

THE INDIAN CURRENCY PP. 168.
PRICE RE. 1-
POSTAGE EXTRA & EXCHANGE PROBLEM

BY

PROF. JWALA PRASAD SINGHAL, M.A., LL.B.,

PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY AND ECONOMICS AT THE NATIONAL MUSLIM UNIVERSITY ALIGARH.

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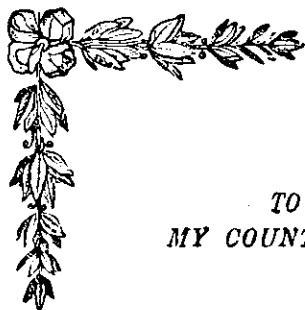
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**BEING AN ANNUAL CHRONICLE AND DIGEST OF PUBLIC
AFFAIRS OF INDIA IN MATTERS POLITICAL.
EDUCATIONAL, ECONOMIC, ETC.**

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TO
MY COUNTRYMEN

Vol. I
India in 1921-22
Internal Politics

The Royal Message

..... my sympathy in all that passes in your lives is unabating.
..... Throughout the civilised world the foundations of social order have been tested by war and change. has been called to face new and special problems of her own. That you will bring those problems to an issue worthy of your historic past and of happiness for your future, that all disquietings will vanish in well-ordered progress, is my earnest wish and my confident belief. Your anxieties and your rejoicings are my own. In all that may touch your happiness, in all that gives you hope and promotes your welfare I feel with you in the spirit of sympathy.

*FROM THE ROYAL MESSAGE READ OUT BY THE
PRINCE OF WALES, BOMBAY, NOV. 17th. 1921*

H. R. H. The Duke's Appeal

"Since I landed I have felt around me bitterness and estrangement between those who have been and should be friends. The shadow of Amritsar has lengthened over the fair face of India. I know how deep is the concern felt by His Majesty the King Emperor at the terrible chapter of the events in the Punjab
... .. misunderstanding usually means mistakes on either side. I appeal to you all—British and Indian—to bury along with the dead past the mistakes and misunderstandings of the past, to forgive where you have to forgive, and to join hand and work together to realise the hopes that arise from to-day.

*FROM THE INAUGURAL SPEECH IN OPENING
THE NEW COUNCIL AT DELHI, JAN. 1921*

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Under-Secretaries of State.—Sir William Duke, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.

The Rt. Hon'ble Earl of Winterton M. P.

Assistant-Under Secretaries of State.—Sir Arthur Hirtzel, K.C.B.

Sir Malcolm Seton, K.C.B.

The India Council

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Sir Charles S. Bayley, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I. Sabibzada Aftab Ahmed Khan.
William Didsbury Sheppard, C.I.E. Frederick Crauford Goodenough.
General Sir E. G. Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I. Bhubendranath Basu.
Sir James Bennett Brunyate, K.C.S.I. Sir Chettur Sankaran Nair, K.C.I.E.
Sir George O. Roos-Keppel, G.C.I.E. K.C.S.I. Sir Malcolm Hogg.

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President—Council of State—Hon. Sir A. P. Mudiman, Kt.

„ Legislative Assembly—Hon. Sir A. F. Whyte Kt.

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Ministers—The Hon'bles Sir Surendra Nath Banerji, Kt; Mr. Provas Chandra Mitter, C.I.E.; Nawab Saiyid Nawab Ali Chaudhuri, C.I.E.

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Governor and President in Council.—His Excellency the Right Hon'ble Sir Freeman Freeman-Thomas Baron Willingdon, of Ratton, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.,

Members of Executive Council.—The Hon'bles Sir Lionel Davidson, K.C.S.I.; Mr Charles George Todhunter, C.S.I.; Khan Bahadur Muhammad Habib-ul-lah, Sahib Bahadur CIE; Kadamangudi Srinivasa Ayyangar.

Ministers.—The Hon'bles Diwan Bahadur A. Subbarayalu Reddiyar, Mr. P. Ramarayaningar; Rao Bahadur K. Venkata Reddi Nayudu.

GOVERNMENT OF ASSAM

Governor.—His Excellency Sir Nicholas Dodd Beatson Bell K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.;

Members of Executive Council.—The Hon'ble Mr. William James Reid; The Hon'ble Mr Abdul Majid.

Ministers.—The Hon'bles Rai Bahadur Ghanasyam Barua; Khan Bahadur Sayed Abdul Majid.

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Governor. His Excellency the Right Hon'ble Sir Henry Wheeler, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.

Members of the Executive Council.—The Hon'bles Sir Walter Maude, K.C.S.I.; Mr. Havilland LeMesurier, C.S.I., C.I.E.; Rai Bahadur Krishna Sahay.

Ministers.—The Hon'bles Khan Bahadur Saiyid Muhammad Fakhr-uddin; Mr Madhusudan Das. C.I.E.

GOVERNMENT OF BURMA

Lieutenant-Governor.—The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Henry Craaddock.

Official Members—Council of the Lieutenant-Governor.—Hon'bles Frederick Lewisohn, M.A.; Robert Edward Vaughan Arbutnot; John Mark Somers Hunter, M.A.; Walter Booth Gravely; Hebert Edward West Martindell; William Henry Lawson Cabell; Lieut.-Col Frederick Ralph Nethersole; Hugh Ernest MacColl; Peter Edwin Jamieson; Edward Cheke Smalley Shuttleworth; James MacKenna.

GOVERNMENT OF CENTRAL PROVINCES

Governor.—His Excellency Sir Frank George Sly, K.C.I., E. I.C.S

Executive Council.—The Hon'bles Mr. B. P. Standen; Mr. Moropant Vishwanath Joshi.

Ministers.—The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur N. K. Kelker; The Hon'ble Mr. S. M. Chitnavis.

GOVERNMENT OF PUNJAB

Governor.—His Excellency Sir Edward Douglas Maclagan K.C.S.I.

Members of the Executive Council.—The Hon'bles Sir H. J. Maynard; Sardar Bahadur Sundar Singh Majithia.

Ministers.—The Hon'bles Khan Bahadur Mian Fazli-i-Hussain; Lala Harakishan Lal.

GOVT. OF UNITED PROVINCES

Governor.—H. E. Sir Spencer Harcourt Butler, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

Members of Executive Council.—Hon'bles L. C. Porter, C.S.I., Raja Sir Muhammad Ali Muhd. Khan Bahadur K.C.I.E., of Muhammadabad.

Ministers.—Hon'bles C. Y. Chintamani; Pt. Jagat Narayan.

Chronicle of Events
1921-22

January 1921.

Chief Events.—Inauguration of the Reformed Legislative Councils by H. R. H the Duke of Connaught—Bengal & Punjab Student upheaval—Messrs. Nehru, Das, Jayakar, Praksam and other leaders' renunciation for the N.C.O—Extensive Agrarian outbreak in U. P.

1st. All-India Congress Committee at Nagpur appointed Working Committee of 9 members and 3 general secretaries with the President, Mr. Vijiaraghavachariar, as Chairman, to carry out the N.C.O programme; Mr. Bomanji donated Rs. 10,000 p. m. till Swaraj was attained; Mr. Jamn Lal Bajaj donated Rs 1 lac for supporting lawyers who suspend practice.

2nd. Bishop of Lucknow, in a sermon on the occasion of the inauguration ceremony of the new Reformed Govts. in India, said "it was not easy for an Englishman to regard men of a darker complexion as his equals, socially or intellectually; it was not easy for an Englishman to serve under an Indian as his superior officer."

3rd. New constitution under the Reform Act formally inaugurated in all Provinces at head-quarters, new Governors, Executive Councillors and Ministers took oath and charge of office.

Unrest amongst Burma Univ. students who refused to join Colleges on re-opening after X'mas recess—wanted abolition of Preliminary Year University Course which was being forced upon them by the Govt., and nationalisation of Education.

5th. Afghan Mission (Sir Henry Dobbs, Mr. Prior, Genl. Muspratt, Nawab Sir Mir Shan Shab, Mr. Cheson, Col. Ross, I. M. S. & Capt. Hanna) crossed Afghan frontier en-route to Kabul, to negotiate treaty of Peace with Afghanistan. (p. 214)

6th. Outbreak of agrarian trouble in Rai Bareilly—3000 Kisan peasants of Forsatgunj assembled in protest against the arrest of 3 of their leaders for organising Kisan (peasant) movement against oppressions of their landlords, and were fired upon by the Police—killed seven and wounded many—disturbances continued for several days, every day mob fired upon by police and hundreds of Kisans marched off to prison. Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, the N.C.O leader, who went to settle disputes was ordered by Magistrate to leave station. (p. 156).

7th. Mr. N. M. Joshi of the *Servant of India* declined C. I. E. as its possession was incompatible with the ideal of renunciation and poverty of his society.

8th. Punjab Council.—First session of the new Reformed Legislative Council opened by Governor Sir Edward Maclagan.

South India Non-Brahman Conference, 4th session, opened at Madras, Rai Saheb M. V. Naidu presiding—continued on next day. Resolutions passed among others condemning N.C.O. and the Govt. on the Punjab wrongs.

Mr. J. B. Petit, Secy. Imp. Indian Citizenship Assoc : forwarded resolution of the Assoc : to Govt of India urging creation of a separate portfolio to be held by an Indian Member for dealing with questions relating to Indians abroad.

Mr. L. B. Bhopatkar of Poona Bar suspended practice in pursuance of N.C.O and devoted himself to Congress work.

Sir M. O'Dwyer in England lead an attack by Tories of Govt. policy in India calling for drastic repression.

9th Lord Reading appointed Viceroy—High Tory circles in England led by *Morning Post* and *Telegraph* condemned the appointment and besmirched the name of Lord Reading by reopening the Marconi scandal.

N.C.O procession, Madras, proclaiming boycott of Duke.

Delhi Piece Goods Merchants Association stopped import of Manchester goods for six months.

10th. H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught landed in Madras (see page 81), come on a special mission from the King-Emperor to inaugurate the new Reformed Councils. Hartal in town.

Afghan Durbar formally received British Mission.

12th. Extensive Student's strike in Calcutta (see p 145).

H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught inaugurated the Madras Legislative Council (see p. 88).

14th. Repression started at Almora to stop the peasant outcry against forced labour in Simla and other hills.

15th. Lala Lajpat Rai demanded nationalisation of D. A. V. college (p. 151)—Lahore students appealed to leave college.

16th. Calcutta Student upheaval—Sir A. Choudhury while addressing students in the University institute against the strike was shouted down—meeting turned into a N.C.O meeting on the sudden appearance of Mr. B. C. Pal on the scene.

17th. Calcutta students' strike gathering strength ; out of 620 B. L. Examinees only 150 sat ; picketing at gate of examination hall by strikers barring passage lying flat on the pavement.

19th. Mr. C. R. Das, the leading Calcutta Barrister, suspended practice and gave his life and property up to the non-co-operation movement. Animated scenes in Calcutta on his phenomenal sacrifice. (p. 149).

Addressing a large meeting of Calcutta students, the Rev. C. F. Andrews advocated "independence, complete and perfect, for India as against the soul-sapping White Supremacy."

20th. Calcutta non-co-operators under Messrs Das, B. Chakravarty, Abul Kalam Azad and others issued a N-C-O scheme for village organisation *e. g.* night schools, village banks, co-operative stores, etc.

Bombay Corporation resolve to present address to the Duke in the name of the people inspite of N-C-O opposition.

21st. Bengal Muslim Assoc. under M. Emamuddin started anti-N-C-O campaign.

Before the Railway Committee Sir P. Thyagaraya Chetti gave sensational evidence at Madras exposing how the Indian Railways gave preference to British merchants over Indians. He supported the popular demand of State management of Railways.

22nd. The Reformed U. P. Legislative Council opened at Lucknow, Governor Sir H. Butler in a strong address said that the enemies of the Reforms—meaning Indian enemies—wanted the expulsion of Western Civilisation and reversion to the unsettled times before British advent ; his Govt. would quell the forces of disorder.

Marwari Trades Assoc., Calcutta, passed resolution against profiteering of Indian Millowners of Bombay.

23rd. Punjab Govt. with the approval of Govt. of India declared Jullunder Dist. a proclaimed area.

Bombay mass meeting under M. M. Chotani appealed to people to boycott Duke's visit to Bombay and condemned the Corporation's decision to present the address.

Madras Labour meeting to relieve distress of mill-hands locked out by Buckingham Mill for last 3 months and to protest against unjust methods pursued by capitalists backed by officials to break up the labourers' unions.

24th. Lahour Student upheaval (see p. 152).

Annual General meeting of the European Association at Calcutta with Mr. Morgan in the chair ; in his presidential address, he wanted Europeans to be prepared for the coming struggle with Indians ; and Lt-Col. Fraser moved a resolution demanding Govt. to penalise non-co operation and take drastic action (see p 138 Appendix).

Second Annual Session of the Associated European Chambers of Commerce held at Royal-Exchange, Calcutta, 12 European Chambers of India being represented and also many high European officials. Governor Ronaldshay presided and delivered a long discourse on the relation of capital and labour and expressed satisfaction that in the last International Labour Conference at Washington India was fortunate in having Sir Alexander Murray, president of the Bengal Chamber, nominated by the Indian Govt., as the spokesman of Indian Labour !!!

28th. H.R.H. the Duke arrived at Calcutta (see p. 91) amidst complete hartal in the Indian quarter.

29th. Mahatma Gandhi at Calcutta addressed several meetings on the Duke's boycott and on collections of the Tilak Swaraj fund.—14 vakils of Guntur suspended practice.

30th. Patna Congress Committee considered a sub-committee report on looting at Mariha and Loharipattia by a mob helped by police constables and chowkidars at the connivance of the Sub-Inspector.

Punjab Students' Conference held at Gujranwala attended by 2000 Punjab student delegates, presided over by Dr. Kitchlow—passed resolutions endorsing N-C-O programme—Lala Lajpat Rai addressed and congratulated them for their patriotic work—D. A. V. College closed for a fortnight.

31st. 8th. session of the Science Congress opened by the Governor Lord Ronaldshay at Calcutta began its sittings with Sir. R. N. Mukherji as president.

Congress Working Committee met at Calcutta from 31st January to 4th February and passed long string of resolutions on constructive N-C-O work.

February 1921

Chief Events—H. R. H. The Duke of Connaught inaugurated the Princes Chamber, the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly, Delhi—Collapse of the Students' non-co-operation movement—Sittings of the new Reformed Legislative Councils.

1st. M. Gandhi addressed his famous letter to the Duke explaining non-co-operation and emphasising that "we desire to live in terms of friendship with Englishmen, but that friendship must be the friendship of equals, both in theory and in practice."--No response from Duke.

Prince of Wales unveiled the Indian Soldiers' Memorial erected at Brighton, England, in honour of Indians slain during the War. Lord Mayor sent sympathetic message to India for her services in the War.

Bengal Council formally opened by the Duke (see p. 91)

2nd. Mr. Srinivasa Sastry at Bombay attempted to speak against N-C-O. at a meeting but was mobbed by students and other non-co operators.

3rd. New Reformed Indian Legislative Houses—the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly—formally brought into existence at Delhi—members took the oath of allegiance.

4th. M. Gandhi opened the first National College in Calcutta in a spacious four-storied building at Wellington Square.

5th. Informal meeting of Council of State and Legislative Assembly at Delhi to settle agenda of work.

All India Railwaymen's Conference held at Bombay for 3 days with Rai Saheb Chandrika Prasad as president. (see appendix).

6th. Repression in Malabar started by Magistrate Mr. Thomas forbidding N-C-O meetings in Calicut.

M. Gandhi formally opened National College at Patna.

7th. New B. & O. Reformed Council inaugurated by Lord Sinha, the Governor, at Patna in the new Council Hall. (p. 135)

H. R. H. The Duke of Connaught arrived at Delhi in State. Official address of welcome was presented on behalf of the Municipality, the people standing off—barral in town.

First session of Bengal Council held—Motion to reduce

8th. Duke inaugurated at Delhi the new Chamber of Princes attended by almost all the Indian Princes and their suite. A Royal Proclamation was also read out to the assembly. (p. 97)

Annual meeting of U. P. Kishan Sabha under Pt. Motilal Nehru held at Allahabad—7000 Kishaus attended.

9th. The Duke inaugurated the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly at Delhi under Royal Warrant.

Bengal Council—Private motion for reduction of number of Ministers lost by official Majority.

Punjab Govt. passed orders on Lala Lajpat Rai prohibiting him from entering or remaining in the N. W. Frontier Province.

Meeting of Delhi citizens under Dr. Ansari condemned the new Reformed Legislatures as unrepresentative in character and asked the public to boycott and non-co-operate.

10th. H. R. H. the Duke laid the foundation stone of the All India War Memorial at Delhi.

11th. Bengal Council—keen debate on the question of the Minister's salaries—all resolutions proposing a reduction were defeated.

14th. Council of State first met at Delhi—Hon. Mr. Sastri's resolution on repeal of Repressive laws carried after an animated discussion.

Madras Council first session opened by Governor with a long speech detailing work contemplated.

U. P. Council first meeting—animated debate over a 'loyalty' resolution amended by the strictures of the Independents condemning the repressive policy of the Govt. in Rai Bareilly.

15th. Indian Legislative Assembly met at Delhi—animated debate on Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas' motion on Punjab tragedy which passed except the clause on punishment of the guilty Punjab officials.

B & O. Council first meeting at Patna—resolution expressing satisfaction at Lord Sinha's appointment as Governor passed.

Madras Council—Govt. defeated over Mr. P. Siva Rao's motion regarding settlement operations by 76 to 17 votes.

16th. Repression in Calicut—Messrs. Yakub Hassan, Govind Menon and N-C-O leaders arrested and sentenced for 6 months for disobeying executive order of Magistrate Mr. Thomas not to hold a meeting—great agitation in Malabar.

In the Council of State, Delhi, Lala Sukhbir Singh's resolution for helping indigenous medicine was defeated by 32 to 11.

U. P. Council passed after amendment Mr. Zafar Hussain's resolution exempting members of Council from taking out licenses under Arms Act.

17th. Mr. Hassan Ali's resolution that one fourth of I. C. S. posts in each province be kept for P. C. S men was carried against Government in the Legislative Assembly, Delhi, by 69 to 32 votes.

Sir Shivaswami Iyer's resolution on the Esher report demanding that its proposals be not acted upon and that the Army in India should be entirely under control of Government of India was passed after being whittled down by Government amendments.

18th. Madras Council—animated debate on motion for adjournment on repression in Malabar ending in the imprisonment of Mr. Yakub Hassan—Sir Thiagaraya supported repression even more strongly than Govt. members.

19th. Mass meeting of 70,000 at Bombay under the auspices of Khilafat league ventilated Khilafat grievances and Government repression—congratulated Mr. Yakub Hassan imprisoned in Calicut and resolved to boycott the Duke.

New Bombay Council first met for taking oath of allegiance preparatory to formal opening by the Duke on 23rd.

Bengal Moderates under Sir Surendranath met at Dalhousie Institute, Calcutta, to form Reforms Associations all over the province to combat N-C-O and to do propaganda work.

M. Gandhi at Gujranwala, at a huge mass meeting, referred to repression in Kerala and imprisonment of Mr. Yakub Hassan, and asked all to non-co-operate—he also strongly condemned the popular habit of hooting out eminent leaders such as Sastri, Sir Surendranath and others.

Repression in U. P.—At Fatehpur Babu Bans Gopal, a Vakil, arrested for N-C-O activity—Magistrate prohibited protest meetings.

20th. The horrible Nankana massacre in the Punjab in which 150 Akali Sikhs were butchered and burnt (p. 158)

21st. Duke arrived at Bombay in State—Corporation presented address—popular meetings held advocating boycott of official functions.

Bengal Council—Budget introduced.

U. P. Council—resolutions to reduce salary of Ministers lost after a heated debate.

Calcutta student strike ended—60% returned.

22nd. Dr. Cholkar, Vice-president Nagpur Municipality, arrested for preaching against liquor traffic—order served on Dr. Paranjpye not to 'annoy' and 'obstruct liquor traffic.

Legislative Assembly, Delhi, passed resolution for a commission to examine and report on the repeal of the Indian Press Act 1910.

23rd. India in the Houses of Commons and Lords—important interpellations on Indian Army and Exchange on this and following day. Viscount Curzon's query how a convicted rebel, like Lala Harkishen Lal, could become a Minister was stopped by Mr. Speaker who thought it undesirable to raise such questions. Joint permanent Committee of 11 Lords and Commoners proposed to be formed to advise and report Parliament on Indian Affairs.

Riot at Nagpur over picketing of liquor shops and on Dr. Cholkar's arrest—Mob broke up liquor-shops and was fired upon by Police—whole town in hartal—next day public meetings etc. gagged under S. 144. Cr. P.C.

Calicut Municipal council protested against the Malabar repression—its Chairman Mr. C. V. Narayana Menon resigned in protest.

Hon. Mr. Lalubhai Samaldas' motion in Council of State demanding full fiscal autonomy for India passed with Government amendment: "subject to Govt. of India Act."

The Duke inaugurated the Bombay Council (see p. 125)

24th. Punjab Council—Budget presented.

Bombay Council—Budget presented showing a deficit of a crore.

27th. Madras city and province went on Hartal as a mark of indignation against Govt. for its repressive policy at Calicut and the imprisonment of Messrs. Yakub Hasan, Gopal Menon and party.

28th. Close of the Duke's Tour—Duke left India from Apollo Bunder, Bombay—His farewell message.

Bihar Council—resolutions on reduction of Ministers' salaries defeated after 4 hours' debate.

March 1921

Chief Events :—Budget session of the Reformed Councils—Budgets under the new rules presented—proposals for fresh taxations—Bengal Provincial Conference—Nagpur police fire—Rajshahi Jail outbreak—All India Congress Committee at Bezwada laying down immediate work.

1st. Imperial Legislative Assembly ; Financial Statement presented by Mr. Hailey, the Finance Member—last years' budget deficit 12 crores ; next taxation proposed 20 crores.

Bengal Legislative council :—Budget debate.

2nd. Sikh mass meeting at Calcutta expressed sorrow and indignation at the Nankana Sabib tragedy.

The Indian Legislature : Debate on the prohibition of export of Indian cattle ; Mr. T. Rangachari's resolution to increase the rate of interest on securities from three and three half per cent to 6% was lost.

Rai J. N. Mazumdar's resolution *re* equality of status and allowances of members of both the Houses of the Indian Legislature was carried.

Mr. C. R. Das ordered by the Dt. Magistrate Mymensingh under section 144 Cr. P. Code not to enter the town ; this led to complete hartal, shops and markets being closed. The order was subsequently cancelled.

3rd. In the Council of State the Hon. Mr. Sastri moved for an amendment of the Cr. P. Code and other enactments so as to secure safeguards against suppression of riots and unlawful assemblies by free use of fire arms.

4th. In the C. P. Council a resolution for stopping the Govt.'s Hill exodus was passed.

5th. In the Delhi Legislative Assombly Mr. M. Yamin Khan's resolution asking for a Commission of 3 Asssembly and 2 Council of State members and 2 Officials to investigate into the grievances of the people leading to non-co-operation was put to the vote and lost.

M. Gandhi addressed the Sikhs at Lahore in connection with the Nankana tragedy and characterised the action of the Mahant and his party as a second edition of Dyerism.

Public meeting at Bombay under Mr. Jinnah passed resolution protesting against the Press Act.

Strike of police constables at Patna due to dissatisfaction with pay and allowances.

Madras Council : Financial Statement for 1921—22 presented by the Finance Member.

7th. Budget debate in the Legislative assembly. Mr. Ch. Sahabuddin's resolution to appoint a Committee consisting of some Assembly members to consider and report on the recommendations of the Esher Committee was carried.

8th. At Calcutta presiding at a meeting in connection with the School of Chemical Technology Sir. A. Choudhuri advised youngmen not to take to the spinning wheel with women and to throw away all they had learnt but to use their mental and physical resources for their own advancement and the benefit of their country.

In the Council of State, Delhi, Sirdar Jogindra Singh moved resolution recommending the release of prisoners detained without trial and also of those imprisoned by the Martial Law Courts in the Punjab in 1919 ; failing such release the motion recommended that they should be given an opportunity of proving their innocence in regular courts ; this was withdrawn on Sir W. Vincent undertaking to consider individual cases if such were brought to his notice.

9th. In the Council of State, Delhi, Mr. Bhurgri's resolution for the separation of executive and judicial functions was withdrawn after discussion ; Sirdar Jogindra Singh's resolution on the export of food grains carried.

At Sultanpur Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru served with notice under S. 144 Cr. P. Code and ordered to leave the place.

Madras Council: Budget debate.

10th. Report of Indian Gaols Committee published at Delhi.

11th. In the Punjab Legislative Council Lt. Sirdar Raghubir Singh asked questions on the Nankana Sahib tragedy and its after effects.

12th. In the U. P. Council Pt. H. N. Kunzru's resolution to take disciplinary action against those who were guilty of firing at Munshigung, Rae Bareli Dt., was lost.

14th. In the Legislative Assembly, Delhi, Mr. Seshagiri Iyer's resolution that the provision of Rs 5,64,500 for building a Council Chamber for the Legislative Assembly at Simla be omitted, was keenly debated and lost resulting in 21 voting for and 67 against it.

At a meeting of Officials and Non-officials at the Patna Secretariat, H. H. the Maharaja of Darbhanga protested against the repressive measures of Govt. and appealed for co-operation. He pointed out that the unrest was due to economic causes and suggested as remedy the introduction of charka and handloom, establishment of panchayets, and advocating temperance.

15th. European Non-Official members of the Council of State and Legislative Assembly wired to Lord Amthill protesting against the Emergency Committee formed by the Sydenham gang in London who are wont to distort the situation in India as serving no useful purpose and calculated to exasperate public opinion and prejudice the effect of harmonious working of the Reforms in India. To this Lord Amthill cabled in reply: "mind your own business."

U. P. Government issued communique stating that the N C-O movement was revolutionary and anarchical and that it was the duty of all servants of the Crown to counteract it; that the Govt. encouraged all officials to participate in political movements when actively opposing N-C-O.

16th. In the Punjab Council Mr. M. Shah Nawaz's resolution recommending Government to extend amnesty to Martial Law convicts of the Punjab undergoing imprisonment was rejected after a keen debate. Raja Narendra Nath's resolution recommending Govt. to appoint a Committee to consider what class of persons who suffered during the Martial Law regime should be compensated and what compensation should be paid, was accepted in an amended form.

17th. In the Bengal Council a motion for the reduction of police grant was carried by a non-official majority.

At the Bombay Council the motion for the appointment of a Committee to enquire into the possibility of effecting retrenchment in all departments was carried.

18th. In the Legislative Assembly, Rai Sahib Lukshmi Narayan Lal moved for the retention of the old postal rates :

there were several amendments and after a long discussion the motion to retain the quarter-anna post card was carried.

19th. In the Punjab Council Mr. Mohurrum Ali Chisti's resolution recommending to H. E. the Governor-General in Council to arrange a Round Table Conference for securing co-operation between the Govt. and the people was carried.

In the B & O Council a resolution recommending that Dt. Officers should refrain from the policy of repression against N-C-O was withdrawn after discussion.

At the Legislative Assembly the Finance Bill was passed.

At Lucknow, H. E. the Governor laid the foundation stone of the Lucknow University.

20th. Riot at Rae Bareilly in which the police were forced to take refuge till reinforcements arrived ; rioters armed with spears and the ring-leaders were captured with some difficulty.

The Sikh Gurdwara Committee, Amritsar, resolved to take to passive resistance in the event of the Govt. not releasing those Sikhs who were arrested in connection with the Gurudwara Reform movement.

24th. Rajsahi jail out break ; 669 convicts broke out and escaped. They were subsequently overtaken by the police who fired when the convicts refused to surrender, a few were killed ; also some innocent coolies, who were fired upon on the mistaken belief that they were convicts ;—sensation in the district prevailed owing to police action which gave rise to a panic amongst the innocent villagers.

In the Indian Legislative Assembly Sir W. Vincent laid down the policy of the Govt. with reference to N-C-O and its alleged evils and talked of the necessity of taking repressive measures to put it down.

In the Council of State, Delhi, Mr. Raza Ali moved a resolution recommending the conveyance to His Majesty's Govt. of the considered opinion of the House that any attempt in England to place obstacles in the satisfactory working of the Reform Act was calculated to endanger the new regime ; this received a very poor support.

At a N-C-O meeting in Nagpur the people burnt their foreign caps ; this was the beginning of the trouble which ended in riots and police fire.

25th. Bengal Provincial Conference at Barisal; Mr. B. C. Pal, the President, emphasised the necessity of compromise with Great Britain; there was also the need for the amendment of the Govt. of India Act; he condemned the tendency to ignore what English education and British administration had done for India. This was the beginning of the split which later on led Mr. Pal to go over to the side of Anglo-India and seek service there.

26th. All India Vakils' Conference at Allahabad held under the presidency of Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Iyer.

27th. Mob riot at Nagpur; liquor shops looted and their contents burnt; police arrested 30 men.

The Bengal Provincial Conference concluded at Barisal; a number of resolutions on a variety of subjects were passed; Mr. B. C. Pal, the President, was frequently interrupted in his speech for laying down his views against the Congress.

28th. Nagpur European Magistrate with an armed police opened fire on mob who, it was alleged, attacked the police.

In the Indian Legislative Assembly Sir Sivaswami Aiyar moved resolutions on the Esher Committee recommendations relating to the purpose of the army in India and its organisation; the second resolution urged that the Indian army should not be used outside India except in cases of grave emergency; the other resolutions dealt with the admission of Indians to the commissioned rank, the necessity for an Indian Sandhurst, etc. The resolutions were carried.

30th. C. P. Govt. Press Communique issued on the Nagpur mob riot laying the blame on N-C-O.

31st. At the Lahore Municipality Major Ferrar, the president, informed the Committee that the ground on which the Lawrence Statue stands belonged to the Govt and that the Municipality had no hands in the matter. This was in reply to a resolution of the Committee that the statue should be removed as it bore an inscription which greatly humiliated Indians.

All India Congress Committee meeting at Bezwada decided that inspite of increasing repressive measures it was not time yet to call for civil disobedience (see page 161)

April 1921

Chief Events:—The change of Viceroyalty—The Erode Khilafat Conference—Reforms and Congress conferences—Anti-N-C-O campaign started by Govt. in U. P.—Mulshi Peta Satyagraha Campaign—Nagpur riots—Ottapalam Police outrage—Malegaon riots.

2nd. Arrival at Bombay of the Rt. Hon'ble Earl of Reading, and his assumption of the Viceroyalty of India. Lord Chelmsford sailed for England. Viceroy uttered his first pronouncement of "Justice" in reply to an address presented by the Bombay Municipality (see p. 178).

Majlas-ul-Ulema Conference at Erode commenced and continued for the next two days; attended by the Ali Brothers, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Hakim Ajmal Khan and 5000 Ulemas and visitors. The All-India Jamiat-ul-Ulema's resolution was re-affirmed. It was at this conference that Mr. Mahomed Ali made his famous speech on the Afghan Invasion which led to the Afghan bogey being started (see p. 207).

4th. Hon. Mr. Raza Ali issued appeal to M. Gandhi to suspend N-C-O to enable the new Viceroy to see and judge things for himself.

5th. Lala Lajpat Rai at Bombay delivered a lecture on the present situation in which he charged the Moderates as guilty of 'high treason' for their supporting the Bureaucracy.

6th. Satyagraha Day; hartal was observed at Lucknow, Lahore, Agra, Nagpur, Karachi and many other places.

U. P. Govt. addressed a circular to the Commissioners dealing with the N-C-O movement and encouraged officials to declare themselves, with the full approval of the Govt., against this movement. They were authorised to oppose it openly and by every legitimate means in their power and to organise and lead the Moderates with the express object of defeating the N-C-O movement.

7th. Lala Lajpat Rai addressing a workmen's meeting at Bombay urged them to join the Congress; he said that unless Swarajya was obtained their lot would not improve.

8th. Before a mass meeting in Madras presided over by Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar and attended by Congress leaders, M.

Gandhi delivered an important address on the Bezwada resolution (see p. 171).

In the Punjab Council Hon. Mr. Fazl-i Hossain presented the Report of the Select Committee on the Sikh Gurudwara and Shrines Bill; four Sikh members added minutes of dissent; the consideration of the bill as amended by the committee was postponed.

9th. Bengal Reforms Conference at Calcutta under the presidency of Hon. P. C. Mitter who spoke admiringly of the constructive side of N-C-O; Sir S. N. Bannerjee denounced it and moved a resolution that India's goal was the attainment of Swaraj within the Empire.

At the Hindu Conference at Hardwar Pt. Din Dayal, the President, praised the N-C-O movement and said that Swarajya was the only remedy for the various ailments of India.

10th. Huge N-C-O meetings at Bombay under Mr. Gandhi.

At a meeting of the Madras Mahajan Sabha under the presidency of Mr. L. A. Govindaraghava Iyer, Mr. Chakkari's resolution that the "Mahajan Sabha do accept the creed of the Congress as adopted at the Nagpur Session" was put and after hot discussion carried by a large majority.

11th. At a N-C-O meeting at Calcutta Mr. C. R. Das addressing students explained what was Swaraj and asked them to boycott schools and colleges.

13th. Jallianwala Bagh anniversary; national mourning day and hartal observed at Calcutta, Bombay, Benares, Madras, Nagpur, Lucknow, Lahore, Agra, Karachi and other places.

At a N-C-O meeting in Lucknow, Moulana Fakhir condemned the present system of education and the distribution of justice in courts; boycott resolutions passed.

14th. In reply to Mr. Raza Ali's suggestion to suspend the N-C-O campaign in order to give Lord Reading a chance to study the Indian problem, M. Gandhi said that there was nothing in the atmosphere to prevent such study; that whatever disturbance there might be were fomented by the authorities by their unholy activities.

15th. Mr. C. R. Das opened the National Medical Institute in the Forbes Mansions at Wellington Square, Calcutta.

Bengal Provincial Congress Committee on the motion of Mr.

C. R. Das resolved that Municipalities, Dt. & Local Boards and Union Committees should not be boycotted at that stage.

16th. Successful passive resistance at Mulshi Peta, Poona, where the Tata & Co were to erect a dam in the rivers Nira-Mula and for this Govt. under the Land Acquisition Act had to acquire the neighbouring villages; the farmers of the villages refused to be turned out of their land and resorted to *Satyagraha* or passive resistance (see p. 187).

At a meeting of the Senate of the Calcutta University Sir Ashutosh Mukherjea, the Vice-Chancellor, deplored the political excitement and revolt against educational institutions; he hoped with the co-operation of the senators to promote the good name and reputation of the University.

18th. The *Satyagrahi* farmers at Mulshi Peta continued to obstruct the work of the dam of the Tata & Co; on the intervention of Mr. Kelkar of Poona a compromise was effected with the result that the *Satyagrahis* returned to their homes on being promised that the work will be suspended for 6 months.

19th. Annual meeting of the Bombay Millowner's Association under the presidency of Mr. Rahimtulla Currimbhoy; in his address he referred to the demands of labour, the Lancashire agitation against the raising of the Indian import duty and the question of Imperial preference; Sir Dinshaw Wacha urged the necessity of taking steps to increase the output of Indian Mills in order to cope with the increased demand.

20th. Sirdar Pratap Singh, Editor of the *Akali*, arrested at Lahore under Sec. 124 A, I. P. C.

Punjab Govt. press communique declared the Districts of Lahore, Amritsar and Sheikhpura to be proclaimed areas under the Seditious Meetings Act for a further period of six months from the date on which a previous similar declaration ceased to operate.

21st. Judgment delivered in the Nagpur Liquor Riot case; out of 11 persons, six acquitted and five sentenced to R. I.

22nd. Mr. J. B. Petit of Bombay announced the formation of a new political party called the "Indian progressive Federation;"—H. H. the Aga Khan consented to lead the party for three years after his return to India.

23rd. First Kerala Provincial Conference under the pre-

sidency of Mr. T. Prokasam ; fracas between the Police and the non-co operators (see p. 184).

Secretary of the U. P. Congress Committee submitted a report on the progress of N-C-O movement in the U. P. to the General Secretary of All India Congress Committee.

At the Lahore Municipal elections non-co-operators captured majority of seats by defeating the old conservative councillors.

24th. The first Reform Conference at Calicut assembled under the presidency of Mrs. Annie Besant ; Dewan Bahadur M. Krishnan Nair delivered a speech on behalf of the Reception Committee attacking N-C O. Resolutions passed supporting the Reforms and condemning N-C-O.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu addressed a large meeting of ladies in Bombay on "Women and National work", in the course of which she emphasised the part which women must play in the work of Swaraj. Women resolved to discard the shame of foreign cloth and take to spinning and to hand-woven cloth.

25th. Murderous Mob outbreak at Malegaon, Nasik district, ending in serious loss of life and property (see p. 190)

Mob outbreak at Giridih, Sonthal Perghanas due to a police Sub-Inspector firing on the crowd (see p. 192)

At Lucknow the Dy. Commissioner tried to inaugurate an Anti Revolutionary League, but it ended in an uproarious meeting of non-co operators under the lead of Mr. Shaukat Ali.

26th. Mahatma Gandhi at Karachi interviewed deputations of students and Khilafatists ; he addressed a public meeting where he condemned disorderly behaviour in meetings and the holding of unauthorised hartals ; in addressing the non-co-operating Municipal Councillors he urged nationalisation of education and added that since it meant teaching of Hindi and the running of spinning wheels, no financial difficulties would be experienced by refusing Govt. grants.

A new organisation called "The League of Peace and Order" formed under official inspiration at Lucknow to combat the N-C-O movement ; Mr. A. P. Sen was elected president.

30th. Punjab Provincial Conference held at Rawalpindi under the presidency of Hakim Ajmal Khan (see p. 194).

May 1921

Assam Coolie Exodus—Gurkha outrage on coolies at Chandpur—Hartal and strike at Chittagong and Chandpur—The Afghan "bogy" started by supporters of Govt.—Gandhi-Reading interview—Amritsar Gurdwara movement—The Ali Brothers' Apology Episode.

2nd. Madras Govt. issued a communique revising the Govt. Servants Conduct Rules whereby Government servants previously debarred from joining politics, now were empowered to attend N C-O meetings and combat the N-C-O movement.

3rd. At Karachi Swami Govindananda was sentenced to 5 years' transportation for life on charge of sedition.

All India Shia Conference at Lucknow under H. H. Mohd. Rahim of Bombay passed resolution to send deputation to enquire into affairs at Najaf—the holy Moslem shrine of which was reported to be bombarded by the Allies.

4th. Complete hartal at Chittagong as a protest against the notice served on ten leaders prohibiting meetings and processions ; in the afternoon, at the request of the Collector, matters were settled whereby prohibitory orders were withdrawn and the hartal was declared at an end.

5th. Bombay Govt. issued a communique on the Shikarpur disturbances of 19th April when a mob attacked the meeting of a Sabha which had declined to refuse Govt. grants, causing damages and injuring several persons ; armed police was requisitioned who drove away the mob and arrested six men.

At a meeting of the Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee, Amritsar, under the presidency of S. Sundar Singh Ramgharia, resolution was passed declaring that in view of the hostility of the officials towards the Gurudwara movement, the Sikhs should resort to passive resistance to protect their rights.

The Ahmedabad Municipality passed a resolution that the sale of spirituous liquor, whether country or foreign, should be immediately stopped within the municipal limits of the city.

In reply to allegations of conspiracy with the Amir of Afghanistan, Moulana Mahomed Ali in a Press note completely denied any such activities on his part and challenged the Govt.

and Mr. Montagu to publish authoritatively whatever they had against him.

6th. The first Maharashtra Conference under the new Congress Constitution based on linguistic basis assembled at Bassein, Bombay Presy. under Dr. S. B. Munji of Nagpur.

7th. Pt. Arjun Lal Sethi, the N-C-O. leader of Seoni, was sentenced to 12 months R. I. for national work.

In reply to the Simla Municipal Committee welcome address, H. E. Lord Reading condemned violence committed by the people disregarding M. Gandhi's advise to abstain from it.

8th. Khilafat and N-C-O. meetings prohibited at Calicut and the leaders served with notice under section 144 Cr. P. C. prohibiting such meetings.

9th. Mr. V. W. Joshi of Akola, a non-co-operator, was sentenced to 41 months R. I. under section 124 A, I. P. C.

10th. Meeting of the Working Committee of the All India Congress Committee at Allahabad; various resolutions were passed.

The Council of the Deccan Sabha adopted the report of its Sub-Committee on the Indian Press Act of 1910; the Report demanded the repeal of the Act.

11th. The Afghan bogey—The *Pioneer & the Leader* of Allahabad roundly challenged Mr. Mahomed Ali to say definitely whether directly or indirectly he was not in communication with the Amir on the subject of invasion; in reply Mr. Mahomed Ali emphatically denied the charge.

Allahabad Dt. Conference under the presidency of M. Mahomed Ali was largely attended by Congressmen from all over India; all speakers referred to rumours of the impending arrest of leaders and added that they were not afraid of it.

At a meeting of the Amritsar Central Gurudwara Committee question of passive resistance was discussed and a programme was drawn up to consolidate all the forces of the panth.

13th. Madras Provincial Educational Conference was held at Palghat under the Presidency of Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar.

The Gandhi-Reading interview at Simla (see p. 223) held on this and the following days.

14th. Non-Brahman Political Conference at Belgaum under the presidency of Mr. Jagdeo Rao Bhau Sahab Pawar, who

spoke on the difficulties of non-Brahmans in improving their lot and called Mr. Gandhi the apostle of polished barbarism. The Conference supported the Reforms and condemned the N.C.O.

15th. Large meetings held at the *Idgah*, Simla, on this and following days where Messrs Gandhi and Lajpat Rai delivered speeches touching on the interview with Lord Reading (see p. 223) and made collections for the Tilak Swaraj Fund.

20th. Govt of India issued communique to remove misconceptions that had arisen in the public mind as regards Sir Henry Dobb's mission to Kabul, but nothing particular about the work done by the mission was published.

Gurkha outrage on coolies at Chandpur. (see p. 193)

21st. Hartal at Chandpur due to Gurkha outrage continued for several days together; all shops were closed, schools emptied, courts boycotted and the servants of officials, especially Europeans, left and no food was sold to them.

23rd. Hartal at Chittagong on account of the Gurkha outrage on coolies at Chandpur—continued for days.

25th. The A. B. Railway union met at Chittagong and after a prolonged sitting declared a general sympathetic strike to last till the coolie repatriation was justly settled by the Govt.

Mass meetings were held at Chittagong when universal sympathy was held out to the stranded coolies of Chandpur and collections were made to help them.

26th. In a communique H. E. the Governor of Bengal expressed the opinion that he could not properly undertake from public funds the repatriation of the coolies from Chandpur on the principle that in cases of labour disputes the attitude of the Govt. should be one of neutrality. Latter on Bebar Govt. undertook to repatriate the coolies from Asansol but the Bengal Govt. remained firm.

Mr. C. R. Das and Mrs. Das at Jalpaiguri making house to house collections for the coolies and Tilak Swaraj fund—about Rs. 15,000 collected.

27th. Sardar Sardul Singh, Secretary, Sikh Gurudwara and Punjab Provincial Congress Committee arrested at Lahore under Sections 124—A & 153—A, I. P. C.

Huge N.O O meeting at Jarianwalla, Punjab, under Lala Lajpat Rai, for the Tilak Swaraya Fund collections.

East Bengal Steamer Service stopped owing to sympathetic strike of the men making common cause with the Ry. strikers for the repatriation of the Assam Coolies.—Extensive strike over East Bengal ; at Dacca, Naraingunj, Goalonda, ect. all work-men down tools in sympathy with the coolies. Courts and Schools closed.

28th. Ladies' meeting at Chittagong—ornaments freely pulled out and given over for supporting the strikers and the coolies.

29th. Sir Henry Wheeler visited Chandpur, and made investigations on the Gurkha outrage on the coolies and affairs at Chandpur generally.

At Calcutta under the auspices of the Bengal Labour Federation, Mr. C. F. Andrews delivered lecture in connection with the Cooly exodus at Chandpur and strongly inveighed against the Govt. for their inhuman actions and refusal to repatriate (see p. 201-4).

At a Meeting at Dinajpur Mr. C. R. Das criticised in strong terms a letter of Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore against non-co-operation ; he said it did not befit the post to criticise the N-C-O movement by keeping away from the seat of the movement.

Public apology offered by the Ali Brothers for certain of their speeches which had a tendency to incite to violence under instructions of M. Gandhi (see p. 225).

Gurkha soldiers brought over to Chittagong in view of the *hartal* and strike. Great commotion in town as another outrage as at Chandpur was anticipated. Strike spread to all sections of people at Chittagong including lawyers and school-boys.

30th. Govt. of India in a press communique intimated suspension of criminal proceedings against the Ali Brothers in view of the publication of their expression of regret and promise for the future.

Lord Reading made an important pronouncement on his Govt's policy at the Simla Chelmsford Club (see p. 227).

31st. Gujrat Political Conference at Broach under the presidency of Mr. V. J. Patel who urged everybody to work for Swaraj by cleaning their souls of the blot of untouchability and promoting temperance, encouraging spinning wheel and collecting money for the Tilak Swaraj fund.

June 1921

Chief Events.—Deadlock in East Bengal for the Railway and Steamer strikes—All-India collections for the Tilak Swaraj Fund—N-C-O anti-drink campaign at Nagpur—All-India repression by Dist. Magistrates issuing orders under S. 144. and sending non-co-operators to jail on police report.

1st. Prof. Rajkrishna Bose, a N-C-O worker, sent to jail on police report of a speech at Cuttack and on his refusing to give security—large public meeting held at Cuttack in protest.

2nd. Gujrat Provincial Khilafat Conference at Broach under the presidency of Moulana Mahomed Ali. (see p. 234).

3rd. Major Ferrer, Dt. Magistrate, Lahore, served notice on the Secretary, City Congress Committee, prohibiting the holding of a private Committee meeting for members only.

At the seconds day's proceedings of Broach Khilafat Conference, Mahatma Gandhi moved a resolution expressing indignation at the "cruel treatment" meted out to the Khilafat workers in the N. W. Fr. Provinces.

5th. At a public meeting at Muzaffarpur for inaugurating the Tirhoot Liberal League, a resolution was passed that there was no necessity for organising the proposed league, Congress organisation being sufficient to ventilate the public grievances.

In a public meeting the citizens of Jubbulpore passed resolution requesting Mahatma Gandhi and the leaders concerned to disclose the whole affair of the Simla interview in detail to the public.

7th. Govt. of Bengal issued the Wheeler report on the Chandpur Cooly outrage ; it was a white-washing report and condoned the use of force on the Coolies, maintained the Govt's partisan spirit against labour & N-C-O, and threw all the blame on the non-co-operators.

The A. B. Ry. Authorities gave the strikers an ultimatum and admitted new recruits replacing the old staff wholesale ; but the new recruits had to fly away because markets were closed against them and menials refused to serve them.

8th. The Maharashtra Congress Sub-Committee issued its report on the Malegaon riots.

12th. Pundit Makhan Lal Chaturvedy, Editor of *Karmvir*, arrested at Jubbulpore under Section 124—A, I. P. C. He was garlanded, worshipped and taken in a huge procession by the people to the police station.

14th. The Revd. H. P. Walsh, Bishop of Assam, issued a report on the administration and arrangements in cooly camps and hospitals opened for them at Chandpur in which he spoke very highly on the good work of volunteers.

All India Congress Committee meeting at Bombay under the presidency of Gandhi ; resolutions were passed authorising the Provincial Congress Committees to spend the Tilak Swarajya Fund for furthering the cause of N-C-O ; other resolutions on the duty of N-C-O lawyers and what Indians should do concerning Angora were also passed.

15th. Mahatma Gandhi and the members of the All-India Congress Committee were welcomed by the citizens of Ghatkopar, Bombay who presented the Mahatma with a cheque for Rs. 40,000 for the Tilak Swaraj Fund.

At a meeting in Bombay the standing Committee of the All India Trade Union Congress passed resolution that one anna per head should be levied from all the affiliated unions for funds to carry on the work of the Congress and the resolution was passed appealing to all members of the Committee to stand by nomination to any office or to any Council made by the Trades Union Congress.

16th. Serious riot between Hindus and Mahomedans at Chintamani in Kolar Dt ; police opened fire to disperse crowd.

19th. Belgaon Dt. Khilafat Conference passed resolution declaring that they would have to declare an Indian republic in consultation with the Congress, if Great Britain directly or through the Greeks, openly or secretly, fought the Turkish Govt. of Angora.

20th. Lala Lajpat Rai debarred from entering Kapurthala State for the Tilak Swaraj Fund collection.

23rd. At Simla, H. E. the Viceroy received and replied to an address by a deputation of 33 representatives of the Ahmadiya community of Mahomedans ; the deputation

emphasised that the Ahmadiya community was started with the object of launching a campaign against the foolish, un-Islamic and unpeaceful doctrines about Jihad among the Moslems.

At the Poona Deccan Sabha meeting, the Hon. Mr. Paranjpye, Education Minister, dwelt on some of the schemes for the educational advancement of the Bombay Presidency.

Mr. Pathak, a non co-operator pleader of Bhandara, was sentenced to 1 year R. I. for refusing to give security.

The C. P. Khilafat Committee at Nagpur passed a vote of confidence on the Ali Brothers and urged the Central Khilafat Committee to adopt all stages of N.C.O programme including civil disobedience at once.

The Khoreal Shooting Case—a Mr. Reed, manager of Khoreal Tea Estate, was charged with grievous hurt by a revolver to a Cooly, the father of a girl whom, it was alleged, he wanted for his lust; the case was tried at the High Court Sessions with an European Jury where the accused was acquitted. The case created a sensation.

25th. Ulema Conference at Patna under the presidency of Moulana Abul Kalam Azad to organise Moslems.

26th. Govt. of India issued communique on the formation of a committee to visit Fiji and enquire about the conditions of Indians there in view of the supply of coolie labour.

Rev. Norman Bennett, Chaplain, Lucknow, invited members of all-India Congress Com. to a garden party to be held next month.

