February 23	Returned to Ahmedabad from Delhi	251
February 25	At Ahmedabad addressed a spinners meeting	252
February 26	Another meeting of mill-hands-spoke on formation of Labour Union.	252
February 26	Opening ceremony of a night School for Mochis	252
February 27	Attended Sarladevi Chaudharani's meeting and gave the substance in Gujarati.	251-252
February 27	Addressed a gathering of 150 mill clerks	252
March 3	At Bombay — Meeting of Mahommedans under the auspices of the Central Khilafat Committee.	258
March 3	Mass meeting of Bombay Mahommedans — Gandhiji asked Viceroy to place himself at the head of Indian Mussalmans.	257-258
March 5	A meeting to protest against the Press Act and for the withdrawal of the restrictions upon Horniman.	259
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March 12	Telegram asking people to make 19th hartal a success.	259
March 16	Arrived in Bombay with Kidwai	259
March	Telegram from Andrews re : Smuts Victory —Report 17th March.	258
March 19	Mass meeting to protest against British propaganda re : Khilafat.	259-267
March	Advised mill-hands not to take part in hartal—Report 23rd March.	260
March 26	At Lucknow, announced the decision of Delhi leaders on non-co-operation, advised people to withdraw war loan subscriptions.	266
April 2 and 3	At Ahmedabad — labour strike — Gandhi appointed arbitrator.	261
April 3	Letter to Times of India re : Satyagraha Week Resolutions.	264
April 6	At Bombay — Public meeting in connection with the National Week.	262
April 9	Khilafat Committee public meeting.	265
April 13	Telegram to Viceroy about Gandhi's going to England.	265
April 18	Telegram to Chhotani — to cancel passage	269
April 18	At Ahmedabad—Labour Day celebration — addressed a large mill-hand meeting.	271
April 26	Presided over a public meeting condemning the deportation of Horniman.	279
April 27	Statement in Sanj Vartaman re : " why am I going to England?"	273
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