M. Hakim Sayeedur arrested at Cal. for Khilafat work.

27th. The Nagpur Municipality passed a resolution for the stoppage of all kinds of liquor whether foreign or country from the municipal area, in order to promote abstinence and to improve the economic condition of the people.

28th. Dr. M. R. Cholkar, the prominent N.C.O. leader of Nagpur who was prosecuted for sedition was discharged by the City Magistrate for want of proof and evidence.

Babu Basanta K. Majumdar arrested at Goalondo for his work in connection with the Ry. and Steamer Strike.

29th. Sirdar Sardul Singh Caveissour, Secy. Sikh League, transported for 5 yrs. on sedition charge for his work in connection with the Gurdwara.

July 1921

Chief Event:—Tilak Swaraj Fund over-subscribed one crore—Riot at Dharwar—Karachi Khilafat Conference—All-India Congress Committee meeting at Bombay—Huge bonfire of foreign clothes at Bombay—

1st. Tilak Swaraj Fund came up to about One Crore and five Lakhs of rupees.

University of Dacca came formally into existence.

Police at Dharwar opened fire on a riotous crowd before a liquor shop where there was picketing.

4th. Lucknow Liberal League passed resolution expressing indignation at the Govt. of Bengal's callous and indifferent treatment of the question of the Assam coolie exodus.

The Autumn Session of the Bengal Legislative Council opened under the Presidency of Nawab Sir Shamsul Huda.

5th. Serious disturbances at Aligarh between the people and the Police in connection with the conviction of a political prisoner. Several killed and wounded.

6th. Thana District Local Boards met to consider the Anti-Drink campaign resolution which authorised the Municipalities and Local Boards in India to picket and close liquor shops within their respective area.

7th. The U. P. Liberal Association presented an address to the Viceroy at Simla. (see p. 256)

8th. All-India Khilafat Conference at Karachi—Maulana Mahomed Ali presided. (see Page 236)

Madras Labour strike. H. E. the Governor met the labour leaders and fixed responsibility on them for any recrudescence of incendiarism or recurrence of rioting or any other disturbance arising from the strike. He attacked the non-co-operators and opined that the strike had been engineered mainly from political motive.

9th. The Tamil Districts Non-Brahman Conference opened at Tinnevely presided over by Rao Bahadur A. P. Patro.

12th. Bombay Municipal Corporation voted a loyal address of welcome to H. R. H. the Prince of Wales, there being only two dissentient Non-co-operators.

Mr. C. F. Andrews proceeded to Simla to assist Mr. S. E. Stokes with regard to the question of forced labour in the Simla Hills.

Calcutta Corporation decided to present an address of welcome to the Prince.

14th. H. E. the Viceroy at Simla received and replied to an address presented by the Marwari Association of Calcutta on matters connected with Indian trade.

The Dharwar District Conference at its meeting on this and next day passed resolutions condemning the high-handedness of local officials in the shooting affair and demanded an independent commission of enquiry (see under 1st.)

15th. Madras Provincial Congress Committee (old) meeting at Madras. Beginning of a split.

16th. The Government of India replied to the Chairman, Delhi Piece Goods Association, that the Governor-General in Council, while fully realising the injury to India's trade by the continuance of the disputes over imported goods, considered that Govt. intervention was not likely to expedite matters.

17th. Mr. Yakub Hussain released from jail at Coimbatore, on giving an undertaking that he would not go to Malabar.

First meeting of the new Madras Provincial Congress Committee at Trichinopoly. Split accentuated between Mr. C. Rajagopalachari's party and Mr. S. Kasturiranga Iyengar's party.

18th. B & O. Leg. Council commenced at Patna under Mr. S. Sinha, President.

19th. Report of the Indian Press Act Committee was published at Simla (see p. 433).

The Lahore Municipality passed resolution condemning the Legislative Assembly debate which attempted to whitewash the Martial Law administration and officials in the Punjab.

The Indian Central Cotton Committee, recently appointed by the Government of India to advise on the development of cotton trade and industry in India, met in Bombay on this and on three following days.

20th. Mahatma Gandhi arrived in Poona to open various memorials on the first anniversary of the death of Mr. Tilak. The Municipality presented him with an address printed on Khadi. He unveiled a bust of Mr. Tilak. Mr. Kelkar, in thanking him, referred to "several unpractical details" in the N. C. O. programme, which, he said, Mr. Tilak would have got amended.

21st. The Repressive Laws Committee under the Chairmanship of Dr. Sapru commenced its sittings at Simla.

The Madras District Congress Committee had the following resolutions passed at a public meeting:—

"This public meeting of the citizens of Madras severely condemns the arbitrary and unjust orders of externment passed by H. E. H. the Nizam of Hyderabad against Messrs. Paisley, Bisvanath and others, and by H. H. the Raja of Pudukotta against Mr. S. Satyamurthi."

22nd. Sir Dinshaw Wacha, as President of the Western India National Liberal Association, wired to Viceroy and the Secretary of State protesting against the proposed increments in emoluments of All-India Services as inferred from recent replies of the Secretary of State in Parliament.

23rd. Lahore Municipal Committee passed resolution condemning the retention of the Seditious Meetings Act.

24th. In an interview with a Press Representative Dr. Rabindranath Tagore reiterated that he had never spoken against non-co-operation and said that he was in full accord with the spirit of non-co-operation and was entirely with Mahatma Gandhi.

Disturbance at Matiarī (near Sind, Hyderabad) owing to clash between local Khilafatists and Aman Sabha.

25th. The Report of the Indian Railway Police Committee dealing with questions of railway police, its personnel and organization, handling and guarding of goods, protection of passengers, pilgrim traffic etc, published.

Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer, Editor, *Independent*, was ordered to furnish a personal bond and two sureties of ten thousand rupees each; in default, one year's imprisonment. Surety not being given, he was sent to jail.

Bombay Legislative Council commenced at Bombay under Sir N. Chandravarkar, President.

26th. The Ministry of Self Government, Govt. of Bengal, issued a circular to all municipalities protesting against hartals and penalising licensees.

Lahore City Congress Committee under L. Duni Chand urged boycott of foreign cloth.

27th. In Bombay Legislative Council, Rao Saheb Desai's resolution *re* women suffrage was hotly discussed.

Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri and the Maharao of Cutch were presented with the Freedom of the City of London.

28th. Mr. Girdharilal, Secretary, Jallianwala Bagh Memorial Fund, published accounts up to 30th June 1921.

All-India Congress Committee met in Bombay and adopted resolutions to boycott foreign cloth, to abstain from official rejoicings during Prince of Wales's visit, and postponing civil disobedience till after the completion of work of Swadeshi.

29th. Monster meeting at the Chowpathy Sands, Bombay, on boycott of foreign cloth. Mr. Mahomed Ali announced burning of foreign cloth in the Juma Masjid.

An "Agreed Summary" of the Gandhi-Reading interview published by the Govt. of India (see page 229)

31st. Mr. Gandhi lectured at the Parsi Sabha in Bombay on Swadeshi.

At Bombay huge bonfire of foreign cloth worth millions of rupees was lighted by Mahatma Gandhi (see page 249)

The Editor, Printer & Publisher of the "Pratap" were convicted in the libel case by the Magistrate Rac Bareilly to 3 months simple imprisonment and Rs. 500 fine.

August 1921

Chief Events:—Death anniversary of Mr. B. G. Tilak—U. P. Liberal Conference meeting at Lucknow—Meeting of the Working Committee of the All India Congress Committee at Patna—Beginning of Moplah rebellion—Sheriff's meeting Fiasco at Calcutta—The Munitions Case Scandal and the prostitution of Justice.

1st. The first anniversary of the death of Mr. B. G. Tilak. Enthusiastic celebrations and burning of foreign cloth in several places (see page 251)

Unveiling of a portrait of Mr. Tilak in the hall of the Municipal Council of Rajahmundry which had passed resolutions on 30th July endorsing N. C. O. resolutions.

Madras Legislative Council passed resolution, after opposition by the Government, to reduce the number of Executive Councillors fixed for Madras from four to three at the earliest opportunity.

2nd. Central Khilafat Committee meeting under the auspices of the Parsi Rajkiya Sabha was held at Bombay, M. Gandhi presiding. Resolutions were passed condemning Greek atrocities in Asia Minor and a purse for Rs. 5,300 was given by the Parsi Sabha to the Khilafat Committee.

Desabhakta Venkatappaiya, President, Andhra Provincial Congress Committee, who, together with some other public workers of Guntur, had been arrested on the 30th July, was discharged; Magistrate saying that his statement was substantially true and the Desabhakta always maintained peace. The Desabhakta said: "If you believe my statement, then believe also my fellow-prisoners equally innocent and discharge them." The other accused were also released in the evening.

Bombay Council passed a resolution on the motion of Mr. Gholapi representing depressed classes, amended by Dr. Batliwalla, to the effect that in order to bring education within the reach of all classes, free and compulsory primary education should be the aim of the Government's educational policy to be realised as early as possible.

3rd. The Madras Govt. appointed a committee to report on labour disturbances in Perambur, etc., since 29th June 1921.

Bombay Council at the instance of Dewan Bahadur Godbole decided to appoint a committee to consider and report in all their aspects upon the question of the drink and drug traffic, and their total prohibition. This was done.

5th. Madras Legislative Council *unanimously* passed the following resolution moved by Mr. O. Thanikachallam Chettiar :—

“That this Council recommends to the Government that a standing order be issued to every officer or body of officers authorized to appointments to the public services to give preference to candidates from the Non-Brahman communities (including therein Christians, Mahomedans and members of the depressed classes) until a proportion of at least 66 per cent amongst officers carrying a salary of Rs. 100 per mensem and upwards and a proportion of 75 per cent amongst officers carrying a salary of less than Rs. 100 are reached, within a period of seven years from this date, so long as such candidates possess the minimum qualifications prescribed by the rules relating to appointments to the public services, although such candidates may be less qualified than Brahman candidates.”

Munitions Fraud Case withdrawn—scandalous statement in court by the Advocate-General which led to a serious agitation ending in Sir Thomas Holland's resignation from the Govt. of India. (see p. 259)

6th. Madras Council passed a resolution of welcome to the Prince.

Mr. Gandhi at Aligarh with Mr. Mahomed Ali, visited the latter's National University, delivered a lecture at the Jumma Mosque ; said that the riots of 5th July were the ugliest blot on the forehead of Non-co-operation. Mr. Mahomed Ali touching upon the question of Afghan bogey denied to have ever declared that Afghans were a fit nation to come and rule India.

U. P. Liberal Conference opened at Lucknow under the presidency of Munshi Narayan Prasad Asthana who demanded punishments for the Punjab offenders, equal treatment of Indians in the Colonies and proper settlement of Khilafat as pre-conditions to peace. (see page 256)

7th. Lala Lajpat Rai visited Poona on his return journey from Karnatak ; an address was presented on behalf of the Sarvajanika Sabha, Poona.

8th. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya lectured at Poona advocating Swadeshi and Charka.

Mahatma Gandhi along with Mr. Mahomed Ali visited Lucknow, Cawnpur, Moradabad etc. to preach on Swadeshi and khaddar.—The Lucknow Municipal Board's resolution to present an address to M. Gandhi was negatived by the President's casting vote.

12th. The Indian Parliamentary Committee including representatives of many groups gave a dinner in honour of Mrs. Besant at the H. of C. on the eve of her departure for India.

13th. The following message was sent by the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association of Bombay to the Secretary of State and the Government of India :—

"The Council of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association views with alarm and strongly resents the agitation of European settlers of Kenya Colony with the object of forcing the hands of Government to assign inferior status to British Indians in the Colony and emphatically urge the Secretary of State for India to impress upon the Imperial Government the necessity of inaugurating forthwith the policy of strictly adhering to the principle of assigning to British Indians a status in no way inferior to that of any other class of His Majesty's subjects."

The following message was sent by the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association to the President, Indian National Congress, Nairobi :—

"The Council hereby assure their brethren in East Africa in general and Kenya in particular of their whole-hearted sympathy and earnest resolve to support them in every constitutional way to obtain practical recognition of their claims to equality in that part of the Empire"

The conferment of a P. C. on Mr. V. S. S. Sastri was announced in India.

15th. The Kerala patriots, Messrs. K. Gopal Menon, Madhavan Nair and Mohideen Koya were released from Cannanore Jail on the completion of imprisonment for six months.

In the Commons at question time Mr. Lloyd George announced that the Maharao of Cutch, Mr. Sastri and Sir W. Meyer would represent India at the forthcoming meetings of the Assembly of the League of Nations.

16th. The Working Committee of the All-India Congress Committee met at Patna and passed resolutions on collecting foreign cloth, to prevent its use, and on work for production and supply of Khaddar. Mr. Gandhi was asked to draw up a statement of India's foreign policy.

At Calcutta Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore delivered a lecture on National education, in the course of which he said that it was due to no external cause that the West now occupied a principal place in modern world. She had achieved that eminence because she had realised some great truth in her mind and carried it out in action.

The Lahore Municipal Committee protested against the proposed visit of the Prince and declined to accord a welcome.

17th. Pandit M. M. Malaviya lectured in Bombay on the necessity of securing changes in the central constitution of the Government of India.

The Calcutta Corporation, after discussing the draft of the Address of Welcome to be presented to the Prince of Wales, decided to omit all reference to the Reforms.

18th. At a luncheon given to the Afghan and Palestine delegations at the Savoy Hotel, London, Mr. Chottani declared that he and his colleagues of the Khilafat Deputation are returning to India completely disappointed.

19th. Mr. Montagu, speaking to a deputation of Lancashire cotton industry and trade, said that it was useless to talk derisively of the smallness of the Indian electorate. He was perfectly confident that the wider the electorate, the more protectionist would the Legislative Assembly be, and declared that to retrace the step of giving India fiscal independence, besides being fatal to the interests of the Empire, would be fatal to Lancashire trade, because the resultant ill-will between India and Lancashire would be likely to jeopardise mutual trade for many years. He felt that there was a prospect of settlement if he could only persuade Lancashire that India must be approached on the question like Australia and Canada. Mr. Montagu suggested that the deputation should appeal not to the Imperial Government, but to the Government of India and the Fiscal Commission appointed by the Govt. of India.

Mahatma Gandhi in Assam on N-C-O campaign.

20th. Beginning of Moplah Rebellion at Tiruvangadi, Malabar (see page 264).

21st. A huge meeting at Lahore, presided over by Lala Lajpat Rai, passed the following resolution :—

"This mass meeting views with grave apprehension and alarm the actual famine conditions prevailing in the Punjab due to sudden

abnormal rise in the price of food grains in spite of recent abundant rains, and condemns the callous attitude of the Government in neglecting its duty to take all necessary steps to meet the situation."

24th. Sheriff's meeting in Calcutta under Governor Ronaldshay to concert measures for welcoming the Prince of Wales was broken up by Non-co operators (see page 252)

26th. At a meeting of the Lucknow Medical Association, Dr. R. H. Fandon presiding, resolutions were passed protesting against the decision of the General Medical Council of the United Kingdom in not recognising Indian medical degrees on false grounds of inefficiency but really on racial grounds and urging the Government of India to establish at an early date a General Council of Medical Education and Registration in India.

Government of India Ordinance issued for proclamation of Martial Law in the disturbed parts of Malabar.

27th. The 27th Session of Madras Prov. Conference opened at Tanjore under the presidency of Janab Yakub Hassan ; for his presidential address, he was subsequently sent to jail for 2 yrs.

28th. The Madras Provincial (Political) Conference at Tanjore passed resolutions deploring the Moplah outbreak and deputing some members to visit Malabar to help in relieving the situation there, declaring boycott of Prince of Wales, advocating the boycott of foreign cloth, supporting anti-drink campaign, suggesting the stoppage of emigration, and recommending the abolition of untouchability of Panchamas.

29th. Under the auspices of the National Home Rule League, the Bombay Provincial Reforms Conference opened in Bombay, Mrs. Annie Besant presiding.

Mr. W. E. (Pussyfoot) Johnson arrived in Bombay, on his anti-drink campaign tour in India.

30th. Labour disturbances in Bombay mill areas. Lawlessness continued and spread in Madras.

Sardar Bahadur Sardar Mehtab Singh, M. L. C., Public Prosecutor and Deputy President of the Punjab Legislative Council, resigned his official posts on the ground that the Shiromani Gurdwara Committee passed a resolution that Sikh members of Council should resign their seats as a protest against the policy of coercion and repression by Government in regard to the Gurdwara movement.

September 1921

Chief Events.—Moplah rebellion and military operations in Malabar—Arrest of the Ali Brothers, Dr. Kitchlew and other Moslem leaders—M. Gandhi adopted the loin cloth—the great Karachi trial.

1st. H. E. Lord Willingdon made a statement in the Madras Legislative Council *re* disturbances in Malabar and labour troubles in Perambur and other mill areas.

Dewan Bahadur P. Kesava Pillai and Mr. V. N. Tewari of the Servants of India Society appointed members of the Indian Deputation to visit British Guiana to examine the scheme of Indian colonization of the Government of that Colony.

Campaign for boycotting foreign cloth and picketing of foreign cloth-shops began at Barabazar, Calcutta, causing practically a deadlock in business for the next three weeks.

2nd. Resolutions were discussed in the Madras Legislative Council *re* a University for the Andhras, reservation of seats in Colleges for Non Brahmana students, and Government help to schools teaching the Vedas to Non-Brahmanas.

Sir T. Holland's resignation from the Viceroy's Council on account of the munitions case scandal was accepted.

3rd. The Viceroy delivered a speech *re* the political situation before the Indian Legislature.

5th. Bengal Council—Resolution on woman franchise lost, 37 voting for and 56 against the resolution.

At the Imperial Legislative Assembly Dr. H. S. Gour moved a resolution to present a loyal address of welcome to the Prince on behalf of the Indian Legislative Council as representing the people. Mr. Agnihotri opposed on the ground of economic and political situation of the country. This was defeated.

6th. Mr. Gandhi had a prolonged interview lasting nearly 3 hours with Dr. Rabindranath Tagore on current politics.

9th. The Report of the Indian Sugar Committee of last year was issued to-day in a bulky volume—including a supplementary note by Mr. B. J. Padshah, and a small note of dissent by Mr. C. Wynne Sayer. The Committee recommended

the formation of an Indian Sugar Board with five official and six non-official members (all to be nominated) to organise the the Sugar industry on the Java model.

10th. At Calcutta Marwari Chamber of Commerce saw M. Gandhi on the subject of boycott of foreign cloth and picketing at Barabazar. M. Gandhi rebuked them for not totally suspending the import of foreign cloth.

11th. Monster meeting of 12,000 carters in Calcutta under the presidency of Swami Eiswanand and attended by M. Gandhi, Messrs C. R. Das, Muhamed Ali etc. Carters presented a purse of Rs 10,000 to M. Gandhi for the Tilak Swaraj Fund.

14th. Mr. Mahommed Ali arrested at Waltair.

15th. Dr. S. Kitchlew arrested at Simla and taken over to Karachi.

16th. Mr. Gandhi at Madras.

Twenty-seven members of the Indian Legislature met and resolved to form a party to be called the Democratic Party to act and vote together in the Assembly on the following vital questions: (1) curtailment of expenditure, (2) fiscal autonomy, (3) exchange and currency, (4) Indianization of services, (5) criticism of Government policy from the Indian point of view, (6) complete fiscal control and (7) other activities necessary to secure Responsible Government at an early date.

46 Volunteers arrested on account of picketing foreign cloth shops at Burabazar, Calcutta.

Pir Gulam Majid, Maulvi Hassan Ahmed, Maulvi Nisar Ahmed and Shri Venkataramana Shankaracharya arrested and taken over to Karachi.

Moulana Shaukat Ali arrested at the Bombay Central Khilafat committee office and taken over to Karachi.

Mr. Gandhi warned by Gov. of Madras not to proceed to Malabar.

18th. Crowded public meeting at Lahore under the presidency of Lala Lajpat Rai passed resolution congratulating the arrested leaders—Karachi resolution repeated.

Pir Badshah Mian of East Bengal sentenced at Faridpur to 1 year's R. I. for his Khilafat activity—huge crowd of 50

thousand moslems followed him but was prevailed upon to disperse in peace.

20th. Repressive Laws Committee Report published at Simla.

Public meeting at Allahabad under the presidency of Pt Motilal Nehru passed resolution opposing any welcome to the Prince and censuring the Municipal Board members who voted for a welcome.

Public meeting at Lahore under the auspices of Punjab Khilafat committee protested against the proscription of the Ulemas' Fatwa by the Government.

21st. Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy was elected Deputy President of the Indian Legislative Assembly by exercise of the President's casting vote, Sir Jamsetjee and Dr. H. S. Gour having both obtained an equal number of votes.

The Ulemas and the Central Khilafat Committee held meetings at Delhi to consider the situation created by the arrest of the leaders, and decided in favour of civil disobedience and confirmed the Karachi resolution.

Dr. S. C. Bannerji of Faridpur arrested and sentenced to 1 yr. R. I. for N-C-O work.

Dt. Magistrate at Karachi issued panicky and ludicrous notices as a precautionary measure in order to avert any disturbances that might happen during the trial of Ali Brothers and others.

22nd. Mr. Gandhi issued a message saying that people must be satisfied with a loin-cloth. "To set the example, I propose to discard at least up to the 31st of October my topi and vest and to content myself with only a loin cloth, and a chaddar whenever found necessary for the protection of the body."

In the Legislative Assembly, Delhi, Mr. Jadunath Majumdar's resolution on Swaraj was debated with great animation and then withdrawn on the 29th.

23rd. Mr. Jan Mohamed Chotani, one of the members of the Khilafat Mission which had proceeded to England, returned to Bombay and confessed that his experience had been very disappointing.

In the Council of State, Delhi, Mr. L. Samaldas' resolution for equality of status, for Indians and Europeans in East Africa was carried and accepted by Govt.

24th. At the Senate of the Calcutta University, the Vice-Chancellor, Sir Asbutosh Mookherjee, made the following important statement regarding the effect of the non-co-operation movement on education in Bengal.

"It is clear that between 40,000 and 50,000 young boys below the college age, have left schools, have been rendered idle, and have had their education interrupted if not finally brought to an end at an age at which the time lost can hardly if ever be made up. This wastage amongst the young boys is nothing short of a national calamity."

The University had lost Rs. 2,63,000 in the shape of examination fees. Sir Asutosh appealed for public help.

Non-Brahmana Conference at Trichinopoly under the presidency of Mr. C. R. Reddy.

25th. Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta arrested at Chittagong being charged with rioting.

26th. The famous Karachi trial of the Ali Brothers and other Khilafat workers commenced at Karachi.

27th. Mr. G. K. Devadhar and some other members of the Servants of India Society proceeded to organize non-official relief to the sufferers of Malabar. They were granted an interview by H. E. Lord Willingdon and were promised help.

Mr. Prabhudayal and other congress-workers arrested in the Etawa district, U.P.

28th. Dr. Abdul Karim of Benares, the Khilafat leader sentenced to 1 yr. R. I. for amicably settling a dispute.

29th. The young Kumar Zamindar of Gampalagud who presided over the Andhra Mahajan Sabha meeting at Berhampur a few days before was arrested and sentenced to 1 yr. for N.C.O work. Repression in Ganjam District started by several arrests and gagging orders.

At Akola Mr. T. B. Paranjpe sentenced to 15 months R. I. for N.C.O work. Congress officers at Sukkur, Sind, arrested.

30th. Big meeting at Benares congratulating Dr. Karim for suffering for the national work.

October 1921

Chief Events :—Congress Working Committee meeting at Bombay—Nehru-Vijayaraghavachari controversy on the constitution of the Congress—Govt. of India Memorandum on the position of Indians in the Dominions—All India Railway Conference at Simla.

1st. The Punjab Home Rule Conference met at Amritsar, Lala Lajpat Rai presiding, and adopted N-C-O creed.

Heated debate in the Bombay Legislative Council on a member's resolution *re* preference for non-Brahmanas in the public services. All members expressed sympathy, but deprecated communal jealousies. On the Government member's assuring sympathetic consideration if names of suitable candidates are recommended by associations of non Brahmana communities, the motion was withdrawn.

The Andhra leader D. Gopalakrishnayya arrested at Berhampore. Sensation at Chittagong on gagging order passed on Mrs. Sen Gupta, an English lady, wife of Mr. Sen Gupta ; she disobeyed order and went about picketing.

H. E. the Viceroy at Simla replied to an address presented by representatives of Mahomedan Co-operators in the Punjab.

2nd. Mr. Radha Ramon Mitra, N C-O leader, Etawa sentenced to 1 yr. for N-C O activities.

Mr. Gopabandhu Das gagged at Cuttack. Babaji Ramdas arrested.

4th. Mr. Gandhi and 47 All-India N-C-O leaders issued manifesto on Ali Brothers' arrest and reiterated the substance of the Karachi resolution.

Prof. N. C. Bannerji and Sadhu Kripaldas sentenced to 1 Yr. R. I. for N-C O work. Mr. Sen Gupta released.

Behar Khilafat Conference held at Arrah with M. Shah Badrauddin in the chair. Karachi resolution repeated.

5th. Working Committee of the A. I. C. C. met at Bombay and passed resolutions urging Indians to withdraw from the Govt. Service and to boycott foreign cloth, postponing civil disobedience, and defining India's foreign policy.

7th. The India Office issued correspondence between Mr. Montagu and Lord Lytton on refusal of the Indian Legislative

Assembly to vote expenses of the visit of the Indian Student's Committee to India.

8th. Memorandum issued by the Government of India on position of Indians in the Dominions as placed before the Imperial Conference by the official representatives of India. It suggested the appointment of agents of India in countries where Indian settlers are numerous and the adoption of a resolution by the Imperial Cabinet recommending to the Colonies the abolition of all disabilities imposed on Indians.

Pt. R. K. Bhargava, president, Muttra Congress Committee sentenced to 1 Yr. for N-C O work. His followers shouted *Gandhi Ki jay* and for this they were put into prison.

9th. Second holocaust of British cloth at Bombay lighted by M. Gandhi at huge meeting attended by over a lakh of citizens when the Karachi resolution was reaffirmed and M. Gandhi made a long and impressive speech on N-C O.

10th. Mr. F. A. Hadow, presiding over the annual session of the Indian Railway Association which met in Simla, referred to the Railway Committee's Report and said that, if the Government accepted and endorsed the unanimous conclusion of the Committee that English domiciled companies must go, it could not but give rise to a feeling of sadness, because these companies had done much in the past to establish Indian Railways on a sound basis.

At Lucknow a public meeting protested against the transfer, on political grounds at the express wish of the Government, of Rev. Norman Bennett, Civil Chaplain at Lucknow. The political reasons were the invitation sent by Rev. Bennett to Mr. Gandhi and the members of the All-India Congress Committee to a garden party at the parsonage when there were proposals to hold the meeting of the All-India Committee at Lucknow.

12th. At a meeting of the Central Khilafat Committee attended by representatives from all parts of India, including Burma, Mr. Chotani, the President, expressed his disappointment at prejudices against Turkey of all responsible British statesmen excepting Mr. Montagu. He said that the attitude of England towards Turkey was more unfavourable than either that of France or Italy.

End of Nankana massacre Trial—Mohant Narain Das and seven others sentenced to death, 8 to transportation for life, 17 to 7 years R. I.

Besides the resolution boycotting the visit of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, the Central Sikh League at its third annual session at Lyallpur also passed several other resolutions including one on Non-co-operation.

14th. Poona Municipal Council passed resolution refusing to welcome the Prince and to boycott his visit.

15th. Mr. C. Vijayaraghavacharya, President of the Congress, issues a circular declaring that the meeting of A. I. C. C. fixed for 4th November at Delhi be postponed.

18th. Pandit Motilal Nehru replies to President Vijayaraghavachariar's circular *re* A. I. C. C. meeting and confirms the proposal to hold the meeting at Delhi on November 4th.

19th. A meeting of the Jain community of Ahmedabad passed and authorized the President to communicate to the Viceroy and the Governor resolutions protesting against the arbitrary action of Junagadh Darbar in forcibly usurping their sacred places on the Shri Girnarzi and praying to the British Government to safeguard the interests of the community and to prohibit sacrilegious acts on the part of Ruling Chief concerned.

Pandit Motilal Nehru issued an elaborate statement *re* "Law of the Congress: who shall interpret it?" replying at length to President Mr. C. Vijayaraghavachariar.

The Hon. Sir W. Vincent, Home Member, Government of India, visited Calicut in connection with the Moplah outbreak.

20th. Government of India announced terms of reference to the Burma Reforms Committee presided over by the Hon'ble Mr. A. F. White, President of the Indian Legislative Assembly. They relate to the composition of the Legislative Council, etc. The Committee will submit their report through the Government of Burma to the Governor-General in Council who will forward it with his observations and recommendations and those of the Govt. of Burma to the Sec. of State in Council.

Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta and 17 other N.C.O workers at Chittagong sentenced to 3 months' R. I. for N.C.O work.

Gurkha Military police at Chittagong broke out and committed outrage on innocent sightseers during the removal of Mr. Sen Gupta to jail—many men wounded.

21st. Mr. Yakub Hassan arrested in Madras and taken to Tanjore on warrant issued by District Magistrate of Tanjore under sections 124 A and 153-A.

22nd. End of Madras Mill Labour strike.

Mr. A. P. Sen, President of the Lucknow Liberal League, wired to H. E. the Viceroy as follows :

"The Lucknow Liberal League enters its respectful but emphatic protest against the position taken up by the Local Government in the Select Committee on the Oudh Rent Bill. The Governor, who is an Honorary Member of the British Indian Association which represents Taluqdars, conducted the negotiations personally. The League fears that the general political condition is bound to become worse and still more critical by the growing agrarian discontent. On account of the Government's open partiality for the Taluqdars, a number of Zamindars and non-Zemindar members in the Council and almost an equal number of officials will be pressed, as in the Select Committee, to vote with the Zemindars, thus defeating the amendments regarding heritable rights. The League respectfully invites attention to the situation."

U. P. Provincial Conference held at Agra under M. Hasrat Mohani ; resolutions passed on this and following days for the boycott of the Prince, etc, and reiterating the famous Karachi resolution, all standing.

24th. Government of India announced the personnel and functions of the deputation to British Guiana consisting of Mr. G. Keatinge, Mr. P. Kesava Pillay and Mr. V. N. Tewary.

25th. U. P. Provincial Khilafat Conference held at Agra under M. Abul Kalam Azad—Karachi resolution repeated.

26th. At the Debate in the British House of Lords on the situation in India, Lord Chelmsford declared that but for the Reforms the whole of India would have been Anti-British. Lord Selbourne asked for an assurance that further changes in the constitution in India would not be made until the end of the ten years agreed upon. Lord Lytton said Government had never considered the question of going back on the Act of 1919 or of applying a different policy.

H. R. H. the Prince of Wales sailed for India.

30th. Moplah Riot : special police detachment attacked by the rebels near Cheruvayur resulting in the death of twenty-six Moplahs and eight among the Police.

November 1921

Chief Events.—The Karachi Sentence—All-India Congress Committee sanctioned qualified Civil Disobedience—Prince of Wales landing in Bombay followed by a 5 days' riot—Hartal at Calcutta and elsewhere—All-India repression started and gagging orders passed—Congress & Khilafat volunteer organisations proclaimed unlawful.

1st. Sentence of two years' rigorous imprisonment passed on Ali Brothers and four others ; acquitted on charge of conspiracy ; Bharati Krishna Tirthaji acquitted on all charges. (see p. 291)

Mr. Chotani of Bombay offered 50,000 spinning wheels and undertook to supply one lakh more to popularise Khaddar among Mussalmans.

In the Commons Mr. Montagu in reply to Mr. Remar said that the boycott of European goods was not receiving any effective support from the purchasing community, and that the Govt. of India were closely watching Mr. Gandhi's proceedings and they would decide whether and when any action should be taken against Mr. Gandhi.

2nd. The Speaker of H of C announced that the Empire Parliamentary Association had proposed to present a mace to the new Indian Legislative Assembly.

Judgment was delivered in the Malegaon riot case. Out of 113 accused 47 were acquitted and five sentenced to death, remaining 61 accused variously sentenced.

The Moplah Riots : Martial Law Special Tribunal at Calicut delivered judgment against Ali Musaliar and 12 others sentenced to death, 22 transported for life and 3 others recommended for mercy.

Trial of Mr. Yaqub Hassan, the N.C.O leader, at Tanjore for sedition in his presidential address to the Madras Provincial Conference on 27th August. Mr. Hassan put in a lengthy statement but did not defend himself.

Moulana Abdul Majid Sherar, a prominent Khilafatist, arrested at Madras for sedition and taken over to Tanjore.

Moulana Ahmed Sayid, Secretary, Jamiat-ul-Ulema-Hind, Delhi, sentenced to one year's R. I. for Khilafat work.

4th. A. I. C. C. Meeting at Delhi, Lala Lajpat Rai presiding. The civil disobedience resolution which was moved by M. Gandhi was passed in a slightly amended form after a lengthy discussion and rejection of several amendments (see p. 293).

Sir P Theagaraya Chetty was re-elected President of the Madras Municipal Corporation.

Khilafat meeting at Howrah broken by the Gurkha police resulting in a riot and firing by the police.

5th. Maulana Abdul Majid Salik, Editor of *Zamindar*, Lahore, arrested under Section 153 A, I. P. C.

In reply to a question in the U. P. Council the Raja of Muhammadabad stated that Govt. did not propose to disclose what action would be taken against the U. P. signatories to the Leaders' manifesto of 4th October demanding the withdrawal of Indians from Govt. service.

A. I. C. C. meeting at Delhi continued : Karachi resolution reaffirmed and a Congress commission appointed to enquire into the Malabar riots.

7th. The District Magistrate, Tanjore, delivered judgment convicting Mr. Yakub Hassan of sedition and sentencing him to 2 years' imprisonment. Regarding the charge of bringing Govt. into hatred and contempt, he said :—

"Greater personages than myself have done that work only too well and have left no field for Indians to work upon in that direction. When Mr. Lloyd George generously gave away Thrace and Smyrna—the homelands of the Turks—to Greece as a reward for the latter's services in the War against the protest of the most important member of the British Empire itself, it was this act that lowered the British Govt. in the estimation of the Indian people and brought it into hatred and contempt. Sir Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer supplemented on Indian soil the Imperial Work of Mr. Lloyd George and they have eminently succeeded in bringing down the British Raj from the high pedestal of honour, justice, and truth as it existed in the imagination of the people....."

Govt. of India appointed Mr. Venkatapathiraju, in place of Right Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Sastri in the Indian deputation to Fizi.

At Chittagong several Khilafat workers including M. Nazir Ahmed, the Secretary, sent to jail.

In a Press Communique the Dt. Magistrate of Malabar stated that 900 Moplah rebels had surrendered.

All India Hindu Conference, special session, which com-

menced the day before under the presidency of Lala Lajpat Rai passed resolutions endorsing the N-C-O programme.

8th. Second Session of Chamber of Princes opened at Delhi by the Viceroy—only some 30 Princes attended.

Government of India issued special terms to those British public servants in India who, in consequence of the introduction of Reforms, wish to retire prematurely and whose applications are accepted by the Secretary of State in Council.

Thirteen journalists representing Burmese Nationalist Press issued a manifesto boycotting the Whyte Committee, as the Burmans demanded complete Home Rule without delay, which the Whyte Committee could not consider or recommend.

Public meeting at Madras under Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar passed resolutions protesting against the attitude of the Union Govt. in repatriating the Indian population of S. Africa and the embargo on the export of rice to S. Africa.

Lord Chelmsford read a paper on India at a meeting of the Colonial Institute, London; referring to the status of Indians he saw no justification for a Crown colony or a Protectorate assigning to British Indians a status inferior to any other class of His Majesty's subjects.

9th. M. Gandhi presided over the Convocation of National College, Lahore, and conferred degrees on graduates. In a short speech he urged that no efforts should be spared to attain Swaraj by the end of December.

Pt. Motilal Nehru presiding over the Delhi Provincial Conference at Muttra made no speech, because, he said, it was time for action and not speech-making; resolutions were passed on civil disobedience, boycott of the Prince and recommending that the National Congress should declare to the world India's right to independent sovereignty.

10th. Public meeting at Madras under Mr. S. Srinivas Iyengar strongly condemned the repressive policy of Govt.

At a public meeting at Lahore M. Gandhi advised the people to help the Municipal Committee in the removal from its present site of the Lord Lawrence statue which is insulting to Indians for its inscription.

11th. Govt. of India announced appointment of a committee to formulate a scheme for the Indianisation of the Army.

12th. Deputation of 18 Oudh Talukdars headed by Raja Sir

Rampal Singh waited on H. E. the Viceroy and pressed before him the thorny issues of the Oudh Rent Act.

Mass meeting of Sikhs at Lahore protested against action of Govt. in taking possession of the keys of the Golden Temple and warned Govt. that if the sacred keys were not returned before the 15th., the birth day of Guru Nanak, serious discontent will prevail. Resolutions were also passed for boycotting the Prince and asking all Sikh members of the Legislative Council to resign their seats.

Govt. of India issued ordinance for trial by special magistrates of certain offences committed in Martial Law area.

H. E. the Viceroy ordered release of 20 out of 86 Punjab Martial Law prisoners still in goal.

13th. Ahmedabad Provincial Congress Committee authorised Bardoli and Ananda Taluks in Surat & Kaira districts respectively to start civil disobedience from 23rd November.

Mass meeting at Calcutta maidan attended by constables who were asked to give up Govt. Service and take to Charka. Some 100 Indian constables gave up service during the next week.

14th. Punjab Government announced their intention to divest themselves in a legal manner of the control of the Sikh Golden Temple at Amritsar.

16th. Dr. P. Vardarajalu Naidu of Salem sentenced to nine months R. I. for N-C-O work.

Bhai Gurditta Singh of the *Komagata Maru* fame who was absconding for the last 7 years surrendered himself to the police following the creed of 'suffering' of the N-C-O.

Public meeting at Calcutta and Bombay urged all to observe hartal on the 17th when the Prince lands in Bombay.

17th. H. R. H. the Prince of Wales arrived in Bombay. The Prince delivered the King's Message before receiving the Corporation address. Riots in Bombay for 5 days due to collision between loyalists and non-co operators. (see p. 304).

Astounding hartal in Calcutta in protest of the Prince's visit. (see p. 307). Hartal also observed at Poona, Madras, Patna, Delhi, and all large cities all over India following the Congress mandate.

18th. Jamiat-ul-Ulema Conference met at Lahore, under M. Abdul Kalam Azad, passed the following resolutions after an exciting debate :—

"The Jamiat-ul-Ulema Conference does not admit the truth or falsity of the statements published in the newspapers regarding forcible conversions of Hindus by Moplahs and other atrocities committed by them on Hindus, as there had been no proper investigation, but if the reports are true, then the Ulemas condemn all such action of Moplahs as the Koran never sanctioned forcible conversions to Islam.

Other resolutions on the boycott of the Prince, discarding all foreign cloth at religious functions, etc. were passed.

M. Gandhi addressed a public meeting at Bombay at about the same time as the Prince landed on the boycott of the Prince where he set fire to a pile of foreign cloth.

M. Gandhi in a press note on the Bombay riots said that all hopes of the success of mass civil disobedience were shattered for the riots at Bombay.

At Calcutta, Bengal Chamber of Commerce and the European Association sent strong letters to the Bengal Govt. on the hartal of the 17th urging Govt. to suppress the N-C O. activities.

Volunteer movement in Calcutta declared unlawful by the Bengal Govt.

Arrests, convictions and gagging orders passed all over Bengal on Congress and Khilafat workers on this and the following days.

M. Gandhi observed a 5 days' fast for the Bombay riots. **19th.** The Prince at Poona received the Municipal address, laid the Maharatta War memorial and the foundation stone of the Sivaji Memorial.

Mahatma Gandhi issued a statement on the Bombay riots; he also issued an appeal to Hindus and Muslims asking them to make peace with the other communities; the two days of 'Swaraj' during the Bombay riots, he said, had stunk in his nostrils.

Series of Police raids in Calcutta during which Congress and Khilafat offices were searched and documents seized.

20th. Manifesto issued by nationalists of Bengal enlisting themselves as volunteers in reply to the Bengal Govt. proclamation declaring volunteer organisation unlawful.

First meeting of the new Madras Provincial Congress Committee gave particulars of Swadeshi progress in its report:

"14,752 spinning wheels were at work and 195 looms. Khaddar was made in 38 places in the Tamil Province. Out of Rs. 60,000 provided for under this head, Rs. 17,500 was given out as loan without interests for

3 months for sale of Khaddar. 150 students left schools in pursuance of the non-co-operation policy."

Moplah Train Tragedy—when No 77 passenger train from Calicut to Madras reached Podanur station, carrying in a closed iron waggon a hundred Moplah prisoners, it was discovered that about sixty men had died of asphyxia.

21st. Moulana Abdul Majid Sherar sentenced to 2 years R. I.

M. Gandhi issued appeal to the hooligans of Bombay.

Jamiat-ul-Ulema conference at Lahore reaffirmed the Karachi resolution and strongly protested against the proscription of the Ulemas' Fatwa which they reiterated.

In the Bengal Legislative Council H. E. the Governor in a long speech referred to the political situation. (see p. 315)

22nd. Bombay University presented an address of welcome to the Prince.

M. Gandhi issued another manifesto to his co-workers to control the forces of violence before he broke his last fast.

An Anglo-Afghan treaty was signed at Kabul. (p. 217)

23rd. The Prince at Baroda entertained by the Maharaja.

Mr. Gangadhar Rao Deshpande, the Karnatak leader, was sentenced by Dharwar Sessions Judge to 6 months' simple imprisonment under 124 A, I. P. C.

Sitamardi Congress Office raided and broken.

All Volunteer Associations declared unlawful in U. P.

The Seditious Meetings Act applied to Delhi for six months.

Working Committee of A. I. C. C. met at Bombay and reviewed the situation since riots there. (p. 320)

Indian Mining Federation and Ind. Min. Asscn. passed resolutions requesting Govt. either to strangle the coming Trade Union Congress at Jharia or to afford protection to employers;—for this some of their Indian members had subsequently to apologise in the open T. U. Congress.

24th Mob disturbances in Bangalore over arrest of Khilafat workers dispersed by police fire.

President and Secretary, Congress Committee of Rangpur arrested. Similar arrests followed in other districts in Bengal and U. P.

Secretary, Congress Committee, Cuttack sent to Jail.

25th. All public meetings prohibited at Dacca under S. 144.

26th. H. E. the Viceroy at Delhi replied to the address of the Punjab Chamber of Commerce, touching upon the political situation and affirmed his resolve that he would maintain law and order.

Indian Association, Calcutta, passed resolution expressing indignation and horror at the Moplah Train Tragedy.

Volunteer Associations declared unlawful in Assam.

27th. A meeting attended by about 5,000 Sikhs was held in Amritsar at which speeches were made condemning the Government's action (such as recent arrests of Sikh leaders, etc.) as interference with religious freedom and expressing readiness to resort to civil disobedience.

Bengal Congress Committee voted Mr. C. R. Das with full powers of the committee in view of the grave situation facing them, and issued appeal to the people to enrol as volunteers. The Bengal Khilafat Committee followed suit.

Congress and Khilafat volunteers arrested wholesale at Rangpur, Barisal, Chittagong and other places in E. Bengal.

Assam Congress volunteers enrolled and reorganised.

28th. Meerut City gagged for 2 months—Congress and Khilafat offices searched and ransacked—so, too, at Sahabad and other places of the U. P.

29th. Prince at Ajmer—complete hartal in town—all leading Khilafat and N-C-O workers arrested.

Bombay Congress Committee passed resolution expressing regret for the Bombay disturbances.

30th The committee appointed by Madras Government under the chairmanship of Mr. Knapp held enquiry at Coimbatore re Moplah Train tragedy.

H. E. Viceroy received a deputation of Delhi Mussalman loyalists and co-operators re Moslem grievances in Turkey, etc, and assured them of his sympathy and help.

Mr. J. I. Bannerjea arrested at Rampurhat on sedition charge. Messrs Phukan and Bardoli with several Congress workers arrested at Gauhati.

Trade Union Congress opened at Jharia under the presidency of Mr. J. Baptista (see App. p. 161).

December 1921

Chief Events.—Prince of Wales' tour marked by hartals and turning back of citizens almost everywhere in British India—N.C.O. revolt against "unlawful laws" of Govt.—Wholesale Govt. repression—Lord Sinha's resignation of Governorship—Arrest of almost all National Congress Leaders Messrs Das, Lajpat Rai, Motilal Nehru & others—Arrest of Indian Ladies on political grounds.

1st. H. M. The King wired to H. M. The Amir expressing pleasure at the Afghan peace-treaty ratified.

H. R. H. The Prince at Jodhpur entertained by the State-Viceroy at Benares received address from Hindu University.

At the Knapp Enquiry Committee on the Moplah Train Tragedy Captain Mathai I. M. S. and Major Forrest I. M. S. gave sensational medical evidence that the death of the 60 out of 100 Moplahs was from asphyxia in an airtight goods-van.

All-India Trade Union Congress at Jharia passed Swaraj and Swadeshi resolutions (q.v.)

Messrs. Phukan and Bardaoli, Bars-at-Law, of Assam convicted under S. 108 Cr. Pr. Code and sentenced to 1 year S. I. —36 volunteers at Brahmanbaria convicted for picketing.

2nd. Mr. C. R. Das issued message to Congress-workers dwelling upon the importance of non-violence in spite of great provocation; also to enroll a million of congress-volunteers.

H. R. H. The Prince at Bikaner.

Combined Conference of five Marhatta Congress Committees led by Mr. N. C. Kelkar of Poona met at Akola to discuss their position under the Gandhian creed and expressed their strong dissent from the policy of the Congress. Resolutions passed opposing: non-violence in all cases, non-defence in courts, non-entry into councils and public boards and bodies.

3rd. The Prince attended State Banquet at Bikaner.

Non-co-operation—Lala Lajpat Rai, Dr. Gopichand, Messrs. Santanam, Malik Lal Khan and other Congress leaders arrested at Lahore for holding a private committee meeting in alleged contravention of the Seditious Meetings Act. Mr. S. E. Stokes, the American disciple of Gandhi, was arrested for writing articles exposing the *begar* scandal of the Hills and charged with sedition.

4th. Viceroy came down to Calcutta in view of the forthcoming Prince's Visit to the city.

Knapp Com. Indian Members insulted by Mr. Reeve, the Ry. Inspector, and prevented from examining the Fatal Van.

C. P. and Berar Provincial Conference held at Akola under Mr. N. Kelkar and passed resolutions on this and the following day as at the last conference (see above—2nd.).

5th. Non-co-operation—At Allahabad Pt. Motilal Nehru was served with a notice that he will be held personally liable for any disturbance during the forthcoming visit of the Prince.

Anglo-Indians of Calcutta presented address to Viceroy and demanded that Anglo-Indian education be made a special preserve under the central Govt. and removed from the Ministers of Provincial Govts. as under the Reforms.

Lord Sinha's resignation of Governorship of B. and O. owing to ill health announced to take effect from 29 Nov. H. M. the King sent a message of regret. It was popularly believed that his resignation was due to difference of opinion and insubordination on the part of his European subordinates and a rumour was current that he was sought to be made a scape-goat by being required to arrest Mr. Gandhi.

6th. Non-co-operation—Master C. R. Das along with 4 other volunteers arrested in Calcutta for peaceful picketing of cloth-shop and selling Khadder—beaten by a sergeant.

At Lucknow orders under S. 144 was passed prohibiting for 2 months all meetings and postings and distribution of leaflets on boycott. Moul. Salamatualla, Messrs. Balmokund, Bajpai, Mohan lal and other Khilafat workers arrested.

In Allahabad district Pt. Kapildeo Malaviya, secy, Dist Congress Committee arrested along with office-bearers of the congress-committee of the Saraon Tehsil.

Pundits Motilal Nehru, Jawahar lal, Shamlal and Mohan lal of the great Nehru family, Mr. George Joseph (*Editor, "Independent"*) and Messrs R. N. Basu, D. P. Tandon (Chairman, Allahabad Municipality) K. Jaffer. G. S. Misra and other leaders arrested, and the offices of the Provincial Congress Committee and the Khilafat Committee were searched and all papers taken away. Allahabad meeting to elect delegates to the Ahmedabad Congress prohibited.

7th. Mrs. C. R. Das, Mrs. Urmila Devi, Miss Suniti

Devi along with 50 others arrested at Calcutta for selling Khadder, and locked up in jail.

Public meetings and processions prohibited for 2 months at Darjeeling. Mr. J. L. Bannerjee sentenced to 2 years' R. I. for alleged sedition.

Calcutta Moderates under the lead of Sir Binode Mitter gave dinner to Viceroy who spoke on present situation.

Sentence passed on Allahabad leaders charged with being congress volunteers; trial held within the goal; accused refusing to plead. Pt. Motilal Nehru sentenced to 6 months S. I. and Rs. 500 fine; Mr. Tandon, 18 months and Rs 250; Messrs Jaffri and R. N. Basu 6 months and Rs 100; other cases adjourned.

At the annual prize-day at Mahbub College, Secunderabad, the Hon. Col. S. G. Knox, Resident of Hyderabad, said to the students that Indians had a right to govern India because they were born here, and the British had a right to govern India because they came and conquered the country. All the trouble arose when they dealt with the question of right, but to every right there was a duty attached and the "d" always came before the "r". It was a safe guide for the Indians to make sure that they had done their duty before they began talking of rights. Before they clamoured for a full day's pay, they should make sure that they had done a full day's work!!!

8th. Non-co-operation.—In Calcutta whole town in commotion over last day's arrest of the ladies. Mrs. C. R. Das and party released unconditionally from jail on their refusing to find bail. They resumed picketing cloth-shops and selling Khadder joined by numerous other lady volunteers, specially Sikh ladies; Calcutta students came out in hundreds, joined the prohibited volunteer corps, and marched out with Khadder on, seeking imprisonment. 170 arrested during the day.

At Deihi Mr. Suraj Ban, Bar-at-law, Secretary, Dist. Cong. Com: arrested. In the U. P. Legislative Council Pundit H. N. Kunzru moved for an adjournment of the House to consider the political situation when Governor Sir H. Butler dramatically entered, delivered a speech declaiming against picketing and disallowed Pt. Kunzru's motion.

9th. The Prince at Lucknow; received the Municipal Address of loyalty and one from the U. P. Council. Partial hartal in town.

Non co-operation—Congress leaders of Cocanada District arrested under Sec. 107 Cr. P. C.—Master Das at Calcutta sentenced to 6 months R. I. and Rs. 100 fine for picketing.—Great excitement at Calcutta for patrolling of town by

European Military police and batch after batch of volunteers offering for arrest—175 arrested in all.—At Basti, U. P., the Sec and Asst. Sec., Tehsil Congress Com. sentenced to 1 year's R. I. under S. 108.—At Ballia Swami Brahmanand Bharati, a great religious leader, and Syed Manzur Hossain sentenced to 6 months and all other local Congress leaders arrested. Mrs. Motilal Nehru issued message exhorting youngmen to enlist as volunteers and fill British jails. At Amritsar Dr. Satyapal and Mr. Gurbaksh Rai, national leaders, ordered to furnish security of Rs. 10,000 to keep peace for 1 year, refusing which they were sentenced to 1 year each.

At Madras, Criminal Law Amend. Act. Part ii (Unlawful Associations) promulgated by Govt. order.

10th. Non-co-operation—Govt. of B & O. declared all Congress, Khilafat and other national volunteer associations unlawful.—Mr. C. R. Das, Maulana A. K. Azad, B. N. Sasmal, Padmaraj Jain, Ambica Pr. Bajpai, M. Akram Khan and in all some 150 arrested in Calcutta which became panic-ridden owing to Military parading streets with Lewis guns. Wave after wave volunteer-batches came upon the Police officers to meet imprisonment immediately after news of Mr. Das and the leaders' arrest spread. Indiscriminate and wholesale arrests, house-searches, raids, etc by Cal. Police. Principal Heramba Maitra brutally assaulted by soldiers.

At Allahabad Mr. George Joseph sentenced to 18 months S. I. and fine of Rs. 1000 on one charge and 9 months and Rs 1000 fine on second count. Pts. Gauri Shankar Misra and K. B. Mathur sentenced to 6 months and Rs 200 fine.

All Political meetings prohibited at Erawah, U. P.

Police raided Congress and Khilafat offices and National school at Gaya—Allahabad Municipal Board meeting adjourned *sine die* on question of presenting address to the Prince as a protest against all round repression.—At Lahore Police searched the premises of local vernacular Presses and of Lala Lajpat Rai, Pt. Rambhuj Dutt, Prof. Ruchi Ram, Mr. Sanatayam and other national leaders ;—Lala Sham Lal, Editor of Kesari and six Akali Sikh leaders were arrested for contravening the Seditious Meetings Act.—At Shialkot 14 Congressmen arrested.—At Patna the Aladal Press was mercilessly searched by the Police for four hours and all papers taken out.

Gov.-Gen. in Council refused to accept resolution of the Legislative Assembly, in last sessions, *re* separation of judicial and executive functions, on plea of great expenditure—Hon. Mr. Raza Ali, Member, Council of State, wired to Viceroy at Calcutta emphatically protesting against policy of repression.

11th. **Non-co-operation.**—At Calcutta H. M. Gandhi with a batch of Volunteers arrested for picketing. Congress and Khilafat offices were again raided by the Police and all documents and papers seized.

Sj. K. Chaliha, president, Assam Cong. Com. arrested at Gauhati.

12th. The Prince at Allahabad attended official functions. Complete hartal in town; all shutters of houses and all shops and bazars closed. In the deserted streets stray Anglo-Indian crowds and Govt. school students greeted the Prince.

Non-co-operation at Dacca; Congress and Khilafat Secretaries arrested and all political meetings prohibited for one month. In honour of the arrest of Mr. Das and other leaders town was illuminated and a bonfire made of foreign cloth. At Delhi Mr. Asaf Ali, Bar-at-Law and 53 other national leaders arrested for being volunteers. At Burma Seditious Meetings Act promulgated at Rangoon, Mandalay, Insein and Hautha waddy. At Lahore the trial of Lala Lajpat Rai and other Congress leaders opened. No defence taken by the accused "as they were convinced that the Government could not pay even a decent respect to its own laws." At Partabgarh Moul. M. A. Sherwani sentenced to 18 months R. I.

13th. The Prince at Benares received address from Hindu University and degree of D. I. Complete hartal in town except at Ramnagar of the Benares State. University students did not attend, hall being filled by Anglo-Indian boys.

Non-co-operation—At Calcutta students emptied out of their classes and resolved to remain on strike till the Prince left Calcutta. Dinner proposed to be given by the H. Court Bar to the Viceroy cancelled; proposed visit of the Viceroy to the H. Court dropped. Howrah Bar boycotted for a week, pleaders not attending.

In the Punjab Govt. issued notification declaring Congress and Khilafat Volunteer organisations unlawful. At Delhi Mr. Asaf Ali sentenced to 18 months S. I.; other volunteers from

6 to 12 months. Messrs Abdur Rahman, Taqi, Haskar and other Congress-men arrested. At Poona picketing of liquor shops prohibited. At Patna Mr. K. Kushin, Sec. Khilafat Com. arrested.

Mairas Council—heated debate over the Moplah Train tragedy led by Mr. R. K. Shunmugam Chettiar. “The appointment of Mr. Knapp, the Martial Law Authority of Malabar under whom the dark tragedy happened, as the head of the Committee to enquire into the affair left the only possible inference in the mind of the people, viz. that here as in the Punjab, a process of white-washing was in progress.”

14th. The Prince at Nepal.

Non-co-operation—At Calcutta 70 volunteers arrested. Colleges & Schools, except those of Govt. closed. At Allahabad Congress office raided by Police while a meeting of the Provincial Congress Com. was being held; 54 members were arrested for voting for the volunteer organisation. At Poona Civil Resisters Messrs N. C. Kelker, Paranjpe (Editor, *Svarjya*), Bhopatkar (Editor, *Loksangraha*, Gokhale (Editor, *Mahratta*) Dr K. Damle (Editor, *Raja Karan*) began picketing of liquor shops against Magistrate's order.

Viceroy received address from Bengal Mahajan Sabha & in reply reiterated his claim for British justice and for “law & order.” He referred to the events of 17th. Nov., characterised it as intimidation, coercion, unlawful pressure and threatening at which the “law-abiding” citizens having asked for protection Govt. took all those steps against which there was an outcry of repression.

15th. The Prince on shooting trip in Nepal

Non-co-operation—Messrs Rajagopalachari, Ramaswami Naicker and Dr. Rajam, leaders of Vellore, charged for picketing against drink.

At Calcutta 200 volunteers out for picketing; 120 more arrested. All over Bengal house-searches, arrests and convictions of volunteers. Chittagong ‘roll of honour’ up to date reported to be 400, Sylhet 100, and Goubati 96. Wholesale strike of ship coolies for alleged snatching and stamping with foot upon Gaudhi-caps by some European Sergeant; steamers in docks and jetties lying idle. Mufussil colleges gradually left by students.

At Benares Babu Bhagwandas, Satyadev and Pt. Shivanarayan Misra arrested for publishing a hartal notice.

Secretary, National Liberal League, Calcutta wired to Viceroy protesting against police and military terrorism.

Lucknow Liberal League wired to Viceroy and U. P. Govt. a resolution strongly protesting against unlawful Govt. repression.

At Poona public meeting held under Mr. Kelkar and his friends protesting against the Magistrate's order against picketing and asking the people to resort to civil resistance. Batches of young men under the lead of Mr. Kelkar and other leaders begun picketing, were arrested, led to the police station and then let off.

16th. Non-co-operation—Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar, ex-advocate Genl. of Madras, a moderate, issued manifesto renouncing his titles and seat in the Council in protest of Govt. repression and its unconstitutional interference with the liberty of the people.

At Calcutta unprecedented volunteer enthusiasm—400 sent, 120 arrested. In Mofussil Bengal up to date arrests 72 Naraingunj, 200 Madaripur, smaller numbers elsewhere. Cal. Medical College students joined strike up to 31st. Mr. C. R. Das issued appeal to people. Moderate manifesto headed by Sir A. Choudhury, Sir P. C. Roy and others against ruthless Govt. repression issued.

At Allahabad 100 new volunteers enrolled. Mr. Kasasi, 2nd Editor, *Independent*, sentenced to 6 months R. I.

At Poona, Deccan Sabha passed resolution condemning order against picketing—volunteers continue picketing liquor-shops. At Lahore trial of Lajpat Rai & others resumed inside jail in camera inspite of protest.

Moplah casualties since outbreak issued : killed 1,826, wounded 1,500, captured 5,400, surrendered 14,000 approximately.

17th. Viceroy met Pt. Malaviya in interview and discussed about suggested Round Table Conference.

Non-co-operation—Calcutta—students strike complete and extending all over Bengal, flood of volunteers increasing—450 out, 250 arrested—volunteers courting arrest in larger numbers all over Bengal. M. Abdul Musabir Chowdhury, Khilafat president of Silchar, Assam, sentenced to 1 yr. R. I.; M. Akram Khan, Editor, *Mahamadi* sentenced to 1 yr. R. I. for sedition. Cal. Civil Guards out—Bulls and pigs let loose in the streets with the placard "Civil Guard".

At Allahabad Pts. Shamlal & Mohonlal Nehru sentenced 6 months' S. I. & Rs. 100/. At Lucknow Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru same ; also to M. Saxena, Drs. I. Sahani, S. Narain, Pt. B. Bappa, Beni Pr. Singh, Ramachander, Lal Bahadur. Khilafatists, Hakim Abdul Wali, Salamutullah, Shaukat Ali, S. M. Nawab and others more severely punished : 1 Yr and Rs. 200/- each.

At Lucknow Sir H. Butler at a Durbar outlined his policy of repression for alleged breaking the law and congratulated on the excellent results achieved which he detailed at length.

At Ahmedabad, Surat and Nadiad Govt. took forcible possession of Municipal Schools which had previously been transferred to the control of National Education Board by the Municipalities.

18th. Madras Liberal League under Sir P. S. Shivaswamy Iyer wired resolution protesting against Govt. policy of repression. Dewan Bahadur M. O. Parthasarathy Aiyangar wrote to Govt. relinquishing titles, etc, to save the "last little self-respect still lingering in me."

At Calcutta 700 volunteers out, 300 arrested.

19th. B. & O. Govt. notified that in response to representation of 14 Council Members headed by Mr. Hasan Imam repressive action under Cr. Law Amend. Act to be postponed.

In Bengal Council, Governor made a long statement on repression and non-co-operation (see p. 327). Heated debate led by Mr. S. N. Mallick. At Calcutta Pt. Malaviya had a long interview with Mr C. R. Das in the goal—530 volunteers out picketing, 250 arrested. Mr. Wajid Ali Pani, the celebrated Chand Mia of Karatia, sentenced to 3 months R. I & Rs. 90,000 security !

Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas and Pt. H. N. Kunzru had long interview with M. Gandhi at Subarmati Ashram.

At Lahore Mr. Stokes sentenced to 6 months S. I. ; Lala Trilokechand sentenced to 3 months S. I and 200/- fine. At Poona 300 shop-keepers enrol as civil resisters picketing liquor-shops, many arrested, taken to the police station and then let off.

20th. In the H. of Commons Mr. Montagu replying to Mr. Ben Spoor said that there was no "repression" in India, only

action had been taken to prevent civil disturbances and breaches of public order.

Allahabad Moderates, Messrs. Raza Ali, N. P. Asthana, G. L. Agarwala, Iswari Saran, D. C. Banerji and 20 others issued manifesto in reply to Sir H. Butler (see 17th) emphatically protesting against Govt. policy of repression.

Madras Vakils' Association passed resolution protesting against abuse of the Criminal Law by Govt.

Hon. Lala Sukhbir Singh, Member, Council of State, wired to Viceroy suggesting Round Table Conference under the Chairmanship of H. R. H. the Prince of Wales!

Non-co-operation—At Allahabad 56 volunteers convicted and sentenced. Security of Rs. 2000 of the *Independent* forfeited. 100 volunteers including Mr. Jairam, Congress Secretary and Pt. Malaviya's sons and nephews arrested for picketing a school. At Lucknow 8 volunteers convicted and 20 arrested. At Delhi Lala Shankar Lal sentenced to 4 months R. I. along with 35 others. At Calcutta 700 volunteers out, 320 arrested; lady volunteers out in increasing numbers from this date. Children arrested and then let off cried for re-arrest and surreptitiously entered the lock-ups. At Pirojpur Sreemati Saraju Devi and school-boys arrested. At Dacca Dr. P. C. Ghosh and others arrested. At Ranchi 40 arrested. At Hyderabad, Sind, Mr. Daulatram, Cong. Sec. sentenced to 2 yrs. R. I. And so on all over India.

21st. Malaviya Deputation presented address to Viceroy on 'present situation', in reply to which he said that he could not comply with their request of suspending repression (see pp. 332-6).

Gandhi in reply to Lord Ronaldshay's last speech (19th, see p. 327) said that the political situation was the creation of the Govt. and that he for one did not want any conference.

Mr. P. Muhammad Khan, M. L. A made press-statement strongly opposing Round Table Conference which was bound to be infructuous like the Gandhi-Reading and the Das-Ronaldshay interview. He thought that Govt. knew people's grievances well enough and a conference was useless; that he would oppose it in the council if proposed.

Non-co-operation.—At Allahabad Pt. Malaviya's sons and nephews released; others convicted to 1 month R. I. At Vellore C. Rajagopalachari, Genl. Sec., Cong. & Subramanya Sastri of

Arni, presid. prov. Cong. Com. sentenced to 3 months R. I. At Calcutta 250 arrested. In Muffasil Bengal students left school and enrolled as volunteers. Haji Abdur Rashid, Vice-chairman Dist. Bd., Noakhali, and M. Ibrahim sentenced to 1 yr.

Behar Govt. issued communique stating that in view of R. T. Conference recent political prisoners to be conditionally released—no one actually released as no one accepted the conditions.

U. P. Governor refused to call special session of Council on requisition of members to discuss the political situation. U. P. Chamber of Com. protested against this arbitrary order.

22nd. Deputation of Bengal Moslem loyalists waited upon Viceroy at Calcutta to represent Moslem feeling on Khilafat.

Prince at Patna received official welcome—town in hartal.

Trial of Lala Lajpat Rai, Mr. Santanam, Dr. Gopi Chand, and Malik Lal Khan resumed in Lahore central jail,—they all refused to make any statement or take any defence as they did not recognise the court. Lala Govardhandas, local Cong. president, Mr. Dilwar Singh, Secy, and many congress volunteers arrested. At Calcutta large number of mill-hands out from this date, 250 arrested. Vice-chairman, Darbhanga Municipl, M. Mohd. Jalil resigned official posts in protest.

23rd. Pt. Malaviya had long interview with Bengal Governor on the question of release of political prisoners convicted under Cr. Law Amend. Act, in connection with Round Table conference and left for Ahmedabad to attend Congress.

Non-co-operation.—At Calcutta 2000 volunteers out, 500 arrested; 18,000 mill-hands on strike; Volunteer enthusiasm and arrest kept whole city in commotion—many alleged atrocities by civil guards and their friends; Messrs B. N. Burman and Padamraj Jain sentenced to 1 yr. R. I.

At Allahabad, a number of Rajas and Talukdars issued a counter manifesto against the Liberals' protest (20th.) fully justifying Govt. action and citing the example of Russia as a warning!

At Poona civil resisters again out picketing;—arrested and fined and fine realised by issuing distress warrants. Up to date number of civil resisters convicted: 260

24th. H. R. H. the Prince in Calcutta—great reception by the Europeans, the Indian aristocracy and Council Members—complete hartal in the Indian quarter—city partially dark at

night owing to strike amongst municipal hands ; Indian quarter absolutely quiet and terror-stricken.

M. Gandhi in reply to the Viceroy (22nd) made a statement to a press representative alleging that the Viceroy was inciting the Europeans against congress-men by saying that the N-C-O hartal was meant as an insult to the Prince.

All-India Congress Committee under Hakim Ajmal Khan met at Ahmedabad on the eve of the National Congress session to consider resolutions to be passed in the open congress.

Mrs. Motilal Nehru opened the All-India Swadeshi Exhibition at Ahmedabad before a large audience of congress-men, where amongst other things the complete process of *Khadi* manufacture was shown and explained.

Non-co-operation.—At Nasik Mr. Oaka, municipal president, resigned. At Poona civil resisters continue picketing, some convicted and sentenced for 3 months' R. I. At Lahore volunteer processions broken up by a novel plan from this date, viz. water hoses turned on them. At Allahabad Mr. M. Desai, Editor, the manuscript *Independent*, sentenced to 1 yr. R. I. 62 picketers arrested.

At Calcutta Mr. Satcowripati Roy, Swami Visuddanand, L. Lachman Singh, volunteer-leaders, arrested. At Gauhati 60 volunteers including leading pleaders arrested.

25th. Entally riot at Calcutta started by drunk Eurasian Civil guards who killed 1 and wounded 23 Moslems.

At Benares Congress office broken up by police and its Sec. arrested—rush of volunteers in the streets—150 arrested.

26th. Indian Social Conference at Ahmedabad, Mr. K. Natarajan, president. Resolutions passed for abolition of untouchability, caste-system, drink, and extension of female education.

All-India Khilafat Conference at Ahmedabad under Hakim Ajmal Khan (for proceedings see pp. 127-34 Appendix).

At Calcutta Police constable found shot dead at night. Police raid at Machuabazar where mosques were alleged to have been broken upon and desecrated.

27th. Indian National Congress in Session at Ahmedabad

All-India Khilafat Conference—Independence resolution of Hasrat Mohani ruled out of order by the president. Upon this, after conference ended, Mr. Mohani appealed to his followers to stay and pass his resolution. This was done,

Govt. of India appointed the Racial Distinctions Committee to consider the existing racial discriminations in criminal law between Indians and Europeans.

28th. Fourth session of All-India Liberal Federation held at Allahabad with Mr. Govindaraghava Iyer as president (see p 88 Appendix). Pt. H. N. Kunzru, in his welcome address as chairman, strongly deprecated Govt's repressive policy.

All-India Police Conference held its first session at Howrah with Rai saheb P. C. Biswas as president (see p 169 Appendix).

National Congress rejected Pt. Malaviya's motion urging the Congress to declare its desire for a round table conference by a large majority. M. Gandhi said that personally he was neither for nor against any conference, but there was nothing in the Viceregal pronouncement which could justify such a step.

Pt. Malaviya signed Congress creed and became ex-officio member of the All-India Committee.

At Benares Sirdar Abdul Karim Khan of Kabul with 30 volunteers arrested. Fewer arrests at other places.

29th. Second session of the All-India Students' Conference held at Ahmedabad with Mrs. Naidu as president. (see p 80 App)

Burma Govt. ordered 32 Indians and 16 Burmans to leave Rangoon within 24 hrs. and not to come back before 12 Jan. in view of the Princes' visit!

Volunteer activity resumed in Calcutta.

Public meeting held at Lahore despite prohibition under Seditious Meetings Act attended by 4000, for which Lala Baishanath and other congress-leaders arrested next day.

Commotion in Police Conference, Howrah, on the president being peremptorily ordered by the Insp. Genl. of Police to leave Calcutta for his outspoken Presidential Address.

30th. 14th session of the All-India Muslim League held at Ahmedabad with M. Hasrat Mohani as president (see p. 68 App), who pleaded for the declaration of Indian Independence at once,—the resolution was however defeated by a majority.

Congress Working Committee passed resolution urging all Prov. Committees to enlist volunteers preparatory to Civil disobedience to be started from 15th Jan. next. At Calcutta 60 volunteers arrested.

31st. Poona picketing and arrests continued as before
Editor and Printer, *Rangoon Mail*, charged with sedition and sentenced to 2 year 6 months' S. I.

January 1922

Chief Events.—Prince's Tour in Burma, Madras and C. P.—Riot at Madras on Prince's visit—The Malaviya Conference Fiasco—Repression and Volunteer activity slackened—Trial of Lajpat Rai, Rajagopalachar and other Leaders and their sentence—all-India preparation for Civil Disobedience.—

2nd. Indian Conference held in Caxton Hall, London, with 80 Indians. Resolutions were passed endorsing those of the Indian National Congress.

At Delhi 110 volunteers arrested. At Calcutta several mills closed owing to strike of labourers in protest of victimisation of their leaders for joining N-C-O.

H. R. H. The Prince arrived at Rangoon.

At Allahabad Pts. Krishnakant and Govinda Malaviya rearrested with a batch of volunteers—sentenced next day to 18 months R. I for enlisting volunteers. This was subsequently reduced to 6 months by order of U. P. Govt.

3rd. Pt. Malaviya and sponsors of the R. T. Conference issued invitations to 300 leaders all over India to join the Malaviya Conference at Bombay (see p. 353)

Arrest of volunteers : Calcutta 80, Agra 52, Lahore 3, Lucknow 78 ; smaller numbers elsewhere.

Punjab Univ. Convocation addressed by Sir Ashutosh Mukherji who was interrupted by loud shouts of '*Mahatma Gandhi ki jai*' from many graduates.

4th. S. S. Chakravarty, Beng. Cong. president arrested at Calcutta and sentenced to 3 months for refusing to take oath and give evidence in Court.

7th. Lala Lajpat Rai & party sentenced to 1 yr R. I and 6 months S. I. Similar convictions of other congress volunteers in the Punjab—subsequently reduced by Govt. order to 6 months.

Dr. Subramaniam sentenced to 1 yr R. I. at Coconada ; Mr. Sundara Row to 6 months S. I. at Vizagapatam.

V. Kunhamad Haji, the Moplah King, arrested with retinue and arms in Malabar—shot with 6 others on 20th.

9th. At Calcutta ladies again out picketing. Pt. Ambica Pr. Bajpai sentenced to 4 months' R. I. At Patna M. Kursaid

Hossain, K. S. Sinha and Jagat N. Lal sentenced from 6 to 12 months S. I.

10th. Punjab Govt. issued solemn warning against civil disobedience : They said—"Govt. will deal with Civil Disobedience by measures more systematic and rigorous than any which have hitherto been adopted." Public consternation as repetition of Jhallianwalla apprehended.

Legislative Assembly met at Delhi—motion for adjournment of the House to consider the "present situation" disallowed—Pt. Iswari Saran's resolution urging Govt. to drop their repressive policy postponed.

11th. Ladies meeting held at Lucknow Congress office led by Mrs. Abdul Quair and daughters of Hon. Pt. Jagat Narain to encourage men to join national movement and adopt the national programme of the Congress.

12th. Sitamarhi proclaimed a disturbed area by B. & O. Govt. —punitive police costing Rs 25,000 imposed upon the people for alleged N-C-O activity.

Lala Girdhari Lal, Congress Com. president, Amritsar, M. Daud Gaznavi and Mr. Sunam Rai arrested previous day sentenced to 1 yr. S. I. for enrolling volunteers.

13th. H. R. H. the Prince in Madras attended official functions—town in hartal —mob outbreak in town and free street fight between Adi-draavidian & Non-Brahman loyalists and non-co-operators. Police and Military dispersed crowd by fire.

14th. Malaviya Conference held at Bombay with Sir Sankaran Nair in the chair on this and following day (see p p. 353-60). Sir Sankaran left the meeting subsequently in great anger saying that 'he would break the conference.' Sir M. Viswesvaraya then took his chair.

15th. Meeting held at many places at Calcutta to inaugurate civil disobedience. Civil resisters began picketing at Poona. Rejuvenated volunteer activity in many places in the U. P. and Punjab to launch wholesale Civil disobedience.

16th. Racial Distinctions Committee appointed by the Leg. Assembly began to hold sittings at Delhi from this day—very little response from important Indian parties.

17th. Congress Working Com. met at Bombay under Gandhi postponed civil disobedience till end of month in pursuance of

resolution passed at the Malaviya conference (see p. 365.) Sir Sankara Nair issued his famous press-letter explaining why he left the conference (15th) and denouncing Gandhi in unmeasured language (see p. 357)

Lady picketers began to be out at Lahore from this day headed by Kumari Lajjabati, Principal, Kanya Mahavidyalaya, Jullunder, and escorted by volunteers.

Ast. Gaoler, Patna gaol, resigned to follow N.C.O.

18th. Resolutions in the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State moved by M. Iswar Saran and Mr. P. C. Sethna respectively for round table conference defeated after a long and heated debate.

19th. Gandhi replied to Sir Sankaran's letter. Similar protests to this letter was made by the Secy of the conference, Mr. Srinivas Iyengar, and many other leaders.

Public meeting at South Calcutta under Mrs. Das broken up by police charge resulting in almost the death of a Bengalee lady visitor. Hemnalini Debi, alleged to be struck by the European officer in command, Babu S. Chakravarty sentenced to 1 yr. for volunteer enrolment.

Babu Bhagwan Das at Benares released unconditionally, but he refused to go home and stayed under prison-conditions till all were released or his sentence of 12 months expired.

22nd. Large N.C.O meeting at College Sq., Calcutta, broken up by Police baton charge—280 arrested.

23rd. Public meeting at Dacca held against Magistrate's order dispersed by Police baton charge directed by the Magistrate ending in some 50 of the public seriously wounded.

Lala Duni Chand of Ambala with followers arrested and sentenced to 6 months R. I. for picketing liquor-shops.

25th. In Assam, on this and following days, tenants terrorised to pay taxes by Gurkha soldiers being marched through the villages which made default in paying revenue following N.C.O. the new No-Tax campaign.

26th. Secretaries of the Malaviya Conference received reply from the Viceroy that he saw no use of further discussion about the R. T. conference (see p. 375).

Serious riot at Tittagarh Mill ending in police firing on the strikers—2 killed, 40 wounded. Raizada Hausraj, presi-

dent, Jullunder Congress Committee, arrested for picketing liquor-shops. At Calcutta 500 N.C.O volunteers arrested in numerous large mass meetings all over the city. In Behar Council K. Mohd. Noor's resolution urging withdrawal of repression passed against Govt. Gandhi left Ahmedabad for Bardoli in view of starting Civil disobedience. At Allahabad big public meeting called by Mrs. Kamala Nehru held against Magistrate's order.

27th. Salanga hat tragedy, E. Bengal, in which armed police came in contact with picketers and opened fire, killing a few and wounding many.

Annual Conf. of Assoc. Europ. Chamb. of Comm : held at Calcutta ; Lord Ronaldshay said that Indian labour trouble was engineered by politicians.

Durgadas Baid, Secretary, Amritsar Cong. Com. sentenced to 2 yrs. *Bande Mataram*, Lajpat Rai's paper, suppressed at Lahore. During the month 4 other Lahore papers had their security forfeited : *Pratap*, *Kesari*, *Akali*, *Khabardar*.

29th Non-co-operators of Surat under the lead of Messrs. Gandhi, Patel and Tyabji held conference at Bardoli to enquire about the Taluk's readiness for the No-Tax campaign—resolution was passed that Bardoli Taluk was prepared for mass civil disobedience. Notice was sent to the Congress Working Committee that unless prohibited the Taluk will stop paying land revenue under the direct lead of Gandhi

30th. Secretaries, Malaviya Conf. again wired to Viceroy expressing readiness to meet the wishes of the Viceroy—no response made by latter ; Gandhi was asked to postpone last date of civil disobedience for 3 days more which he did.

Lala Lajpat Rai and party released from jail as the Govt. came to the conclusion that the meeting for which he was convicted was not a public meeting. He was re-arrested under a new charge under the Cr. Law Amend. Act !!!

31st. At the Bengal Council Prof. Mukherji's resolution urging the withdrawal of repressive orders of Govt. was passed by a majority after a keen debate defeating Govt. amendment.

Cong. Working Com. under Hakim Ajmal Khan advised people not to take up mass civil disobedience until Gandhi advised (see p. 389).

February 1922

Chief Events.—Suspension of Land-Tax in Gunter and Assam districts discontinued—The Chauri chaura outrage—Suspension of Civil disobedience by Gandhi—Beginning of split in N-C-O camp at Delhi.

1st. Extra Military Police, Gurkha soldiers and armoured cars stationed in several villages in the Guntur Dist. for their withholding taxes in pursuance of civil disobedience—cost of additional police and military ordered to be realised from the people. Up to the end of January out of Rs. 1,473,000 of the first kist payable to Govt. only some Rs. 4 lakhs were paid.

3rd. Mr. N. C. Kelkar of Poona sentenced by Magistrate for picketing liquor shops along with others ; campaign went on as before, upto date arrests in this connection being 500 at Poona.

In view of resolution of All-India Cong. Com. West Godavery Dist. Cong. Com. asked ryots to pay up land revenue so long held up in view of adoption of mass civil disobedience.

Strike at Tundla Ry. Station owing to some Indian fireman being kicked and struck by an European foreman gradually spread all over the E. I. Ry. in the U. P. Military were called in to mount guard on stations.

4th. Gandhi issued his famous letter to the Viceroy and Govt. of India intimating the initiation of mass civil resistance by non-payment of taxes by the Bardoli Taluk under his lead. Gandhi once more requested Govt. to revise their policy.

5th. 50 Women volunteers accompanied by large crowds paraded streets of Delhi in anticipation of mass civil disobedience.

West Kistna Dist. Cong. com. also advised ryots and land holders to pay up land revenue so long held up.

Ghastly mob-outrage on Police station at Chauri Chaura, U. P. resulting in the burning of some 22 policemen (see p 390). Panic in Gorakhpur and Bareilly for a week.

Riot at Bareilly—European Magistrate seriously hit—police opened fire killing and maiming many. Panic in the district for several days. British Infantry stationed in the town. All

congress volunteers corps disbanded—congress-workers of the neighbourhood arrested.

6th. Govt of India issued a communique in reply to Gandhi's manifesto "taking up the challenge thrown out by Gandhi and repudiating that they had been following a policy of "lawless repression."

7th. Gandhi replied to the Govt. of India communique refuting their allegations and explaining why civil disobedience was going to be launched (see p. 381-87)

8th. Lord Curzon in the House of Lords threatened ruthless repression in India if present conditions continued.

9th. Gandhi came to Bombay from Bardoli and held anxious consultations with Pt. Malaviya, Jayakar, Jinnah, Natarajan and others of the Independent party on the affairs of Chauri.

10th. At Trichinopoly Messrs P. Kothandaraman and Janab Y. Hussain sentenced to 1 yr. R. I. for N-C O work. On the previous day 40 picketers obstructing sale of wine-licence arrested with all leaders.

Mr. G. Ramchandra Rao of Cocanada. N-C-O leader, sentenced to 1 month S. I. for refusing to take oath in court.

11th. Working Committee of Congress met at Bardoli and after long and anxious deliberations issued next day the famous Bardoli resolutions suspending civil disobedience.

12th. Gandhi went on a five days' fast to do penance for the Chsuri Chaura and Bareilly tragedy.

At Calcutta 2,000 Khilafat volunteers attempted to hold meetings at different places to express rejoicings at the conviction of Moulana Abul Kalam Azad but were frustrated by the Police, 450 being arrested.

14th. In the House of Commons, on the debate on India, Mr. Montagu made an important statement warning India of the ire of "the most determined people on Earth", meaning the British. The debate revealed all through the most unseemly juncker spirit of the members trying to overawe India into submission.

H. R. H. The Prince of Wales at Delhi entertained at magnificent State functions for the next week.

17th. Cawnpore Khilafat Comm. unanimously resolved to urge the Cent. Khil. Com. to stick to civil disobedience

inspite of the Bardoli decisions. Beng. Prov. Cong. and and Khilaf. Com. also expressed dissent but accepted the Bardoli resolutions for the time being.

24th. Meeting of the All-India Con. Com. held at Delhi at Hakim Ajmal Khan's House to consider the Bardoli resolutions.

The famous Delhi Resolutions issued partially abrogating the Bardoli decisions—split in the N-C-O camp beginning.

March 1922

Chief Events.—Turn in Indian Politics—Mr. Montagu forced to resign to placate Lord Curzon and other imperialists—Mahatma Gandhi arrested—Stringent measures to suppress Indian political development threatened from Whitehall

9th. Mr. Montagu, the Secretary of State for India, was forced to resign to placate the imperialists, Lord Curzon and his party, and the Dyers and O'Dwyers in England.

10th. Mahatma Gandhi arrested at Ahmedabad for sedition (see p. 408).

18th. The trial of Mahatma of Gandhi—his written statement—the judgment. **The Mahatma sentenced to Six years imprisonment**—the same punishment as was awarded to Lokmanya Tilak.

[Fuller chronicle will be given in the next Issue of the Register]

Resume of Political Movement 1921-22

January' 21.—Agrarian disturbances in U. P. suppressed by Police and Military force—N-C-O among students in Bengal and Punjab threatening a collapse of educational institutions—Duke of Connaught arrived to inaugurate the reformed Councils—boycott campaign started by Gandhi.

February' 21.—The first session of the new Councils at work—Akali movement in the Punjab threatening trouble—Duke's tour in Northern India; his famous speech of "forgive and forget" at Delhi—N-C-O in C. P. in the shape of liquor picketing—Boycott campaign continued.

March' 21.—Councils continued—U. P. Govt. preparing to grapple N-C-O by force—Failure of N-C-O campaign amongst students and lawyers—The Bezwada Congress programme started by Gandhi and party.

April' 21.—Arrival of the new Viceroy Lord Reading—Lull in N-C-O activity—the question of compromise raised in various quarters—high expectations from Lord Reading all over the country.

May' 21.—Strikes in Bengal—The Chandpur Gurkba outrage—Chittagong strike spread all over E. Bengal—The infructuous Gandhi-Reading interview—The Ali Brothers' apology episode.

June' 21.—Strikes continued—The Afghan bogey started to blackmail the Ali Brothers—Controversy on the Gandhi-Reading interview—Hopes of Viceregal boons so long anticipated extinguished.

July' 21.—The Tilak Swaraj fund over-subscribed—signal triumph of Gandhi—Huge holocaust of British cloth started by Gandhi all over India—Moslem impatience gaining ground—Ulema's fatwa against serving in the Army and Police—Karachi Khilafat Conference repeating same.

August' 21.—Moplah rebellion in Malabar. Gandhi's tour in Upper India.

September' 21.—Arrest of the Ali Brothers and other Moslem leaders—Policy of suppressing Moslem agitation all over India inaugurated—N-C-O campaign intensified by Gandhi—Gandhi adopted the loin cloth.

October' 21.—The Karachi trial of the Ali Brothers—Arrest of Yauab Yakub Hassan in Madras—rounding up of Moslem leaders continued—Campaign for the boycott of the Prince started by Gandhi.

November' 21.—H. R. H. The Prince in Bombay—All India hartal—serious riot in Bombay—Govt. campaign of suppressing N-C-O activities inaugurated by Bengal Govt. by declaring N-C-O volunteer organisations unlawful, followed by U. P., Punjab and Assam Govts.

December' 21.—The great fight between Govt. and N-C-O volunteers—Arrest of all Congress and Khilafat leaders all over India—Repression in excelsis—20,000 Congress-men arrested.—The Ahmedabad Congress declaring to start civil disobedience.

January' 22. Malaviya Conference at Bombay for Round table Conference ended in a fiasco.—All India preparations for civil disobedience—Gandhi to lead at Bardoli.—Guntur and Assam suspending land tax.

February' 22. The Chauri Chaura outrage in U. P.—Gandhi's breakdown—civil disobedience suspended.

March' 22. The Arrest of the Mahatma.—His imprisonment for six years—The end of civil disobedience.

India in 1921-22

A Review of Political Events

(For previous history of Non-co-operation see the Indian Annual Register 1920 & 1921)

India in 1921 saw the greatest political struggle, covering the whole of the British possessions, that she has witnessed in her recent history. With its origin and causes we are not here concerned. The following is a general appreciation of the trend of political affairs. Facts will be found summarised in the Chronicle, and, in detail, in the body of the book.

Early in the year the fiat of non-co-operation had gone forth from the Indian National Congress. In spite of all that could be done in the way of "constitutional" agitation, the Khilafat grievances remained as they were, the Punjab wrongs of 1919 remained unremedied, and the Reform, which meant greater expenditure and taxation and no real relief to the people, was taken as a means of further exploitation. Amidst utter hopelessness, Gandhi's constant preaching of non-co-operation spelled hope, and it began to take hold of the people in the mass. The Duke of Connaught came to inaugurate the reforms and during the two months of January and February 1921 there was a display of festivities in connection with the Duke's visit that bordered on the scandalous. Ridiculous attempts were made to boycott the Duke's visit by Gandhi and his party, but they evoked no response from the people. Similar attempts were made to draw students out of their colleges. Both failed as the people addressed had no very clear conception of what non-co-operation was. The fact is that Gandhi and his lieutenants started just the wrong way about; they first preached in the colleges and the courts—the two most perfect and powerful institutions that the bureaucracy has built in India; and so long as this went on, Govt. watched their game with amusement. The most vulnerable spot of the British administration in India is the great mass-millions—the toilers in the fields and the labourers in the industries. Them the non-co-operators with all their political agitation could not reach till, by the end

of the year, the percussion of Govt. measures at the top drove non-co-operation more and more down into the masses.

In Northern India

In January 1921 extensive economic distress gave rise to a serious agrarian trouble in the U. P. The Oudh Talukdars still retained most of their autocratic rights as in the days of the Nabobs. The reformed Govt., which had only been strengthened by an accession from this class of unregenerate Nabobs, backed up the Talukdars, and the peasant movement was decried as rank bolshevism. The Governor, himself the head of the Talukdars' Association, raised the frankenstein. This nascent 'bolshevism' was sought to be nipped in the bud, and the result was wide-spread conflict between the mass of the peasants and the arm of the "law". Riots occurred. Police and military were drafted, and the peasant movement was broken with exactly that degree of meticulous care that the power-drunk aristocracy employ in such cases all over the world.

In the Punjab, in the same period, was started a religious movement under religious reformers, called Akalis. The Sikhs, profiting by their experience of 1919 and catching the Gandhian doctrine, tried first to purge their society of the many wrongs that had crept in their shrines and operated to keep them split apart. To regain their former glory the Sikhs had only to purify their joint communal life : such was the idea. But their movement was naturally watched with suspicion by the British authorities, joined by those anglicised Sikhs and debauched priests and conservatives who found no interest in the national movement. The Gurudwara Prabandhak committee, the central body of the Akalis, has since then suffered much in the way of persecutions, and the Sikh reform movement was sought to be strangled on the plea that they were secretly working for a revolution. Every reform and reformer in India, unless started under British auspices, is suspect in the eyes of the authorities. Inordinate power breeds inordinate fear of its loss. It is just this fear which in 1919 led Genl. Dyer to commit his 'error of judgment' at Jhallianwala. And uncorrected errors give in time a shivering suspicion of every one about us.

In Bengal, Behar and Assam, extensive industrial strikes characterised this period. The old inadequate wages and the new quadrupled cost of living were working havoc amongst the people, and the big capitalists and profiteers of the previous years, facing a slump in business, began to effect reductions, both in the number of employees and in their pay.

Large numbers were thrown out of work, the working class could not support their families, people died from starvation, women committed suicide for nakedness, and wretchedness stalked wide. Strikes followed, in the Railway, in the Steamer services, in coal Mines, in the Mills, in Tea Estates, in every industrial concern—mostly in the hand of Europeans. Gandhi's creed entered here. Till the land, spin the charka, abjure industrial vice, wine and all that, the import of the west to exploit the fool :—this new gospel was easily understood, and out rang from the heart of every wretched proletariat the shout of "GANDHI MAHARAJ KI JAI" ! Gandhi's name worked like a balm to the tortured soul of the poor coolie and the workman. In the whole world Gandhi was the only man who was the friend of the poor, their sympathiser, brother—nay, their God, as they understood it, rather felt it, how or wherefore they cared not to think. But the hope of the tortured was the rage of the torturer. The very name of Gandhi exorcised vice. And if work-people gave up all vice,—liquor, gambling, cinema, western sport and trinkets, fineries and foppishness—was it not turning society all topsy-turvy ? And if the dirty proletariat crouch not low, whine not more, stand upon their legs straight, refuse to do whatever and whenever bidden, begin to talk of honour and self-respect, mount the insufferable Gandhi cap over their head—was it not bolshevism undiluted ? And thousands of men, the dumb cattle-like herds of men, all crying in one voice MAHATMA GANDHI KI JAI ! All this maddened their capitalist masters. Urged by the planters, the mine-owners, the industrial magnates, and from political motives Government sent Gurkha soldiers to quell strikes. In Chandpur, Chittagong, parts of Behar and the U. P., there was such an exhibition of brute force on unresisting crowds of Gandhi-criers as would gladden the heart of a Dyer. This only deepened the hold of Gandhi on the masses. Nature healed the torn flesh and Gandhi healed the heart.

The Bourgeoisie

Non-co-operation itself did not make much headway amongst the bourgeoisie at first. The great middle class, the creation of that very bureaucratic institution with which the N-C-O was at war, was touched only at the fringes. Barring a few high-souled lawyers, and a comparatively larger number of humbler wage-earners whom economic pressure squeezed into the fold of non-co-operators, the Indian bourgeoisie lay between the proletariat masses under the grip of Gandhi on one side and the ruling higher classes with all their aristocratic entourage on the other. The British Govt. in India has always taken care to see that it did not become

sufficiently tsarist to act as a steam-roller besting all other classes into a dead level of uniformity. Still, lapses occur, as in the Punjab in 1919, and then the artful remedy of concessions, like the Reforms, is practised to rehabilitate the bureaucratic superiority and the further disintegration of the lower masses. This policy, which, like the pole star, has always guided the rulers at Whitehall, has never been clearly understood by their officers and underlings in India. In the year under review exactly this thing happened. Economic causes led to grave distress. Distress turned the mass-mind to Gandhi. Gandhi brought politics. And then the huge steam-roller worked with all steam up. The mighty leveller rolled and rolled, and the bourgeoisie and the masses were flattened out together in the same bed of the Indian soil.

Men like Gandhi flourish on defeat. The Gandhi stunts one after another are remarkably elusive as to their significance. Immediately after the failure of the boycott programme in the first 3 months of the year, the Bezvada stunt of a crore of "men, money, and munitions" was started, the Gandhi munition being the spinning-wheel. It immediately leaped into success; in less than another 3 months the requisite men and money flowed in, and it remained only for the munitions to come to enable Gandhi to declare Swaraj! But this was the hardest part of the programme. Gandhi, however, rose equal to the occasion. A new, bold, and awfully impressive stunt was now started. British cloth all over India was to be burnt, and then Swaraj in 3 months ran the cry! Huge piles of foreign cloth was set fire to, and millions upon millions of money wasted. This sacrifice, however, was well worth the purchase. Into the heart of the masses was burnt the truth of home-spinning and home-weaving—the salvation, political and economic, of the Indian people—perhaps of all people on earth.

It was wonderful how this frail, little, all-loving man, looking just like a peasant, went about at lightening rate all over India, applying the torch to piles of foreign cloth without the least hesitancy or ill-will. This unbending, unflinching sacrifice made him look like a god! And the masses caught the spirit. Hearts changed, stiffened, determined to throw up imported fineries. And if the mind is once made up how long does it take for munitions to come? And more. If spinning wheels are not ready, and home-made cloth not sufficient in quantity—what then?—better far to go naked than cover the body with the ensign of one's shame! Foremost in every sacrifice, Gandhi took the loin cloth, and discarded all other linen. The protection of the flesh, he gave into the charge of the Gods.

Such is the man!

But there was a rift in the lute. The Moslems never understood him, and their great leader, M. Mahomed Ali, though a constant attendant and associate of Gandhi, could not free himself from the traditional bane of the Moslem viz., violence. His great figure, his fiery oratory, the flashes of his eyes, the throw of his fingers, the whole expression of the man was any thing but non-violent. Still Gandhi was trying to change him inside out, and once successful, he knew that the inner flame of the Maulana would make him a greater Gandhi. But fate decreed otherwise.

The Moslems

About the middle of the year the Moslem agitation over the Khilafat took a serious turn. The idea gained ground that Britain was helping the Greeks against Angora. 500 ULEMAS or Moslem divines issued a FATWA or mandate that it was sin to serve a Govt. which was at war with Moslems, and a campaign was started to induce Moslems to give up serving in the army and the police. In July 1921 a resolution was passed to this effect at the Karachi Khilafat Conference, Mahomed Ali presiding. The great Moslem leader was subsequently sent to gaol for 2 years with hard labour, along with his brother Shaukat Ali, Dr. Kitchlew of Amritsar and 3 other very eminent Moslem priests. In August the Moplahs of Malabar rose in arms and all over India Moslem feeling rose to the highest pitch. Here was new work for Gandhi. He tried to stem the tide; he tried to keep the Moslems non-violent, and on Nov. 4th. diverted public attention to a scheme of civil disobedience. His great influence with the Moslem leaders, and the way in which Bi-Amma, the revered mother of the Brothers Ali, and Mrs. Mahomed Ali absolutely relied upon him, made the whole Moslem world submit to his decrees. The way in which this wonderful man has exercised his apostolic influence over men of all faiths and creeds has rightly earned for him the world-wide name of a second Christ! His dream of a Hindu-Moslem fusion was gradually coming to be realised. On the 17th Nov. the Prince was coming to India. Gandhi now directed all his unique strategy on this stunt: the Prince of Wales was to be boycotted all over India, Hindus and Moslems must combine to do this, and non-violence was to be the essence of the new move—such was his fiat.

The Prince of Wales

The 17th. of November came. The Prince landed in Bombay. All over India hartal or day of mourning was observed. All business was

closed. And an awful riot broke out in Bombay lasting for full 5 days. This was the first defeat inside the Gandhi camp. But why was the Prince boycotted? What connection was there between the spinning wheel and the Prince? Well, it was the usual Gandhi stunt—a bait for inviting oppression and a means to have the many Indian vices beat out of them. The wary Bombay Govt. saw through it, and did not disturb itself further. But it was another tale elsewhere.

A very critical situation arose after the events of the 17th Nov. The European community swallowed the bait, and took the hartals as an insult to their Prince. Northern India is very much like Ulster. Here lie the great European mercantile, landed and planter communities, and the crop of Indian vested interests that have grown round them. The Oudh Talukdars and the Bengal Zamindars have their material interests bound up with their foreign masters. The hartals touched the pocket of this Indian Ulster—indeed, ever since the N-C-O was launched, they had been the greatest sufferers, and the final success of the N-C-O meant their ruin. Now, the cry of insult to the Prince was raised to deal a final blow to their dreaded enemy. The Bengal and U. P. Governors were egged on to take the move first. The Congress volunteer organisations were proclaimed unlawful. In their wake soon followed the Viceroy, and then the Governors of the Punjab and Assam. And what of the Ministers? In spite of the Reforms, it is still the rule in India—that the Governor is the Government, and the Government, if not kept on its proper bearings by men of such inflexible purpose as a Curzon or a Kitchener, is the I. C. S. Now, in the provinces of Northern India—the Indian Ulster—all the Governors, except Lord Ronaldshay in Bengal, were elevated from the I. C. S. This highly efficient corporation of mercenary administrators have the knack of drying up everything indigenous that come in their way. The Ministers have shared the same fate as India under 2 centuries of their rule. Both are run dry.

And now followed that mad rush of volunteers of one side and unspeakable repression on the part of Govt. on the other that stand as a land-mark in the history of this period in India. Never before did a Govt. go so wrong as now, and never before was the bureaucracy shown so nakedly as now. In 1919 Sir Michael O'Dwyer had some justifications for his orgies, for the Afghans were there. But in Nov. 1921, with the British Prince and not the burly Afghans in their midst, the orgies of repression that were carried out by the Government in the name of 'law and order' are unparalleled in British history in India. Gandhi got what he wanted. His was the supreme triumph. He got non-violence, he secured Hindus and Moslems, rich and low, boys of 10 and old men

of 80, men and women, ladies of high families and the common women-folk, all bound up, all crushed down by the same iron hand; 20 thousand went to gaol with smiling faces in the next two months. It was happy thought for Gandhi. 20 thousand for the Prince was at least some earnest for, say, 200 thousand for the country in the near future! The sublime bureaucrat, European and Indian, grasped not this simple truth! After this achievement, Gandhi could gladly go to gaol or do even worse.

Great men have differed from Gandhi—Tagore, for instance. But few great men have the gift at once to soar in dizzy idealism, and, at the same time, to take an avalanchic swoop upon action. His idealism is high enough but it is his dynamism that makes him a Gandhi.

Civil Disobedience

The next Gandhi-stunt was Civil disobedience. But the shadow of Bombay lay athwart his path. And inspite of the highly successful campaign of non-violent civil opposition to authority in Calcutta, and generally in India, Gandhi moved warily. January 15th, 1922 was given out to be the date of the new movement. Preparations were hastened all over India. At this time the Malaviya move of a Round Table Conference was engaging the so-called intelligentsia of India. But that was not the Gandhi-way. He was beyond western diplomacy.—enough of Royal Pledges, Presidential 14 Points, and Leagues of Nations! It was not compromise that Gandhi wanted. He was out for the holy quest. The people! the people! and their simple, chaste, unburdened life!! and civil disobedience to break their fetters—this was the burden of that great heart that throbbed within its frail frame.

Suddenly, as if like a bolt from the blue, came the murderous riot at Chauri Chaura. Gandhi was betrayed by his own followers. Demonic violence was in his own camp. This dauntless man of steel who feared none and nothing in this world except his God, who dared the whole goliath of a British Govt. in India all alone, now lay crumpled like a piece of paper. At once he saw his mistake and at once, with the iron will that is his, he cancelled civil disobedience.

Needed not the Mahatma now his rest? When his own non-co-operators forgot the high stake he was playing at and broke him, Govt. came to his relief, put him into jail and relieved his agony. Smiling and happy, Gandhi went to jail for a six years' rest!

Great men never complete their work. Great works require great men simply to launch them. Once launched, they grow as sure as they are

born. Gandhi and non-co-operation, like Christ and Christianity, are born not to die.

In one respect, people say, Gandhi has signally failed. He has not been able by a jot to change the heart of the bureaucracy. Perhaps the Dyers and O'Dwyers, the Ronaldshays and Watson Smyths never change. Like the Romanoffs and Hohenzollerns they can end only in one way. Perhaps they come only to break peoples' hearts and, in ripe time, their own hearts too. But Gandhi never cared either for success or failure. Into the orb of his idealism, he pierced straight to the core. If men are Gandhis their governors should be gods. Does not the bed of the ocean determine its waves ?

And where is he now—the Master ? In jail ?—or, in the inner shrine of the hearts of his men ?

*For the Govt. view of Non-co operation in 1921-22, see
pages 417-32.*

THE ARRIVAL OF H. R. H. The Duke of Connaught

MADRAS, JANUARY 10TH, 1921

The H. M. Steamship "*Malaya*" conveying His Royal Highness came to anchor off Madras at 10.30 A. M on January 10th 1921. Its arrival was signalised by a Royal salute of 31 Guns from the flagship "*Highflyer*". Rear-Admiral Sir Hugh Totbill and suite proceeded in a tug to which H. R. H. the Duke and staff transhipped at 2 P. M. The tug moved to the "*Caroline*" which was anchored near the sea-ward end of the outer breakwater. The party then transhipped to the "*Caroline*" which proceeded to the quay where His Excellency the Governor and staff, attended by all the Members of Council, Ministers and high officials, received His Royal Highness at a spacious platform erected for the purpose. After the customary presentations and exchange of greetings His Royal Highness was conducted to a dais where he took his seat along with the Governor to receive the Municipal Corporation's address of welcome. This was read by Sir P. Theagaraya Chetti, the President of the Municipal Corporation of Madras. The address kept clear of local topics and gave an overflowing expression to the sense of loyalty that the Corporation felt towards the Throne and person of His Majesty the King-Emperor.

H. R. H. The Duke's Reply

His Royal Highness then made the following reply—his first speech on landing on Indian shore. It was obviously meant not for Madras alone but for the wider ear of Indians as a whole.

"I thank you for the kindly welcome which you extend to me, and though it is my first visit to Madras I receive it not as a new-comer setting foot on unfamiliar shores amidst unfamiliar faces, but as an old traveller returned, rejoiced to find myself once again beneath India's sunny skies, India, for me, holds

many old friends and countless happy memories, and I am grateful for the opportunity my mission affords me of renewing the old ties which bind me to this country. Several years have passed since I was in your midst, but my interest in your doings has never flagged.

"In Great Britain and throughout the British Empire on the minds of men who previously had not interested themselves deeply, perhaps, in the affairs of this great country, the part which India played in the war produced a profound effect, the force of which may, I think, hardly have been realized here in India. For me, an old servant of the Crown in India, fortified with vivid memories of Indian scenes and faces, you can well imagine how greatly the interest in you and the sympathy with you were quickened by India's splendid record of achievement, and with what pride and pleasure I heard the old words and saw the well known faces of Hindustan in the distant theatres of war.

India's Gallant Soldiers.

"In England I had the honour of meeting those distinguished Indian representatives whom you sent from time to time first to assist at the central councils of our Empire, and finally at the Peace Conference, when, by the blessing of the Almighty, victory had at last been vouchsafed to us. I met, too, the gallant soldiers of India, of every race and creed, in many places far from their native land, bravely doing their duty in a warfare of unprecedented severity, carried on under novel and unexpected conditions, and often in a climate which tried them to the utmost limit of human endurance. As soldiers they were true to their salt, and as a soldier I pay them the honour which is their due.

"I know well that the city and presidency of Madras stand high in India's war record. When the fateful hour struck, you rose to the height of your opportunity and acted like men. We are still too near the days of the war to realize all that it has meant, but as the years go by, your sons and those who come after them will take an increasing pride in what their country did. India, beyond all doubt, has added greatly to her stature. Meanwhile, the world has changed, and India has changed with it,

A New Spirit Abroad

"Do not imagine that I come back to you, like Rip Van Winkle from the mountains, expecting to find things as I left them, surprised and shocked that they are not. There is a new spirit abroad in India, a strong spirit of progress, and whatever you may be told to the contrary, believe me when I assure you that in your onward march you carry with you the warm sympathy and firm good-will of the people of Great Britain and that you may look to them unhesitatingly for support both now and always.

"The people of Great Britain take a deep and rightful pride in the great work which has been accomplished in the past and is still to-day being accomplished by the British services in India. But they take an equal pride in the proud position which India is so rapidly attaining in the eyes of the world to-day through Indian enterprise, Indian brains, Indian self-help and Indian patriotism.

"And so you stand to-day at the threshold of a new era. New and grave problems confront you. Will you pardon an old friend to whom the welfare of India is very dear if, taking your welcome as my text and claiming the privilege of age and experience which never fail to receive due respect in India, I presume to give a few words of counsel? The easy-going days to which the world was getting accustomed, which gave to India a time for recuperation and new growth after prolonged anarchy and unspeakable distress,—those days have gone and are not likely to return. A time has come when the responsibilities which rest upon every individual citizen are far greater than ever before.

None Can Stand Aloof

"From the issues now being hammered out no man can afford to stand aloof. In all countries there is a class of men who shrink from the storm and stress of public movements, who are satisfied with their private pursuits or with the care of their paternal acres. How well we have known this class in India, and how greatly we have respected them!

"But conditions have changed. The philosopher from his seclusion, the merchant from his desk, the zemindar from his homestead,—their country calls them all. To-day India re-

many old friends and countless happy memories, and I am grateful for the opportunity my mission affords me of renewing the old ties which bind me to this country. Several years have passed since I was in your midst, but my interest in your doings has never flagged.

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"And so you stand to-day at the threshold of a new era. New and grave problems confront you. Will you pardon an old friend to whom the welfare of India is very dear if, taking your welcome as my text and claiming the privilege of age and experience which never fail to receive due respect in India, I presume to give a few words of counsel? The easy-going days to which the world was getting accustomed, which gave to India a time for recuperation and new growth after prolonged anarchy and unspeakable distress,—those days have gone and are not likely to return. A time has come when the responsibilities which rest upon every individual citizen are far greater than ever before.

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"From the issues now being hammered out no man can afford to stand aloof. In all countries there is a class of men who shrink from the storm and stress of public movements, who are satisfied with their private pursuits or with the care of their paternal acres. How well we have known this class in India, and how greatly we have respected them!

"But conditions have changed. The philosopher from his seclusion, the merchant from his desk, the zemindar from his homestead,—their country calls them all. To-day India re-

quires every citizen's "Yea" or "Nay," and no man is worthy of citizenship who does not give it.

"A word more and I have done. You have recently passed through a period of troubles and difficulties. Do not brood over them. Remember that there has been a terrible explosion in the world. Sparks are still flying everywhere. The events of the past few years cannot be forced into any of the accepted moulds and standards of human conduct. Standing here to-day, have we not cause to be unspeakably grateful that things have not been worse, infinitely worse ?

"Through the clouds a bright dawn of promise is breaking over this land, and if sanity and true patriotism guide your leaders, nothing can debar India from her high destiny. It is not through strife and bitterness, it is not by following paths which plainly lead to strife and bitterness, that India will maintain her course so gloriously begun. There are enough unhappy, incomprehensible tragedies taking place in the world to-day without our adding to them here. Do not peer into the troubled waters in the wake of your ship. Lengthen the focus of your glasses and look ahead.

My Official Mission

"Gentlemen, by the command of our beloved King-Emperor I have come to assist at the inauguration of India's new Legislative Councils. That is my official mission. But if it were granted to me by my presence once again in your midst to help, so far as in me lies, in the healing of old sores, in the removal of bitter memories, in the strengthening of the old tie, and in the renewal of a greater mutual confidence and good-will, then I feel I should indeed be taking a part worthy of a son of Queen Victoria, my dear mother, the memory of whose abiding love for India inspires me in the task which now confronts me. I shall not fail to carry to His Majesty the King-Emperor your assurances of loyalty and devotion to the Throne and your gratitude for His Majesty's active sympathy in the broadening of your public life. Gentlemen, it now only remains for me to ask you for your help and good wishes and to thank you for the welcome you have to-day so kindly accorded to me."

At the end of the ceremony the Duke was taken in procession through the streets lined by troops to Government House where he remained a guest of the Governor during the few days of his Madras visit. The entire route from the harbour to the Government House was gaily decorated. The public office buildings and those of the European merchants vied each other in decorations, while galleries were erected at some parts of the route which, however, could not be packed up in spite of the free admission offered to the people owing to the boycott meeting started by the non-co operators at the other side of the beach. Three triumphal arches with festoons and buntings were erected at three different places of the route by the Rajas of Ramnad, Venkatagiri and Bobbili respectively. Troops and Armed Police guarded the route and an aeroplane was flying above the whole time from the Duke's landing till his entry into Government House in the evening where he was received by Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Willingdon and staff.

The Popular Boycott Demonstration

While the official ceremony of the Duke's reception was going on in right oriental splendour, the city of Madras went on complete *hartal* for the day and a huge concourse of people, numbering some 50 thousand, gathered at another part of the Beach to carry out the non-co-operation mandate of the National Congress. For a week past intense agitation was kept up to boycott the Duke's State entry into Madras and his official visit. On the 5th January a huge public meeting of the citizens of Madras was held under Mr. Kasturiranga Aiyengar, the veteran nationalist, when the Nagpur Congress resolutions were fully explained to the people and the following resolution boycotting the Duke's visit was passed :—

"This meeting of the citizens of Madras calls upon the people of this city not to take part in any of the functions and festivities arranged in honour of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught's visit."

It was so given out that Madras was selected as the first landing stage of the Duke instead of Bombay the most obvious place because Madras was the only province which had loyally responded to the call of co-operation with the official bureaucracy, and because no other province except Madras was so much divided against itself and so much capable of

having one section of the people set against another to fall in line with the old bureaucratic policy of *divide et impera*. Street corner lectures were arranged to explain to the masses that the boycott of the Duke's visit did not mean disloyalty to the Throne or disrespect to the Duke. Big placards were posted in the streets carrying such inscriptions as : "Boycott Connaught," "Connaught cannot redress our wrongs," "Remember Jhallianwallah," and so on, and strict instructions were given to the masses to be non-violent in all demonstrations. For several days long processions, some covering half a mile in length and containing about 50,000 people, paraded the streets carrying the message of the Congress and advocating boycott and *hartal* on the day of the Duke's landing.

On that day a monster meeting of the citizens of Madras attended by more than 50,000 people was held in the Triplicane beach. No less than five platforms were set up. Mr. Kesava Menon, the non-co-operation leader, in opening the proceedings said that they had met there under the great heavens with no pandal, in tens of thousands, to say that they did not associate themselves with the sentiment that was being given expression to at the other end of the Beach. An address, he said, at that very time was being read on their behalf and in the name of the people of the Presidency by certain individuals who had no right to speak on their behalf. Therefore it was necessary to assert once again that they were not prepared to accord any welcome to anybody who came in the name of England. But unfortunately there were certain men in the history of all countries of the world working against the interests of the people. For instance, the Poles sided with Germany when Germans ruled the Poles—so also the Italians with the Austrians, when Austria ruled Italy. Certain Irishmen too, sided with the British and were tyrannising their own country. Therefore they need not be surprised in finding in their own country certain of their own men siding with those who wanted to keep them in subjection.

The following resolution was passed unanimously :—

Resolution

"As in the opinion of this meeting of the citizens of Madras the existing Government of India has forfeited the confidence of the country, and as the people of India are now determined to establish Swaraj, and as

all methods adopted by them hitherto have failed to secure the recognition of their rights and principles and the redress of their many grievous wrongs, more especially in reference to the Khilafat and the Punjab, and as this meeting considers that the Government of India Act which His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught has come to put into operation is of no value whatsoever to the people and that the Councils do not represent the country, this meeting therefore confirms its determination to secure Swaraj by the method of non-violent Non-Co-operation resolved upon by the Indian National Congress at Nagpur."

Among the speakers were almost all the non-co-operation leaders of Madras, Dr. Ranjan, Messrs. Harisarvathama Rao, Krishnaswami Chetty, G. S. Raghavan, Appu Nair, N. S. Varadachari, Gopala Menon, Balasubramania Iyer, Kasturiranga Iyengar, Abdul Majid Sharer, S. Duraiswami Aiyer, V. Gopalaswami Mudaliar, K. V. Sriivasa Iyenger, and a host of others. Mr. T. Prakasam in concluding the proceedings made a very feeling speech in which he deplored that Indians had not to fight Englishman alone but also some of the most powerful amongst their own countrymen.

Referring to the excuses pleaded by the bureaucracy and certain sections of the Indians that Indians were not fit for full Swaraj as they could not defend themselves, he said:—"You and I may not be warriors. You and I cannot go to the battle-fields. But look at the infantry and the cavalry that formed part of the Duke's procession. Are they Englishmen? Are they not our own kith and kin? Who are the men that were fighting in Mesopotamia and who saved the situation in Flanders? Why then say that this country is not prepared for Swaraj? A civil population is a civil population everywhere. When bombs were thrown in England and Ireland the civil population fled as our men fled in the Punjab. We have got enough of material and if the Government is honest they can find enough men to defend our frontiers. Do not give dishonest excuses and do not put them off on false grounds. Again and again we are reminded of our position in this country. Look at the aeroplane that was flying over our heads. I was really asking myself whether a repetition of the Jallianwalla Bagh was not going to be perpetrated, as we too are an unarmed people."

Referring then to the Duke's message that he was not going to give preferential treatment to Englishmen, he pointed out that just on the same day when the message was read in

the papers, they also heard of the rude treatment accorded to Mr. Justice Sadasiva Iyer and how a European colleague on the Bench was heard politely.

This incident which created considerable stir in Indian circles in Madras happened in the morning of the same day when the Military helped by the Police suddenly stopped all traffic in certain streets without any public notice on the plea of rehearsing the Duke's procession. As it was office hours, quite a large number of people and carriages including a few High Court Judges were held up. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Sadasiva Iyer whose car was thus stopped got down from his car and expressed surprise that traffic was being held up without any public notice. He enquired of the European Sergeant who was standing in front about the source from which the order emanated. The Sergeant behaved insolently and replied with an exasperating hauteur that it was his order and that he will stop the questioner physically, and on being pointed out by a bystander that he was addressing a High Court Judge, replied: "I dont care who the d....." By this time the Chief Justice came along the same route to the spot and was accorded a right royal military salute by the same Sergeant. His Lordship too was in wrath on being stopped but some European Police officer drew in and whispered explanations.

Inauguration of the Madras Legislative Council.

On January 12th. at 10-30 A.M. the Duke performed the inauguration ceremony of the new Reformed Legislative Council. A heavy downpour of rain and a stormy weather prevented a procession being carried and all the street decorations previously set up were destroyed. At 10-30 A.M. the Governor Lord Willingdon and staff entered the hall of the Council Chamber where all the members and visitors had already congregated and took his seat on the dais. At 10-40 A.M. H. R. H. the Duke and Staff entered the Hall in procession while His Excellency and the Councillors rose from their seats and bowed. H. R. H. bowed in acknowledgment and took his seat on the dais supported on his right by the Governor and on his left by the President of the Council, Sir P. Rajagopalachari.

His Excellency Lord Willingdon then rose and welcomed His Royal Highness in a short speech. His Highness in reply said in the course of his speech :—

“No place in India could more appropriately have been selected for entering upon the important duty with which His Majesty has entrusted me. It was here that the connection between India and the British Empire was first definitely established. It was in Fort St. George that Lord Clive began the career during which, aided largely by the courage and tenacity of the Madras troops, he secured a footing for the British power. It was here nearly a hundred years ago that Sir Thomas Munro, as the Governor of the Presidency, first defined in a despatch to the Court of Directors the true policy and the only vindication of the British connection, that the people of India should be taught and fitted to govern themselves.

“At last that policy is ripening into fruition. In this historic Presidency it will be the task of Your Excellency and your officers, of you, the members of the Legislative Council, and of the Ministers who will be drawn from among you, to cherish its growth and to hand it on to your successors a stage further towards perfect maturity. In that task I have come to wish you God-speed on behalf of our Sovereign and the Sister Nations of our Empire.

“In India, as elsewhere, political development is only a vehicle for human life and human progress. Its function is to provide a nation with the means for increasing the happiness of the people. The form has an importance of its own, but the spirit is vital for liberty, and unless human brotherhood follows in its steps it may easily become a greater tyranny. With those, therefore, who would share in the building up of your new constitution, the thought of the people's happiness must ever be paramount, and I can imagine how at this epoch in your history your minds are turning towards that high ideal.

The Underlying Principle

“The pursuit of it demands of you many qualities,—patience, insight, sympathy and the like—but if I were to try to enumerate them I should conclude in the well-known words that the greatest of these is charity. I mean not only

courtesy between political opponents and tolerance of antagonistic views, though those virtues will be needed to sweeten your labours,—I am thinking rather of that wider toleration which blunts the sharpness of conflicting interests.

"It is this form of charity which must surely be the underlying principle and the aim of your political growth. India has suffered in the past from the clash of religions. She has suffered from hard distinctions between social orders. These mean disunion, and disunion is weakness. They mean constraint, and constraint is unhappiness. To mitigate these in the future will be your statesmanship.

"I cannot pretend to speak to you on the local topics which will immediately engage the attention of your Council and your Ministers. I am not sufficiently familiar with them. But as one who for many years has watched the unfolding of political freedom in other lands, and still more as a true friend of India, I may venture to offer to you and to the other Councils which I shall meet elsewhere a few words of general application to the great work which lies before you.

"Let the first of these be the plea which I have just put before you. It is a plea that you should sink differences and magnify points of concord. Thus united, use your new political machinery to raise the depressed and to lower the walls between creeds and castes and hostile interests. The task will be far from easy, but I am confident that you will not shrink from it.

"I now declare the new Legislative Council for the Madras Presidency established under the Government of India Act 1919 to be duly open, and I join with Your Excellency and with all who love India in a heart-felt prayer for the Almighty's guidance in its labours."

On the conclusion of the Duke's speech the President of the Council, Sir P. Rajagopalachari, tendered the grateful homage of the council to His Majesty through his representative the Duke. The meeting then dissolved. The Duke's Madras visit lasted exactly a week. He left Madras on the 16th January for a sporting tour in Central India.

The Duke in Calcutta.

After spending about a fortnight in Central India His Royal Highness and staff arrived at Calcutta on Jan. 28th. 1921. The Royal train reached Howrah Station at noon and His Highness was received by H. E. the Governor and staff and the high officials. After the usual presentations the Duke then drove in State to the Dalhousie Square where the City Fathers awaited him to present an address of welcome which was read by the Chairman of the Municipal Corporation of Calcutta. In reply His Royal Highness remarked: "I yield to no man in affection for the beautiful City of Bombay where I spent several years of my life and I must be very guarded in what I say (about Calcutta). But there is no over-looking the vast extent, the immense population, the amazing growth and the capable administration of this huge trade emporium, and when I see the ships lying in the Hooghly, I feel: Here in Calcutta is the port of London, and here in Asia is the London of the East!"

The ceremony over, the Duke then drove in State to Government House where a grand reception was held by the Governor and all the official dignitaries, commercial magnates and the Indian aristocracy. The next few days were spent in attending military and social receptions. On January 29th. he unveiled the King Edward Memorial. The ceremony was carried out in Royal state. Next day, Sunday Jan. 30th, a special Church Service was held at St Paul's Cathedral in connection with the inauguration of the Bengal Council. On February 1st. the Duke inaugurated the new Reformed Bengal Legislative Council in the Calcutta Town Hall. This was a brilliant State function as in Madras.

H. R. H. The Duke spoke as follows :—

Your Excellency, and Gentlemen of the Bengal Legislative Council,—To-day it is my pleasing task to open the second of that series of new legislatures which by command of His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor I have come to India to inaugurate. The King-Emperor has commissioned me to bring

you his cordial good wishes on an occasion which Your Excellency justly terms historic. You all know His Imperial Majesty's regard for this proud city of Calcutta, for the people of Bengal, and I can assure you of the deep interest with which he watches the far-reaching changes beginning with the ceremony of to-day.

Upon the pleasure which it gives me personally to perform this duty I need not dwell, nor upon my gratification at the warmth of your welcome. Though more directly acquainted during my past sojourn in India with a Presidency with which you maintain a healthy and generous rivalry, I should be the last to deny the eminence of Bengal among the provinces of the Indian Empire or the unique connexion of Calcutta with the administrative developments which have marked the long and momentous association between the United Kingdom and this country.

It is that eminence and this connexion which will direct upon the deliberations of your Council the anxious gaze of all who, like myself, cherish great expectations of the era which is dawning upon the Indian Empire ;—anxious, I say, because the task imposed on you and the sister legislatures which are coming simultaneously into being is a task of no ordinary complexion. You have to take at once a heavy and responsible share in providing the laws and finance for a skilled and highly technical administration. In one area by no means small or unimportant of the administrative field your responsibility will be closer. For within it the policy and conduct of the actual executive will repose on the shoulders of Ministers drawn from your ranks, and it will be for you to advise, support and, where necessary, criticise and control them in their course.

Remember the People.

But while thus engaged on the one hand, on the other you will ever have to bear in mind the people in whose name you act, and to remember that the progress of the country must remain imperfect so long as the great majority of them,—so long, indeed, as any substantial section of them—are unable to follow your work with intelligence. The training and expansion of the electorate will be just as much your duty as the conduct and direction of the administration. All these varied parts you will have to play with a sobriety of

language, a sanity of judgment, an impartiality of decision, a freedom from passion and prejudice, which will not only satisfy the critics of the new constitution, but will justify a jury of the British Parliament ten years hence in enlarging the scope of your administrative activities.

In this labyrinth of cares and labours, what clue can I suggest for your guidance? To my mind, as I am sure to yours, there is only one,—that your sole thought should always be the betterment of your countrymen and not of any class or section, but of all. The test by which political assemblies are judged all the world over is not ingenuity of dialectic or mere political craftsmanship, but the good government of the people and the progress of the country.

Three Vast Problems.

In that respect your programme is heavy indeed. There are at least three vast problems with which you will at once come to grips: they are within the sphere of Ministers and are of special prominence in Bengal. One is the intense popular demand for education and the provision in response thereto of a type of education which will fit the rising generation to be good citizens. The second, in reality complementary to the first, is the creation of industrial opportunities and an industrial spirit to relieve the tremendous pressure on the land and the economic evils which must result. The third is a higher standard of health and vitality, particularly among the inhabitants of your wide malarial tracts.

In the field of material progress there could be few problems of more surpassing difficulty than these three. There could also be few more costly; and this consideration is a special anxiety to you in Bengal, where, I understand, the public revenues are circumscribed and somewhat inelastic. The solution of these questions and their finance will call for equally heroic treatment.

Gentlemen of the Legislative Council,—You will not expect me to attempt a survey of your future labours. They will range from such matters as I have mentioned to those infinitely delicate questions of social emancipation in which India will look to Bengal, as so often in the past, to take the lead. Believe me, the magnitude of your task is realised, and its difficulties are appreciated by those of us who will be watching you with

friendly and sympathetic eyes during the years which lie ahead. We hope for your success. We are cheered by auguries of it to-day. There could be no finer augury than the striking address which has just been delivered by His Excellency, Lord Ronaldshay, your sympathetic and stout-hearted Governor. For to him, it is certain, that you will always be able to turn for help and advice, and, I am sure, to the officers who serve under him and to his and their successors.

The Happiest Augury of all.

But the happiest augury of all is in yourselves. In the political progress of India, the Bengali race has ever been in the van; its leaders, endowed with oratory and brilliance of intellect, have inspired the cause of reform; in the sphere of literature, philosophy, science and art, its gifts have been strikingly displayed. In the realms of jurisprudence and public life its sons have been conspicuous figures.

Associated in Council with the leaders of Bengal will be the European fellow-citizens, official and non-official, to whose peculiar genius the India of to-day owes both its system of orderly administration and its great commercial and industrial connexions with the world at large. In this combination I see grounds for the highest expectations. Working side by side, mindful of each other's interests and ideals, ever bending their minds to cordial co-operation, the leaders of the Bengali and the British communities will, I earnestly pray, so serve this great province that it will ere long attain a position of fresh lustre, happiness, and prosperity in the Confederation of the British Empire.

The Boycott Demonstration

On the day of the Duke's arrival at Calcutta a complete *hartal* was observed in the Indian section of the city. A vigorous campaign for the purpose of boycotting the visit had been carried on for several days previous. All shops and markets were closed and vehicular traffic of every description was suspended. Practically every Indian business house was closed. At the entrance of the roads leading to the Duke's route, non-co-operators were seen persuading the small crowds of Indians

that had gathered to disperse and not to go near the route. At some places the crowd burst out with *Mahatma Gandhi ki Jai* at the top of their voice, instead of cheering the Dukal party. Howrah Station and its approaches, the Dalhousie Square and its approaches, and some parts of the route were packed by men selected by the officials from the various offices and everywhere the European element predominated. To avoid any breach of the peace M. Gandhi, who was then sojourning in Calcutta on the Congress programme, personally drove through the city and requested the people, with that characteristic magnetism which he commands, to disperse. Picketers who had previously posted themselves at the principal thoroughfares were persuaded by him to disperse, and every sort of restraint was removed to allow freedom to the people to welcome the Duke if they liked. In spite of this, however, the voluntary *hartal* was complete in the Indian section of the city.

On the day of the inauguration of the Reformed Bengal Legislative Council, the leaders of the non-co-operation movement arranged a grand demonstration as a counter-movement. Meetings were held all over the city—in eight different places—to express disappointment at the Reforms. The whole Indian population of the city was distributed at the eight meetings and the same resolution was put and carried at each meeting. All the leading supporters of the non-co-operation movement present in town took part in the proceedings. Messrs Gandhi, Mohammed Ali and Pandit Motilal Nehru, who had especially come over to Calcutta in connection of a Committee meeting of the All India Congress Committee, were present at all the meetings and addressed the people on the Congress creed and the need of boycott.

The following resolution was passed :—

“The citizens of Calcutta in this meeting assemble resolved that in the circumstances in which the Bengal Legislative Council has been brought into existence, it does not represent the country and this meeting calls upon those members who have allowed themselves to be elected to resign their seats immediately.”

The Duke at Delhi

FEBRUARY 7TH, 1921

His Royal Highness left Calcutta on the night of Feb. 3rd, 1921 and reached Patna next day morning where he halted for less than an hour and was interviewed by Lord Sinha. Agra was reached in the early morning of the 5th. February, where he spent two days in visiting the historic monuments of the Moghul Emperors, and Delhi on the 7th. There was a splendid State reception at Delhi attended by the Viceroy, high civil and military officers and by the Indian Princes with their suite who had specially congregated to Delhi to attend the Imperial functions of the next few days. Shortly after his arrival, His Royal Highness was presented with an Address of Welcome by the Municipality and then the Royal procession moved off in state to the Viceregal lodge where a Royal reception was held.

Inauguration of the Chamber of Princes

The first public function performed by the Duke at Delhi was the inauguration of the Chamber of Princes next day, the 8th of February 1921, at 3-30 P.M. in a pavilion just in front of the celebrated Diwan-i-Am, where the Great Moghuls used to hold their courts. Some 120 Ruling Princes resplendant in their gorgeous state dress and their large retinues of Sardars and Darbaris, and also all the high civil and military officers attended. The proceedings commenced with the reading of the Royal Proclamation (see next page) by Sir John Wood, the Political Secretary to the Viceroy, after which His Excellency delivered a lengthy address chiefly concerning the history of the Chamber which was at first proposed to be named "The Narendra Mahamandal," but this name had to be dropped owing to the objection of some of the Mabomedan Princes. His Excellency then invited His Royal Highness to perform the inauguration ceremony.¹ The Duke then rose amidst cheers and delivered his address (see p. 99).



The Royal Message

George the Fifth, by the grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India. To my Viceroy and Governor General and to the Princes and Rulers of the Indian States, greeting:—

In my Royal Proclamation of December, 1919, I gave earnest of my affectionate care and regard for the Ruling Princes and Chiefs of the Indian States by signifying my assent to the establishment of a Chamber of Princes. During the year that has since passed, my Viceroy and many of the Princes themselves have been engaged in framing for my approval a constitution for the Chamber and the rules and regulations necessary to ensure the smooth and efficient performance of its important functions.

This work is now complete, and it remains for me to take the final steps to bring the Chamber into being in the confident hope that the united counsels of the Princes and Rulers assembled in formal conclave will be fruitful of lasting good, both to themselves and to their subjects, and by advancing the interests that are common to their territories and to British India will benefit my Empire as a whole. It is in this hope that I have charged my Revered and Beloved Uncle, His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught and Strathearn, to perform on my behalf the ceremony of the inauguration of the Chamber of Princes.

It is my firm belief that a future full of great and beneficent activities lies before the Chamber thus established. To the Princes long versed in the arts of government and statesmanship it will open still wider fields of Imperial service. It will afford them opportunities, of which I am convinced they will be prompt to avail themselves, of comparing experience, interchanging ideas, and framing mature and balanced conclusions on matters of common interest. Nor will less advantage accrue to my Viceroy and the officers serving under him, to whom the prudent counsels and considered advice of the Chamber cannot fail to be of the greatest assistance.

The problems of the future must be faced in a spirit of co-operation and mutual trust. It is in this spirit that I summon the Princes of India to a larger share in my Councils. I do so in full reliance upon their devotion to my Throne and Person, proved as it has been both in long years of peace and in the terrible ordeal of the great war, and in the confident anticipation that by this means the bonds of mutual understanding will be strengthened and the growing identity of interest between the Indian States and the rest of my Empire will be fostered and developed.

In my former Proclamation, I repeated the assurance given on many occasions by my Royal predecessors and myself of my determination ever to maintain unimpaired the privileges, rights, and dignities of the Princes of India. The Princes may rest assured that this pledge remains inviolate and inviolable. I now authorise my Viceroy to publish the terms of the constitution of the new Chamber. My Viceroy will take its counsel freely in matters relating to the territories of the Indian States generally, and in matters that affect those territories jointly with British India or with the rest of my Empire. It will have no concern with the internal affairs of individual States or their rulers, or with the relations of individual States to my Government, while the existing rights of the States and their freedom of action will be in no way prejudiced or impaired. It is my earnest hope that the Princes of India will take a regular part in the deliberations of the Chamber, but attendance will be a matter of choice, not of constraint. There will be no obligation upon any member to record his opinion, by vote or otherwise, upon any question that may come under discussion, and it is further my desire that, at the discretion of my Viceroy, an opportunity shall be given to any Prince who has not taken part in the deliberations of the Chamber to record his views on any question that the Chamber has had under its consideration.

I pray that the blessing of Divine Providence may rest upon the labours of the Chamber, that its deliberations may be inspired by true wisdom and moderation, and that it may seek and find its best reward in promoting the general weal and in increasing the strength and unity of the mighty Empire over which I have been called upon to rule,

His Royal Highness said : —

Your Excellency, Your Highnesses,—It is by the Command of His Imperial Majesty, the King Emperor, that I meet you to-day. My duty is two fold,—to convey to Your Highnesses the personal greetings of His Majesty, and on his behalf to inaugurate the Chamber of Princes. In His Royal Proclamation the King-Emperor has signified his approval of this new institution and his hopes for its future. Its origin and meaning have just been explained by the Viceroy. I have only one word to add to what His Excellency has said on this subject. An assembly so unique and so essentially Indian in character should surely not be known only by an English designation. I trust that among the earliest tasks to which Your Highnesses will address yourselves in the Chamber will be that of choosing an appropriate vernacular title which you can unite in recommending to His Majesty the King. Your Highnesses, of the many ceremonies that it has fallen to my lot to perform none has given me more pleasure than the inauguration of the Chamber of Princes. Among the Princes here assembled are many with whom I can claim personal friendship of long standing. I rejoice at the opportunity of renewing their acquaintance and of reviving old bonds of fellowship and regard. No pleasure is so keen as that which we share with old friends. I have the happiness of knowing that my own pleasure in to-day's proceedings finds a counterpart in Your Highnesses' own feelings and that the function in which it is my privilege to join will stand for all time as a shining landmark in the annals of the Indian States.

The British Empire Mightier than the Mughal

We are assembled to-day in the ancient capital of India. This noble hall in which we meet, where the Mughal Emperor surrounded by the splendour of his magnificent court used to hear the petitions of his people, has been the scene of many imposing ceremonies. It is a fitting stage for the ceremony of to-day, but I stand here at the bidding of an Emperor, mightier even than the Mughal Emperor, whose policy is framed with a breadth of vision unknown to the rulers of past ages, whose acts are inspired, as he himself has declared, by the spirit of trust and sympathy, whose desire it is that

every breath of suspicion or misunderstanding should be dissipated and who now invites Your Highnesses in the fullness of his confidence to take a larger share in the political development of your motherland. The Princes of India have shown for many years past and more particularly during the great war their devotion to the Crown and their readiness to make any sacrifice for the safety and welfare of the Empire. When most was needed most was given. His Imperial Majesty has watched with feelings of deep pride and gratitude the part taken by Your Highnesses in the war, the devotion of those who gave personal service in the field, the patriotic zeal of those who sent their troops to the front and furnished recruits for the Indian Army, the lavish generosity of those who helped with money and material for all these services. His Majesty has asked me to give a special message of thanks. Loyalty is a tradition with the Indian States. His Majesty knows well that in good times or evil he can always count upon the fidelity and unswerving support of the Indian Princes, but with the memories of the past six years ever present in his mind, he cannot forbear on this great occasion from making a public acknowledgment of your splendid record of achievement during the greatest struggle in the history of mankind. The help that you gave at the outbreak of the war, when the tale of your deeds and offerings sent a thrill of emotion throughout the British Empire and your strenuous efforts in the dark days of 1918, when the fate of civilisation seemed to hang in the balance can only be forgotten with the Empire itself. I am confident that the same spirit of loyalty and co-operation that Your Highnesses displayed during the war will continue to animate you in the years to come. It is in this spirit, as His Majesty has said, that the problems of the future must be faced. It is in this spirit, I do not doubt, that you will approach the question that will form the subject of your deliberations in the Chamber. Some of the problems that will arise may make demands on your patience and public spirit, some may depend for their solution upon a fair interpretation of the letter of treaties and engagements between the States and the British Government; if so, I feel sure that a way will be found to reconcile any doubts or difference that may present themselves. The sanctity of the treaties is a cardinal article of imperial

policy. It was affirmed by my beloved mother, the great Queen Victoria, in her famous Proclamation of 1858. It was re-affirmed by King Edward VII and his present Majesty King George V has once more announced in His Proclamation his determination ever to maintain unimpaired the privileges, rights and dignities of the Princes. Nothing is wanting to mark the solemnity of this time-honoured engagement and no words of mine are needed to reassure Your Highnesses that the British Government will stand faithfully by its promises. I would only ask you, when you come to discuss any difficult question of practice in your relations with the Government of India or of the interpretation of your treaties, to remember that these pledges will be ever present to the minds of the officers of the British Crown. A generous spirit on your part will find its response in equal generosity on the part of the Government of India. You may rest assured that the Government and its officers will recognise freely the internal sovereignty to which your various treaties and engagements entitle you. We look to the Princes of India on their part to continue to administer their states with justice and enlightenment. I am confident that we shall not look in vain. Your Highnesses, it is a sincere pleasure to me to congratulate you on the place that as a body you have achieved yourselves in recent years in the wider Councils of the Empire. You have been represented in the Imperial War Cabinet, in the Imperial Conference. One of your members took part in the Peace Conference of 1919 and his signature is appended to the Treaty of Versailles. More recently, another of your order attended the League of Nations Assembly at Geneva.

The March of Time.

Your Highnesses, I have witnessed many changes in my life-time. Much of the old order as I knew it in my youth has passed away for ever for all classes. The past 50 years have been an era of change and the Princes of the great Indian States furnish no exception to the general rule. Their conditions of life have been profoundly modified. They have emerged from the seclusion that so long hoded them round, and they aspire and rightly aspire to play a part in the wider theatre of modern life. I am sure that the part will be a worthy one. The British Government has not been slow to

recognise the justice of your aspirations, and I rejoice to think that by my share in to-day's ceremony, I am doing something to promote your wishes and to provide a larger sphere for your public-spirited activities. Increased opportunities, as I need not remind Your Highnesses, bring in their train increased responsibility. I know well that Your Highnesses will appreciate the trust reposed in you by His Imperial Majesty and his Government and will worthily respond both as pillars of the Empire and as rulers striving ever for the greater happiness and prosperity of your own subjects. I, now, on behalf of the King Emperor, declare the Chamber of Princes to be duly constituted and pray that under Divine Providence its proceedings may be so guided and directed as to strengthen the bonds of union between the Princes and the Empire and to promote the well-being of this great land of India and enhance her good name among the nations of the world.

Maharajah of Gwalior's Speech

The Maharajah of Gwalior in moving a resolution of thanks said ;—

Your Excellency, Your Royal Highness :—On behalf of the Princes of India assembled on this memorable occasion I beg to move the following resolution :—

This representative gathering of the Princes resolves to convey to His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of India their respectful greetings, assurance of their abiding loyalty to his Throne so deeply rooted in their affections and of their steadfast devotion to his august person, also to voice their genuine gratification at the Royal Proclamation to the Chamber of Princes. Next, they resolve to affirm that their feeling of intense satisfaction is only equalled by their consciousness of the honour done them in the deputation of Field Marshall His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught to inaugurate this Chamber,—a deputation which vividly recalls the blessed memory of Queen Victoria the Good, whose Proclamation of 1858 is the crystallised expression of Her Royal heart's great love for India. This inauguration by His Royal Highness is all the more gratifying owing to his earlier association with this country and his possession, as a Member of the Imperial House of Windsor, of an innate capacity

to appreciate the hereditary Rulers' point of view. Further, they resolve to place on record their profound appreciation of the genuine good-will, consummate statesmanship and deep insight, which prompted His Excellency the Viceroy Lord Chelmsford, the gifted Prime Minister the Right Hon'ble David Lloyd George, that fearless and true friend of India, His Imperial Majesty's Secretary of State the Right Hon'ble Edwin Montagu, and the eminent statesmen who form His Imperial Majesty's Government, to bring to a happy issue the scheme of the Chamber of Princes.

I deem it a great privilege that it has fallen to my lot to move the resolution which I have just read. It is quite unnecessary for me in moving it to dilate upon the event to which it refers or the happy circumstances which have attended its occurrence, for indeed the terms of the resolution, drawn up by our common consent, amply testify to the feelings occasioned by the formation of the Princes' Chamber. Your Royal Highness, we cannot but admire the devotion to duty which inspired your willing compliance with the command of our beloved Emperor to visit India and perform this ceremony regardless of considerations of distance, and may we add, of age. For this ready response to the occasion, I am sure we are very grateful to Your Highness and we flatter ourselves by thinking that you have found the performance of to-day's ceremony agreeable and in accord with your Royal predilections.

Respecting Your Excellency, may I venture to state that your name will always be associated in history with one of the most critical stages in the evolution of India. Your Viceroyalty has witnessed remarkable happenings. Indeed we are witnesses to the re-birth of the world. Accepted notions and proven theories seem all to be undergoing forced revision. May it please Merciful Providence that the new order which is supplementing the old may bring a cycle of peace and goodwill for humanity. The world conditions have been, as was inevitable, more or less reflected in India so that Your Excellency has had to face problems calculated to strain nerves of steel and tax the most resourceful mind. During that period of stress and anxiety Your Excellency was at pains unflinchingly to do what duty appeared inexorably to dictate. What

a man can do better than be true to himself, that is, to his conception or duty to the King of Kings? It is, in the spirit of that conception that Your Excellency doubtless endeavoured to serve this country. Finally, the much desired Chamber has been brought into being and it only remains for me fervently to pray that its sossions may help to produce better mutual understanding and promote hearty and effective co-operation between the British Government and the Princes of India.

Maharajah of Bikaner's Speech

The Maharajah of Bikaner in seconding the resolution moved by the Maharajah of Gwalior said :—

Your Excellency, Your Royal Highness :—I deem it an honour on this historic occasion to have been commissioned by my brother Princes to second the resolution just moved by my esteemed friend His Highness the Maharajah Scindia. The unflinching loyalty and devoted attachment with which the Princes of India are inspired towards the Throne and person of His Imperial Majesty the King Emperor have stood the test of time through every period of stress and storm during a hundred years and more. The Imperial Crown is the one centripetal force in the Empire which attracts and welds together all its component parts, an undisputed fact which accounts for the remarkable unity and cohesion during the dark days of the war of the different countries forming the British Commonwealth of Nations, and to no one does the Imperial Crown appeal as a greater binding and inspiring force than to us, the Princes of India. The gracious interest which His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor together with Her Imperial Majesty the Queen Empress has at all times been pleased to evince in all that pertains to the welfare of the Princes and States of India, his ever-to-be remembered appeal for greater sympathy for India and the Indians and the watchword of hope which he gave to us all in 1912, have been sources of the liveliest gratification to us and have helped to stimulate and sustain us all in periods of difficulty and anxiety, whilst the solicitude displayed in our behalf by the establishment of the Chamber of Princes and the reiteration in the Royal Proclamation of the gracious assurances regarding the inviolability of previous imperial pledges safeguarding our

privileges, rights and dignities, will find a most loyal and grateful echo in the Indian States throughout the length and breadth of this country, and it is our devout prayer that his Imperial Majesty may long be spared to guide the destinies of India and other parts of the Empire to further happiness and prosperity and afford to all concerned an inspiring example of the same devotion to duty and regard for the common weal which has so largely contributed to knit the Empire into still closer bonds of loyal and patriotic unity. We not only deem it a high honour but we regard it as a matter of happy omen that the ceremony of inaugurating the Chamber of Princes to day should have been entrusted by His Imperial Majesty to such an illustrious and popular member of the Imperial House of Windsor as Your Royal Highness whose name is held in the highest affection and esteem by the Princes and people of India. I feel that I am voicing the sentiments of my brother Princes when I give expression to our great disappointment that the other calls upon Your Royal Highness' time have not left you sufficient leisure to honour any of our states by a visit on this occasion, but we look forward with eager anticipations to welcoming His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to several of our States next cold weather when we sincerely hope that His Royal Highness will have been restored to his usual health and vigour after his recent arduous exertions in the course of his triumphant Imperial mission. I beg also to associate myself with His Highness the Maharajah Scindia in expressing our gratitude to Your Excellency and to Mr. Montagu and to the Prime Minister and His Imperial Majesty's Government. The solidarity and identity of interests between the British Government and the Princes are indeed very real, and I would in conclusion give expression to our profound conviction that the Chamber of Princes will not only prove of great benefit to us, but that it will also prove to be a true Imperial asset, and we rejoice to feel that we shall have in Your Excellency's successor a sagacious statesman like Lord Reading, who we earnestly trust will develop still further the sympathetic policy of the British Government towards the Princes and States, whereby we may be enabled to take an ever increasing share in upholding the honour and glory of our beloved Emperor and of his mighty Empire.

Maharajah of Alwar's Speech.

The Maharajah of Alwar in supporting Maharajah Scindia's resolution in the Chamber of Princes welcomed the Duke as a Royal messenger of good-will and peace at a time when dark clouds were hovering over the Indian horizon, just as they appeared in other parts of the world. The Maharajah expressed disappointment at the postponement of the Prince of Wales' visit, but declared that the Prince when he would come next winter would receive a greater and warmer reception in India than he was accorded in other parts of the Empire.

The Maharajah of Patiala, who followed, also spoke in the same strain, after which the function ended, the assembly breaking up in the same order as before.

Inauguration of the Council of State and The Legislative Assembly

DELHI, FEBRUARY 9TH, 1921

Next day Feb. 9th, H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught, commanded by H. M. the King and armed with special commission from His Majesty, inaugurated the two Imperial Legislatures, viz. the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly. The quadrangle immediately opposite the Assembly Chamber was astir from early morning and presented a scene of great animation and lively interest. The decorations were profuse with flags and buntings, and the soldiers' accoutrements glistening in the morning sun gave a splendid touch to the whole scene. The Council of State and the Legislative Assembly sat in joint Session and the Members were all in their places an hour before the time for the ceremony to begin. A large number of spectators were seated on both sides of the gangway leading to the Council Chamber, and the Secretariat staff crowded in every available space in the huge building.

H. R. H. and his cortege left the Viceregal Lodge at 10 o'clock under a Royal salute, and was received by the Members of the Executive Council and the Presidents of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly at the pavilion.

Their Excellencies the Viceroy and Lady Chelmsford left the Viceregal Lodge a little after 10 o'clock, and their departure was announced by a salute. On the arrival of the Viceroy at the pavilion the Union Jack was unfurled and the Band played the National Anthem. The Duke and the Viceroy then proceeded to the Council Chamber in procession, headed by the Presidents of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly, Members of the Governor-General's Executive Council and the Staffs of His Royal Highness and of His Excellency.

The scene inside the Hall was one of great though subdued excitement. The galleries were packed with Ruling Princes and Chiefs, the principal civil and military officers and a few chosen leading non-officials. H. E. Lady Chelmsford was in the Viceregal Gallery. On the floor of the House were seated Members of the Council of State and the Assembly, and immediately below the dais seats were provided for the two Presidents. As soon as the Duke and the Viceroy entered the hall, the entire audience stood up. The Duke took his seat on the Throne, supported by the Viceroy on his right.

His Royal Highness and the Viceroy stood for a moment before their thrones and bowed to the two Presidents and to the assemblage. His Excellency the Viceroy then gave the word: "Pray be seated", when all resumed their seats, and the Viceroy then immediately rose again to open the proceedings. In a long rigmarole speech full of dry details which so befits the intellectual mediocrity of Lord Chelmsford, he delineated the various stages of the Reforms and what in his view appeared to be the constitutional development in the Government of India. He denied that there was any whittling down of the Reforms, probably with a view to calming the strong suspicion of the people about bureaucratic intrigues headed by him against the grant of any substantial power to Indians, and said with emphasis that the Reforms was a gift 'worthy of Britain to give and India to take,—an expression which a certain section of the House received with a significant smile, while others hung their head. His Excellency referred to the policy of the British in India from the time of Lord Macaulay who introduced the use of English in India, as England could only convey to India the ideas of the West in her own tongue. Familiarity with English literature, he

said, has done more than any other cause to promote political development in India. As the poet said : "they must be free who speak the tongue that Shakespeare spake". In England, he said, self-government was not the result of any sudden revolution or catastrophic change. It was built up gradually and the British Government in India were proceeding in a similar manner in introducing political self-government here.

After the Viceroy His Royal Highness the Duke rose to speak and said :—

His Royal Highness' Speech

Your Excellency and Gentlemen of the Indian Legislatures--I am the bearer of a message from His Majesty the King-Emperor. It is this :

The King's Message

"Little more than a year has elapsed since I gave my assent to the Act which set up a constitution for British India. The intervening time has been fully occupied in perfecting the necessary machinery, and you are now at the opening of the first session of the Legislatures which the Act established. On this auspicious occasion I desire to convey to you and to the Members of the various Provincial Councils my congratulation and my earnest good wishes for success in your labours and theirs. For years, it may be for generations, patriotic and loyal Indians have dreamed of Swaraj for their Motherland, an opportunity for progress to the liberty which in other Dominions enjoy. On you, the first representatives of the people in the new Councils, there rests a very special responsibility, for on you it lies by the conduct of your business and the justice of your judgment to convince the world of the wisdom of this great constitutional change. But on you it also lies to remember the many millions of your fellow-countrymen, who are not yet qualified for a share in political life, to work for their upliftment and to cherish their interests as your own. I shall watch your work with an unflinching sympathy and with resolute faith in your determination to do your duty to India and the Empire."

As you know, it has been the intention of His Majesty to send the Prince of Wales, the Heir to the Throne, with his greeting and his authority to open the Chambers of the new Indian Legislature. Events did not permit of his coming, and I received His Majesty's commands to perform these functions on his behalf. In me the King selected the Royal House and the only surviving son of Queen Victoria, whose love and care for India will ever live in its people's memory. I have myself a deep affection for India, having served it for years and made many friends among its Princes and leaders. It is thus with no common pleasure that I am here to receive you on this memorable occasion. Throughout the centuries Delhi has witnessed the pomp and ceremony of many historic assemblages. Two of these, at least, are remembered by most of you. Twenty years ago I took part in that brilliant course which celebrated the accession of my late brother King Edward VII. Nine years later, amid circumstances of unforgettable splendour, King George V and His Queen received in person the homage of the Princes and peoples of India.

Our ceremony to day may lack the colour and romance of the gatherings I have mentioned, though it does not yield to them in the sincerity of its loyalty. But it strikes a new and different note. It marks the awakening of a great Nation to the power of its Nationhood. In the annals of the world there is not, so far as I know, an exact parallel for the constitutional change which this function initiates. There is certainly no parallel for the method of that change. Political freedom has often been won by revolution, by tumult, by civil war, at the price of peace and public safety. How rarely has it been the free gift of one people to another in response to a growing wish for greater liberty and to the growing evidence of fitness for its enjoyment. Such, however, is the position of India to-day, and I congratulate most warmly those of you, old in the service of your Motherland, who have striven through good report and ill for the first instalment of that gift and to prove India worthy of it. I trust that you and those who take up your mantles after you will move faithfully and steadily fast along the road which is opened to-day.

The Basis of British Govt. in India

When India became a dependency of the British Crown, she passed under British guardianship which has laboured with glorious results to protect India from the consequences of her own history at home and from the complications of international pressure abroad. Autocratic, however, as was the Government then inaugurated, it was based on the principles laid down by Her late Majesty Queen Victoria in that famous Proclamation of 1858, of which the key-note is contained in the following passage: "In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward". And though there have been occasions on which the tranquility of this great country has been endangered by disturbances and disorders which have necessitated the use of military force, speaking on behalf of His Majesty and with the assent of his Government, I repudiate in the most emphatic manner the idea that the administration of India has been or ever can be based on principles of force or terrorism. All Governments are liable to be confronted with situations which can be dealt with only by measures outside the ordinary way, but the employment of such measures is subject to clear and definite limitations, and His Majesty's Government have always insisted, and will always insist, on the observance of these limitations as jealously in the case of India as in that of England herself. As His Excellency the Viceroy has observed, the principle of autocracy has all been abandoned. Its retention would have been incompatible with that contentment which had been declared by Her late Majesty Queen Victoria to be the aim of British rule, and would have been inconsistent with the legitimate demands and aspirations of the Indian people and the stage of political development which they have attained. Henceforward, in an ever-increasing degree, India will have to bear her own burdens. They are not light. The times which have seen the conception and birth of the new Constitution are full of trouble.

The Effect of the War.

The war which ended two years ago has done more than alter the boundaries of Nations. The confusion which it

brought in its train will abate in time, but the world has not passed unchanged through the fire. New aspirations have awakened. New problems have been created and old ones invested with stinging urgency. India has escaped the worst ravages of the war and its sequels, and is thus in some respects better fitted than many other countries to confront the future. Her material resources are unimpaired. Her financial system is sound, and her industries are ready for rapid expansion, but she cannot hope to escape altogether the consequences of the world-wide struggle. The countries of the earth are linked together as never before. A contagious ferment of scepticism and unrest is seething everywhere in the minds of men, and its workings are plainly visible in India. She has other problems peculiarly her own. Inexperience in political methods will be irksome at times. The electorates will have to be taught their powers and responsibilities, and difficulties which are negligible in smaller and more homogeneous countries will arise in handling questions of religion and race and custom.

Gentlemen of the Indian Legislatures, such are the labours which await you. They will have to be carried on under the eyes of a watching world interested, but not uncritical, of sister nations who welcome you into their partnership in the British Empire, of that wider Council of Nations, which look to India as the future guide of the unknown forces of Asia. Your individual responsibility is great. You may perhaps be apprehensive that the arena for practical issues of immediate moment will be rather the Provincial Councils than the Central Legislature. You may feel that the Ministers in the Provinces will be in closer touch with the popular causes and have larger opportunities of public service, but this is true only in a very limited sense. It is the clear intention of the Act of 1919 that the policy and decisions of the Government of India should be influenced to an extent incomparably greater than they have been in the past by the views of the Indian Legislature, and the Government will give the fullest possible effect, consistent with their own responsibilities to Parliament, to this principle of a new constitution. From now onwards your influence will extend to every sphere of the Central Government. It will be felt in every part of its administration. You are concerned not

with a Province, but with all British India, and statesmanship could not ask for a nobler field of exercise. Upon the manner in which your influence is exerted, upon the wisdom and foresight displayed in your deliberations, upon the spirit in which you approach your great task, will depend the progress of India towards the goal of complete Self-Government to ensure, so far as political machinery can ensure, that the Legislature is fitly equipped.

Functions of the Two Chambers.

For those lofty duties, two Chambers have been constituted. In the Council of State it has been the intention of Parliament to create a true Senate, a body of elder statesmen endowed with mature knowledge, experience of the world and the consequent sobriety of judgment. Its functions will be to exercise a revising, but not an over-riding influence for caution and moderation, and to review and adjust the acts of the larger Chamber. To the Assembly it will fall to voice more directly the needs of the people. Soldier and trader, owners of land and dwellers in cities, Hindu and Muhammadan, Sikh and Christian, all classes and communities will have in it their share of representation. Each class and each community can bring its own contribution, its own special knowledge to the Council's deliberations, and may I say in passing, that help will be expected from representatives of the British non-official community. They have done great service to the trade and industry of India in the past. Will they not now, with their special experience of representative institutions in their own land, lend their powerful aid in building up India's political life and practice? In a legislature thus composed, it is both inevitable and right that strong differences of opinion and aims should manifest themselves. Struggle is a condition of progress in the natural world. Politics is in fact the progress of the class of wide sympathies and interests striving for adjustment in the sphere of legislation and Government. But it is the great virtue of representative institutions that they tend to replace interest by reasoned discussion, compromise, toleration and the mutual respect for honourable opponents. The extent which a body of law-makers shows itself capable of controlling passion and prejudice is the measure of its capacity for enduring

success. For these reflections I make no apology. They must already have been present to your minds, but they constitute the strongest plea for what all friends of India most desire to see—a greater unity of purpose among her various communities. In all your deliberations, let there be a conscious striving for unity in essentials, that unity which has been lacking in India in the past, but may yet become, if steadfastly nurtured, her greatest strength.

Gentlemen of the Indian Legislature,—Hitherto, I have spoken of your duties. Let me close with a word of your privileges. On you, who have been elected first Members of the two Chambers, a signal honour has fallen. Your names will go down to history as those whom India chose to lead the van of her march towards constitutional liberty. I pray that success will attend you and that the result of your labours will be worthy of the trust that India has reposed in you."

Addressing the Viceroy the Duke then eulogised his work in India in connection with the Reforms, and said that it must be no small pride to a statesman, who had been directing the destinies of India during these difficult years, that he laid while still in office the foundations of that edifice which he helped to plan with infinite care in the face of much misunderstanding and with the full assurance of a nation's future gratitude. He then formally declared open the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly constituted under the Government of India Act, 1919. He concluded with the following peroration meant for the wider ear of India :—

The Shadow of Amritsar.

"Gentlemen, I have finished my part in to-day's official proceedings. May I claim your patience and forbearance while I say a few words of a personal nature? Since I landed I have felt around me bitterness and estrangement between those who have been and should be friends. The shadow of Amritsar has lengthened over the fair face of India. I know how deep is the concern felt by His Majesty the King Emperor at the terrible chapter of events in the Punjab. No one can deplore those events more intensely than I do myself. I have reached a time of life when I most desire to heal the

wounds and to reunite those who have been disunited in what must be, I feel, my last visit to the India I love so well. Here, in the new Capital, at the inauguration of the new Constitution, I am moved to make you a personal appeal, put in the simple words that come from my heart, not to be coldly and critically interpreted. My experience tells me that misunderstandings usually mean mistakes on either side. As an old friend of India, I appeal to you all, British and Indians, to bury along with the dead past the mistakes and misunderstandings of the past, to forgive where you have to forgive, and to join hands and to work together to realise the hopes that arise from to-day."

The Presidents of the two Houses of Legislature then thanked His Royal Highness.

Before declaring the proceedings closed, the Viceroy made a final appeal reiterating the words of the Duke : let us "bury along with the dead past the mistakes and misunderstandings of the past, to forgive where we have to forgive and join hands and work together."

The Indian War Memorial.

Next day, Feb. 10th 1921, the Duke laid the foundation stone of the All-India War memorial consecrated to the memory of those Indians who had laid down their lives for the cause of the Empire in the last War. It is to be a monument in the form of a triumphal arch built in white stone upon a red sandstone base rising to a height of 162 ft. so that no window of even the tallest building in the Imperial City will look over it. The ceremony commenced in the afternoon amid a scene of oriental military splendour. The Viceroy and the Duke headed a procession followed by the Commander-in-Chief and their staff and proceeded to the ground where the representatives of the Indian Army were assembled. After formal receptions the Viceroy asked the Duke in a short speech paying tribute to the Indian Army to lay the foundation stone.

H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught then rose and addressed as follows :—

"Officers and Men of the Indian Army and of the Imperial Service Troops,—His Majesty the King Emperor has commanded me on this solemn occasion to convey a message of His Royal thanks to the Indian Army and to the Imperial Service Troops furnished by the Indian States. It is as follows.—

The Royal Message.

The great war from which our Empire has emerged victorious involved the most powerful nations of the earth and spread over vast seas and continents. From the crowded record here and there certain features stand clearly out arresting the attention and admiration of the world to-day and claiming with confidence the verdict of posterity. In this honourable company the Indian army has an assured place. Scattered far and wide under alien skies, in adversity and in triumph, they played their part with stout and gallant hearts. True to their tradition, they answered the Empire's call with soldierly discipline and fortitude, staunch in the loyalty they have ever displayed to the Throne and person of their King-Emperor, that made his cause theirs, and willingly laid down their lives for their sovereign. Gratitude for loyalty such as this lies deep in my heart and is beyond the power of the word. They did their duty.

"Can the King, for whom they fought, give higher praise to his faithful soldiers? I have great pleasure in announcing that in recognition of the distinguished services and gallantry of the Indian Army during the great War, His Majesty the King Emperor has been graciously pleased to confer the title of "Royal" on the following units,—The Deccan Horse, Sappers and Miners, 6th Jat Light Infantry, 34th Sikh Pioneers, 39th Garhwal Rifles, 59th Scinde Rifles (Frontier Force), 11th Maharattas, 5th Gurkha Rifles, (Frontier Force). His Majesty has also been graciously pleased to nominate me as Col.-in-Chief of the 47th Sikhs, a regiment which served with great distinction in the war. I greatly value an honour which will strengthen the many ties I have with my old friends, the soldiers of the Khalsa.

The Brighton Ceremony.

"Officers and men of the Indian Army and of the Imperial Service Troops,—Many of us here to day must have ringing

in our ears the glowing tribute paid to the Indian Army by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales while unveiling the testimony of affection and gratitude erected by the citizens of Brighton in memory of the Indian soldiers who died there in the days of the war. India knows fully well, I trust, how generously and how tenderly the people of Brighton discharged their self-allotted task of receiving and sheltering the wounded Indian soldiers brought to their care from the battle-fields of France, and I am sure throughout India the message of good will from the marble chart at Brighton will awaken a grateful and responsive feeling here. On Indian soil we are assembled to discharge a similar debt of honour on this spot. In the central vista of the capital of India there will stand a memorial archway designed to keep present in the thoughts of generations that follow the glorious sacrifice of the officers and men of the Indian army who fought and fell in the great war. The men were nobly led and the officers were bravely followed and we give thanks to Almighty Providence that the cause for which they fought was the cause which prevailed and that our memorial is not one of lives lost in vain but a monument of great and overwhelming victory. To-day's simple ceremony would surely appeal to those gallant soldiers who have fought their last fight and to whom we are gathered here to pay tribute, for it is a soldiers' ceremony.

An Army of Great Traditions.

"Before me there are assembled from far and wide men of the Indian army of to-day, many of them were comrades of those who are at this hour foremost in our thoughts but who will never again answer our reveille. Let us try to think that those absent comrades are with us here to-day, back from their distant and scattered graves, standing in our ranks once again, helping us to do them honour in the spirit they themselves would wish, inspiring us with their clearer vision to understand a soldier's duty. I am deeply touched to find that this my visit to India should enable me to take part in to day's solemn ceremony, for my admiration and affection for the Indian army go back many years. I belong to the older generation among soldiers. The chances of service brought me into the closest touch with the Indian army of former days, the army which Lord Roberts fathered, the army which Lord

Kitchener schooled. I well remember those veteran regiments whose war medals told of service far from their Indian homes in China, East Africa, West Africa, Somaliland, Egypt, and the frontiers of India and Burma. It was an army of great traditions and splendid discipline, but little did I dream in those days what remoter echoes the Indian bugle call would awaken, to what still more distant fields the Indian army would one day be called, or to what immense expansion that great organisation would be brought by the strong impulse of loyalty and patriotism. To-day we know that more than a million Indians left these shores to serve abroad, of whom nearly 18,000, including 850 Indian officers, gave up their lives in the Empire's cause. The many campaigns in which the units of the Indian army took part are written in history. The honours they won were many but on these I shall not dwell now. Some indeed are proudly worn by those who stand here before me but the sole honour we commemorate here is the honour of the great sacrifice, the supreme honour of a soldier's death. What though the world sometimes seems to us dark with trouble and the sky overcast, let us look back with pride and forward with hope, for these men showed us the true heart of India. Through them we know that the soul of India has only to be touched aright and India will respond to her King-Emperor's call. In this hour of crowding memories let us have no sombre thoughts but recapture once again that thrill which passed through us all when we first heard in those far off days of 1914 that Indian troops had landed at Marseilles and were pressing on towards our thinly held battle lines in France and Flanders. That is the vision which the glorious dead would wish us to have to-day. Their tradition lives. The army goes on fortified by their example to face whatever task the future may have in store.

"You, men of the Indian army, know when a fine regiment marches through the streets of a busy town how every one quits his work and looks in admiring silence or marches along with you. Is it merely because of your glittering array or the rhythm of your march? No, it is something far deeper than that. It is the spirit of the army making itself felt, the spirit of discipline, of unity, of brave tradition, of comradeship till death. In the presence of that moral force, men turn from the sordid cares of every day life and pay you uplifting

reverence as though some uplifting influence had passed through their work-a-day world. You enjoy a great heritage of honour. Strive, then, always to uphold the honour of your regiments and be faithful to the memory of those gallant soldiers who have shed lustre to your name and fame. I like to recall the simple tribute paid by the Indian Corps Commander in France. He wrote:—"The discipline of this corps has been above reproach. They have behaved like gentlemen and the French and British both knew it well. If they had nothing else they would still leave Europe with a clean sheet. As citizens of the Empire they behaved like gentlemen." I do not think that those who gave up their lives would wish for an epitaph more eloquent than this. May the spirit of the Indian army ever remain bright and untarnished, and, on the great example which we commemorate here to-day, may new and great traditions be founded and the Indian army of the future through them re-consecrated and re-inspired to be the worthy heir of those who fought and died under its colour in the great war."

The colour parties and representatives then stood to attention. After the foundation was declared duly laid they presented arms and massed bugles sounded the last post. After the Commander-in-Chief had thanked the Duke on behalf of the Indian Army the proceedings closed.

The New Council Chambers.

On Feb. 12th. the Duke performed his last public function at Delhi, viz., laying the foundation stone of the new enlarged Council Chambers. The function was celebrated with great pomp amidst all the civil and military dignitaries and the Ruling Princes. Leaving the Viceregal lodge at 10-30 in the morning the Duke and the Viceroy motored to the site through streets splendidly decorated and lined with troops and was received by Sir Sidney Cookshank, Mr. C. A. Barron, Mr. H. T. Kiding, and Mr. J. C. Lukes, members of the New Capital Committee and others. The Viceroy invited the Duke to lay the foundation stone of a circle of 3 buildings in

which the Chamber of Princes, the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly are to be housed. "The joint building," he said, "is the symbol of the integral connection of the Indian States with the British Empire. It testifies to the united interests of British India and the Indian States. It stands for that two-fold allegiance which the Princes and peoples of India owe in their several degrees to our King-Emperor and for the common desire to work to one great end." H. R. H. the Duke in the course of his speech said :

"All great rulers, every great people, every great civilisation have left their own record in stone and bronze and marble as well as in the pages of history. I need only recall the Acropolis of Athens, the Capitol of Rome and the great sites of the East, famous in history for their splendour and culture. India herself is rich in such precious legacies from the granite pillars on which the apostle Emperor Asoka engraved his imperishable edicts onwards through the chequered centuries down to the splendid palaces of the Moghal Emperors. Every age has left behind it some monument commensurate with its own achievements. Is it not a worthy ideal that equally noble buildings shall consecrate India's great achievements in the 20th century, her solemn entry upon the path of responsible Government which Great Britain and the self-governing Dominions of the Empire have trod before her ? Is there any building in Great Britain around which cluster so many and such great memories as the stately Home of the Mother of Parliaments on the banks of the river Thames ? Have not each of the self-governing Dominions in the Empire wisely sought to enshrine their new nationhood in a new capital of which its own parliament is always the proudest monument ? Surely India and her representatives in the new assemblies which it has already been my privilege to inaugurate will wish that these great institutions should be liberally and enduringly housed". After the speeches the Duke was conducted to a table and some easels near the foundation stone where the design of the new building was shown to him. He then proceeded to lay the stone, guiding it into its place with his own hands as it was lowered by workmen, and declared it well and truly laid.

Entertainment by the Indian Army.

The same afternoon the Indian officers of His Majesty's Indian Army gave a garden party in honour of His Royal Highness which was attended by about 1200 guests including the Viceroy and the Ruling Princes and their suite. Col. Sir Umar Hayat Khan read out the following address on behalf of the Indian Army —

"May it please Your Royal Highness.—On behalf of the Indian Army we offer to Your Royal Highness our hearty and respectful welcome. India has the honour of being associated with Your Royal Highness through the Indian Army which since then was given the privilege of fighting side by side with its British comrades on all fronts during the war. That afforded the Indian Army the opportunity of doing its humble bit which in turn brought its various rewards like admission to V. C., grant of land Jagirs, Jangi Inams and King's Commissions, one of them being the grant of franchise to the soldiers in the Reforms which Your Royal Highness has come to inaugurate. We are deeply grateful for the honour that you have bestowed upon us in accepting our humble invitation, as we claim it is the first occasion on which the Indian army has thus been honoured, and this we also count as one of the privileges resulting from the recent war. We now take the opportunity to request Your Highness to convey to His Majesty, the King-Emperor, our humble gratitude and assurance of our steadfast loyalty and deep devotion to the Throne. At the end we pray for Your Royal Highness' long life and safe return home."

His Royal Highness' Speech.

In reply the Duke expressed his gratification at the warm welcome given to him by the Indian officers and thanked them for their loyal message to the King-Emperor. Regarding their services he said :—

"You speak of the privileges accruing to you from the war. Thanks to what you have done for the Empire, the *Izzat* of the Indian Officers stands very high at the present moment. I realise that wherever you go it rests with you to keep your *Izzat* high and to increase it. The experience of the world,

such as many of you have gained and will gain, is a great asset in any society, particularly I think in Indian society. You well know how easily misunderstandings arise, how swiftly simple people can be swayed by passion and prejudice. I want every one of you to be an emissary of common-sense and to gain respect in your villages through the exercise of sober judgment and by setting an example of sanity. That is a great service which you can render to your King and your country second only to the service which must of course always come first with you, namely, the faithful performance of your duty as soldiers of the King-Emperor. In this you have not failed, and whatever the future may bring forth I feel sure the King-Emperor can confidently rely on his Indian Officers to show unflinching devotion to his Throne and unhesitating obedience to his commands."

The Closing Church Service.

On the morning of Feb. 13th, as a fitting close to the Imperial functions performed by His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught at Delhi, a solemn Church Service was held at the Church of St. James conducted by the Chaplain of Delhi, Rev. H. England, supported by Rev. Y. C. Chatterjee of St. Stephen's Church, Delhi, and the Bishop of Lahore.

The sermon was preached by the Most Rev. the Metropolitan of India. Taking as his text the words "Go ye and learn what this meaneth, I desire mercy and not sacrifice" he explained that a religion that does not place the principle of Love first is an empty mockery, and continuing said: "The past week has witnessed the inauguration of far-reaching changes in the Government of this country. These two might be brought to the test of this Divine principle. To some it may seem strange to associate love with the work of Government, but I would remind you again of the sense in which the word is used: "the immutable will to all goodness." A Government is first concerned with the administration of justice and the maintenance of order and such duties are consonant with love in which discipline is an essential element, but it is no less concerned to promote the welfare of its citizens and to establish

right relations among them, to see that to all, even the most backward and ignorant, is given the opportunity of living the fullest life of which they are capable. The only sufficient motive for such a task is love—the immutable will to all goodness. That is the motive which determines God's Government of the Universe, and no Government can claim to rule in His name which deliberately substitutes any lower motive than this. Can we then claim that the Reforms have been framed in this spirit? Surely, our presence here to day is our answer to that question. This is no new principle as applied to the Government of this country, but—

“New times demand new measures and new men ;

The world advances and in time outgrows

The laws that in our Fathers' time were best.”

“It has been so here and the new wine of a growing national consciousness needed a new and elastic constitution by which it might be conserved and put to noble uses.

“Again, a fundamental principle of the Reforms is co-operation, which is incompatible with the spirit of selfishness. The Englishman, steeped in the traditions of a nation which for centuries has enjoyed an ever increasing measure of liberty and popular government to which India has been a stranger, is called on to collaborate with representatives of the various races of this country and all alike are asked to contribute their varied gifts to the solution of those complex problems which of necessity confront the governors of a country so vast in area and so varied in the character of its people as this.

“The new Councils reflect the great diversity of race, culture and creed which characterises India's population. It is in working with those from whom we differ most widely that reality of our love is manifested. There is no triumph of grace in the harmonious working of a group of like-minded friends, but no motive but the highest can unite in one brotherhood for service those whom heredity, tradition and training have most widely sundered. We may see the power of love to unite persons of the most diverse character in the case of the Apostolic Band. It included Simon Zelotes, an extreme non-co-operator of those days, and Mathew, the tax-gatherer, the willing servant of a foreign Government. They forgot their difference in their loyalty to their Master, Jesus Christ, and in the joy of the common ministry of love. The same loyalty

to the One God and Father of us all, the same common ministry of love, can bind the diverse elements of the Councils and electors in one brotherhood of service. I have heard glorious prophecies of failure. There can be no failure where love is. Mistakes there will be, but he is not lost in whose triumphant eyes burns calm the perfect knowledge, the great hope, the love that heals the red wounds of the earth. I am only voicing the appeal for fellowship which India, in common with every nation, is insistently urging and which has been set forth in such moving terms during the ceremonies of the past week. It was one of India's greatest sons, Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore, who recently said :—"Until we learn to live together by the real law of our nature, the law of love, a veil will hide the beauty and wonder of the world, leaving us to wander all alone or to struggle together in confusion and strife." We know that this is the alternative : Race and class interests dominating men's minds, creating bitterness and mutual recrimination, or the spirit of God filling men's hearts and bearing the natural fruit of love, leading all to forget their personal rivalries in the common effort to bring fuller life to all the peoples of India.

"Does the present situation suggest that this conception of a fellowship in which each contributes his best for the common good is a dream? I would urge in the words of a modern prophet that every great reform in society has been the embodiment, partial perhaps at the best and imperfect, of an ideal. The dream of one age becomes the hope of the next and the possession of that which follows. As Christians we can rest in nothing short of this. And there is no power which can achieve it save the divine power of love.

I believe in love renewing,
 All that sin hath swept away,
 Leaven-like its work pursuing,
 Night by night and day by day,
 In the power of its remoulding,
 In the grace of its reprieve,
 In the glory of beholding
 Its perfection, we believe.

"Now the principle is to be applied to the problems which confront us. Go and learn what this means, "I will have kindness and fellowship and not sacrifice."

End of the Delhi Programme—To Punjab.

Thus ended the official Delhi programme of His Royal Highness the Duke's mission to India. From Delhi he proceeded to the Punjab, not to Lahore, the Provincial capital, but to Rawalpindi, the head-quarters of the Northern Army in India. The preference given to the military capital over the civil capital of the province was significant. In reply to an address of welcome H. R. H. said :—

"To my old friendship for you, which goes back for nearly forty years, there is now added a deep and whole-hearted admiration, inspired by my knowledge of what you did in the war. Taken as a whole, the achievement of the Punjab was remarkable. Even before the war the Punjabee had a name familiar in the military annals of the Empire, but during the war he became a household word, not only on account of the number of men from the Punjab who joined the colours, but also on account of the splendid fighting qualities displayed in many hard fought campaigns.

"But I will not rest content with mere generalities when the figures themselves are so eloquent. Before the war the Punjab had 100,000 men of all ranks in the army, of whom 30,000 came from your division. It is estimated that at the close of the war no less than 475,000 Punjabis had served in the army. Of these the Rawalpindi Division supplied approximately 125,000, that is to say, one out of every fourteen of the total male population. Thus in contribution of man-power the districts of Rawalpindi and Jhelum easily surpassed all the districts in India, while out of 1,738 war honours awarded to the Punjab, 625 or more than one-third, have fallen to the Rawalpindi Division, including two Victoria Crosses. Furthermore, though the districts of your division are poor in comparison with the Central Punjab, you subscribed Rs. 90,00,000 to the war loan and nine lakhs to various funds.

"Gentlemen, knowing what you have done I am indeed proud to meet you once again and to feel that my old friends and their sons have so splendidly upheld the honour of the Land of Five Rivers. It is a great pleasure to find myself once again in Rawalpindi. This day revives happy memories of my service as a soldier in India, and I look forward to renewing my old ties while I am in your midst."

The Duke at Bombay

FEBRUARY 21ST, 1921

From the Punjab the Duke went to Bombay where he arrived at 10 A.M. on Feb. 21st, 1921. At the Railway station which was profusely decorated he was received by the Governor and all the high officials and Indian Princes. After the exchange of formal greetings and introductions His Royal Highness received an address of welcome from the Municipal Corporation, in reply to which he said: "Your Municipal Corporation has won widespread admiration and has served as a model to the rest of India." He eulogised the services of the late Sir Pherozshah Mehta, Sir Dinshaw Wacha and Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah who have, he said, by their great gifts and splendid endeavours, made Bombay what it was.

Next day the Duke reviewed the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides in the Bombay Gymkhana maidan, and on the day following, on Feb. 23rd, 1921, he inaugurated the Bombay Legislative Council.

Inauguration of the Bombay Council

The ceremony took place at the Town Hall at noon with all the display of pomp and splendour of an Indian State function. H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught arrived at noon and proceeded to his throne on the dais. His staff, which included four Indian officers, joined that of His Excellency and stood in a semi-circle at the back of the dais behind the throne and the two chairs which flanked it. His Excellency being on the right of His Royal Highness and the President on his left.

As soon as His Royal Highness had taken his seat on the throne, H. E. the Governor rose and delivered an address. After welcoming the Royal visitor, he emphasized the importance of the ceremony—"the culminating point of a policy formulated with infinite care and anxiety and put into practice with a fixed and deliberate intention"—defined the aim of the policy that had been undertaken and the ideals, not always easy of reconciliation, that had been followed, and

finally invited His Royal Highness to declare the Legislative Council opened.

His Royal Highness then rose and spoke as follows :—

“Your Excellency and Members of the Bombay Legislative Council,—His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor has directed me to open on his behalf your new Legislative Council and to convey to you and the people of the Presidency his message of good-will on this momentous day in your history. Your long period of waiting and preparation is over and to-day you pass through the gateway into a new political life. May it be rich in blessings to the millions in whose destiny you and your successors will have so potent a voice. My pleasure in fulfilling the King-Emperor’s summons is greatly enhanced by the memories of my old association with the Presidency and the people of Bombay.

“Thirty-four years ago I come here as Commander-in-Chief of the then Bombay Army. In those days the Commander-in-Chief was a Member of the Provincial Government and it was thus my good fortune to be closely connected with the administration and to be able to put into practice the deep interest which I felt in all that concerned the welfare of the Presidency. Before I left India in 1890, links had been forged which bound me to you for the rest of my life. It has affected me deeply to revisit the scene of some of my happiest years. The change and progress in your beautiful city are material symptoms of what has been happening in the realm of men’s minds throughout India

“The ideals which 30 years ago seemed chimerical are now being realised, hopes which were hardly uttered are now being fulfilled. The pride and self-respect of nationhood have been awakened. Its responsibilities are gathering on the shoulders of those who essay to lead the intelligence of the country.

Tasks Ahead.

“Gentlemen of the Bombay Council,—of those responsibilities you have a full share. In their insistence and complexity your local problems are second to none in India. In your capital city you have the problem of overcrowding with all its antecedant ills exaggerated to an unusual degree by the limitations of the geographical position. You have also with

you those labour difficulties which to-day confront the whole world and its Governments. Manual workers are no longer content to live lives of toil unrelieved by relaxation and a just share of wealth which their labour produces. Here, as in the Western world, they are combining to win improved conditions of life for themselves and their dependants. It will be for you to watch those developments with sympathy, to hold the scales of justice evenly, and with wise counsel and by prudent laws to encourage every movement towards agreement and for the promotion of mutual good feeling. Outside your manufacturing towns you have the vast majority of your people entirely dependant on the land, and for them your particular problem is their recurring distress in years of short rain-fall. Skilled project of artificial irrigation are in progress and in contemplation and to financing them and devising the necessary adjustment to tenures and landed interests, your energies may fruitfully be directed. I need not continue this tale of the Administrative tasks which lie before you, familiar as they must be to all of you and constantly in your thoughts. You can approach them with confidence in the inspired leadership of your alert and zealous Governor, Sir George Lloyd. It is the wider aspects of your new responsibilities which fill my heart after seeing what I have seen of the India of to-day and when I think of the India of to-morrow. On some of those aspects I have spoken to the other Assemblies which it has been my duty to inaugurate, for they touch the deep interests of our common humanity, the advancement of which will be at the same time the pride of India's political leaders and the gauge of their success.

Evils to Combat

"You have at your doors three great causes of unrest and unhappiness,—ignorance, the insanitary conditions of life, and cruel inequalities in the distribution of all that makes life worth living. No mere skill in legislation will remove these, but all legislation must keep them in view and work steadily towards their amelioration. The second in importance to those primary evils are custom and social restrictions which impair the brotherhood and embitter the outlook of large sections of the Indian people. The ground is delicate and I am not here to arouse controversy or to offend honoured susceptibilities, but your own Reformers have cherished plans for a

wider charity between classes and the abandonment of usages which, whatever may have been the justice of their origin, no longer serve to promote the well-being of the community as a whole. To such projects you will no doubt turn your minds with a single eye to the good of your fellow-countrymen. Standing behind all these needs of the future is the need for the power to deal with them and that power is unity of which I have spoken elsewhere, and I need not now do more than repeat my heart-felt conviction that it is only by a determined sinking of sectarian differences that India will advance into its proper place in the federation of the world.

Parting Message

"Your Excellency and Gentlemen, I am near the end of the duty which brought me to India. During my tour throughout the country I have been deeply impressed by the magnitude of the task which awaits the new Ministers and Councils and by the high expectations which have been formed of their achievement.

"I have been equally struck on the one hand by the courage of the responsible leaders of Indian public opinion and on the other by the steady confidence of British officials in the success of what has been styled this great experiment. It is in the hands of these two agencies that the future lies. To both of them, my parting message and my most earnestly cherished plea is for co-operation and good-will. A Government such as is now installed cannot work in discord without the gravest detriment to the state and the people's welfare. It must go forward in substantial union. Each side must sacrifice something, must be contented with less than its pre-conceived perfection and must leave its own ground to seek for common ground. I do not for one moment believe that Indian leaders mean to jettison the ideals which the British race has endeavoured to bring into Indian life. On the other hand I am just certain that British Officers will not be negligent of the reasoned will of the people. In that spirit I pray that either side will strive to eliminate personal misconceptions and to reconcile divergent lines of vision, for thus only will India move forward to conquer herself and to bring her victory into the service of humanity."

He then formally declared the Council inaugurated.

The Boycott Demonstrations.

Wherever the Duke went to carry out official functions a complete *hartal* was observed by the mass of the people. In Bombay on Feb. 21st. a number of meetings were held, as at Calcutta, all over the city where resolutions were passed urging the public to abstain from taking any part in the Duke's visit. Bullion merchants and the Sindhi merchants' associations resolved to keep their business suspended during the official ceremonies in connection with H. R. H's visit. Printed handbills in the vernacular were circulated and placarded at prominent places with the following notice purporting to be Mahatma Gandhi's order: "The Duke is a good man but he has come in obedience to British authority. If a reception is accorded to him it would amount to giving reception to slavery. Boycott all functions and be away from where he passes."

Everywhere the name of M. Gandhi was invoked and pitted against the Duke and his reception, and the name worked like a magic. Mahatma Gandhi himself had, while at Calcutta, early in the month of February, addressed a public letter to the Duke wherein he stated his grounds for the boycott. The letter is reproduced below:—

M. Gandhi's Letter to the Duke

"Your Royal Highness must have heard a great deal about non-co-operation, non-co-operationists and their methods and incidentally of me—its humble author. I fear that the information given to Your Royal Highness must have been in its nature one-sided. I owe it to you and to my friends and myself that I should place before you what I conceive to be the scope of non-co-operation as followed not only by me but my closest associates such as Messrs. Shaikat Ali and Mahomed Ali.

"For me it is no joy and pleasure to be actively associated in the boycott of Your Royal Highness' visit.—I have tendered loyal and voluntary association to the Government for an unbroken period of nearly 30 years in the full belief that through that way lay the path of freedom for my country. It was therefore no light thing for me to suggest to my countrymen that we should take no part in welcoming Your Royal Highness. Not one among us has anything against you as an English gentleman. We hold your person as sacred as that of a dearest friend. I do not know any of my friends who would not guard it with his life, if he found it in danger. We are not at war with individual Englishmen. We seek not to destroy English life. We do desire to destroy a system

that has emasculated our country in body, mind and soul. We are determined to battle with all our might against that in the English nature which has made O'Dwyer and Dyerism possible in the Punjab, and has resulted in a wanton affront upon Islam—a faith professed by seven crores of our countrymen. The affront has been put in breach of the letter and the spirit of the solemn declaration of the Prime Minister. We consider it to be inconsistent with our self-respect any longer to brook the spirit of superiority and dominance which has systematically ignored and disregarded the sentiments of thirty crores of the innocent people of India on many a vital matter. It is humiliating to us, it cannot be a matter of pride to you, that thirty crores of Indians should live day in and day out, in the fear of their lives, from one hundred thousand Englishmen and therefore be under subjection to him.

“Your Royal Highness has come not to end the system I have described but to sustain it by upholding its prestige. Your first pronouncement was a laudation of Lord Willingdon. I have the privilege of knowing him. I believe him to be an honest and amiable gentleman who will not willingly hurt even a fly. But he has certainly failed as a ruler. He allowed himself to be guided by those whose interest it was to support their power. He is not reading the mind of the Dravidian province. Here, in Bengal, you are issuing a certificate of merit to a Governor who is, again, from all I have heard an estimable gentleman. But he knows nothing of the heart of Bengal and its yearnings. Bengal is not Calcutta nor Fort William, and the palaces of Calcutta represent an insolent exploitation of the un murmuring and highly-cultured peasantry of this fair province. Non-co-operationists have come to the conclusion that they must not be deceived by the Reforms that tinker with the problem of India's distress and humiliation. Nor must they be impatient and angry. We must not in our impatient anger resort to stupid violence. We freely admit that we must take our due share of the blame for the existing state. It is not so much the British guns that are responsible for our subjection as our voluntary co-operation. Our non-participation in a hearty welcome to your Royal Highness is thus in no sense a demonstration against your high personage, but it is against the system you have come to uphold. I know that individual Englishmen cannot, even if they will, alter the English nature all of a sudden. If we would be equals of Englishmen we must cast off fear. We must learn to be self-reliant and independent of the schools, courts, protection, patronage of a Government we seek to end, if it will not mend. Hence this non-violent no-co-operation. I know that we have not all yet become non-violent in speech and deed. But the results so far achieved have, I assure Your Royal Highness, been amazing. The people have understood the secret and the value of non-violence as they have never done before. He who runs may see that this is a religious, purifying movement. We are having off drink, we are trying to rid India of the curse of untouchability. We are trying to throw off foreign tinsel splendour and by reverting to the spinning wheel reviving the ancient and the poetic simplicity of life. We hope thereby to sterilize the existing harmful institution. I ask Your Royal Highness as an Englishman to study this movement and its possibilities for the Empire and the world. We are at war with nothing that is good in the world. In protecting Islam

in the manner we are doing, we are protecting all religions. In protecting the honour of India, we are protecting the honour of humanity. For, our means are hurtful to none. We desire to live on terms of friendship with Englishmen but that friendship must be friendship of equals both in theory and practice. And we must continue to non-co-operate i. e. to purify ourselves, till the goal is achieved.

"I ask Your Royal Highness and through you every Englishman to appreciate the view-point of the non-co-operationists,

I beg to remain

Your Royal Highness' faithful servant

M. Gandhi.

In Delhi, too, a complete *hartal* prevailed in the Indian quarter of the town. The authorities had previously taken precaution to avoid this quarter from the route of the Royal procession. The Duke arrived at the Kingsway station, 5 miles away from the city. The Municipal Address of welcome presented by the District Magistrate in the name of the people of Delhi was not subscribed to by the Indian commissioners. Out of eleven elected members of the municipal board, nine absented and even some of the government nominees were absent. Some of the elected and nominated municipal commissioners warmly opposed the presentation of the address on behalf of the people. A manifesto was issued by the Congress office exposing the deception that was being practised. On the day of the inauguration of the Councils a mass meeting of the people of Delhi was held at Ghaziabad, a suburb town, attended by some 12,000 people who had gone from Delhi specially for the purpose. As one speaker said, the very fact that the meeting had to be held at Ghaziabad and not in Delhi was a complete refutation of the claim that British administration was not based on terrorism and brute force. Dr. Ansari presided. Three resolutions were passed. The newly opened legislature was condemned as unrepresentative and a tentacle of the bureaucracy to complete its work of enslaving the Indian people. The address presented to the Duke in the name of the people was repudiated. Students, lawyers, and honorary officers of the government were urged at once to give up their connection with the machineries of the bureaucracy, and devote themselves in the work of organising native institutions in their stead. Hakim Ajmal Khan, Dr. Ansari, Mr. Asaf Ali, Lala Shanker Lal, Sardar Gurbaksh Singh and other prominent

non-co-operation leaders addressed the meeting. A "Swaraj Ashram" was started and funds were collected for the Tilak Swaraj fund of the Indian National Congress.

The Close of the Duke's Visit.

From Bombay His Royal Highness went to Poona where he reviewed the troops and presented colours to the 110th Mahratta Light Infantry and the 120th Rajputana Infantry. Feb. 21st was the last day of his stay in India. On that day was witnessed once again all the pomp and circumstances of a Royal departure from Apollo Bunder, Bombay. Officials in brilliant uniforms, decked with Orders and Decorations that scintillated in the blaze of a typically Indian sun; Princes in gorgeous costumes; emissaries of foreign nations in the picturesque "full-dress" of their countries; boy-scouts and girl-guides in sombre khaki, and many leading non-officials in still more sombre "morning dress"; and ladies of all nationalities were collected there to bid God-speed to His Royal Highness.

At 9-30 a.m. the booming of the Royal salute of 31 guns announced the departure of H. R. H. from Government House, where after inspecting the Guard-of-Honour furnished by the British Infantry, the Duke drove in a car to Queen's Road, where he changed it in favour of the State Coach when he proceeded to the Apollo Bunder in State escorted by two squadrons of the Indian Cavalry, Artillery and the Governor's Body-guard. At the shamiana erected at the Bunder after the Governor had read the farewell address, His Royal Highness delivered his last message to India in the following words:—

H. R. H.'s Parting Message.

"Your Excellency and Gentlemen:—In a few hours the shores of this dear land of India will pass from my sight. To the very best of my endeavour I have discharged the task which His Majesty the King-Emperor entrusted to me. But I am an old man now and what I have failed to achieve a more youthful vigour of mind and body might have accomplished. India, with the kindness and loyalty she has always displayed towards the Royal House, will generously overlook my short-comings and console

her disappointment with the thought that I came to her as a true and tried friend, bound to her by many ties and under the spell of old and happy memories. I came to her in a spirit of affection and sympathy and in that spirit to-day I leave her, comforted and sustained in the hour of parting by the firm grip of the hand which Bombay has given to me and by the moving and all too gracious words in which Your Excellency now bids me God-speed.

On the Upward Road.

“What is there that I can say to India in this hour of farewell? Only this, that I have not moved among her peoples and her cities with my ears and eyes closed. I have seen, I have read, and I have listened, and I have tried to sift the grain from the chaff. If India will accept me as an impartial and unbiassed judge free to speak as I choose, let me tell her this. I am glad that I came to India to do the work which I have done. As I fervently pray, so I firmly believe, that the new constitutions now inaugurated place India securely on the upward road and that through them, if moderation rule your counsels, if you practise wisely what to discard and what to establish, the high ideals which India holds dear will assuredly be realised. Press forward on the broad highway which now lies open before you and the future is in your hand, and as you march onward remember that the future has its roots in the past.

India and Great Britain.

“Do not forget the story of your nationhood’s unfolding and the glamour of the long comradeship between this vast Eastern Continent and the little Island in the far Northern Seas. You know how a frail plant will establish itself at the foot of a forest tree, how it will struggle upwards sheltered by the giant’s shade, clinging as it grows, till at last it swells in mighty sinews upon the central trunk, repaying strength, lending its powerful aid against the shock of storm and tempest. There they stand together, separate yet bound, and the hour which decrees the fall of the one must inevitably bring the other in ruin to the dust. Thus do I conceive the relationship in which Great Britain and India now stand. Long may they so continue in mutual sympathy, their sap

and loyalty to a joint Throne, the spring from which they draw their united strength.

Message to England.

"What message can I take back to England? I shall say this that a greater effort must be made in England to understand and appreciate the Indian point of view. The voice of India has not carried the weight and does not carry the weight which India has a right to claim. To my mind one outstanding merit of India's new constitution is that the Government of India must henceforth weigh more heavily in the scale as more truly representing the Indian point of view than it has done in the past. But in the main my message to England will be of high confidence. I shall say the heart of India is sound and true, her loyalty is untarnished, her progress is great and her hopes are high. Keep in close and sympathetic touch with her, send her your best—your second best will not be good enough—and you need have no doubt or misgiving as to the course of your future partnership.

"And now the curtain must fall on my work here. But while life lasts no curtain shall divide India from my fond and grateful thoughts of her, or blot out the happy memories I so dearly cherish. My heart is too full to say more. I now bid India farewell and I pray that her people may be blessed with peace and plenty and her leaders with wisdom and understanding."

The speech was punctuated by frequent applause. High officials accompanied H. R. H. as far as the head of the Bunder steps and bade him good-bye there. H. R. H. then proceeded on board the Royal Indian Marine launch to embark on H. M. S. "*Malaya*" accompanied by H. E. the Governor and Lady Lloyd attended by their staff amidst loud and repeated cheering.

Inauguration of The B. & O. Legislative Council

PATNA, FEBRUARY 7TH, 1921

Of the other Reformed Councils inaugurated early in the year, that of Behar & Orissa was of special significance as it was opened by Lord Sinha, the first Indian Governor in India. This bold experiment of putting an Indian over the head of a British bureaucratic government, where the prejudices of a century of a ruling race holding in contempt Indians of all classes have crystallised into a rigid exclusive system, has since proved a failure, and Lord Sinha had, within a year of his term of office, to resign a post which was made untenable for him. The inauguration ceremony was performed in the new Council Chamber at Patna on the 7th February, when all the new members, except four, and a large number of high officials and the local aristocracy attended. The prospect of seeing a Council inaugurated by an Indian had a charm in it which drew large numbers of the educated Indians, men and women, to the visitors' gallery. Lady Sinha and her daughters, the Hon. Mrs. Gupta, Sir K. G. Gupta and other eminent Indians were present.

At 2-25 p.m. the Chief Justice and Judges of the Patna High Court were escorted in procession to their special seats. At the same time His Excellency accompanied by his personal staff arrived when a Guard of Honour furnished by armed police which was drawn up outside the Council Chamber presented arms and a salute of 17 guns was fired. After inspecting the Guard of Honour His Excellency entered the Council Chamber by one of the side doors and walked up to the dais and took his seat with Sir Walter Maude, President of the Council, on His Excellency's right.

Sir Walter formally requested His Excellency to open the new Council.

H. E. Lord Sinha in doing so delivered the following interesting speech.

Lord Sinha's Speech

"Mr. President and Members of the Legislative Council of Bihar and Orissa :—I consider it a great privilege that in the performance of the high office which His Majesty the King-Emperor has graciously bestowed on me, it is my duty to-day to open this Council and to join with you all in a heart-felt prayer for guidance in your labours for the benefit of all classes, creeds and communities in this province. I am filled with gratitude that we witness to-day the beginning of Representative Government,—a system of government which the experience of more fortunate countries has proved to be the highest ideal of policy and the one best calculated to promote the greatest happiness of the greatest number and I trust that I may be pardoned if I recall with pride the fact that it is my unique good fortune to have borne a share, however small, in the deliberations which led to the famous Declaration of the 17th of August 1917, in the investigations which followed that memorable pronouncement, and the proceedings in Parliament which resulted in the Statute of 1919 and Rules and Regulations under that Act.

"I do not claim that they constitute a revolutionary change in the constitution but I assert that they are the logical and the inevitable outcome of the beneficent labours of many generations of English and Indian statesmen and administrators. I cannot help thinking that the shades of Monro, Macaulay, Elphinstone, Bright and Ripon join to-day with those of Ram Mohon Roy, Naoroji, Ranade, Pherozeshah Mehta, Gokhale and others of revered memory, in sending their benedictions on this Assembly. I have said that the change in the constitution is not revolutionary. It would indeed be of little lasting benefit if it was. Continuity is the first necessity for the life of a State, and a change is essential to the health of all forms of life in society. The problem in every field, whether politics, literature or religion, is the same—that of finding continuity in progress. I claim for the new system that it is both progressive and continuous involving the non-violent breaking away from the past and ensuring that stability which is the most important of all elements of political strength.

The New Electorate

"It is not to be expected that opinion should be unanimous with regard to either of these characteristics of the constitution. I will not attempt to meet the criticism which has been so freely bestowed upon it from both sides, one denying that it is continuous and the other alleging that it is not progressive ; but there is no gainsaying the fact that these Councils have become more and more representative and that their authority and influence have been raised with the increase in their representative character. About sixty years ago a small non-official element was introduced into the provincial Councils by nomination in order to ascertain non-official opinion on projects of legislation only. The number of such nominated members was gradually increased, but it was not till 1909 that the principle of election was avowedly introduced, though the elected members were still left in a minority and the elections were, for the most part, indirect through the District Boards and Municipalities. The new system introduces the method of direct election by the people grouped under different territorial constituencies. Whereas under the old system the number of voters was only 2,404 consisting as follows :—Municipal Commissioners 620, District Board members 262, Landholders 321, Muhammadans 1,201, total 2,404, we have under the new system non-Muhammadan rural voters 2,53,044, non-Muhammadan urban voters 38,992, Muhammadan rural voters 24,919, Muhammadan urban voters 8,338, total 325,293, without taking into account the Europeans, Landholders and Special Constituencies, whose voters are 1,463,370 and 1,548 respectively.

"If a Representative Government *i.e.* that form of it which is called Responsible Government, is the end desired, the primary necessity is to create a sufficiently large and intelligent electorate. Who will deny that an increase from 2,404 to 3,28,674 is a substantial increase? Ought it to have been further increased? I think I can safely say that a substantial majority of opinion is against any such idea in the existing circumstances, and I venture to remind you of the weighty words of John Stuart Mill in this connection. Representative institutions, he pointed out, are of little value when the generality of the electors are not sufficiently in-

terested in their own government to use their vote, or if they vote at all, do not bestow their suffrages on public ground, but sell them for money or vote at the back of some one who has control over them or whom for private reasons they desire to perpetuate. A popular government, as thus practised, instead of being security against mis-government, is but an additional wheel in its machinery. I assert with confidence that we have got the best electorates possible under present conditions. Have we got the best Council possible? Those who have set themselves up as irreconcilable opponents of the system inaugurated to-day proclaim loudly that this Council is not representative. Of course, here and there there are men whose presence in this Council would be welcome and a source of strength who are to-day outside, but that is the case wherever representative institutions exist. But if we want to satisfy ourselves impartially and honestly that a large proportion of the best men of the Province are in this Council, we have only to look round this Chamber, and I congratulate the Province that in spite of many adverse circumstances over forty per cent of the voters went to the poll in the contested elections, and that they succeeded in returning such a number of able zealous members.

Power Over Budget.

"The next point that I desire to touch upon is the power this Council has for the first time in relation to the Budget. With very few exceptions, the necessity for this is universally admitted. All proposals of the local Government for the appropriation of public revenues and other moneys every year must be submitted to the vote of the Council in the form of demands for grants, and the Council may assent, or refuse its assent, to the demand or reduce the amount. Only those who have any experience of the working of responsible government can realise the transference of power from the Executive to the Council which this provision involves. Those who contend that the power reserved to the Governor to disregard such a vote under strictly limited conditions detracts to any appreciable extent from the reality of the power conceded to the Council seem to me determined either to ignore the realities of the situation or deliberately to mislead public opinion.

"The only other point that I would draw your attention to is what has been called the key-note of these Reforms—the complete control conceded to the Council over the administration of some of the most important departments of Government, compendiously called transferred subjects. These have been felicitously described as the nation-building activities of the Government. These are, broadly speaking, education, public health and medical relief, industries including agriculture, local self-government, and excise. For the administration of these departments I have chosen as my colleagues two of your fellow-members with varied knowledge and wide experience, who, I have every reason to believe, possess your confidence and are likely to pursue a policy in accordance with your reasonable desires. But I do most earnestly commend you not to expect great results in the immediate present from these Ministers. They have very big difficulties to face and they may find them insuperable if the Council insists on thrusting them into policies before they have had time to make themselves thoroughly acquainted with the details of administration and the directions along which it is possible to advance. We want reform based on knowledge and experience rather than on impatient idealism. The one will be steadily progressive; the other will lead to confusion and ultimate disaster.

The Wheat and the Chaff.

"Gentlemen, we are passing through a period of general strain and excitement. The cataclysm of the war cannot subside by magic into universal harmony. Past injustices and errors, equally with sonorous phrases full of promise for the future, have caused a widespread longing for a new heaven and new earth, and the people are finding it difficult to separate the wheat from the chaff, the attainable from the impracticable. There is great confusion of thought and consequent waste of energy and effort. The air is thick with plans for the development of education on national lines. Surely, this does not mean an abandonment of modern education, which is no more English than it is French, German or Japanese! The country is invited to take to the spinning wheel as the surest method of developing national industries,

and social reform by way of temperance is sought to be promoted by methods, some of which at any rate must come into collision with law and order. If the direct object of all these movements were the amelioration of the people and not a destruction of government, I am confident they would appeal to members of this Council whose special functions are to advance education, promote industries and develop social well-being. But I cannot believe that you will seek to carry out that policy by banishing all modern culture from our schools and colleges, by paralysing the growing industries of the country, or by trying to create habits of temperance by means other than a well-considered excise policy regulating the control, manufacture, possession and sale of alcoholic liquor and intoxicating drugs. It is for you to choose. The policy regulating all these matters must be framed in general consonance with your wishes to the extent that they coincide with the wishes of the people. I can only say, using the words lately used by that veteran Bombay educationist, Professor Pranjpye: "Remember that it is not always easy to remedy defects without introducing other and greater defects in their place."

"May I conclude by reminding you of the noble words of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught: 'Sink your differences and magnify the points on which you are in concord. Thus united, use your new political machinery to raise the depressed and to lower the walls between creeds and castes and hostile interests. And may Almighty God guide you in your labour.' I now declare the Council open."

Inauguration of The Punjab Legislative Council

LAHORE, JANUARY 8TH 1921

Like the B. & O. Council, the other Provincial Councils, viz. those of the Punjab, C. P., U. P., and Assam, were inaugurated by their respective Governors. The ceremonies were quite formal as at Patna, except in the Punjab which has the most reactionary and autocratic of all Provincial Governments. The new Reformed Punjab Legislative Council was inaugurated by the Governor, Sir Edward Maclagan, on January 8th, 1921. In this connection a gorgeous Durbar in military array, quite an unusual thing where a popular representative institution was being ushered forth, was held at the University Hall, Lahore. All the leading Princes and Chiefs of the Punjab, the members of the new Punjab Legislative Council and Executive Council, the Ministers, the Chief Justice and the Judges of the High Court, the provincial Durbaris and leading officials and non-officials, European and Indian, were present. A large number of Indian military officers also attended the Durbar. Among the prominent Ruling Princes present were their Highnesses Maharajas of Patiala, Jind and Kapurthala and the Nawabs of Bahawalpur, Maler-kotla and Loharu. The way along which the Durbar procession passed was lined with troops, and large crowds thronged both sides of the streets to witness the procession.

Sir Edward Maclagan's Address

H. E. Sir Edward Maclagan, the Governor in opening the Durbar made a long speech in course of which he explained the benefits to be derived from the Reforms much in the same way as other high placed officials have foisted the Reforms. It was, he said, one of Lord Chelmsford's first pre-occupations to secure some definition of the object at which the Government in the country should aim and the Declaration of August 1917 was the result. This was followed by a joint

enquiry, the report by H. E. the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, and the Parliamentary Legislation of 1919, under the auspices of which changes which they celebrated that day had been brought about.

Apart entirely from Legislative standpoint, the Reforms meant a great deal to them all. They had introduced an Indian element and an Indian stand-point into the Government which was infinitely more marked than anything which was there before, and they had altered fundamentally the basis of their administration. To the Princes of the province they had opened out a means for collective deliberation and for mutual intercourse with the Chiefs outside the Province, which would be exercised either by the Princes themselves or by representative Chiefs in the new Council of Princes. His Excellency evinced a great solicitude for the vested interests of the province, for people who have a stake in the country and advised the aristocracy of the province to keep their place in the race and trusted that they would do so not merely for their own sake but for the sake of the province at large, as the influence of high birth and landed interests should rightly be directed to do much to elevate the tone of public feeling, and redeem public life from the more sordid and unpleasing elements which were apt in all countries to infest the arena of modern politics.

The Chances of the People

It was not however to the Princes or Rajas that the new system of Government brought the greatest change. It was the people at large which will be most affected. To them the system then inaugurated meant a vastly increased concern and participation in the government of the country. It meant a largely increased field for municipal and district work, a field in which the government should, he said, but for the preoccupation of last year, have already introduced necessary legislation. It meant a largely increased proportion of Indians in higher branches of public service. It meant a legislature with greatly enhanced powers and mainly elected by a franchise which gave a vote to over 500,000 persons, and it meant transfer of the executive powers of Government into the hands of a Council, and the transfer of administration of a large proportion of duties of Government to the

Ministers chosen from the men elected by the people. All those meant an immense stride forward and meant an almost revolutionary change in the relation of the people to their own administration. He then continued :—

“We have with us here to-day what we have never seen in previous Durbars, a band of men elected by the people, representative of villages and towns of the Punjab, and if I may judge from the characteristics of those whom they represent, we have in them, as it were, the life and essence of the most enterprising people, the bravest warriors, and the finest peasantry to be found in Asia. Another feature new to our Durbars is a pair (*sic*) of Ministers selected from among elected representatives of the people. In Mr. Mian Fazli Husain and Lala Harkishen Lal, we have men well-known to the public in this province and I trust that through their means the administration may be conducted on lines which will, so far as is humanly possible, both conform to public will and be conducive to public benefit.”

In conclusion His Excellency said :—If these changes bring in their train, as they are intended to do, a spirit of patriotism for our province and of cordial association in work for its good we may look with great confidence to the future. We shall see a great province and a great people developing under the influence of what is best in two great civilizations into a centre of light and usefulness to all the world. May the Almighty Power who hold Nations in the hollow of His hands guide our beloved province in safety and peace along these new ways.

The Non-Co-operation Movement

(SEE ALSO THE INDIAN ANNUAL REGISTER 1921)

After the Nagpur session of the Indian National Congress the non-co-operation movement was pressed forward with such an intense earnestness and zeal that for a time it staggered those against whom it was directed. No sooner did the Congress pass the N.C.O. resolution than the Deccan Nationalists began putting into practice the constructive part of the programme. Bombay, some time before, had established a National Education society with a National College at Gujrat and besides half a dozen National Schools. Seths Haji Yousuf Sobhani and Haji Md. Maneyar, Justices of the Peace, renounced all government connection. The Maharashtra Nationalists under the lead of Poona—the centre of the great Tilakite school of Indian politics—were the first in the field with an all-round constructive scheme. Leaders of the Bar under the eminent lead of Mr. Bhopatkar suspended their practice and took up national education work. Mr. N. C. Kelkar followed by a chosen band of young men took up social reform work, removing untouchability and the drink evil. At Nagpur, Messrs N. R. Kelkar, Neogi, V. R. Kelkar, B. G. Pundit, G. R. Deo, Pleaders and Messrs M. V. Abhyankar, and G. Deshmukh, Advocates, sacrificed their practice at the Bar for Congress work. At Amritsar Dr. S. Kitchlew, the famous Khilafatists and a victim of the late O'Dowyerian reign of terror in the Punjab, collected a sum of five lacs and was dashing forward with the work of national organisation on the lines of the Congress and Khilafat mandate. At Lahore the great leader Lala Lajpat Rai was moving up and down the province collecting funds and starting National Schools. In the U. P. Pundit Motilal Nebru and his son Pundit Shamlal Nebru, with a chosen band of Congress-workers, was directing the turbulent Kishan-movement in that province into a peaceful and non-violent channel. At Patna Babu Rajendra Prasad was leading the way to establishing national schools. It was, however, at Calcutta, amongst the students under the lead of Mr. C. R. Das that the greatest storm raged,

The course of the non-co-operation movement during the year was marked by three distinct stages in its own evolution, and by several minor ones which resulted from the intense antagonism it met from the Government and its supporters. The three main stages were :—

1. The student movement during January–February which led to a widespread students' revolt, and to the establishment of many national schools and colleges.

2. The Congress Fund collections which were made vigorously by the middle of the year and amounted by July 1st, 1921 to a *Crare* of Rupees.

3. The Charka and Khadder movement during the latter part of the year which had the advantage of being adventitiously stimulated by the maddening repressive policy of the Government in the winter of 1921.

The Calcutta Student Upheaval.

(*For the Aligarh and Benares Student upheaval of 1920, see I. A. R. 1921.*)

In pursuance of the resolution of the Nagpur Students' Conference, December 1920 (see I. A. R. 1921), an attempt was made by the students early in 1921 to take the initiative into their own hands and nationalise their education. The first spark of the student revolt was struck at the Bangabasi College, the most independent and nationalistic of the Calcutta Colleges. On 12th January forenoon practically the whole of the 1st and 3rd year students came out of their classes. They had previously given notice to the College authorities to 'nationalise' the institution—by which term was meant, if any thing, the withdrawal of Government support and discontinuance of Government connection. Getting no response from the authorities, they walked out of the College, formed a procession and marched through the streets, singing national songs and asking their fellow students to come out. Immediately the Ripon College was emptied and nearly half of the City College. About 5,000 students assembled at Mirjapur Square where a great demonstration was held and they were addressed by Messrs Shyam Sundar Chakravarti, Wahid Hossain, C. R. Das and other Congress leaders. Mr. B. C. Pal, then a leading non-co-operator and the prime inspirer of the movement but who has since gone over to the Anglo-Indians,

exhorted them to remember that it was a call to the youth of India to rise up in their thousands and tens of thousands and win "Swaraj", not by the might of the sword but by the strength of their will. The fighting they were engaged in, he said, was absolutely a moral fight. It was a tug-of-war between the will to freedom and the will to keep in subjection, and their will to freedom would be proved by the strength of their determination to give up everything else at that moment. The speaker was proud of and thankful to Bengal that, after all, their silent prayers had reached the Almighty. "Swaraj" was within the hailing distance, he assured—their way was clear absolutely for their organising and building up their national institutions by their own effort and wisdom to reach their goal. He placed before them the picture of how 'wires would flash the news from Calcutta to Delhi, and thence to Madras, and from there the echo would go forth to the whole world that the youths of India were determined to leave by every other duty at that moment for fighting with non-violent weapon that fight for national freedom'. He blessed all of them and also the law and post-graduate students, four hundred of whom had struck. Continuing, he said:—"Look not to men, look not to Gandhi, look not to C. R. Dass, look not to Shyam Babu, look not to the greatest or the least of them, but look to God. Look to your country, look forward to the unborn generations who are coming after you. Think for a moment the limitations, the agonising restraints under which they would be living. Think of their position. The future was with the man who would work with his hand and brain and earn his livelihood without antagonising the interest of his brethren. The future was with the Bolsheviks, not in a bad sense of the word but in the best sense of it.' The speaker loved that word as the idea on which Bolshevism stood was a divine idea. In conclusion he appealed to the students not to go back to their schools and colleges until their institutions and universities became their own.

In the following days mammoth meetings were held, large processions of youthful enthusiasts marched through the streets, singing national songs, picketing schools, colleges and the university, and the agitation was kept at white heat. One by one all the Colleges were emptied. On the 15th January a conference of the Principals of Calcutta Colleges was held at

the invitation of the Vice-Chancellor, where it was decided that it would be dangerous to take strong steps against the strikers. An unfortunate incident happened at the Ripon College where through the nervousness of the Principle a circular was issued to the professors requiring their punctual attendance and threatening severe action on failure. This was very much resented and seven professors at once resigned. It seemed as if the whole staff would resign and join the students, and a few more of such indiscretions would have found quite a large number of the junior members of the professoriate in company with the students. The catastrophe, however, was averted by the circular being withdrawn after some of the professors had resigned. On the 17th Mr. C. R. Das addressed seven large meetings of students and asked them to hold on till new National Colleges were opened within the next fortnight. Mr. C. F. Andrews from "*Shanti-Niketan*" wired signifying his intention to join the new National University. The news that Mr. C. R. Das had given up his practice at the Bar and sacrificed his princely income and had given all his property to the national movement took the hearts of the young men by storm. There was something electric in the atmosphere to goad youth to rush into new channels which promised new hope and fresh life. Professor H. K. Sarkar, a brilliant Professor of the Calcutta University, resigned. Another brilliant university man, Dr. P. C. Ghosh, Ph. D., assistant Assay Master, Calcutta Mint, gave up his government service and dedicated himself to the *Charka* movement. A few more resignations followed. But, on the whole, the professors did not evince much interest in the movement. Had even a hundred out of the thousand and odd professors of Calcutta come out to lead the movement, it would have been a crowning piece of success, and the Calcutta University would then have undergone as thorough a process of nationalisation as the most ardent nationalist could wish. Nor were the efforts of the students themselves in this direction less sparing. They approached their teachers with agony at heart and humility in bearing, but all to no purpose. Left alone they chose their leaders from amongst themselves, and the whole mass of 10,000 students hung upon the single-handed activity of Mr. C. R. Das. The fever very rapidly spread amongst students in the mofussil. The example set by Calcutta

was followed everywhere. At Mymensingh, Faridpur, Chandpur, Pabna, Dacca and other towns, the colleges were closed. One novel method of picketing pursued by the students consisted in lying flat on the ground, side by side, on the pavement, blocking the entrance to the colleges. There was great uproar for a few days owing to the rumoured action of some of the Professors of European Colleges having forced entrance (trampling upon this human barrier. This method was very effectively practised before the University Hall where B. L. candidates were sitting at their examination. As a result, only 150 out of 500 candidates could appear. On the 19th, Sir Ashutosh Mukherji, the Vice Chancellor, addressed the strikers assembled in front of the University and said that he was prepared to cut off all connection with the Government and nationalise the University if the leaders of the N. C. O. movement gave him a crore of rupees for its running. This challenge, it is said, was taken up by Mr. C. R. Das who offered to raise this sum if Sir Ashutosh gave a written undertaking that on receipt of the money he would retire from the High Court Bench and lead the National Education movement. Nothing, however, came of it.

Gradually new accessions of strength were coming to the students. On January 19th Mr. C. F. Andrews, who had promised to join the new National University as soon as it started, addressed a large gathering of students on "Swaraj" or "Independence". In the course of this very weighty pronouncement, which more than any thing else served to keep burning the intense ardour of the youngmen to get rid of their educational nightmare, the learned lecturer said :—

"Independence complete and perfect independence for India, is a religious principle with me, because I am a Christian. I want to say quite clearly that after ten long years of painful experience, travelling over the world and seeing the British Empire in all its different parts, in Fiji, in Australia, in New Zealand, in East Africa, in the Malaya Peninsula, and in Ceylon and in India itself, I have come at last to the conclusion that Indians cannot stay any longer in the British Empire as it stands to-day. That Empire does not allow Indians as settlers over nearly four fifths of its land surface, that is to say, in Canada, Australia, New Zealand and in South Africa; in nearly every other part it only tolerates Indians as subordinates, as hewers of wood and drawers of water.

"After over a hundred years there is hardly a single country in the Empire (outside England itself) where Indians have full and equal

citizen right together with the free right of entry. I have seen with my own eyes, on every land, in almost every part of the world, the religion of White Race supremacy taught and practised. This arrogant creed makes it absolutely impossible for Indians to remain in such an imperial system with any self-respect. I believe that this religion of White Race supremacy is the greatest of all curses to the human race to-day. I hate and detest this White supremacy religion. It is fundamentally opposed to my own Christian religion, the religion in which Christ Himself declared of the brotherhood of all men in the common Fatherhood of God.

"I wish to say with deep conviction that independence can never be won if the fifty to seventy millions of the untouchables, the depressed classes of India, remain still in subjection which amounts almost to serfdom. No one can be truly free himself, no one is worthy of freedom who enslaves others. To take my own case, I am an Englishman, but England cannot be England to me, the England of Hampden and Cromwell and Milton, Burke and Shelley, Byron and Clarkson, Wülfersforce and Gladstone, England cannot be England to me, the England I love, if she keeps others in subjection in her colonies and in her Empire and if she holds down Ireland and India by military force and repression, and India cannot be India to you, the India of your dreams (and of my dreams also), if I may speak as one of her children, if she keeps others in subjection. That is why the Mahatmaji himself has said that India cannot win Swaraj in one year or in hundred years if she does not give Swaraj to her own depressed classes, her own untouchables.

"One more point and I have done. India will not be the India of my dearest religious hopes on earth if in her great struggle for freedom she turns from the path of love and peace to follow the paths of bloodshed and violence, the pathway of the sword. I have told this as clearly as possible to my friend, Maulana Shaukat Ali, and he understands me as he understands also the Mahatmaji, and he promises to obey him. It has been the dearest of all religious hopes hitherto in my own life. It has been the one dream that has sustained me all through these hideous years of blood-stained war and no less blood-stained peace that India may show to Europe the true and living picture of Christ, that India may show to the world in acts and deeds of love what the Sermon on the Mount really means.

"There is no room for Christ in Europe to-day. Come, Oh Lord Christ, come to India, take thy stand in Asia, in the country of Buddha, of Sebak, Kabir, Nanak, Nimai, Nitai, Sook and Sanak. If this great and pure movement which Mahatma Gandhi has begun only ends in violence and bloodshed, if this great and pure movement does not win by suffering and suffering alone, then my dearest religious hopes will have been in vain. But I still believe with all my heart and soul that the people of India are gentle and humane as no other people. I still believe that the religious message of Buddha, Kabir and Nanak and a thousand others, the message of my own master Christ, is still a living message in India to-day. Keep to that pure and true independence, the independence of the soul that wins by suffering and by loving service. Then there will come to mankind a new power of peace and good-will on earth that no League of Nations can attain."

On January 23rd, Mr. Gandhi at last came to Calcutta. This helped to fan the agitation still more. A great spirit of national awakening found a new influx into the youthful hearts. At a huge meeting attended by tens of thousands of students Mr. Gandhi congratulated them for the steps they had taken and deplored that professors and educationists had not joined them. He pressed for the adoption of the spinning wheel and said students should undergo training during the present year of probation. Their ordinary education would commence after Swaraj was established. Mr. Gandhi also urged medical students to leave the Colleges and undertake humanitarian work of clothing the naked and of ridding India of her shame, degradation and helplessness. He urged Bengalee students to learn Hindustani and said they had over-rated the importance of the English language and suggested that English language found very little place in the economy of Swaraj. He announced that Babu Gopal Chandra Singh, who had recently given one lakh of rupees to the National Council of Education, had again promised and had given the first instalment of an yearly donation of Rs. 10,000.

Mr. Gandhi's advent, however, gave a new turn to the movement. So long it was a question of nationalisation of Education. Mr. Gandhi made it clear that he wanted it to be a part of the Swaraj movement—students are to leave colleges and their study in order to devote themselves to the work of the nation. In the fight with the bureaucracy for Swaraj, the students are to be the van-guard, marching forth into the interior of the country preaching Non-co-operation, carrying the message of economic independence through the *charka*, organising village schools mainly for reviving the art of the spinning wheel, and otherwise completing the Congress programme of Non-co-operation in view of further preparation to establish Swaraj within a year. The nation was at war—albiet non-violent—with the Government. And just as during the last European War the Schools and Colleges of England, France, and Belgium were closed down and the students were drawn away into war-work, so too in that crisis of the Indian Nation, Indian students were to think not of Education but of Swaraj. Swaraj first and education after—that was the Mahatma's creed. But it was too hard for those to whom it was addressed.

This was the first rift in the lute—the first envisagement of the Mahatma's 'practical idealism' standing athwart the path along which in the rush of emotion they had sped.

Students' Strike in Lahore.

The great enthusiasm of the students of Calcutta and the apparent success with which the University was almost paralysed gradually began to rouse the student world all over India, but the strike fever was no where much in evidence, except at Lahore where it was little less intense than in Calcutta.

A series of articles contributed by Lala Lajpat Rai in his paper "Bande Mataram", exhorting students to boycott University examination and leave colleges, proved irresistible. On January 15th, in the course of an open letter to Lala Hansraj, ex-Principal of the D. A. V. College, Lahore, Lala Lajpat Rai drew the attention of the Managing Committee of the College to the present condition of the D. A. V. College. The Lala asserted that the wishes of the founders of the college were to run it independent of the Government and the University control, and make it the nucleus of a Dayanand University. But since 1907, he alleged, the policy of the college had been changed and it had sacrificed its principles in order to please the Government and the University. Lala Lajpat Rai then referred to the new spirit in the country which, he said, was preached to Arya Samajists, the founders of the College, long ago by Swami Dayanand and asked Lala Hansraj either to declare openly that the D. A. V. College authorities had changed the policy of the founders or that they would free the college from the control of the Government and the University, and nationalise it. Lala Lajpat Rai further assured Lala Hansraj that the latter need not entertain any fear as regards financing the national University as he guaranteed to pay Rs. 50,000 to make up the deficiency in the income for two years within one week the college had freed itself from the University control. In the end, he requested Lala Hansraj to place the matter before the Managing Committee of the College and inform him their decision within two weeks, so that he may decide his future position in connection with the D. A. V. College. To this, however, no reply was vouchsafed, and meanwhile the students were becoming very restive.

On January 24th, news spread that the students of the D. A. V. College had refused to attend classes and that only a small percentage attended. Two days before some four hundred students of the College had sent an application to the Principal requesting him to invite Lala Lajpat Rai and permit him to address the students in the college hall on the subject of Non-co-operation. On receipt of this letter an emergency meeting of 20 local members of the Managing Committee was held the next evening and it was unanimously resolved that the Principal was to inform the students that although under ordinary conditions he would have been glad to give necessary permission, he regretted that it could not be done as the Seditious Meetings Act was in force in Lahore at that time. On the 24th, before college classes began the Principal witnessing some excitement in the college hostel, issued a notice asking students to meet him at the college hall. The majority of students met there, when the Principal addressed them for about an hour and tried to impress upon them the futility of their action. He asked non-co-operation students not to coerce those who conscientiously felt it right and proper to continue their studies in the college and gave all students freedom of action to work according as their conscience dictated. He said that the college authorities would be ready to start a non-University college, if such a demand was manifested, side by side with the existing institution, but he could not build on the ruins of the present D. A. V. College.

After the address of the Principal, most of the students attended classes. Those who did not held a meeting on the lawn of the hostel and passed a resolution requesting the Principal to close the college next day to enable all students to go to Gujranwala, where a conference had been arranged between the Non-co-operation leaders and the students to discuss the matter in all its aspects with Lala Lajpat Rai and other leaders. On receipt of this resolution the Principal informed the students that such of them as applied for leave would have their applications granted.

Accordingly, next day, January 25th, some 500 students of the D. A. V. College, joined by their compatriots from other colleges, marched all the way from Lahore to Gujranwala, a distance of 40 miles, to hold the longed-for con-

ference with the N.C.O leaders. Lahore was then a proclaimed area, and no meetings or processions could be held ; so the meeting was arranged to be held at Gujranwala which till then enjoyed civic freedom. A large number of people, some 5,000 in all, including students of the local Khalsa college and schools, attended and great enthusiasm prevailed. Lala Lajpat Rai accompanied by Pt. Rambhuj Dutt came from Lahore at the appointed time.

Addressing the students Pandit Rambhuj Dutt said that they were at war with the bureaucracy though it was a bloodless and non-violent war. They must give up all superfluous work for one year. Students should give up their studies, factory owners should close their factories, women should give up buying or using superfluous ornaments and dress for one year. To win Swaraj within a year they must come forward and fight and make all sacrifice. Those who die in the struggle, eternal glory will be theirs and they will have their abode in heaven. He appealed to the students to give up their studies at once and join the national movement to win Swaraj for their country.

Lala Lajpat Rai said that they had to come all the way from Lahore to Gujranwala because the Punjab Government would not allow him and others to address them in Lahore owing to the Seditious Meetings Act. Their faith in co-operation with the Government was gone for ever. They had tried all methods of co-operation, but had failed and had been compelled at last to adopt the weapon of Non-co-operation. Their grievances would not be redressed until they became free in their own land as Englishmen were free in their own. They should come forward united and sacrifice their all to win Swaraj. They had so long helped the Government to rule them. They had allowed themselves to be used as tools by the bureaucracy. They should now withdraw all co-operation from a Government which had broken pledge after pledge and were bent upon keeping them enslaved. Turning to the students the Lala said that he would boldly and unhesitatingly ask the students to leave their colleges at once and join the Non-co-operation movement whole-heartedly. They must show to the world that they could win Swaraj without shedding a drop of blood by following the principal of non-violence. He appealed to the D. A. V. College students to leave the College

at once. As soon as they left the College, it could be converted into an excellent technical College. So long as they would be inside the College, the authorities would do nothing to give them true national and technical education. He would be the last to see the Dayanand College ruined and destroyed, as he had given twenty-five years of his life to build that College and had worked day and night for it. He wanted the D. A. V. College to be a true national College, and its students true national workers and not slaves and job-hunters. In conclusion, he said :—'Remember one thing, don't be a bluffer. Think and consult your conscience. Do not leave the Colleges unless you are absolutely determined to follow your conscience. But once you take the step, do not recede.'

This meeting was followed by the Punjab students' conference held at Gujranwala on the 30th January with Dr. Kitchlew as the President. A resolution was here passed by an overwhelming majority welcoming the Congress resolution on Non-cooperation as far as it concerned students above the age of 16 and strongly urging upon students to make immediate and effective response to the call of the nation by unconditional withdrawal from all arts, science and professional institutions connected with the Government.

Meanwhile the other Lahore colleges had been affected—the Foreman Christian College and the Sanatana Dharma College became soon involved. Their students went on strike wholesale on the 27th and passed at their meetings resolutions similar to those of the D. A. V. College students. The students of the Government College and Law College were visibly hesitating. The authorities had at last to close the Colleges for several days varying from a week to a month and by the end of February the movement quieted down and all the colleges reopened and resumed work.

At Calcutta, too, the Colleges reopened on the 21st Feb. and more than half the number of students returned.

In Bombay

In Bombay N-C-O leaders held daily meetings, in the last week of January, in which they passionately exhorted students to come out for national service. Like Mr. C. R. Das at Calcutta, Mr. M. R. Jayakar, a leading Barrister, suspended practice and engaged himself in the constructive work

of national education. Under the auspices of the Swarajya Sabha, the Home Rule League, and the National Union, an important public meeting was held on the 20th January with M. Gandhi as the president and the Brothers Ali as the chief speakers. The cult of non-co-operation was explained to the large audience mainly composed of students. Daily meetings were also held, of more or less importance, in which the students were harangued to take their own share in the country's fight for freedom. Some 700 students in all left their study and actually enrolled themselves under the N-C-O banner. But there was no dramatic hiatus of a sudden strike as at Calcutta. Further, from the very beginning the students of Bombay had a more accurate understanding of the N-C-O programme of College boycott than elsewhere. As a matter of fact there were two different propaganda in Bombay asking students to leave their colleges. One was headed by Mr. V. J. Patel who advised suspension of education altogether in order that the students may carry N-C-O propaganda in the villages and remote parts of the country; and the other was headed by Mr. Jayakar who wanted education but of the nationalised variety, to further which his party was busy in organising national schools and colleges.

Non-Co-operation in Madras.

In Madras Province the movement did not catch on except in the Godaveri district and Trichinopoly where students were in ferment for a short time. On January 22nd the Godavery District Students Conference was held at Rajahmundry, and the occasion was utilised in carrying the boycott campaign but with very little success. It was in Calicut, however, that a ferment arose over the arrest of some of the N-C-O leaders. On the 5th. February orders were served on Messrs U. Gopal Menon, K. Madhavan Nair and V. Kunhamad Haji not to hold meetings in the Malabar which were then in contemplation. Ten days after Mr. Gopal Menon was bound down with a similar warning. Mr. Yakub Hossain, the great Khilafat leader of the Madras, went to Calicut on the 16th and he too was gagged. The arbitrary executive orders were disregarded and a meeting was held with the result that Messrs. Yakub Hossain, Gopal Menon, Madhavan Nair and Moideen Koya were arrested, tried, and sentenced

to 6 months' S. I. This created a great agitation in the province. Mr. Yakub Hossain and party were however subsequently let off.

Agrarian Riot in the U. P.

Early in 1921 a serious agrarian disturbance occurred in the United Provinces which lasted for a couple of months and in the end left a strong mark of dissatisfaction amongst the peasant population of the districts of Rae Bareilly and Fyzabad. The authorities scented non co-operation in the land-riots that followed and aggravated the situation by warning prominent N-C-O leaders off the field. From January 2nd. to 7th a great riot raged in many villages in the Rae Bareilly and Fyzabad districts. The trouble arose on account of the tenants refusing to pay some of the illegal and oppressive cesses imposed by the landlords who on one plea or other received the help of the police and the magistracy, and thus armed with power bullied the exasperated men to submission. At Fursatganj on the 5th. January there was a scuffle with thousands of peasants and the police, the result of which was that a large number of the former was arrested. This led to serious rioting and on the 7th. at Munshiganj a crowd of 10,000 people collected before the jail bent on mischief. They had to be dispersed by police fire. The mob then looted bazars and some property of the zamindars. Hundreds were arrested but a majority was soon set free. On the 14th. a riot took place in Behar parganna in Fyzabad. On the 23rd. a serious riot took place in Rachrawan where several constables were killed. On the 29th. at Goshanganj there was another *Kishan* (peasant) rising. The depth of their feeling may be gauged from the fact that about 1000 men lay flat on the Railway line on hearing that their leader was being carried away in the incoming train. The train had to stop for 3 hours during which the police cleared the line by buckshot fire. The trouble gradually subsided on the N-C-O leaders organising a *Kishan* league which held a meeting at Allahabad on February 7th. under the guidance of Pt. Motilal Nebru and Mr. Parushottam Tandon.

The Nankana Tragedy

Though not directly connected with non-co-operation, a politico-religious affair of stupendous significance was about this period happening in the Punjab which culminated in a wholesale massacre of some 150 Sikhs at Nankana Sahib. To understand the event it is necessary to relate the history of the recent Sikh movement in the Punjab.

In 1919 the Sikh League was inaugurated with the avowed object of demanding full rights for the Sikh nation, of representing to Government matters affecting the Sikhs, and of reviving in the Sikh public an interest in politics. The first session of the League determined to demand from Government more seats in the Legislative Council than had been allotted to the Sikhs and it also attacked the management of the Sacred Golden Temple in Amritsar and protested against the degree of control exercised by Government. With the adoption of the policy of Non-co-operation the agitation among the Sikhs spread rapidly and at the Sikh Conference in October 1920, resolutions were passed demanding control by the Sikhs themselves of their educational and religious institutions without interference of any kind from Government.

Eventually, after a good deal of harassment, they secured full control of their Golden Temple and the management of the Khalsa College was also handed over to a Sikh Council after a great deal of excitement in the College itself where the Professors once resigned in a body and the students refrained from joining their classes (see I. A. R. 1921). A Committee was appointed, mainly under the influence of the Maharaja of Patiala, the premier Sikh Prince, with an equal number of popular representatives to manage the affairs and income of the Golden Temple at Amritsar.

Reformed Sikh Committee.

In November 1920 a Committee, called the 'Gurudwara Prabhandak' or the Reformed Sikh Committee, was formed to undertake the management of all Sikh Gurdwaras and other religious institutions. The Sikh Shrines hitherto

were under Mahants, some of whom were very bad characters and abominably licentious. Disputes regarding the possession of Gurdwaras in Amritsar, Lyallpur Sheikhpura, Attock and Lahore quickly arose and certain of these shrines were occupied by the Reforming Party. Some voluntarily joined the reformers, others, more conservative, had to be occupied by force. During the occupation of the shrine in Taran Taran in January, a serious fracas took place between the two parties resulting in the death of two men and injuries to others. Government, always suspicious of the reformers, and appealed to by the Mahants, tried to collect evidence against the former but owing to the hold of non-co-operation people did not come forward to support the Mahants. The movement continued and the reformers made no secret of their intention to seize the Nankana Gurudwara, which is the wealthiest of these shrines possessing large estates in some 32 villages with an income running to lakhs of rupees.

The Fight at Nankana

In Nankana the chief Mahant, Narain Das, appeared to have realized his precarious position and secretly collected men and arms for the purpose of defending the shrine. On the 19th of February a conference was held in Lahore of the Conservative Party, i.e., the Sanatanist Sikhs, which was attended by the Mahant and from which he hurriedly returned to Nankana on hearing that the Akalis were coming.

The Akalis are puritan Sikhs and form the vanguard of the reforming party. They used to form Jathas or companies which travelled from shrine to shrine in their work of reformation. February 25th. was the date of a Grand Diwan or session of the Khalsa at Nankana Sahib, to enquire into the administration of the Shrine and there could be little doubt of what the decision would be. The Mahant, Narain das, prepared to resist by force any expropriation of his hereditary shrine, had in the meantime engaged some 500 hooligans and Pathans as chowkidars. Two days before the Diwan an Akali Jatha appeared at Nankana Sahib but was not admitted. The object of this Jatha was to make collections for the coming Diwan. On occasions of a Diwan,

it is the rule with the Sikhs to keep a free kitchen opened for the brotherhood. A second company of 150 appeared and quietly entered the temple and, it is reported, sat down to read the Sacred book.

The doors of the shrine were shut ; and when they were opened later scarcely a man was found alive to tell the tale of what took place within. The following account of the tragedy was given by Lala Girdhari Lal of Lahore :—

"Sardar Lachman Sing of Dharolal, with a party of about 125 to 150 men came to Gurudwara early in the morning. As soon as all had entered and sat down in Janamsthan Sahib to read out the Holy Book, all the gates of the Temple were closed and the attack began on all the members of the Jatha with rifles, chavies, takwas, revolvers, etc. by Mahant Naraindas and his men who were hidden on the roofs and in the verandahs of the temple. Brick bats were also thrown at the Jatha party from roofs where I saw about 16 heaps of these. In all the attacking party consisted of the Mahant, Pathans and Bhattis hired by him for this heinous crime assisted by his righthand man, one Ismaeel Bhati. Like the martyrs of their Panthans of old, Sardar Lachman Singh is reported to have said that he did not come for taking possession of the temple, but stopped on his way to Srnawali where he was going to arrange for the Diwan to pay homage in Gurudwara. Some say that the Jathadar came with an expressed solemn aim for possession and determined to sacrifice himself and his party, if to avoid a greater price being paid at the time of the big Diwan proclaimed for the 3rd to 5th March next. Most bodies were dragged to the north side of Gurudwara where they were burnt with wood and kerosine oil. The heads of many were cut. In these burnt heaps there were traces of arms, heads, legs and other parts of bodies chopped off into small bits. Practically the whole compound was full of blood where persons appear to have been cruelly and brutally butchered. One man apparently took shelter on the roof above the small gate to the south where he was massacred and his body thrown down outside. Another must have tried to save himself in a small Samadh, but mercilessly killed.

"When I visited the temple on the 2nd I saw 5 places inside where bodies were burnt in a fiendish manner. There were traces of at least eighteen tins of oil having been used in this foul deed. In all I counted skeletons and heads, arms, legs etc, of about seventy persons besides those that must have been completely and fully burnt out to ashes. Karas and Kirpans were clearly distinguishable. The remains of a few in these heaps clearly showed their being thrown into burning flames while still alive.

"I am almost certain that the Jatha people truly followed their leader and did not use their Kirpans at all, but heroically and valiantly sacrificed their lives for their faith. If they had acted otherwise, there must have been greater casualties amongst the Mahant's people. It is just possible that some amongst the Jatha people also may have tried to use violent methods for defence, but no proof of this is yet forthcoming.

I enquired from one Mahantist who says that no one of their partners inside the temple was attacked by the Ja'ha people. I cannot at present give a decided opinion as I could not get hold of any Bhatti who was in the affray. Most of them were in hiding and some that were caught were in police custody.

"A few words are necessary as to what took place outside the temple. About 40 to 50 reached Gurudwara. One who was in it told me that they heard shots at some distance from Nankana Sahib and thought their friends gone ahead may be victims of an attack. These brave fellows fully realising the danger they were running into boldly and unflinchingly marched forward to join in the glorious martyrdom of their brothers. When they arrived at the outer compound of Gurudwara they were also attacked by Mahant Naraindas who was fully armed on horseback and others near the southern gate. Sardar Dalipsingh who had come to stop Lachman Singh from entering Gurudwara and 5 to 6 others laid their lives at the altar of their gurus at the hands of the bloodthirsty ruffians.

"Sardar Uttam Singh, mill-owner, a respectable citizen, sent 2 of his men to bring correct news of the affair, but these also fell under the fire of Bhattis, Pathans, and the Mohant. The bodies of the killed outside were burnt in a furnace in the compound. I saw the remains of 5 men in this heap. In all, I believe about 150 brave and noble hearts sacrificed their lives to enable their other brethren to achieve their cherished wish of purging their oldest Gurudwara of the infamous Mahant that had squandered in revelries the hard earned money of the public.

"Jathadar Kartarsingh of Jhabar reached Nankana Sahib with about 1,000 companions and insisted on being given charge of Gurudwara. The authorities tried to talk tall as usual, but as Jathadar Kartarsingh of Juabbar was determined not to turn back, but to go straight to Gurudwara even if they had all to die to the last man in having to fight with European or Indian soldiers or the Mahant's people. At this determination, the representatives of Sanarkar made over the Gurudwara to members of the Siromoni Gurudwara Committee who were present on the spot.

"The imperfect news of this unparalleled heinous crime has caused a thrill of horror and indignation all over the country and naturally to a greater extent amongst the Khalsas who lost about 150 of their high-souled Sewaks of the Panth. The Sikh nation being stirred to the core has poured into Nankana Sahib telegrams from far and near asking for details and offering help of all kinds. The stoppage of trains, interfered with the reaching of many people in time. For the Sanskar fixed for the 23rd instant, almost all Sikh leaders of all shades of opinion mustered strong at the fountain shrine of their religion. Many amongst them had to walk for miles in dust and sun. Up to one P. M. about 12,000 people had reached Gurudwara to pay their last homage to the martyrs. Akali Jathas, consisting of hundreds of men and some women, came singing national songs and the famous cry of "Sat Sri Akal" resounded to the skies."

After a protracted trial the Mohant with 7 others were on Oct. 12th. sentenced to death.

The All-India Congress Committee

BEZWADA, 31st. MARCH 1921

The repressive measures adopted by the Government all round were more and more goading Congress-men to despair, and the whole country was throbbing with expectations for a definite lead from the Congress. Resistance was in the air, and the more ardent spirits amongst the national workers were beginning to feel that the restraint put upon them by the Congress was too irksome. The more dashful moslems were getting impatient to declare a *jehad*. On March 28th Moslem Divines met at a Conference (*Jamiat ul-ulema*) at Bareilly and Moulana Murtaza Hassan and others delivered "*W'az*". Resolutions were passed affirming that Mussalmans who were still working against the safety of the Khilafat and the Holy places and still co-operating with the enemies of Islam were within the purview of *Zajur* and *Tajers* (punitive measures) and declaring that the complete independence of India was essential for the integrity of the Islamic Shariat and their religious susceptibilities. It was further declared that for that time all efforts like non co-operation should be continued till independence was achieved. Recruiting for the Army, specially for the Moslem units, it was urged, should be boycotted, and the Ulemas (Moslem Divines) prepared themselves for a wholesale religious propaganda emanating from a central and powerful college of priests to bend the will of the whole class of Indian Moslems subservient to the dictates of orthodox Islam.

It was under such circumstances that the leaders of the Non-co-operation movement were called upon to divert the popular mind to a more fruitful and constructive channel. The All-India Congress Committee was hastily called and it began its historic meeting at Bezwada, Madras Presidency, on March 31st 1921. The opinion was fast gaining ground that a lead of civil disobedience may be at once given by the Congress, so that the resultant Government repression against Congress-men may spend itself out before "Swaraj in the next

4 months" may even become remotely capable of achievement. An *Imperium in imperio*, a Swaraj State living within and flourishing upon the bigger adventitious State of British India, was fast capturing the popular mind, and this was sought to be debated thread-bare before the Congress Committee.

The All-India Congress Committee which sat at Bezwada had a splendid reception. Some 200,000 people, depleting scores of villages from a distance of 25 miles all round, poured into the little town to have a *darshan* (audience) of the great Mahatma and his co-workers. Though a committee meeting, it looked very much like a special session of the Congress. All the great leaders, including Mr. C. R. Das from Bengal, Lala Lajpat Rai from Punjab, Pundit Motilal Nehru from the United Provinces, Mr. Kasturiranga Aiyangar from Madras, Mr. Kelkar from Poona, Mr. Tyabji from Baroda, Mr. Vijiaraghavachariar from Salem, in all more than 50 out of a total of 170 members were present. The most important result of the meeting was that aggressive and mass civil disobedience was, on the persuasion of M. Gandhi, postponed till the subordinate Congress organisations were perfected.

Business began with the consideration of draft resolutions prepared and proposed by Mahatma Gandhi in regard to the further programme of Congress work and organisation.

Mr. Gandhi in proposing the first resolution for adoption made a lucid and clear statement of the present situation.

The First Resolution—Men, Money & Munitions

The resolution runs as follows :—

I. In the opinion of the All-India Congress Committee all organisations and workers should concentrate their attention chiefly upon—

(a) bringing the All-India Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund to one crore of rupees and before 30th June next each Congress province to collect in the ratio of its population ;

(b) putting in Congress registers one crore of members in pursuance of the constitution and before 30th June next each province to contribute the number of members in the ratio of its population ;

(c) introducing into villages and houses 20 lakhs of Charkas (spinning wheels) in good working order and before

30th June next each province to introduce the number of *Charkas* in the ratio of its population.

He pointed out that in respect of those aspects of their propaganda upon which they had so far concentrated, namely giving up of titles, councils, educational institutions and courts, there was no need for further concentration thereon and he considered that the success already achieved therein was in every way satisfactory. Whatever be the number of students who had given up college, or of lawyers who had given up practice, the Congress had achieved the real object of the propaganda, namely, the demolition of the prestige of these institutions of the bureaucratic government of the country. Most of those who yet continued in schools or in courts were fully convinced of the principle for which Congress has fought, although for a variety of reasons they were not able to give effect to the resolution immediately. The Congress may therefore well trust to time for the movement to work its way fully. He therefore pointed out that in order to achieve the programme of Swaraj within the time mentioned in the Nagpur Congress resolution, they should now concentrate upon those parts of it which would directly lead the masses of this country to its realisation.

The awakening of the masses, he said, was phenomenal and while the masses were fully alive to the urgent need of realisation of Swaraj, the leaders were lagging behind. It was, therefore, necessary to give form and shape to the aspirations of the masses. Their aspirations for Swaraj were based upon the very definite perception that without Swaraj their condition could not improve and the direct means of improving their condition was to enable them to clothe and feed themselves. It was for this purpose that he felt that the *Charka* movement was full of the utmost potentialities in the winning of Swaraj. If the masses were enabled to perceive that situation and to realise that by securing their economic independence through the use of the spinning wheel in their houses so as to obtain the maximum of production and wherewithal to feed and clothe themselves, it would immediately have the effect of making them feel that they were no longer dependent on foreigners for their livelihood and progress. It would also effect a complete economic boycott of the most important of foreign imports of the country. If this was achieved, Swaraj

could be considered to have been realised. That was why he desired that the *Charka* movement should be pressed forward.

In order that this propaganda might succeed, workers were needed. Congress organisations should be thoroughly put into operation. If, as the resolution insisted, one crore of rupees was collected before the 30th June, as he was quite hopeful it would be, and one crore of the manhood and womanhood of the country were registered as Congressmen, there could be no more patent proof of the fitness of the people for Swaraj than of their ability to achieve it through the Congress organisation itself.

Mr. C. R. Dass from Bengal in seconding the resolution pointed out that he was one of those who did not finally take to the spinning wheel kindly, but he found by actual experience that the spinning wheel movement was in every way calculated to achieve their object of Swaraj. If Swaraj meant that India should be self-contained and self-sufficient, it was desirable that her people must be made to understand how they could do so. He considered the spinning wheel as a most simple, honest and straight proposition which could be put before the masses and taken to by them easily.

He was asked to define Swaraj many times. He desired to say that there had been a good deal of needless discussion over it. Swaraj did not mean any particular system of Government which the Congress might argue about or settle. Swaraj was the right of the people to determine their own affairs and their own form of Government. It was the freedom to so determine that constituted Swaraj. It was futile to discuss particular forms of Swaraj.

Their idea in asking people to take to the *Charka* was not based upon any desire to enter into competition with foreign capitalist production, either from without or from within. Their idea was to enable the people to understand and fashion for themselves their economic life and utilise to their level best the spare time of their families and all opportunities with a view to create more economic goods for themselves and improve their own condition. He emphasised that collection of a crore of rupees and a crore of members on the roll would be the most signal proof of the ability of the people to realise and exercise their right of Swaraj.

Mr. Jambadas Mehta pointed out that, in so far as the wheel movement was intended as the means of displacing the import of foreign cloth into India, a more efficacious method would be to see that all yarn produced in India was used entirely for the production of clothes needed for this country. If proper steps were taken that no yarn produced in this country was exported and all available yarn was used for production of indigenous cloth, the boycott could be easily effected. He quoted figures of the import and export of yarn and cloth in support of his statement.

Lala Lajpat Rai, Mr. C. R. Dass and other prominent leaders then addressed the meeting and urged that what was then needed was a perfected Congress organisation, which meant ample 'men, money, and munitions', and that was all that the resolution demanded. After further discussion the resolution was carried.

The Second Resolution—On Civil Disobedience

II. (a) The All-India Congress Committee is of opinion that the orders of officials in various provinces against Non-co-operators in pursuit of the policy of repression are totally unwarranted by the situation in the country and are in most cases pronounced by the highest legal opinion to be illegal.

(b) Whilst the Committee believe that the country has responded in a wonderful manner and in the face of grave provocation by Government to the principle of non-violence enjoined by Congress in the country's pursuit after Swaraj and redress of Khilafat and Punjab wrongs—

(c) This Committee is of opinion that, apart from the fact that Civil Disobedience is not expressly comprised in the Congress resolution relating to Non co-operation, the country is not yet sufficiently disciplined, organised or ripe for the immediate taking up of civil disobedience.

(d) This Committee, by way of preparation, therefore advises all those upon whom orders may be served voluntarily to conform to them and trusts that new workers will take the place of those who may be disabled by the Government, and that the people at large instead of becoming disheartened or frightened by such orders will continue their work of quiet organisation and construction sketched by the Congress resolution.

The second resolution on the question of the repressive policy of Government and the expediency and propriety of offering civil disobedience was the pivot of the Conference. Round it flourished the greatest difference of opinion and a heated debate went on for a long time. The younger and more ardent people wanted civil disobedience to be started at once, even though they were not well prepared for the struggle. The older people headed by the great Mahatma, however, stressed not so much on their unpreparedness as to give the new Viceroy, Lord Reading, some time to take in the situation in the country in its proper light before any aggressive move was decided upon by them.

Mr. Gandhi pointed out that, in deference to the ruling of the chair that civil disobedience as such was not in express terms recommended by the Nagpur Congress and was not within the four corners of the resolution on Non-co-operation, he proposed that the All-India Congress Committee in this matter should only express its opinion in the form of advice, in order that the country might have a lead from the Committee. The question of civil disobedience had been raised in several quarters in consequence of the deliberate repressive action of Government against non-co-operators. He referred at length to the entirely illegal and unjustifiable character of several proceedings taken by the authorities in several provinces and pointed out how wonderfully the people had conformed to non-violence even under grave provocation. Nevertheless he felt that the Committee should not recommend civil disobedience suggested in the form which was understood by those who advocated it. Though it was true that non-payment of taxes was one form of civil disobedience contemplated by the Congress resolutions, yet it was not initiated as part of a programme of civil disobedience against Government in respect of particular laws or orders, lawful or otherwise. The scheme of civil disobedience which he had practised in South Africa and developed in his own mind was one which could not yet be put into operation. If the country was organised and restrained so thoroughly as he desired, it would then be time enough to put it into operation. As it was, he considered that notwithstanding the great progress of non-violence among the people, there was still an element of what he would, for want of a better term, call mob

law, not in the wrong sense but in the sense that the people had not yet so thoroughly disciplined themselves as to restrain themselves when their dearest wishes were violated or when their great leaders were snatched away to prison under the most provocative circumstances. Until, therefore, they were able to self-control themselves perfectly they should not initiate civil disobedience. Of course, he was glad to note that the people were in a fair way to it. If, however, any person took upon himself the responsibility of offering civil disobedience to particular orders or laws, which he conscientiously thought he could not obey, as, for example in the case of Mr. Yakub Hasan, he was at liberty to do so. But he might do so only on his own responsibility and not in the name of the Congress.

After a heated debate the resolution was passed and civil disobedience was postponed for the time.

Next day, April 1st, 1921, the All-India Congress Committee re-assembled to complete their work on the agenda. Before the proceedings commenced some time was given to the Municipal Council, Bezwada, who had come there to present their address of welcome to Mahatma Gandhi. Mr. D. V. Hanumantha Rao, Chairman, read the address to which Mahatma Gandhi gave a suitable reply in which he emphasised the need of the Municipal Councils adopting the policy of the Congress for the attainment of Swaraj. He showed how valuable the support and the work of the Municipal Councils would be in the programme of work now before the country for the realisation of Swaraj and referred to the examples of Nadiad, Ahmedabad and Surat. He exhorted them to help in the collection of the Tilak Swaraj Fund and the organisation of the Congress Committees.

Congress Sabhas.

When the meeting began the adjourned discussion on the resolution moved by Mahatma Gandhi the previous evening was resumed. The resolution was to the effect that the All-India Congress Committee was of opinion that in the organisation of Congress Sabhas under the new constitution, no person who does not conform to the resolution on Non-co-operation specially applicable to himself, should hold any office therein. Mahatma Gandhi in urging the proposition observed that though the enforcing of such a resolution might be difficult

and unpleasant, it was a duty that had to be faced and overcome by those who had to bring into being the new constitution. It seemed to him that while the masses of the country and Congressmen were overwhelmingly in favour of Non-co-operation, it was right that those who were not prepared to give effect to it in their own person and conduct should not be asked to control the working of the Congress organisations, having regard to the resolution of the Nagpur Congress.

Mr. V. Ramadoss Pantalu raised a point of order and observed that the passing of such a resolution would be inconsistent with the Congress constitution and would not be within the competence of the All India Congress Committee. The constitution having defined the qualifications of Congressmen and having imposed no disqualifications upon any of them to serve on the executive of any of the Congress organisations, it was not competent for the All-India Congress Committee to frame a rule disqualifying particular Congressmen from holding offices. All that the constitution required of the Congressmen was that they should sign the creed and accept the constitution, and any one who did so was entitled to be elected to the Congress offices, and it was not for the All-India Congress Committee to impose any restrictions of the kind proposed, however much it may be desirable that those who were not in favour of the accepted policy of the Congress should not undertake any executive office which might involve the carrying out of its resolutions.

Pundit Motilal Nehru in supporting Mr. Gandhi pointed out that the resolution would only operate as a recommendation and would not render void the election of anyone in violation of such resolution. He considered it desirable that such a lead as Mr. Gandhi proposed should be given by the All-India Congress Committee to the country in this matter.

Mr. N. C. Kelker observed that even if such a resolution was technically in order it was not right and it was beyond the legitimate exercise of the powers of the All-India Congress Committee to seek to impose restrictions of the kind suggested, and he had no doubt that the electors could be well trusted to exercise their rights properly.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Aiyangar, who raised the point of order and strongly opposed, observed that the resolution would

be clearly *ultra vires* of the Committee as it would be an infraction of the right of the Congress electors as such and the imposition of an unjustifiable restriction on the freedom of their choice of their own office-bearers. The All-India Congress Committee, he remarked, stood in the place of the Congress between its annual sessions, and any restrictions passed by the Committee would be considered to be in the nature of a mandate of the Congress itself—the mandate in the present case being an alteration of the constitution in fundamental matters, viz., the rights of election and candidature for offices. Such an alteration can only be made in accordance with the procedure for the alteration of the Congress constitution and this was beyond the powers of the Committee. Further, the restrictions proposed were absolutely unnecessary having regard to the work on which the Committee had resolved to concentrate itself solely in the next three months, viz., that mentioned in the first resolution. For such comprehensive work it was necessary to enlist the services of as many Congress workers as would sincerely and legitimately co-operate in it, and he urged the good sense of the electors as well as those who might aspire for offices might be safely relied upon to avoid the contingency of insincere people coming in to lead the Congress movements.

Mr. S. Kasturiranga Aiyangar said that the resolution was opposed to both the letter and the spirit of the constitution. It would in effect, he said, create two classes of Congressmen within the Congressfold, viz. those general Congressmen who accepted the creed and conformed to the constitution, and a special group of Congressmen who by reason of special qualifications had the sole right of being office-bearers or workers in the Congress organisations. It was extremely undesirable that any such distinctions should be created or encouraged, and he appealed to Mahatma Gandhi not to press for it.

Mahatma Gandhi replying to the debate said he felt the force of the subtle and suggestive arguments advanced by Mr. S. Kasturiranga Aiyangar and realised the difficulties he had indicated. But he observed that that was the very reason why as staunch Congressmen they should face them and overcome them instead of avoiding them.

There was a strong opposition to the Mahatma's proposal and after a lengthy discussion the matter was adjourned to the end of the agenda, and finally the consideration of the proposition itself was, on the intervention of the President, deferred for the time.

Two other resolutions were then passed :—

The Third Resolution

III. The All-India Congress Committee congratulates the country on the rapid progress made in the organisation of panchayats, and trusts that people will make still greater efforts to boycott Government law-courts.

The Fourth Resolution

IV. This Congress Committee congratulates the country on its spontaneous response to the principle of self-purification underlying the movement of non-violent Non-co-operation by taking up the campaign against the drink evil and trusts that the habit of taking intoxicating drinks and drugs will totally disappear from the land by the persistent and continued efforts of self-sacrificing workers.

Other Resolutions

Resolution No. 5. The All India Congress Committee expresses its sense of horror over the Nankana Massacre and tenders its respectful condolence to the families of the victims of the tragedy and assures the Sikhs of its sympathy with them in the heavy losses suffered by them.

Resolution No. 6. This meeting of the All-India Congress Committee congratulates the Burmese nation in their great struggle for freedom and sympathises with them and with U. Ottama in their trouble created by repressive measures adopted by the Government.

Resolution No. 7. The All-India Congress Committee congratulates all those who are suffering by way of imprisonment or otherwise in the cause of religion and India's freedom.

Mahatma Gandhi's Tour.

Immediately after the Bezwada meeting the leaders dispersed to their respective provinces to take up the work delineated by the Committee and to build up district and

village organisations on the line of the Congress mandate. Mahatma Gandhi toured through the Madras Presidency collecting funds and delivering the message of the Congress. On April 8th before a mass meeting in Madras presided over by Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar and attended by Congress leaders the Mahatma delivered an important address on the Bezwada resolutions which is reproduced below :—

“I hope that it is time India will recognise that foreign cloth is a badge of our slavery, that foreign cloth is a badge of the degradation of Islam in India. The more I think of the salvation of India, economic, political, moral and religious, the more I think of the Khilafat question, the more I am convinced that if the Khilafat wrong is to be redressed through India, through the Hindus and Mussalmans of India, if India is to gain Swaraj during this year, at least we owe it to the Motherland that we discard the use of foreign cloth, no matter at what cost. As Moulana Muhammad Ali in one of his recent speeches in Calcutta remarked : ‘a hundred years ago or more we sold away the spinning wheel and we purchased our slavery.’

Spinning

I want, therefore, to invite your attention to the most potent part of the resolution arrived at by the All-India Congress Committee after the programme of Non-co-operation had worked for so many months. If we want one crore of rupees before the 30th June, we want it not in order to promote deputations to England or America or any part of the world, not for any foreign propaganda, but we want that money and more for introducing the spinning wheel into every home in India. We want that money in order to pay a more livelihood to the workers who will go out throughout the length and breadth of the Dravida land to introduce the spinning wheel. Only the other day I was in Masulipatam and had the honour of visiting a few villages where even today our sisters are spinning beautiful fine yarn not for money but for love. I, therefore, hope that if you are going to be instrumental in attaining Swaraj during this year, in redressing the Khilafat wrong and the Punjab wrong, you will make during this sacred National week a fixed determination to throw away all the foreign cloths that you may possess. I

hold it to be a crime to see an inch of foreign cloth in our mosques. I am glad to note that the more we make progress, the more convinced our countrymen are that the success of our battle depends mainly, if not solely, upon non-violence.

Non-Violence

"In my opinion our non-violence is the greatest part of our Non-co-operation, but our non-violence will have to stand the severest stress and the greatest strain that might be put upon it. I have just heard that somewhere in Malabar a Non-co-operating father had to witness violence unprovoked done to his son by some police-men. I shall still hope that the story is untrue, that there is some defect somewhere about the evidence collected by friends who brought the thing to my notice. But let us understand that such a thing is not impossible under this Government, or for that matter, any other Government. We had too much of it at the time of the martial law in the Punjab two years ago, and the greatest time of our triumph will be only when we can stand tortures without returning any violence whatsoever. This Government must either repent of the violent wrongs done to India, or it must hold India by a system of terrorism. It was only when I came to the conclusion that Dyerism or O'Dwyerism was not an isolated phenomenon, but that it was a settled policy of the Government bent upon holding India at any cost, that I called it a Satanic system of Government. But to Non-co-operators there is only one road left open, and that is to turn the searchlight inward, to purify ourselves, to exercise the greatest restraint under the greatest provocation. Therefore I ask fathers of boys who are doing any Non-co-operation, and I ask Non-co-operators themselves who are actively engaged in propaganda, to understand that if they continue this work, they should do so knowing that they might be subjected to violence, and even then they are not to retort. If India can only exercise self-restraint during this year of probation and purification for her, I assure you that I can see nothing that can prevent our onward march and establishing Swaraj in India during this year. Therefore, if you believe in God—and no Non-co operator can be a real Non-co-operator who does not believe in God—if you believe in God, during this week of prayer, purification and sacrifice you will

concentrate your prayer to God that He may give every one of us, the whole of India, the power to bear all the violence that this Government may choose to subject us to. It is infinitely more necessary that we, Non-co operators, should control our speech, control all our movements, and free them even from any danger or any smell of violent tint. If we should but continue along this course of purification, to use the expression of the late President Kruger, we shall stagger humanity during this year, for what is it that we have seen of this repression not merely in the Madras Presidency but in the Central Provinces, in the United Provinces, and in other parts of India? In spite of the denial of Sir William Vincent, I am here to say that the temperance crusade in the Central Provinces has become a crime, and when they talk of putting down Non co-operation by all possible means, they talk of putting down home-spinning and putting down tea-totalism. We are showing step by step through the course of our self-purification that this Government can hold India in bondage only on the strength of its Abkari revenue, only on the strength of the exploitation of India through Lancashire. Therefore, I would urge every one of you to sterilise the activity of this Government by showing to the whole of India, by showing to the Moderate or the Liberal party that when they associate with this Government and support the policy of repression inaugurated by this Government, they do not want Non-co-operationists to carry on the campaign of temperance, to carry on the message of good-will, the message of happiness, the message of chastity of the women of India which the spinning wheel carries. Day by day we are having an ocular demonstration of the fact that this Government has no inherent strength or vitality. It derives its strength out of our weaknesses. It thrives upon our dissensions. The Hindu-Muslim disunion and quarrels no longer supply food for this Government. Now this Government, I see and understand, is trading upon disunion between

Brahmans and Non-Brahmans

“If this Non-cooperation movement is a Brahmana movement—and I hope it is a Brahmana movement—the remedy is incredibly simple, because Brahmanas want no loaves and fishes if they are Non-co-operators. But let us make haste to patch up our quarrels as we have patched up the Hindu-

Muslim quarrels. I wish to repeat what I said to a select audience of students of Law some time ago in Madras. I have not a shadow of doubt that Hinduism owes its all to the great traditions that the Brahmanas have left for Hinduism. They have left a legacy for India for which every Indian, no matter to what *varna* he may belong, owes a deep debt of gratitude. Having studied the history of almost every religion in the world, it is my settled conviction that there is no other class in the world that has accepted poverty and self-effacement as its lot. I would therefore urge—a Non-Brahmana myself—all Non-Brahmans who may compose this audience and all Non-Brahmans whom my voice may reach, that they will make a fundamental error if they believe that they can better their position by decrying Brahmanism. Even in this black age, travelling throughout the length and breadth of India, I notice that the Brahmanas take the first place in self-sacrifice and self-effacement. It is the Brahmanas all over India who silently but surely are showing to every class in India their rights and privileges. But having said so much I wish to confess too that the Brahmanas together with the rest of us have suffered of all. They have set before India voluntarily and deliberately the highest standard that a human mind is capable of conceiving, and they must not be surprised if the Indian world exacts that standard from them. The Brahmanas have declared themselves and ought to remain custodians of the purity of our life. I am aware that the Non-Brahmanas of Madras have many things to say against Brahmanas for which there is some cause. But let the Non-Brahmanas realise that by quarreling with the Brahmanas, by being jealous of them, and by mud-slinging, they will not better their lot but they will degrade Hinduism itself. I hold that it behoves Non-Brahmanas, shrewd as they are, to understand the beauty and the secret of this movement. This movement is especially designed to dethrone insolence from office. He who has eyes may see what is happening in India to-day, if it is not a process not of levelling down but of levelling up. Let Non-Brahmanas beware of attempting to rise upon the ashes of Brahmanism. Therefore, I would urge Non-Brahmanas, if they cannot throw themselves heart and soul into this movement, at least to refrain from interfering with this movement by intriguing with the Government. The

grievances of Non-Brahmans against Brahmans are a mere nothing compared to the

Grievances of Women

against Hinduism. Hinduism has made a sex of itself lepers. We have become lepers of the Empire in turn. Non-Brahmans are equally guilty with Brahmanas in making Panchams crawl on their bellies. It is my deliberate conviction that we are suffering this yoke of slavery for the sake of the sins that we have committed against our brothers whom we arrogantly consider to be untouchables. I claim to be a sanatana Hindu. I claim to have read our Shastras to the best of my ability. I claim to have understood the spirit of Hinduism. I claim to have understood the message of the Vedas and the Upanishadas. I claim to have left the life of Sanatana Hindu deliberately, knowingly, voluntarily, for a period of thirty years; and notwithstanding anything that may be said by any Hindu to the contrary, I ask you to accept the authority of my experience that there is no warrant in our Scriptures for considering a single human being as untouchable. I am content to be a Hindu; I am content to die a Hindu, and I am ready, I hope, to die for the defence of my religion at any moment, but I should cease to call myself a Hindu if I believe for one moment that Hinduism required me to consider it a sin to touch a single human being. Therefore I invite Brahmanas and non-Brahmanas of this great Presidency to battle against this curse of untouchability and rid ourselves of it. I ask you not to mix up inter-marriage and inter-dining with untouchability. Thus, if we shall but close our ranks as we Hindus and Mussalmans have done, if Hindus will also among themselves close up their ranks, and if we shall consider in the language of the *Bhagabat Gita* that in our hearts occupy an equal place for both Brahmanas and Chandals, that very day you will see that there is no Non-Brahmana movement awaiting solution. Non-co-operation, in the language of medicine, is a kind of aseptic treatment. Anti-septics are necessary only when we gather dirt and want to introduce other germs to destroy that dirt. Aseptic treatment pre-supposes purity from within. Our Non-co-operation with the Government simply means that we have done away with dirt and uncleanness. We do not want to pre-

tend to have dispelled darkness by making darkness deeper. We do not want to meet or neutralise the violence of the Government by greater violence on our part. Our Swaraj must not consist of exploitation of any human being on earth. I would therefore urge you simply to concentrate your attention upon the three things that the All-India Congress Committee has placed before you. I would like never to give the slightest excuse to the Government for imprisoning us for any speeches, but I would allow and open the gates of prisons without a drop of tear in my eyes and send the whole of the womanhood of India to prisons for possessing a single spinning wheel. Let us not be impatient either with the Government or with our friends who are opposed to us to-day. Rather let us be impatient with ourselves. All our speeches, all our resolutions are now mostly or should be addressed to ourselves, and if we can only carry through this simple programme that is mapped out by the Congress, by the Khilafat Committee and by the Muslim League, I repeat my conviction that we shall attain Swaraj, that we shall redress the Khilafat wrong and the Punjab wrong during this year.

Conclusion

"You will accept the evidence that I tender that throughout my long travels I have noticed that the masses, that the women of India, are absolutely with us. I ask educated Indians to accept my testimony that they are neither so unintelligent or uncultured as we often consider them to be. They see far more truly through their intuition, and we, educated Indians, with our intellects, are clouded by a multiplicity of ideas, and I ask you to accept the testimony given by Sir Thomas Munro, and I confirm that testimony, that the masses of India are really more cultured than any in the world. It has become customary with me now-a-days that before I retire from meetings I make a collection for the Tilak Swaraj fund. Volunteers will presently go out in your midst, and I ask you to give your best to this fund. I thank you for the extraordinary patience with which you have listened to me, and I pray to God that He may give us the necessary courage and wisdom to do our duty.

The Change of Viceroyalty

On April 2nd, Lord Chelmsford left India much to the relief of all. This is no place to assess pontifical performances in preference to public affairs. Suffice it to say that an obscure man, raised from the Captaincy of a British Infantry to the Viceroyalty of India, when capable men in England were all absorbed in the great War, Lord Chelmsford brought with him the tradition of an infantryman and took away with him the unabated pity of every class of men in India. His puerile submission to Mr. Montagu's Reforms, and his subsequent undignified recantation, earned for him the undying hostility of Anglo-India. He was popular with no one; he was in confidence with no one. In his own Council, he was ruled and his weakness was exploited by his Councillors. The Departments of State acted independently of him. The I. C. S. was in revolt against him. A mentally and intellectually weak man, this Captain-Viceroy has done more to undermine the foundation of the British Empire in India and to bring sorrow and travail to the Indian people than all the age-long pile of natural inequities which the autocratic system of a foreign administration is bound to produce in the long run. Blissfully ignorant of the art of administration and statesmanship, with a blank umbrageous past, His Lordship will ever remain seared in the hearts of Indians for his infamous Rowlatt Act, the out-heroding massacre at Jhallianwalla, and his sneaky whittling down of the Reforms that a trusted Minister of the Crown thought over-due to India. Throughout 1920 Indians wanted his recall and impeachment from a hundred platforms. No other Viceroy has carried away such an encomium from a people he was placed over to rule.

On April 2nd, Lord Chelmsford left the shores of India. There was no Indian crowd either to cheer him or to 'ring' him out, no Indian farewell address. The same day H. E. Lord Reading, the ex-Lord Chief Justice of England, landed in Bombay and assumed charge of the Viceroyalty.

After Lord Chelmsford there remained at least one man, Sir William Vincent, in the Govt. of India whom the country

would have been happy to spare. As said the *Capital of Calcutta* :—

"India would also profit by the appointment of a new Home Member. Sir William Vincent has dropped into a rut from which, he cannot extricate himself. He has come to regard as infallible his own system of weights and measures, and like Old Polonius is irritatingly self-sufficient. He puts me in mind of Mathew Ridley, the Home Secretary, who thought it quite the right thing for coarse warders to forcibly feed suffragettes who went on a hunger-strike in jail. Why not try the experiment of a non-official Home Member?"

The first pronouncement of the new Viceroy was delivered on the 3rd of April 1921 in reply to the address of welcome presented by the Bombay Municipality. In the course of a humorous speech Lord Reading feelingly said :—

"Justice and sympathy never fail to evoke responsive chords in the hearts of men, of whatever race, creed or class. They are the two brightest gems in any diadem.

"Without them there is no lustre in the Crown,—with them there is a radiance that never fails to attract loyalty and affection. The British reputation for justice must never be impaired during my tenure of office. I must regretfully admit your statement that there is discontent in India. I join with you in the prayer that it may be my good fortune to allay it, but I must not at this moment discuss its causes or effects. India is too responsive and too generous to expect me to make a pronouncement which could not be based upon my own individual observations and information. Any declaration of policy to-day would be and must be founded upon opinions of others and could not be the result of my own deliberate judgment. I feel convinced that I shall best discharge my duty to the King Emperor and serve the interests of India if I take time to collect information, seek advice and form conclusions."

Thus the new Viceroy took time to take in the situation and then to crystallise his own policy. By a consensus of opinion the N-C-O leaders suspended for the time the more aggressive parts of their campaign. The great name that Lord Reading brought to India as the ex-Lord Chief Justice of the British people, and his obviously sincere utterances that justice was to be paramount even in India, had already biased many a grateful Indian heart, not excluding the most vapid non-co-operator, in his favour for, after all, non-co-operation was born out of despair. So after a partial exhaustion suffered on account of the hurricane campaign of boycott of the Duke and the Colleges in the first two months of the year, non-co-operators now kept one eye on the Viceroy and the other on their preliminary work of organisation and training. On the other hand, Government, still moving in the Chelmsfordian

tradition, and now relieved from the pre-occupation of the Royal Tour, turned its attention to the Gandhi movement. Repression was started early in March, and very soon a *carte blanche* was given to all officials to fight non-co-operation.

The first move was taken by Lord Sinha's Government in Bihar. His unenviable position as the first Indian Governor pitch-forked into position by an astute Minister of the Crown surrounded by a hostile band of high I. C. S. dignitaries and European vested interests, was easily exploited to show the incongruous setting, and soon his Government became the laughing stock of all by its ludicrous actions against N-C-O. The anti-drink campaign of the latter was fought by a counter-propaganda which emphasised the "value of wine both as a food and as a medicine. Many great men were wine-drinkers, Moses, Alexander, Julius Caesar, Napoleon, Shakespeare, Watt, Gladstone, Tennyson, Bismark, etc" said the Govt. !!!

By a circular, now known as the Rainy Circular, the Government instigated its officials to suppress the anti-drink and other activities of the N-C-O, and the officials utilised their new power with so great zeal and vigour that sometimes Government found it impossible to justify their action.

Next came the U. P. Government with more drastic measures. Sec. 144 J. P.C. was lavishly used to gag persons and public meetings. The Seditious Meetings Act was proclaimed in Oudh. On 15th March the Government issued a communique stating that the N-C-O movement was revolutionary and anarchical, and that it was the duty of all servants of the Crown to counteract it ; that "any existing prohibitions to officers in regard to participation in political movements can not apply to them when actively opposing N-C-O and it is the policy of the Govt. to encourage all officials to declare themselves openly and actively against the movement !" On the 6th April another urgent epistle was addressed to all Commissioners and peripatetic officers to take the first offensive move in its fight with N-C-O. It said :—

"Orders already issued have authorized an extensive use of the restricted powers conferred by the ordinary Law. District officers are permitted to enforce the total prohibition of inflammatory meetings . . . there is no reason why Collectors should not attend and address meetings of Reforms leagues and Liberal leagues designed to oppose the movement."

And so on ; in fact orders were passed as if there was a regular war or rebellion to the land !

The Punjab Government, less demonstrative than the Government of Sir Harcourt Butler, had already kept several districts gagged, and on April 26th by a further notification it declared the districts of Lahore, Amritsar and Shekhpura to be proclaimed areas, and the operations of the Seditious Meetings Act was further extended. It was only the Government of Bombay that kept its head cool in trying times. The hysterics of U. P. Government was fortunately not followed anywhere else, though in Bengal the Governor Lord Ronaldshay tried his best to keep the excessive zeal of the subordinate magistracy under proper control. (for details see Chronicle of Events of this period).

In the Legislative Assembly on March 24th a full-dress debate was held on Non-co-operation, during which Sir William Vincent laid down the policy of the Govt. with reference to N-C-O and its alleged evils, and talked of the necessity of taking repressive measures to put it down. A full reply to the Home Member was given by M. Gandhi in his paper "Young India" which is reproduced below as it puts both views in luminous contrast :—

"Sir William Vincent's speech is a plausible defence of the Government's policy of repression. It is a distortion or concoction of facts. It is an appeal to our cupidity and a misinterpretation of the motives of non-co-operationists.

"He says that the declared object of non-co-operationists is paralysis of the Government and that "in their effort to achieve the object there is no source of discontent which they have not used." Now both these statements are half-truths. The primary object of Non-co-operation is nowhere stated to be paralysis of the Government. The primary object is self-purification. Its direct result must be paralysis of a Government which lives on our vices and weaknesses. Similarly, it is a dangerous half-truth to say that we have left no source of discontent unused. We could not help using sources of legitimate discontent. But Non-co-operationists have rigidly refrained from using any and every discontent, if only because we would weaken our cause if we did. The illustration of what I mean will be best seen from the refutation of the very next sentence which Sir William has spoken in support of his contention : "Wherever they find discord between employer and employee, there some agent or emissary of Non-co-operation party proceeds at once to foster discontent and promote ill-feeling." This is not only untrue, but it is an incitement to the two to oppose Non-co-operation. The avowed policy of Non-co-operation has been not to make political use of disputes between labour and capital. They have endeavoured to hold the balance evenly between the two—we would be fools if we wantonly set labour against capital. It would be just the way to play into the hands of a

Government which would greatly strengthen its hold on the country by setting capitalists against labourers and vice versa. In Jharia, for instance, it was a non-co-operator who prevented an extending strike. The moderating influence in Calcutta was that of non-co-operators. The latter will not hesitate to advance the cause of strikers where they have a just grievance. They have ever refused to lend their assistance to unjust strikes. "Where there is a racial ill-feeling", declares Sir William Vincent, "these emissaries hurry on their evil errand." He must know that this is a false statement. There is a racial feeling between Englishmen and Indians. There is the memory of Jallianwala—an evergreen. But "these emissaries" have been veritable messengers of peace. They have everywhere restrained the fury of the unthinking. And I make bold to say that but for the existence of the spirit of non-violence, there would have been more innocent blood spilt in spite of the threat of Dyerism and O'Dwyerism. Our fault has lain in refusing to lick the boot that has kicked, in withdrawing co-operation until there was frank repentance. Non-co-operators are to be pleased for turning the fury of an outraged people from Englishmen to the system they are called upon to administer.

"But Sir William is nothing if he is not thorough in his attempt to divide and rule. He declaims: "Where there are quarrels between landlord and tenant—have we not seen this in the United Provinces—there again proceed these emissaries of evil to propagate unrest, and stir up disorder." Sir William should know that the tenant movement is under the control of Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru whose one purpose regarding the tenants has been to educate them to be patient and calm. Sir William has simply attempted to set the land-lords against the Non-co-operation movement. Fortunately, the land-lords know as well as the tenants that, so long as they are just, they have nothing to fear from Non-co-operators.

"The movement," says Sir William, 'is purely destructive, and so far as I have been able to ascertain contains no element of constructive ability.' It is undoubtedly destructive in the sense that a surgeon who applies the knife to a diseased part may be said to make a destructive movement. This destructive movement bears in it the surest seed of construction as the surgeon's knife contains the seed of health. Is temperance destructive? Are national schools springing up everywhere destructive? Are the thousands of spinning wheels destructive of a nation's prosperity? They will destroy foreign domination whether it hails from Lancashire or is threatened from Japan.

"Having attempted to set classes against masses, Sir William proceeds to paralyze both, with the feeling of helplessness and the fear of internal strife and aggression from without. Is Hindu-Muslim unity such flimsy stuff that we shall begin to quarrel as soon as the British guns are withdrawn from our shores? Were we sixty years ago less able to protect ourselves than we are now? Or is it not a fact that judged by the western standard we were never so helpless as we now are? Self-government, as I have said before, connotes the power of self-protection, and a country which cannot protect itself is not prepared for immediate and complete self-government. In this one sentence

Sir William has unwittingly condemned British rule and proved the necessity of immediate mending or ending of that rule. According to my method—the method of suffering or soul-force,—the country is to-day prepared for self-protection. According to Sir William's standard, the reforms have nothing in them to enable India even in a hundred years to arm herself for defence against a combination of world powers. Judged by that standard, the reforms do forge stronger the chains that bind India and make her feel helpless. The speaker talks glibly of impending destruction of every vested interest. He needs to be reminded, that the greatest vested interest of India—her self-sufficiency—was destroyed by this foreign domination and the speaker's plan will still further deepen India's poverty.

“Even as Sir William has misrepresented non-co-operators' motives, so has he misconstrued their methods. We have not failed in our effort regarding the educated classes. I admit that the response in practice might have been greater from them. But I make bold to say that the vast majority of them are with us in spirit, though the flesh being weak, they are not able to make what from their point of view is a sacrifice. We have been trying to act on the masses from the commencement. We regard them as our main-stay, for it is they who have to attain Swaraj. It is neither the sole concern of the monied men nor that of the educated class. Both must subserve their interest in any scheme of Swaraj, and as soon as the masses have attained sufficient self-control and learnt mass discipline, we shall not hesitate, if necessary, to advise them to suspend payment of taxes to a Government that has never truly looked after their welfare and that has exploited and terrorised them every time they have shown the least symptom of rising against their exploitation.

“Sir William has been extremely disingenuous in describing the Government's methods of dealing with Non-co-operation. Defence of India Act he will not use against men who have hurt nobody and who are restraining people from committing violence. But he is using ordinary statutes against them in an extraordinary manner under a licence given to him by non-co-operators who will not challenge orders in a court of law. He will not conciliate the malcontents by granting Swaraj, for that would lead to anarchy. He does not bother his head about the two things which have caused all the unrest and which have acted like two active and corroding poisons in the Indian body—the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs. He does not tell us what catastrophe is likely to befall India if the Khilafat promises were redeemed and the Punjab wound healed.

“He has ornamented his extraordinary speech with an ungentlemanly and insinuating attack upon the Ali Brothers who are putting up a noble fight for Islam and India, and a still more ungentlemanly attack on a ‘gentleman of the name of Yakub Hasan’, and an ungracious reference to his Turkish wife.

“As I have said, it was painful for me to read the speech, still more painful to have to criticise it. I assure the reader that self-restrained as I am in language, the speech has been a severe strain upon my capacity for restraint. I have scored out many an adjective which I believe would accurately describe Sir William's performance. I am sorry.”

Political Conferences

Another method of fighting N-C-O adopted by the Govt. was to inspire platform propaganda by rallying the Moderates, or rather the Ministerialists, but the attempt did not prove much of a success. Under official inspiration Sir S. N. Bannerji opened the first "Reforms Conference" at Calcutta on the 9th of April and said in his speech that the object of the Conference was to establish 'Reform Associations' all over the country and also Union Boards in the villages *for sanitation and political propaganda*. As a Minister of Govt., he said, he had been directed to issue a circular to all Magistrates asking them to stimulate the creation of Union Boards! The meeting was not attended by even 300 men and most of the prominent men among the Moderates including such men as Mr B. N. Basu and Sir Ashutosh Chaudhuri did not join. At Lucknow the Dy. Commissioner tried to inaugurate an "Anti-Revolutionary League" on April 25th. but it ended in an uproarious meeting of Non-co operators under the lead of Mr. Shaukat, Ali. Similarly at Muttra the Collector first called a public meeting, then took the chair by force against the sense of the meeting, and then finding it impossible to conduct the proceedings as he liked, declared it an unlawful assembly under S. 144 and dispersed it with the help of armed Police. Mrs. Besant's Reform Conference held at Calicut on 24th April, however, proved more successful as most of the influential landlords including the Zamorin of Calicut and the Rajah of Kollengode under official patronage were in great alarm of their tenants.

In contrast to these Reform Conferences, some of the old Provincial Conferences affiliated to the Congress held their sittings about this time. Of these the most important was the Punjab Provincial Conference which met at Rawalpindi on 30th April under Hakim Ajmal Khan. The resolutions that were passed are typical of all the nationalist Conferences and are given in detail below :—

"Whereas the faith of the people of India in the British sense of justice and fair play has been completely shattered by the various acts of repression systematically resorted to and the many grievous wrongs perpetrated by the present bureaucracy, which have robbed the people of their liberties and elementary rights of citizenship, and whereas this policy has culminated in the enactment of the Punjab tragedy, and whereas the Government

instead of repenting for its misdeeds and making proper atonement therefor persists in its criminal course, and whereas recently it has resorted to active and widespread repression by illegal and unwarranted use of statutory powers with a view to put down the legitimate striving of the nation towards freedom, this Conference declares its a firm adherence to the resolution of non-violent Non-co-operation passed by the Indian National Congress.

That this Conference congratulates this province on its splendid observance of the principle of non-violence in the face of grave provocation offered by the administration by the uncalled for and unjustified application of the Seditious Meetings Act even in election times, the use of the Defence of India Act to gag important public men, by charging religious reformers as ordinary felons, by stopping meetings and proceedings even of a religious character and the introduction of barbarous methods in the treatment of under-trial political prisoners, such as handcuffing both hands and the forcible removal of kirpans etc. and the awarding of solitary confinement in purely political cases.

That this Conference places on record its indignant protest against the repressive orders of the District Magistrate of Bannu, Peshawar, Hazara and Kohat prohibiting them from expressing their views in private or public meetings in connection with such questions of public importance as Non-co-operation and Khilafat thereby making a serious attempt to suppress all public activities relative to Khilafat and Indian National Congress.

That this Conference views with contempt and regards as an insult the announcement of the Government that greater pecuniary compensation is to be paid to the relatives of the victims of officials massacred in Amritsar and exhorts these relatives to refuse to receive or even touch this blood-money and assures these unfortunate sufferers that there is money in hand in the Punjab relief fund sufficient to meet all their needs.

The Kerala Provincial Conferences.

Another Provincial Conference of the N.C.O party was held at Ottapalam in the newly created Congress province of Kerala or Malabar. This First Kerala political conference was held on the 23rd April 1921 presided over by Mr. T. Prakasam and was the nucleus round which a number of conferences cropped up. As usual, wherever non-co-operation was at work, a posse of Reserve Police was brought in with obvious intention and soon a *fracas* arose. On 26th. the Kerala Students' Conference was held and while it was in session news spread that some of the Khilafat volunteers of the Conferences were being roughly handled by the Police. Mr. Ramunni Menon, the N.C.O vakil of Ottapalam who was the secretary of the Kerala conferences, at once proceeded to the spot to allay trouble, but he was seized by the police and mercilessly beaten.

When Mr. Ramunni Menon entered the pandal after the assault, as the Students' Conference was proceeding, he was lifted up, taken to the platform and garlanded amidst cheers. Other assaulted Moplahs and Hindus came to the pandal and joined the audience. The conference continued without break. Messrs. Ramunni Menon and Madhava Menon made statements about the police riot. Messrs Prakasam and Murtuza Sahib who were present for all conferences addressed them exhorting observance of non-violence under the gravest provocation. The proceedings terminated at 1. P.M. after which a procession, a furlong long, started from the pandal headed by Messrs Prakasam and Ramunni Menon and passed through the important streets, orderly and solemnly, lasting for three hours. Complete hartal was observed in the town. Shopkeepers induced by the police to open, refused. It may be noted that the D.S.P. Mr. Hitchcock left Ottapalam after the riot commenced and just before Mr. Ramunni Menon was assaulted.

A correspondent of the '*Madras Mail*', the premier Anglo-Indian journal of Madras and noted for its hostility to Indian aims, thus describes the incident :—

"At 11 A.M. some altercation appears to have taken place between the volunteer Kunhappa Menon, and one of the Reserve constables, and I saw him being brought to the police station and roughly handled by a couple of Reserve men. At the station he was subsequently set free and he went away towards the Conference pandal. Eventually news of this incident reached the pandal where the Students' Conference is now being held, and Mr. Ramunni Menon and Mr. Abdul Hamid, Secretary of the Madras Khilafat Conference, turned up at the scene, evidently with the object of trying to pacify the people and prevent any conflict between the volunteers of local people with the police. Before their arrival, however, a certain shopkeeper and a vakil's gumastah were beaten by the police for an insult alleged to have been offered, and this drew a small crowd to the bazaar road, near the place where the Reserve Police are camping. Mr. Ramunni Menon (the N-C-O Vakil) asked the crowd not to loiter about but to go away, whereupon one of the crowd, who happened to be a policeman in undress, declined to go away and challenged Mr. Ramunni Menon's right to ask him to go. In spite of the very conciliatory attitude which Mr. Ramunni Menon adopted, he was beaten.

"Some one appears to have told the Reserve Police constables that the man who had just gone away was Mr. Rammuni Menon, one of the leading officials of the Conference. On hearing this a couple of Reserve men ran after Mr. Ramunni Menon, who was by this time some distance away, fetched him back, slapping him on the face and beating him as he was brought along. Arriving at the gate of the police station, Mr. Ramunni Menon was allowed to go and went straight back to the Conference pandal.

"Many Moplabs were in a state of frenzy, and one of them begged the permission of the leader to go out and die in furtherance of their cause. It must be said to the credit of the leaders that they had the situation well in hand and put great restraint upon the audience. They exhorted them on no account to resort to violence which would be detrimental to their movement. One of the Thaugals present at the conference also used his influence and exhorted the Moplabs to behave peacefully. There was no further incident, but I thought that serious trouble was brewing when shortly afterwards a crowd of about sixty or seventy Moplabs armed with knives came up from the town side, because their attitude seemed to me to indicate they were bent upon making reprisals on the police, but, fortunately, they thought better of their action and, I believe, it was mainly through the instrumentality of the local Village Magistrate, an elderly man, that the Moplabs were induced to retire. By this time all the Reserve Police were called in and, but for this, there might have been a conflict resulting in serious consequences."

Needless to say, this affair kept the Moplabs in a high state of tension, and this is one of the many causes that led them openly to revolt in the October following (see *post*).

As a result of the police riot the first class Honorary Magistrates of Ottapalam, Messrs Sankuni Menon, Narayanier, and Abdul Kader resigned. As Mr. Ramunni Menon, narrated the details of riot and assault on him, Vakil Mr. V. M. Govindan Nair announced suspending his practice and also Messrs. Kocheun Nair and P. S. Narayana Nair.

The Mulshi Satyagraha Campaign

On 16th April 1921 a practical instance of successful passive resistance was witnessed at Mulshi Peta, Poona. At this place the Tatas were to erect a dam in the rivers Nira-Mula and for this Government, under its Land Acquisition act, had to acquire the neighbouring villages. The farmers, however, refused to be turned out of their land where they had been living for generations and had their ancestral hearth and home and cultivation, dearer to them than their worth in gold. Government, however, determined to have the land, for, was not the great dam to be constructed for the benefit of the Tata Company and those interested, even though it were to snap the heart-strings of the poor peasants? Government offered them very liberal compensation and even undertook to settle them on good cultivable land at some other place, but so perverse and pig-headed were these illiterate peasants that they could not be induced to accept such tempting offer and preferred to die, if need be, at the same spot where their fathers had laboured and died! In March 1920 the Govt. strongly made a declaration that they must acquire the land by any means and would not have any truculence. On Feb. 1st. 1921 the Collector of Poona visited the spot, and tried to *samjao* the peasants, using threat, cajolery and other methods suitable to the occasion, but none agreed to leave their land. Meanwhile, all petitions unavailing, the peasants determined to practise Satyagraha. Some of the Poona non-co-operators and other leading men organised them into a band of Satyagrahis of the genuine Gandhi-brand, and then followed a remarkable scene of passive resistance as narrated below.

The Telegram to the Viceroy

On the 15th. Dr. Phatak, Secretary, Satyagraha Sahayak Mandal, Poona, wired to the Viceroy and the Governor of Bombay as follows :—'Feeling helpless and driven to desperation by the proposed acquisition of lands in 54 villages in Mulshi Peta, Poona District, for the construction of a tank by the

Tata Hydro-Electric Company, the poor peasants have decided to practise Satyagraha on strictly non-violent lines from the 16th of April. We think it desirable that His Excellency should, with a view to meet the ends of justice, equity and good conscience, intercede to stop the work to save the peasants from deprivation of their lands and the consequent devastation of their homes and hearths by their submergence under water. It is expected that about one to two thousand Mavalas would assemble at Mulshi to-morrow in the Satyagraha camp.

As notified, Satyagraha commenced on the 16th April at 7 A.M. at Mulshi. The Satyagrahis were instructed in the Satyagraha camp to remain absolutely non-violent, even under the gravest provocation. They marched in a body to the place where the work of erecting the dam was being done in the bed of the rivers Nira and Mula. It was four furlongs in breadth and nearly one hundred feet in length. The Deputy Superintendent of Police, the Engineers of the Tata Company with an army of labourers led by the contractors tried to begin work, but hundreds of Satyagrahis laid themselves down on the ground. There are three crucial points; the first, where the masonry work of the dam in the river bed was lately begun; the second where the water in the river bed was being pumped out; the third where the mines were being worked. The labourers began to lay down stones and mortar on the first point under the direct superintendence of Mr. Cameron, the Tata Engineer. The Satyagrahis folded their hands in prayer and laid themselves flat lengthwise on the work and also on the road leading to the masonry. No room was left for labourers to work unless they threw stones on the bodies of the Satyagrahis. The labourers could not be so inhuman and stopped work. They were ordered again to begin work by watering the masonry which resulted in drenching the bodies of the Satyagrahis. None moved an inch and ultimately this work had to be stopped too. At the second point wherever crowbars were raised they found the Satyagrahis underneath. That work also was stopped. So too at the third point. At 9 A.M. the whole work was stopped. Messrs Karandikar, Palsule, Davare, Ranade, Bapat, Kanitkar, Chagsahed, Gokhale, and others led the

men. Messrs Paranjpye, Joshi, Phatak, Bhopatkar and Gokhale also attended from Poona.

The conduct of the Police was commendable. The labourers of the company were greatly impressed ; one by one they refused to work against the interests of their fellow countrymen. Some left the work at once. There prevailed supreme peace. Not a sound of violence either of labourers or of Satyagrahi was heard. The work was stopped absolutely.

From 9 A.M. to 2 P.M. no attempt was made to resume work by the Tata Company men at Musli. Meanwhile Mr. Bhaba of Tata Company arrived. After his arrival an attempt was made under his superintendence to resume the work of watering the masonry where the Mavalas had laid themselves down. Orders were given to the contractors to throw water on the masonry even when the Mavalas had covered the masonry with their bodies. The attempt, however, failed owing to the tenacity and determination of the Mavalas and the refusal of the labouring men and women to throw water on the bodies of their fellow-countrymen. Being enraged at these failures the Engineer, Mr. Cameron, in consultation with Mr. Bhaba, improvised a water-pipe line on the high river wall directly over the heads of the Mavalas and commenced throwing water from above. The water that came over their heads was found to be scorchingly hot, but none of the hundreds of the brave Mavalas stirred an inch from his position. The civil and police authorities were present on the scene, and although warned of the fact that the water was unbearably hot, they viewed the scene in a spirit of nonchalance. Amongst those who were subjected to this hot-water ordeal were Messrs. Bhuskute, Deo, Palsule, Deware, Gokhale, Bhopatkar, Paranjpye, Joshi, Dr. Phatak and other local leaders. This continued for over half an hour and yet in the end the Tata Company men could not succeed in resuming work till evening. Thus ended the first day of the Satyagraha struggle at Mulshi.

On the 18th the Satyagraha struggle opened just as before in the early morning with Satyagrahis sitting or lying flat on the work of the dam. A feeble attempt was made to commence work but it had soon to be abandoned. Supreme silence ruled over the whole scene. Some women also joined. At 9 A.M. Mr. Kelkar with Messrs Bhopatkar

and Gokhale arrived from Poona. Mr. Kelkar went about the whole dam. Messrs. Bhaba and Cameron saw Mr. Kelkar and requested him to give them an opportunity to talk about the matter. Mr. Kelkar referred the matter to Mavalas and after consultation they agreed to send their representatives to Poona only to give a hearing to the Tata men, the final decision in the matter being reserved in their own hands. Both parties agreed and amidst loud cheers the Satyagrahis returned to their camp.

For several days the same thing continued. Practically all work came to a standstill. The Satyagrahists triumphed, and none, as they had feared and come prepared, was killed or even beaten. And on April 28th Mr. A. Cameron, Chief Engineer of the Mulshi Works, gave a written undertaking that for 6 months, i.e. up to the 7th of November 1921, no work of any kind will be done towards the erection of the dam.

The success of the Mulshi Satyagrahis was a practical demonstration of the Gandhian creed. Where a body of men, acting on high principles, meekly submit themselves to the threatened consequences of their faith, they secure their ultimate triumph, and really have not to suffer much. But the preparedness to suffer, and the faith in the cause must be there. Gandhi's doctrine of non-co-operation was fundamentally based on this, and to those who understood this, the Mulshi affair carried conviction.

The Malegaon & Giridih Riots.

In contrast to these police-out breaks, there occurred in Malegaon in the Nasik district, Bombay, a murderous mob-outbreak ending in serious loss of life and property. The population of the place consists mainly of Mahomedans with a sprinkling of Hindus, and the Khilafat propaganda was going strong for sometime. On the 25th April several Muslims were prosecuted for carrying arms at a mass meeting in contravention of an order by the District Magistrate. They were convicted and fined, but some of them in default of payment were committed to jail. A disturbance being threatened, the City Sub-Inspector, the Mamlatdar and the Resident Magistrate proceeded

to the town with three or four armed constables. The mob attacked the City Sub-Inspector with stones and his men fired some rounds in the air. As, however, the mob did not disperse the City Sub-Inspector took refuge in the house of Mr. Pophate, a merchant, next to which is a temple. The mob surrounded the house, and demanded that he should give the Sub-Inspector up, but he put them off. They climbed up to the windows with ladders and the Sub-Inspector and his men are said to have wounded and killed several in self-defence. Failing to obtain the Sub-Inspector's person by force, the mob brought fuel and kerosene and set fire to several houses and the temple. Mr. Pophate and family escaped. One or two constables escaped over the roof, but the Sub-Inspector was caught, beaten to death and thrown into the fire. One or two constables were also killed and burnt. The Mamlatdar and the Resident Magistrate were stoned but they escaped to the hospital near the entrance to the Fort, both being injured, the latter seriously. The mob cut the telegraph wires and stopped the Mail tongas from running. The unarmed police on town duty were driven out of the town. Some were beaten and some were killed.

Next day the mob began plundering houses of Mahomedan leaders who had counselled moderation regarding the Khilafat agitation. The mob marched out for securing the release of the 6 men who had been sent to jail for not paying fines. It next went to the kutchary and told the Mamlatdar in charge that unless the men were immediately released they would set fire to the Government treasury room. Realising the helplessness of the situation the Mamlatdar released the men. The mob carried these men on their shoulders through the town shouting "Allah-O-Akbar". The burning of the temple appears to have been carried out deliberately after an hour's parley with the occupants to deliver up the Sub-inspector who had taken refuge there.

Other acts of incendiarism followed. Many residents, especially the Hindus, left their home. For three days the mob raged and brought anarchy in the town. On the 29th April the Commissioner, the Inspector General and the Deputy Inspector General of Police with 70 British troops from Ahmednagar appeared; quiet was restored and no reprisals were taken.

Mob Outbreak at Giridih

Another outbreak of violence occurred at Giridih on April 25th. The disturbances appear to have originated from the efforts of the Non-co-operation panchayat to enforce by means of social boycott a decision which the accused person refused to obey. A dispute having arisen regarding the sale of a cow the panchayat of Bishunpur decided that the seller should take back the cow. This he declined to do and he was boycotted. His daughter on April 23rd, attempted to draw water from the village well, but a man named Mogal Jan, a Khilafat volunteer, prevented her and is said to have pushed the girl and broken her pitcher. The Police, always on the scent of non-co operation, found now a plausible field of work. Mogal was charged with unlawful obstruction and violating the modesty of the girl. The Non-co-operators boycotted the police of Pachamba. Large crowds which eventually numbered about ten thousand assembled outside the Giridih Court where the trial was held. The accused who refused to defend himself or furnish bail was remanded to jail. Part of the crowd rushed ahead to the jail and some of them declared that they would enter jail with their brother and on being told to fall back, the mob began stoning the Police, inflicting severe injuries and damaging the Jail buildings. Rumour spread that some of the mob had been killed and their bodies taken inside the Jail. At this time the S. D. O. came and took some of the party inside the jail and as they were convinced that there was no truth in the report, the crowd gradually dispersed. In the afternoon, however, a mob of about 5000 ressembled and appeared in front of the Thana, abused the Sub-Inspector Jagdeo Prasad Singh and pelted him with stones and brickbats. The Sub Inspector fired his revolver wounding one man and then sought his quarters followed by the crowd who wrecked and looted his quarters. He ran to the Thana and warned the mob that he had reloaded his pistol. The crowd however again pursued him and he fired two shots whereupon the crowd dispersed. Armed police and Gurkhas arrived on the 26th and no further outbreaks occurred. There was no loss of life and no very great outrage except extensive damage to the Jail and Police buildings. Subsequently a large number of the rioters were arrested and sentenced.

THE ASSAM COOLIE EXODUS & The Chandpur Outrage

Early in May 1921 a serious situation was created in Assam by a stampede of labourers from the Tea Gardens. The reason why they left was that owing to a slump in the tea trade, great reductions and wholesale dismissals were made in some of the European gardens, with the consequent hardship on the labourers. Extremely low wages, two annas or six pice per day and inhuman treatment were their common complaint. The companies have all along been paying 100 to 200 per cent dividends, and at this period when there was a temporary depression, the planters unmindful of their former colossal earnings, which the labourers helped to make, applied the shears ruthlessly. Harrowing tales of torture at the gardens were recited by the coolies. Theirs was a life of abject slavery combined with cruel sweating. They had lately heard of the name of Mahatma Gandhi, and fables concerning his powers of doing good to the oppressed and poor got current. The simple folk believed that he was an *Avatar* and that he had come to deliver people from their insufferable bondage. Their misery ultimately drove them to determine to follow the line of the Mahatma, go back to their land, spin charka, abjure western sin, and lead a simple and pure life. In spite of promises of the planters to enquire into their grievances, they declined to listen to any terms and expressed their firm resolve to leave their life of shame and slavery or else die. They particularly refused to serve under European masters. For this reason and especially for their faith in Gandhi and their pseudo religious cry of *Gandhi Maharaj ki jai*, which was fire and brimstone to the ear of Englishmen, the European tea-planters and the Government attributed the trouble to political agitators, i. e. the non-co-operators. In all some 12,000 men and women left the gardens. Of these a few hundreds succeeded in getting away to their original homes, mostly in the Madras Presidency. Other batches left the gardens, with nothing on save a rag tied round their waist, carrying their babes and

invalids in their arms or shoulders, and marching on and on, on foot, over long distances, along railway lines and banks of rivers, with Mahatma Gandhi's names on their lips, bent on reaching their homes anyway in some far distant district in the U. P., Behar, C. P., and Madras. Large numbers congregated in some of the big towns in their way, notably Karimganj, Sylhet and Chandpur. Half fed, half-naked men and women with emaciated or dying babes in arms, some just born, and with cholera, and fever and abortion prevailing, thronged the public high ways, the railway station and the bazaars. From Karimganj large batches were sent by rail to Chandpur and Goalundo to release the awful congestion and danger to public health.

The Chandpur Gurkha Outrage.

At Chandpur they came to a halt, as at this place they must cross the river, apparently destitute and unable either to pay for their journey or to feed themselves. The local people, under the lead of the Congress office, took their charge, but the question of repatriation of so large numbers became a difficult problem. When the first detachment came down to Chandpur the local Magistrate, Mr. Sinha, obtained concessions from the steamship company and on his own responsibility spent nearly Rs. 2000 on their transportation. The Government of Bengal was approached and the Ministers were appealed to but they were living in the planter's stronghold at Darjeeling confronted by the solid phalanx of planters' opposition. The Anglo-Indian Press and the European planters cried that since the coolies have left on the call of Gandhi, let Gandhi-parties help them—let the fund come from the Congress office. Therefore orders were sent that facilities for departure in the way of assisted passages were not to be given by the Government officers. The reason given for this action was that Government could not take side in labour disputes. The result of this was that the coolies found themselves stranded, and by the 19th May their number in Chandpur alone swelled to 4000. Meanwhile, Mr. Macpherson, a representative of the European Tea Association of Assam, had come to Chandpur and with the help of the S. D. O. tried to induce the coolies to go back to the gardens. This alarmed them to a good deal and there was a panic to leave the place

at once. The local officials being apprised of the intention of the Government of Bengal stopped any further transport but failed to inform the coolies of the fact. In their ignorance they boarded an outlying steamer that was to leave for Goalundo on the other side of the river the next morning. Between 3 to 4 hundred coolies had already got on board when the S. D. O. arrived along with Mr. Macpherson to prevent them from getting to the steamer. The sight of the latter overawed them, and with a heartening shout of *Gandhi ji ki jai* they made a further rush. The gang-way between the steamer and the receiving flat was by order removed and several of them fell into the river. A tumult arose and with the help of the police, the S. D. O. and Mr. Macpherson drove the on-rushing coolies from the flat to the riverside and from the riverside to the Railway station. An incident now happened in which the S. D. O. was alleged to have been struck by some of the coolies. The enquiry which was subsequently held, however, found that the S. D. O. while driving the men before him had struck an old woman. The woman caught hold of the stick and began to cry. This had the effect of exciting some of her male companions who turned round, snatched the stick from the S. D. O.'s hand and assumed a threatening attitude.

The stranded coolies thus driven into the shed of the railway station remained there the whole of the following day and were quite peaceful. The local people guided by the local Congress Committee distributed rice and food, and the coolies were made to understand the Government order on repatriation, and were told that they must not attempt to board nor rush the ordinary passenger steamer and must wait till suitable arrangements were made for their transport. This calmed them, and they cooked their meals and spread themselves on the floor with peace in their mind.

Meanwhile the matter of the assault on the S. D. O. and Mr. Macpherson was brought to the notice of the Divisional Commissioner Mr. K. C. De who was on the scene and immediately he wired for a batch of armed Gurkhas from Narayan-ganj. 50 Gurkhas arrived at 7-30 p. m. and were at once marched to the station. There were two trains to leave, the Mail at 8-40 p. m. and the Mixed at 6-30 p. m. The second of the two trains appears to have left a little later than the usual

hour of departure, 10 or 15 minutes after, at about 10-30 p. m. All light in the station yard was extinguished, and then followed an awfully brutal outrage. The Gurkhas were ordered to clear the station of the coolies who were sleeping there—male, female and children. They at first gently kicked the coolies and asked them to get up. This only evoked grumbling and resentment; then the Gurkhas became furious, began to kick more violently and to beat the coolies with lathis and butt-ends of their guns. For full 15 minutes the assault continued on those helpless wrecks and at last, as even Mr. K. C. De could not stop excesses, he had to carry through the S. D. O. a message to the Commander of the Gurkhas to order discontinuance of the assault. And when at last the Commander sounded his whistle, the assault stopped.

The reason why this outrage was committed was given in a Government communique issued on the 25th May in the following words: "the station precincts being in a very insanitary condition, cholera having broken out among the railway staff and with the view of guarding against the recurrence of the previous night's disturbance (the rush to the steamer in which the Magistrate was alleged to have been assaulted), it was decided to remove the coolies to a field near the station in which it was proposed to house them. A small force of military police armed with rifles, with bayonets unfixed cleared 3000 coolies from the station at the cost of 30 minor casualties none of which was serious." The non-official committee which enquired into the matter, however, found in the course of their investigation that the local officials were not at all apprehensive of a further rush, nor was there any outbreak of cholera among the station staff, and further, the coolies were driven into the station premises the previous night by the authorities themselves. The committee said that there was no room for doubt that the assault was a premeditated one and in retaliation for the assault on the S. D. O. and Mr. Macpherson. Mr. Akhil Ch. Dutt, the President of the local Congress Committee who was in the enquiry, examined Mr. De, the Divisional Commissioner, and Mr. Wares, the District Magistrate. These high officials admitted that the coolies were sleeping at the time of the assault, that they offered or could offer no resistance, that no warning was given and no time allowed to disperse before the assault began and that it

was done to *produce an impression*. It sounded much like the creation of a "*moral impression*" in the Punjab during the O'Dwyerian Reign of Terror of 1919. A large gathering of poor wretched starving people, practically sleeping with little babes and children and old invalids were kicked about in the dead of night and asked to get away nobody knew where. Naturally they remonstrated, specially the females, as Mr. Waros said that the females were very unreasonable and would not move on. And for this they had to be dispersed by force!

After the perpetration of this unaccounted barbarity when the station yard was thus cleared of the coolies, the officials with their band of Gurkhas left and no thought on the maimed and injured was bestowed, no medical aid was offered. It was much like Jhallianwalla repeated in a miniature scale, and the pity of it all was that it was done under orders of such a highly popular and respected Indian official as Mr. K. C. De.

As soon as the Gurkha outrage became known on that night the townspeople of Chandpur went out in a body to the place where the refugees had been driven. It was a bare, shelterless football field. No provision had been made against rain and storm, even though the rain had already begun and more rain was expected. "They were mere coolies" so the officials thought.

At the sight of the persecuted and oppressed refugees thus left shelterless and destitute at the sight of the wounds which weak women and children had received on their bodies the townspeople of Chandpur quick with sympathy and pity, took them at once that very night, as their own guests. It was an act of tenderness that should never be forgotten. They never thought for a single moment of the danger, of the risk of Cholera infection. They accepted these refugees as their own, and gave them all they had with lavish hospitality.

The Rev. Mr. Andrews, well known all over the world for his humanitarian work on behalf of Indian labourers, visited the place next day and the following is his impression:—

"I could picture to myself, as I went round that morning, these same poor feeble and emaciated women with their babies, dragging wearily along by the hand their little children, who were quite unable to move quickly, while all the

time the Gurkha soldiers kept beating them with the butt-ends of their rifles, in order to force them to move faster. I could picture the turmoil and confusion, the crying and weeping on that platform, in the middle of the night, under the light of the moon. Women would be dragging their children, here and there separated from their husbands. Children would be driven in one direction and mothers in another, and all the while the blows were being struck to force the people to move on.

"No valid excuse can be put forward for this action on the part of those officials who called in the Gurkhas that night and gave them that inhuman order to carry out. A hundred other methods might have been tried. Just a little forbearance and a little patience were needed. If the worst had come to the worst, and the refugees had still clung to the railway platform, the incoming train could have been halted a little way from the station and the passengers and luggage removed a short distance from the platform for a single night. It is noticeable that no attempt whatever had been made on that night itself by the refugees to rush the steamer as they had attempted to do on the previous evening. It must have been well known to the officials, that the local leaders were doing all they could to prevent further rushing of the steamer. One thing at least was obvious. With a force of 50 Gurkha soldiers, armed with rifles and bayonets, in addition to the police, it was absurdly easy to guard the steamer on that night from any rush. Nothing could have been simpler, therefore, than to leave the matter of clearing the railway station until the next day, when an understanding with the local leaders might have been obtained and the refugees might have been removed without any violence whatever.

"But the official mind moves always in a narrow groove and inevitably lacks imagination. The essential cruelty and inhumanity of the deed as it was actually committed never seemed to have been remotely apparent to those who committed it. That was the tragedy of the whole situation.

"After I arrived, some of the victims of the Gurkha outrage were brought before me for inspection. I saw one poor little girl with her left eye injured by a blow, which narrowly missed the eye-ball itself. Two women,

if I remember rightly, were also there, one with a bad scalp wound. One weak elderly man was present also wounded. I saw no one among the wounded who could have offered resistance. It made my blood hot with indignation to see these pitiable dorelicts of humanity, a weak sickly child, half-starved women, and an infirm old man, presented before me with wounds on their bodies which the brutal assault of the Gurkha soldiers had caused. I made many further enquiries during my stay in Chandpur. I began to collect evidence for the non-official investigation. All that I subsequently found out corroborated my first impression, that a wicked and an inhuman act had been perpetrated, which the people of India are not likely soon to forget. If I were to describe it in barest outline, it means that human beings in the last stage of misery and exhaustion, who should clearly have been objects of tenderness and compassion, were assaulted while they were lying on the railway platform late in the night by Gurkha soldiers. They offered no resistance. Yet weak women and children and feeble old men, who were too infirm to move quickly, were hit over the head and on the body with the butt-ends of rifles and other weapons in order to force them to get up from the ground. I met several Englishmen on my journeys to and from Chandpur who had seen with their own eyes the condition of these poor human wrecks. They expressed to me their indignation at the thought that Gurkhas could have been turned loose upon them in the middle of the night to drive them from one place to another. When I challenged the Commissioner himself, he acknowledged that he had pulled one Gurkha soldier off with his own hands, because he found him beating the people roughly with his weapon. The Commissioner also told me that he had ordered the whistle finally to be blown, because he saw the violence that was being used was too great. This at least, is an acknowledgment of the assault and some sign of repentance. But the Government Press Communique by its white-washing account and suppression of the truth, reflects no credit upon its author or upon the Government whom he represents.

“My indictment of the Bengal Government, in the name of humanity, is this, that they have oppressed the poor.

Where pity was needed, they have employed violence ; where tenderness was required, they have brought down their Gurkha soldiers ; where human nature itself was calling aloud for sympathy and compassion, they have forfeited the good name of a humane Government.

"The issue before the whole of India to day and not merely before Bengal is simply this : The Government not only of Bengal, but of India, by its actions, has come more and more to side with the vested interests, with the capitalists, with the rich, with the powerful, against the poor and the oppressed. That is the terrible indictment. That is why the poor, in their misery, have flocked to the banner of Mahatma Gandhi, who is himself the poorest of the poor, and who understands his own people. That is why they are even beginning to refuse such help as Government itself is still willing to offer. There was no more fateful sign of these critical days in which we live than that which was told me by an eye-witness at Naihati. These poor Assam-returned labourers were actually starving. The steaming cooked rice was put before them. But when they heard that Government had provided it, they refused to touch it. They were frightened that it was a plot to bring them back on to the plantations. But when the Seva Samiti workers brought them uncooked rice from the people, they were so ravenous that they began to eat the hard rice-grains uncooked.

The Day of Judgment has begun.

"This is a new and ominous event in the history of British Rule in India. Those who are not in the midst of the revolution which is going on before our eyes, and who are seated amid their files, will be prudent if they will take timely warning. The Day of Judgment has begun for all. There is now one supreme question which Government will have to face. "Are you on the side of the rich, or are you on the side of the poor ? Are you on the side of Mammon, or are you on the side of God ?"

"The Day of Judgment has come for the educated leaders of the people of India also. They too will have to face the same issue. "What are these outcastes ?"—the question will be asked. What are these untouchables ? What are these oppressed ryots, whose misery in the plains has driven them to seek refuge in Fiji and in Natal, in Ceylon and in Assam ?

Mr. Andrews, who went to Darjeeling some days later to see the Governor and the members of the Bengal Govt., to seek help in the way of repatriation of the unfortunate stranded coolies, further wrote thus:—

“The autocratic methods of the Bengal Government officials and their reliance upon brute force have been exposed. It has been shown clearly that the year 1921 in no way differs essentially from the year 1919. The so called Dyarchy has been proved up to the hilt to be the old Autocracy over again, dressed up in a new garment. In no single matter was Indian opinion in the Council, or of the Executive, of the slightest account in influencing the actions of Sir Henry Wheeler. I am taking the test, which the new Viceroy has laid down, and I am judging Sir Henry Wheeler by actions, rather than by professions. A situation, which should have been dealt with primarily by the Ministry of Health, was taken in hand by the Home Department and decided by the Home Department. In Darjeeling I was not introduced to a single Indian member for the purpose of consultation. The whole matter appeared to be settled by Lord Ronaldshay, Sir Henry Wheeler, and Mr. Donald,—three of my own countrymen. This was the attitude there, although, to my mind, as I have already said the question was primarily one of public health. I do not charge Sir Henry Wheeler or Lord Ronaldshay with consciously and deliberately slighting their Indian colleague; but I do say, that the mentality of the Autocracy at Darjeeling is still unchanged, and that the Responsible Government, promised by the Reforms Act—by which ought to be meant respect for Indian opinion and Indian initiative,—is still entirely absent. We shall see, when the Council meets in July, what will happen. There will be some resolutions to which the Government will give the usual explanations. There will be some questions, to which the Government will give the usual answers. And so the tragi-comedy will go on.

Next day, May 21st., there was a complete hartal in the town. Mr. K. C. De, the Commissioner, held out the vulgar threat to fight the non-co operation movement, which according to him was the prime cause of all the trouble, with the aid of Gurkhas. On this there was a panic in the town, and even the ladies of high families sent a letter to Mr. De stating that should he think fit to let loose the

Gurkhas in the town, they would die with their husbands and sons like their sister in days of yore, and that it would be useless to appeal to him for any redress, as he had shown want of any human feeling in him when the Gurkhas were beating sleeping women and children amongst the coolies.

Meanwhile, hartal continued in the town for several days and weeks together. All shops were closed, the schools were emptied, courts were boycotted by all, the servants of the officials, especially of Europeans, left, and no food was sold to them; they had to secure provision from Calcutta or other places through steamers guarded by armed police. The stranded coolies numbering some 4,000 were fed by the people who organised themselves into relief parties and relief camps and had the coolies sheltered in their own premises. The Bengal government refused to repatriate, and Mr. Andrews' prayer that government should grant Rs. 5,000 for the purpose to be supplemented by private charity was not heeded. The Govt. even forbade railway and steamer companies to grant concessions. Cholera soon broke out and terrible conditions prevailed. Soon, however, public funds poured in and with the help of Mr. Andrews and the Bishop of Assam, who, along with his wife, showed true Christian charity in taking after the relief work and tending the sick and wounded, the local leaders under the lead of Mr. Hardayal Nag were able to send the unfortunate people to their homes. Some generous Marwaris of Calcutta came to the rescue, and one brave Marwari even died from cholera while tending the sick. Bengalee volunteers from Coomilla and other districts poured in and all government help was soon dismissed.

Sir Henry Wheeler came down from Darjeeling and visited Chandpur on the 29th May. He went round the various camps and the hospitals and was interviewed by all the leading men of the town. His investigation lasted for 3 days and on June 7th his report was out. It was, as was to be expected, a heartless 'white-washing' report. He condoned the use of force on the coolies, maintained his partisan spirit against labour and non-co-operation, and threw all the blame on the latter. The fetish of prestige held Sir Henry back and he could not rise from the pettiness of political trumpery to

the height of the occasion even when so many poor lives were in peril. He found the following as his conclusions.—

(i) The coolies had to be moved away from the railway premises ; they would not have moved if some force had not been applied to them ; it is impossible in a melee to assess the weight of each blow, but however regrettable it is (and it undoubtedly is) that some were hurt, the force used was, looking to all the circumstances, not excessive. The whole incident has been the subject of malicious exaggeration, and I am satisfied on the evidence of the eye-witnesses of the scene whom I examined that the story that boyonets were used is wholly without foundation.

“(ii) For the local relief of these people the officers of Government did all they could. They were impeded, and finally frustrated, in their efforts by the action of the local leaders of the non-co operation party. Mr. De reported on the 21st May “I offered them (the local leaders) every possible help in men and money towards housing, sanitation and even feeding them (the coolies), but the offer was not accepted.” The offer of help is still open but has still been refused.

“(iii) The calling of a *hartal* and the two strikes has seriously prejudiced the welfare of the coolies, while the time of Government officers which should have been devoted to these coolies has necessarily been diverted to counter measures, and all relief operations have been gravely hampered.

“(iv) The *hartal* and strikes in their present form are instigated by political aims, and are merely a form of direct action. The welfare of the coolies has become a subsidiary issue with the local leaders. In this connection it is impossible to ignore the easy success gained by the non-co-operation party in a general strike in Chittagong on the 24th May ; there is every indication that this result encouraged a similar policy in Chandpur.

“(v) By their action the local leaders on two occasions (in connection with the second batch which Mr. Andrews wished to repatriate, and the offer of Mr. Indu Bhusan Dutt) have definitely prevented the removal of some who might have been conveyed elsewhere. The continuance of the steamer strike absolutely prevents any further movement of these coolies. Mr. Andrews at the moment is in a position to arrange for the

repatriation of these men at once. If anything prevents him, the responsibility is with the local leaders."

Sir Henry's report continues in this strain:—

"Mr. Andrews made a point of asking me that if a second *communiqué* was issued, it should be made clear that Government had no objection to the exercise of private charity and that the object was deserving of private charity. Government, of course, have not, and could not have any such objection, while the miserable condition of these men can only excite the sympathy of all.

"In a *communiqué* dated the 26th May the Governor in Council expressed the opinion that he could not properly undertake from public funds the repatriation of these coolies from Chandpur, and he thinks it desirable to state plainly the principles upon which that decision is based. The principle by which the policy of Government is determined is that in the case of labour disputes to which Government itself is not a party and of the merits of which this Government is not the judge, its attitude should be one of neutrality. It is not the duty of Bengal Government to side with one party or the other. To do so would be to intervene gratuitously in favour of one party to an industrial dispute and to create a most dangerous and unjustifiable precedent for the future. That is not to say that Government does not recognise the duty of ministering to the sick and actually destitute in accordance with the dictates of humanity. Throughout the controversy excited over the exodus of these coolies from Assam, Government has acted consistently in accordance with these principles. From motives of humanity and in the interests of the health of the province, they have already incurred considerable expenditure in relief of these coolies and in the prevention of disease. In the interests of the public health they have been forced, as the lesser of the two evils, actually to move those coolies who, in one way or another, have reached such distant places as Naihati and Asansol. But these cases can be differentiated from the position at Chandpur and Goalundo. The initial action of the local officers in sending on some coolies at the public charge was instigated by the quite intelligible wish to prevent a situation of much difficulty and it will, of course, be ratified. Such action, however, cannot be accepted by Government as justifiable as a normal procedure."

The A. B. Railway Strike.

The result of the Gurkha outrage at Chandpur was a long drawn Railway and Steamer strike in East Bengal. On May 24th. the Railway staff at Chandpur and Laksham, an important junction station, went on sympathetic strike. There were rumours of Gurkha assault. The Railway Union at Chittagong, the headquarters of the Railway, met on the 25th and after a prolonged sittings declared a general sympathetic strike to last till the question of repatriation of the coolies was justly settled by the Government. Mass meetings were held the same evening and following days when universal sympathy was held out to the Chandpur people and collections were made to help the stranded coolies. On the 28th. a ladies' meeting was also held at Chittagong where ornaments were freely pulled out and given over in sympathy for the strikers and the coolies. Fearing disturbance the authorities brought in a platoon of 33 Gurkhas to protect the Railway workshop at Pahartali and the European bungalows. On the 27th. May the men of the Steamer service joined the sympathetic strike, as the Secretary of the Serang's Association, M. Abdul Majid was illegally arrested only 2 days before. By 28th. May the whole Railway line was deserted, and Chittagong town went on hartal.

The whole land and water traffic route of East Bengal was in deadlock for some months together. Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta of Chittagong and Mr. C. R. Das with a large number of volunteers organised this huge strike and kept it going in wonderful order. < On June 7th the Railway authorities gave the men an ultimatum and new recruits were admitted replacing the old staff wholesale. This led to trouble. The new recruits had to fly away. Markets were closed against them; menials refused to serve them. On July 2nd. an influential deputation of Indian Commercial men and Moderates, headed by Rai Janaki N. Roy Bahadur waited upon the Governor, Lord Ronaldshay, to intercede, but they were curtly told to help themselves. Early in August several trains were wrecked. Government then began repression and by the middle of September the strike collapsed and the men resumed work. >

Indo-Afghan Affairs

Early in May 1921 public attention was drawn to the Afghan frontier. The Kabul Mission sent early in the year under Sir Henry Dobbs (see *post*) had failed to achieve any result. Sir Henry gave a flying visit to Simla early in April and immediately after left for Kabul, but his mysterious movements were not explained. The Govt. of India kept a stolid silence. In the House of Commons the Premier was plied with questions regarding the Indo-Afghan relations but he could give no satisfactory reply. It was well-known that the Amir was in friendly alliance with the Soviet of Russia, and the news of fresh arrivals at Kabul of Bolshevik and Turkish emissaries gave colour to the rumour that the British mission was going to be an utter failure. General Nadir Khan of the Amir's Army visited Jalalabad early in April and ordered the pick of the Afghan Army to be mobilized near Landi Kotal, a few miles off Peshawar. It was further announced in Afghanistan that Djemal Pasha of the Angora Govt. was coming to reorganise the Afghan Army on modern basis. The Afghan Govt. was endeavouring to enter into treaty engagements with all the powers and their recent pact with the Soviet stood in the way of a satisfactory Anglo-Afghan treaty. This Russo-Afghan pact sought to establish consulates as far near the Indian frontier as Kandahar, Ghazni and Jelalabad, and this was looked upon with great suspicion.

Add to all this trouble, the Mahsuds and Afridis at this time broke out in open rebellion. A *Jihad* was declared by the Afridis of Khamber Khel, Malikdin Khels, and Zakka Khels, and an organised attempt was sought to be made on Khybar immediately on Sir Henry Dobbs' return to India. Several highly successful raids were made on British convoys. In Waziristan and Wana, and even in Kohat, Bannu and the Campbellpur district constant raids took place up to the end of May 1921. On April 23rd a very large British convoy was attacked near Lodha resulting in the loss of 200 camels killed and 130 carried off with several casualties in the

British and Indian supporting columns. During the whole of April small skirmishes went on, and the frontier raids grew more and more daring.

The secrecy observed by the Govt. in regard to the operations of the Dobbs Mission led to all sorts of rumours being spread. The *Independent* of Allahabad published a list of demands believed to be made by the Amir to form the basis of a treaty of friendship, and these included the payment of the subsidy since stopped, sovereign right of independence, right to exchange diplomatic service with foreign powers, modifications of the Turkish Treaty and the return of Waziristan. Speculations also ran rife as to what would happen if the Afghans invaded India. Bolshevik and Turkish advances in Afghanistan gave the alarm. It was known that Suritz, the Soviet agent, was then in Kabul. Mr. Mahomed Ali in his speech at Erode was reported to have said that the Indian Moslems would join if *Jehad* was proclaimed. The pan-Islamic activities of Mr. Mahomed Ali created a panic in Anglo-Indian circles and presumably on official inspiration from Simla, a section of the Moderate and the Anglo Indian Press started the bogey of an Afghan invasion and tried to drive a wedge between Mr. Mahomed Ali and M. Gandhi and the Congress creed of Hindu-Moslem unity. The ball was set rolling by the *Leader* and the *Pioneer* of Allahabad and the *Pratap* of Lahore. On May 11th. the *Pioneer* roundly challenged Mr. Ali to say definitely whether directly or indirectly he was not in communication with the Amir on the subject of the invasion. Questioned on this point Mr. Mahomed Ali declared :—

“I am a Muslim first and everything else afterwards just as I believe that Mahatma Gandhi is a Hindu first and everything else afterwards. All that Islam demands from me is that I should not live in a land where I could not follow the dictates of my religion with impunity, and it is just because Swaraj will give me that and the present British autocracy does not, that I yearn for Swaraj and regard its attainment as a religious duty.

“This Afghan hare is none of my starting. For this our friends must thank Sir William Vincent and his distinguished co-workers in the so called Indian Legislatures. I do not remember having said anything about any foreign invasion of India for more than a year and all my thoughts were occupied

with early attainment of Swaraj by means of non-violent non-co-operation."

A similar story, he said, had been invented during his internment at Chhindwara during the last War. The Govt. was challenged then to publish the letter alleged to have been written to the Amir and he repeated the challenge now once again to publish the alleged communication.

Swami Shraddhanand who had written about the Afghan spy interviewed by Dr. Kitchlew said that what actually happened was that about 25 days ago, (i.e. about the middle of April 1921) a certain gentleman, belonging to the premier political organisation which had then identified itself with the Moderate party, met him at Gurukul and told him that a certain Afghan spy had gone to Mr. Malaviya, who referred him to Mr. Gandhi and who in turn sent him on to the Ali Brothers, resulting in Mr. Mohamed Ali giving a letter to the spy stating that an invasion by the Amir would be welcome to Hindus and Moslems, but that he was not yet certain of the army. Swami Shraddhanand added that he did not believe the above story, and his object in giving publicity to it was to expose the mischievous and secret propaganda carried on by enemies. He had absolute faith in the integrity of the Ali Brothers and other Muslims who had made the Congress cause their own. Mr. Mohamed Ali's views were in complete agreement with his own on this question.

Interviewed by the Associated Press representative, Pundit Malaviya stated as follows :—

"The facts are these. About a year ago, I think it was a little before the Khilafat Conference met at Allahabad, an Afghan came to me at Benares. He said he had been sent by some leading persons in Afghanistan, that the Amir Sahib and the leading men of Afghanistan were watching our fight with the British Government closely and deeply sympathised with us, that the Afghans were willing to come to India to help us against the British Government, but that they wanted to know whether and how far in my opinion the Hindus of this country would support the Afghans if they came to fight the British Government. I felt a doubt as to whether the man was a genuine messenger from Afghanistan or a spy sent by somebody here to draw me out. But, taking him at his word, I said to him that I was thankful to those who had

sent him for their sympathy towards us, that I too had deep sympathy with Afghanistan, that we were endeavouring in our own way to obtain freedom and that I sincerely desired Afghanistan to preserve its independence and not to risk it in an attempt to help us against the British Government. I told him further that though we had many grievances under the British Government, yet, if the Afghans invaded India, in my opinion every Hindu and the great bulk of the Mahomedans who counted and every Indian State without exception would array themselves on the side of the British Government to repel the invasion, that with the combined resources of England and India, in men and money, the British Government would easily be able to defeat the Afghans, that there was already a party among British officers who had long advocated that the British Government should establish its dominion over Kabul, and that if a war took place the counsels of this party would gain ascendancy and that it would mean a real danger to Afghanistan.

"I asked that gentleman the probable period of the war as calculated by the Afghans for which they had collected treasury, munitions and provisions of food. His answer was:— For about six months. I told him that from information I had I believed that the British Indian Government was prepared for war lasting, if necessary, for several years. I told him that from every conceivable point of view it would be a national crime and folly on the part of the Afghan Government to enter upon a war with the British Government and to help us, that the only result which I could foresee would be an appalling loss on both sides with no advantage to India and with the probable loss of the independence of Afghanistan. I therefore told him in conclusion to tell the gentlemen who had done me the honour of sending him to me for my opinion that they should absolutely abandon the idea of an Afghan invasion of India, if they really seriously entertained it. The gentleman thanked me for what he appreciated as a candid opinion and said that he would go back soon to Afghanistan and would communicate it to those who had deputed him to come.

"Even after he had left, I did not feel sure that he was a genuine messenger from Afghanistan"

Questioned as to the correctness of the rumour current in the press that to put off the Afghan emissary the Pandit had

referred him to Mr. Gandhi, the Pandit unhesitatingly replied that it was entirely untrue, and proceeding, said :—"Nor did I hear that the Afghan went to Mahatma Gandhi or to Mr. Mahomed Ali. I might add that after the man went away I did not give any serious thought to this incident."

The Kabul newspaper *Afghan* printed a translation of the speech delivered by Mr. Mahomed Ali at Madras in which the spy was alleged to have been sent by the Amir to sound certain Indian Nationalist leaders on the question of the amount of support the Afghan might expect if they invaded India. The *Afghan* took its version of the speech from the *Vakil* newspaper, the editor of which in printing it said it was difficult to believe the story. The *Afghan* declared that the whole story was groundless. The Amir never sent such a spy, nor did he ever contemplate such consultation with the Indian Nationalist leaders.

The Allahabad District Conference

The attempt made by interested people to create a Hindu-Moslem split, however, did not prove much of a success. The reputation of Mahomed Ali as sought to be assailed by the 'Spy bogey' remained inviolate. This was seen in the Allahabad District Conference held on 11th May 1921, which, from the large attendance of Congressmen from all over India, looked very much like an all-India meeting. Mr. Mahomed Ali was elected president and in the course of his address touched on the story of the spy and said that it was not true that any non-co-operator would ever desire Afghan invasion. It was much better, he said, to remain in hell than to go to heaven with the aid of a foreign power. They wanted to win Swaraj but not with the aid of a foreign power. If any such waged war against the present Government for the purpose of making India free, they would not render any help to Government but would simply watch the fight and take no part in it because they did not believe in violence. He failed to understand why the "Pioneer" and the "Leader" were making so much fuss about the Afghan bogey. He was not bound to answer any question put to him by newspapers but he assured them that there were no correspondence between him and the Amir, and whosoever attributed that idea to him was a liar.

Mr. Gandhi, who did not think it necessary to refute such an outrageous story as that he was in communication with a 'spy', was, however, also drawn into the controversy. Writing on the 'Afghan bogey' he said that the non-co-operators were not to help the Government in any case, and his writings were misinterpreted by many within the Congress-fold. Mr. Bepin ch. Pal and the Rev. Mr. Andrews were afraid that Mr. Gandhi was unwittingly supporting pan-Islamism. Mr. Lajpat Rai also wrote three articles in his paper *Bande Mataram* strongly condemning the attitude that Moslems should join the Afghan invader in case a jehad was declared. Mr. Pal, however, strongly attacked Mr. Gandhi in the columns of the *Englishman* in reply to which Mr. Gandhi categorically laid down his views on the matter as follows :—

"1. I do not believe that the Afghans want to invade India.

"2. I believe that the Government is fully prepared to meet an Afghan invasion.

"3. I am sorry to confess that if there be an Afghan invasion, every Raja and Maharaja will render unconditional assistance to the Government.

"4. I believe, too, that we as a people are still so demoralised, diffident and distrustful of Afghan intentions, and Hindus and Mussalmans of one another, that many would in mere panic rush to the help of the Government and thus still further strengthen the chain that binds India.

"5. In theory, it is possible to distinguish between an invasion of India and an invasion of the British Government for the purpose of the Khilafat. In practice, I do not believe in the Afghans invading India to embarrass the Government, and being able, in the event of being successful, to resist the temptation of establishing a kingdom in India.

"6. In spite of such belief, I hold it to be contrary to the faith of a Non-co-operator to render unconditional assistance to a Government which he seeks to end or mend.

"7. A handful of conscientious objectors may make no impression on the then current of events, but they will sow the seed for raising a many India.

"8. I would rather see India perish at the hands of Afghans than purchase freedom from Afghan invasion at the

cost of her honour. To have India defended by an unrepentant Government that keeps the Khilafat and the Punjab wounds still bleeding, is to sell India's honour.

"9. My faith, however, in the British nation is such that when we have shown sufficient strength of purpose and undergone enough measure of self-sacrifice, the British people will respond fully. My reading of history is that they do not yield to justice pure and simple. It is too abstract for their "common-sense." But they are far-seeing enough to respond to justice when it is allied with force. Whether it is brute-force or soul-force, they do not mind.

"10. It is the duty of every Non-co-operator to let the Afghans know that he believes in the capacity of Non-co-operation to restore the Khilafat to the pre-war status, and that India does not want their armed intervention, that Non-co-operators would appreciate their refusal to enter into any deal with the British Government for holding India in subjection, and that India has none but the friendliest feelings for her neighbours."

By the end of May public feeling was greatly relieved by the appearance in the Press of a letter from Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, the great Moslem divine of Bengal. Regarding the Afghan bogey the Maulana thought that the man who saw Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya at Benares was not from Kabul but from India itself and was sent by Moulvi Niama-tullah, the chief of the old Indian Muhajirins of Bunair in the N. W. Frontier. The Maulana said that in March 1920 this man saw him too in Bombay when he (Maulana) was there for the Congress and Khilafat conference just after his release from internment. The man was posing as coming from Kabul simply to attach an undue importance to his position, but in fact he had no connection with the Kabul Durbar. He expressed his desire to be introduced to the late Mr. Tilak, Mahatma Gandhi, Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Lala Harkishen Lal. But then the Maulana did not think the matter to be of any significance as to draw any attention and told the man that it was simply useless nonsense. The Maulana thought that the same man saw Pundit Malaviya too in Benares. The Ali Brothers knew nothing about it, nor did he (Maulana) think it necessary to relate the incident to Mahatma Gandhi.

The Kabul Mission

The British Mission to Kabul appointed to draw up a new treaty of peace with the Afghans consisted of Sir Henry Dobbs, Mr. Piror, General Muspratt, Nawab Sir Mir Shan Shab, Col. Ross, Mr. A. Cheson and Capt. Hannah. They left Peshawar on the 4th January 1921 and crossed the frontier before noon on the next day and reached Kabul on the 7th January afternoon. At Kabul they were very hospitably welcomed and given a palace close to the Amir's palace for residence.

A great durbar was held at Kabul on Monday January 10th. by command of His Majesty the Amir of Afghanistan for the reception of the British Mission. After the usual presentations Sir Henry Dobbs delivered the following message from the Viceroy. He said :—

"His Excellency the Viceroy commanded me personally to convey to your Majesty his friendly greetings and to enquire after your Majesty's health. He desired me to say that he was glad to find himself, before the close of his Viceroyalty, able to accept the invitation of the Afghan Government to send a British Mission to your capital. The British Government and His Excellency himself have every hope that all misunderstandings, if any still exist between the two Governments, may be speedily arranged, and that a firm and lasting treaty of friendship may be entered into between them which will secure the interests of both."

The Amir enquired after the health of His Majesty King George and of His Excellency the Viceroy. In reply to the thanks of the Mission for the hospitality and courtesy shown by the officials of the Afghan Government from the moment of their crossing the frontier to their arrival at Kabul, His Majesty the Amir said :—

"Our aim and object is to preserve friendly relations with neighbouring nations and governments and specially with the government of Great Britain, with whom we have relations of very long standing friendship, on condition that these relations are for the good of Afghanistan and its people and its independence. As during the stay of our Mission in India the officials of Great Britain showed them every attention, I too have ordered my officials to do their best for your comfort."

Sir Henry Dobbs mentioned that he had visited Afghanistan twice before and that he had always wished to see Afghanistan again. He considered himself fortunate to have had the honour of seeing His Majesty and to have seen Afghanistan making such extraordinary progress compared with the past and the excellent condition of the roads and

halting places, the connection by telephone of the various parts of the kingdom and of the various departments in the capital, the use of electricity for lighting and the working of machinery, etc.

His Majesty referred to the progress and awakening of the world and the comparatively small progress of Afghanistan and expressed his Royal thanks for the valuable services rendered by Colonel Azizulla Khan, an Indian, in working the electric machinery. In connection with his Royal engagements, he said that the people had rendered him a service and that he too considered himself a servant of the nation and that if his life was required in the cause of his country and people he would be happy and that he would spare himself no pains because he knew that his country was in need of his services. Again, in connection with the appointment of the members for the conference, His Majesty said that he did not wish to appoint Sardar Mohammad Nadir Khan, the Commander-in-Chief, because he was a soldier (a man of the sword), and he appointed Sardar-I-Ala Mohammad Khan Tarzi, Foreign Minister, as the head of the delegation because he was a man of the pen and that it was the pen that was required at that moment.

The Commander-in-Chief, Sardar-I-Ala Mohammad Nadir Khan, humourously said that unless the sword came in the pens of politicians could do nothing and that whether it was his pen or his sword, both were ready for the service of the kingdom and the nation of His Majesty the Ghazi.

The Work of the Mission

At the beginning great hopes were entertained of the progress of the mission. For the next few months, however, no news of the mission was received in India and the Government of India maintained a stolid silence. In April Sir Henry Dobbs suddenly came back to Simla and as hurriedly left for Kabul. He was followed by Genl. Muspratt who came to Simla on a flying visit for some important despatches. On May 20th, a *communiqué* was issued to remove misconceptions that had arisen in the public mind but nothing particular about the work done by the mission was published. The terms insisted on by the Afghan Government as published by the *Independent* were not expressly contradicted, but it was said that the description was wholly

wide of the mark. After a very long and protracted negotiation, due mainly to the fear entertained by the British of Bolshevist influence in Afghanistan, a treaty of peace was published on November 23rd. 1921. The press communique that was issued by the Govt. of India said :—

“Satisfactory written assurances that no Russian Consulates will be permitted in the Jalalabad, Ghazni and Kandahar areas having been received from the Afghan Government, a treaty of friendship with Afghanistan was signed in Kabul on November 22nd and Sir Henry Dobbs will return to India with the Kabul Mission at once.

“Under the treaty, which, though subject to ratification, is immediately operative, Government reaffirms their recognition of Afghanistan's complete independence and there is to be an interchange of Ministers in London and Kabul, and of Consuls in India and Afghanistan. The frontier with a slight realignment of the boundary demarcated by the British Commission in the autumn of 1919, is accepted by Afghanistan, and the misunderstandings between the two Governments over the tribes on either side of the border having been removed, each Government engages to apprise the other beforehand of any major operations it may find it necessary to institute for the maintenance of order near the frontier. Subject to the continuance of friendliness and the provisions of any general arms traffic convention that may hereafter come into force, the privilege formerly enjoyed by the Afghan Government of importing munitions of war through India is restored and customs duty is remitted under the usual conditions. Regarding goods in transit or goods that pass through Indian ports into Afghanistan, a rebate is granted. Provisions are made in the treaty for the conclusion of separate trade and postal conventions. The treaty is in Persian and an English copy is appended.”

The text of the treaty is given on page 217. It was finally ratified by the King on the 1st of December 1921.

The Return of the Mission

On December 4th, 1921 Sir Henry Dobbs and the staff of the Kabul Mission crossed the frontier and returned to Peshawar.

It had been arranged that the minor adjustment of the British-Afghan Frontier which was one of the terms of the

treaty should be formally carried out by Sir Henry Dobbs on the occasion. To represent the Afghan Government the Mushtashar of the Afghan Foreign Office, Mahomed Isbaq Khan, had accompanied the Mission to the Frontier.

Maps were produced and the line of the new frontier was minutely inspected thereon by the chief military and civil officials of both sides. A move was then made to the point some 700 yards back along the road towards Landi Khana where beneath the towering cliffs of Torkham, the new frontier will run. The Afghan infantry which had formed the guard of honour moved up with band playing to this point. Simultaneously, the British Infantry and Artillery moved back, relinquishing a strip of 700 yds. to the Afghans, the strains of the British drums and fifes mingling with the brass and pipe bands of the Afghans which played their National Anthem and other patriotic tune. After a brief speech by the Afghan Mushtashar and a suitable reply by Sir Henry Dobbs, the representatives of the two nations jointly marked out a few yards of the new frontier and saw the wire gates erected in their new position. The ceremony closed with a dramatic and appropriate note, an Afghan Mullah stepping forward from the crowd and reciting a prayer in which the assembled Mahomedan spectators heartily joined. On the conclusion of this prayer the Afghan Infantry fired a *feu de joie*. Sir Henry Dobbs and his party then, after a hearty farewell to the Afghan officials, drove away to Landi Kotal and from there to Peshawar.

The Barshore Raid

The treaty, however, was soon put to the test. On 26th. November, 4 days after the treaty, a party of Mahsud Waziris raided Barshore in British territory of the Beluchistan border, and in the engagement that followed several British Platoons were swept away, 2 British and 39 Indian officers being killed and many wounded and imprisoned. The news was sent to the Amir who subsequently expressed regret.

Text of the Afghan Treaty

Preamble : The British Government and the Government of Afghanistan, with a view to the establishment of neighbourly relations between them, have agreed to the articles written hereunder, whereto the undersigned duly authorised to the effect have set their seal.

Article 1 : The British Government and the Government of Afghanistan mutually certify and respect each other with regard to the rights of internal and external independence.

Article 2 : The two high contracting parties mutually accept the Indo-Afghan frontier as accepted by the Afghan Government under article 3 of the Treaty concluded at Rawalpindi on the 13th August, 1919, corresponding to the 11th Ziqada, 1337, Hijri, and also the boundary west of the Khyber laid down by the British Commission in the months of August and September, 1919, pursuant to the said article and shown on the map attached to this Treaty by a black chain line, subject only to the realignment set forth in Schedule I annexed, which has been agreed upon in order to include within the boundaries of Afghanistan the place known as Torkham and the whole bed of the Kabul River between Shilman, Khwala, Banda and Palosai, and which is shown on the said map by a red chain line. The British Government agrees that the Afghan authorities shall be permitted to draw water in reasonable quantities through a pipe which shall be provided by the British Government from Landi Kotal and Landi Khana for the use of the Afghan subjects at Torkham, and the Government of Afghanistan agrees that British officers and tradesmen living on the British side of the boundary shall be permitted, without let or hindrance, to the aforesaid portion of the Kabul River for the purposes of navigation, and that all existing rights of irrigation from the aforesaid portion of the river shall be continued to British subjects.

Article 3 : The British Government agrees that a Minister from His Majesty the Amir of Afghanistan shall be received at the Royal Court of London like the envoys of all other Powers and to permit the establishment of an Afghan Legation in London, and the Government of Afghanistan likewise agrees to receive at Kabul a Minister from His Britannic Majesty the Emperor of India, and to permit the establishment of a British Legation at Kabul. Each party shall have the right of appointing a Military Attache to its Legation.

Article 4 : The Government of Afghanistan agrees to the establishment of British Consulates at Kandahar and Jalalabad, and the British Government agrees to the establishment of an Afghan Consul-General at the headquarters of the Government of India and three Afghan Consulates at Calcutta, Karachi and Bombay. In the event of the Afghan Government desiring at any time to appoint Consular officers in any British territories other than India, a separate agreement shall be drawn up to provide for such appointments if they are approved by the British Government.

Article 5 : The two high contracting parties mutually guarantee the personal safety and honorable treatment each of the representative of the other, whether a Minister, Consul-General or Consuls, within

their own countries, and they agree that the said representatives shall be subject, in the discharge of their duties, to the provisions set forth in the second Schedule annexed to this Treaty. The British Government further agrees that the Minister, Consul-General, and Consuls of Afghanistan shall, within the territorial limits within which they are permitted to reside or to exercise their functions notwithstanding the provisions of the said Schedule, receive and enjoy any rights or privileges which are, or may hereafter be, granted to, or enjoyed by the Minister, Consul-General, or Consuls, of any other Government in the countries in which the places of residence of the said Minister, Consul-General, and Consuls of Afghanistan are fixed, and the Government of Afghanistan likewise agrees that the Ministers and Consuls of Great Britain shall, within the territorial limits within which they are permitted to reside or to exercise their functions notwithstanding the provision of the said Schedule, receive and enjoy any rights or privileges which are, may or hereafter be granted to or enjoyed by the Minister, or Consuls of any other Government in the countries in which the places of residence of the said Minister and Consuls of Great Britain fixed.

Article 6 : As if for the benefit of the British Government and the Government of Afghanistan that the Government of Afghanistan shall be strong and prosperous, the Government of Great Britain agrees that whatever quantity of material is required for the strength and welfare of Afghanistan, such as all kinds of factory machinery, engines and materials, instruments for telegraph, telephones, etc. which Afghanistan may be able to buy from Great Britain, or the British Dominions, or from other countries of the world, shall ordinarily be imported without let or hindrance by Afghanistan into its own territories from the ports of the British Isles and British India. Similarly, the Government of Afghanistan agrees that every kind of goods the export of which is not contrary to the internal laws of the Government of Afghanistan, and which may, in its judgment, be in excess of the internal needs and requirements of Afghanistan, and which is required by the British Government, can be purchased and exported to India with the permission of the Government of Afghanistan.

With regard to arms and munitions, the British Government agrees that the intentions of the Government of Afghanistan are friendly, and that there is no immediate danger to India to be feared from their importation into Afghanistan. Such importation shall be permitted without let or hindrance. If, however, the Arms Traffic Convention is ratified by the Great Powers of the world and comes into force, the right of importation of arms and munitions by the Afghan Government shall be subject to the provision that the Afghan Government shall first have signed the Arms Traffic Convention and that such importation shall only be made in accordance with the provision of that Convention. Should the Arms Traffic Convention be not ratified, the Afghan Government can, subject to the above-mentioned assurance, import from time to time into its own territory the arms and munitions mentioned above through the ports of the British Isles and British India.

Article 7 : No customs duties shall be levied at British Indian ports on goods imported under the provisions of article 6 on behalf of

the Government of Afghanistan for immediate transport to Afghanistan ; provided that, a certificate signed by such afghan authority or representation as may from time to time be determined by the two Governments, shall be presented at the time of importation to the chief customs officer at the port of import, setting forth that the goods in question are the property of the Government of Afghanistan and are being sent under its order to Afghanistan, and showing the description, number and value of the goods, in respect of which exemption is claimed, provided secondly, that the goods are required for the public services of Afghanistan and not for the purposes of any State monopoly or State trade, and provided thirdly, that the goods are, unless of a clearly distinguishable nature, transported through India in sealed packages which shall not be opened or sub-divided before their export from India. The British Government agrees to the grant in respect of all goods imported into India at British ports for re-export to Afghanistan and exported to Afghanistan by routes to be agreed upon between the two Governments, of a rebate at the time and place of the export of the full amount of customs duty levied upon such goods, provided that such goods shall be transported through India in sealed packages, which shall not be opened or sub-divided before their export from India. The British Government declares a duty on goods or livestocks of afghan origin or manufacture imported by land or by river into India or exported from Afghanistan to other countries of the world through India, and the import of which into India is not prohibited by law. In the event, however, of the British Government deciding in the future to levy customs duties on goods and livestock imported into India by land or by river from neighbouring State, it will, if convenient, levy such duties on imports imported from Afghanistan ; but, in that event, the British Government agrees that it will not levy higher duties on imports from Afghanistan than those levied on imports from such neighbouring States.

Nothing in this article shall prevent a levy of imports from Afghanistan of the present Khyber tolls and of octroi in any town of India in which octroi is or may be hereafter levied, provided that there shall be no enhancement of the present rate of the Khyber tolls.

Article 8 : The British Government agrees to the establishment of trading agencies by the Afghan Government at Peshawar, Quetta and Parachinar, provided that the PERSONNEL and the property of the said agencies shall be subject to the operations of all British laws and orders and to the jurisdiction of British Courts and that they shall not be recognised by the British authorities as having any official or privileged position.

Article 9 : Goods imported from Europe, etc., to Afghanistan under the provisions of article 7 may be made up into loads suited to the capacity of baggage animals at the Railway terminuses at Jamrud, in the Kurram, and at Chaman, without this being the cause of reimposition of customs duties.

The method by which provisions of this article are to be carried out shall be settled by representatives to be appointed under article 12 of this Treaty.

Article 10 : The two high contracting parties agree to afford facilities of every description for the exchange of postal matter between

their two countries, provided that neither shall be authorised to establish post offices within the territory of the other.

In order to give effect to this article, a separate postal convention shall be concluded, for the preparation of which such number of special officers as the Afghan government may appoint, shall meet the officers of the British Government and consult with them.

Article 11: The two high contracting parties, having mutually satisfied themselves each regarding the good-will of the other, and especially regarding their benevolent intentions towards the tribes residing close to their respective boundaries, hereby undertake each to inform the other in future of any military operations of major importance, which may appear necessary for the maintenance of order among the frontier tribes residing within their respective spheres before the commencement of such operation.

Article 12: The two high contracting parties agree that representatives of the British and Afghan Governments shall be appointed to discuss the conclusion of a separate trade convention to deal with measures necessary to carry out the provision of article 9 of this treaty and with any other matter relating to trade, the settlement of which may seem desirable in the interests of the two high contracting parties. Until such a convention is signed, commercial relations shall be continued between the two countries on their present basis.

Article 13: The two high contracting parties agree that the first and second Schedules attached to this Treaty shall have the same binding force as the articles of this Treaty.

Article 14: The provision of this Treaty shall come into force from the date of its signature and shall remain in force for three years from that date. In case neither of the high contracting parties should have notified, twelve months before the expiration of the said three years, the intention to terminate it, it shall remain binding until the expiration of one year from the day on which either of the high contracting parties shall have denounced it.

This Treaty shall come into force on signature by the delegations of the two high contracting parties and the two ratified copies of it shall be exchanged at Kabul within two and a half months of signature.

SCHEDULE I.

(REFERRED TO IN ARTICLE II).

In the nullah-bed running from Landi Khana to Pinda Khak Post, the Afghan frontier has been advanced approximately 700 yards, and the Tor Khan ridge, including Shamsa Kandao and Shamsa Kandao Sar, is comprised in Afghan territory. Further, the Afghan frontier has been advanced between the point where the present boundary joins the Kabul River and Palosai from the centre of the river to the right bank.

SCHEDULE II.

LEGATIONS AND CONSULATES.

(a) The Legations, Consulate General and Consulates of the two high contracting parties shall at no time be used as places of refuge

for political or ordinary offenders or as places of assembly for the furtherance of seditious or criminal movements or as magazines of arms.

(b) The Minister of His Britannic Majesty at the Court of Kabul shall, together with his family, secretaries, assistants, attaches and any of his menial or domestic servants or his couriers who are British subjects, be exempt from the civil jurisdiction of the Afghan Government, provided that he shall furnish from time to time to the Afghan Government a list of persons in respect of whom such exemption is claimed, and, under a like proviso, the Minister of the Amir to the Court of St. James's in London to which all the ambassadors of States are accredited shall, together with his family, secretaries, assistants, attaches and any of his menial or domestic servants or his couriers who are Afghan subjects, be exempt from the civil jurisdiction of Great Britain. If an offence or crime is committed by an Afghan subject against the British Minister or the persons above-mentioned who are attached to the British Legation, the case shall be tried according to the local law by the Courts of Afghanistan within whose jurisdiction the offence is committed, and the same procedure shall be observed *VICE VERSA* with regard to offences committed in England by British subjects against Afghan Minister or other persons above-mentioned attached to the Afghan Legation.

(c) (i) A Consul General, Consuls and members of their staffs and households, who are subjects of the State in which they are employed, shall remain subject in all respects to the jurisdiction, laws and regulations of such State.

(ii) A Consul General, Consul and members of their staffs and households other than subjects of the State in which they are employed shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the Courts of such State in respect of any criminal offence committed against the Government or subjects of such State, provided that no Consul General, Consul or member of a Consul's staff or household shall suffer any punishment other than fine; provided also that both Governments retain always the right to demand recall from their dominions of any Consul general, Consul or member of their staff or household.

(iii) A Consul general, Consuls and members of their staffs and households other than subjects of the State in which they are employed shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the Courts of the said State in respect of any civil cause of action arising in the territory of the said State, provided that they shall enjoy the customary facilities for the performance of their duties.

(iv) The Consul General of Afghanistan and Consuls shall have a right to defend the interests of themselves or any members of their staffs and household who are subjects of their own governments in any Court through pleaders or by the presence of one of the Consulate officials, with due regard to local procedure and laws.

(v) The Ministers, Consul-general and Consuls of the two High contracting parties and the members of their staffs and households shall not take any steps or commit any acts injurious to the interests of the government of the country to which they are accredited,

(c) Ministers, Consul-general and Consuls of the two governments in either country shall be permitted to purchase or hire, on behalf of their governments, residences for themselves and their staff and servants, or sites sufficient and suitable for the erection of such residence and grounds of a convenient size attached, and the respective governments shall give all possible assistance towards such purchase hire; provided that the government of the country to which the Ministers or Consuls are accredited shall, in the event of an Embassy or Consulate being permanently withdrawn, have the right to acquire such residences or lands at a price to be mutually agreed on; and provided that the site purchased or hired shall not exceed twenty JARIBS in area.

NOTE.—A JARIB is equal to 60 by 60 English yards.

(f) The Ministers, Consul-generals and Consuls of the two governments shall not acquire any immovable property in the country to which they are accredited without the permission of the said country.

(g) Neither of the two high contracting parties shall found a mosque, church or temple for the use of the public inside any of its Legations or Consulates, nor shall the Ministers, Consul-general or Consuls of either government or their Secretaries or members of their staffs and households engage in any political agitation or movement within the country to which they are accredited or in which they are residing.

(h) The Ministers, Consul-general, and Consuls of the two high contracting parties shall not grant naturalisation or pass-ports or certificates of nationality or other documents of identity to the subjects of the country in which they are employed in such capacity.

(i) The Ministers of the two high contracting parties, besides their own wives and children, may have with them not more than 35 persons, and a Consul General and Consuls, besides their own wives and children, not more than 20 persons. If it becomes necessary to employ in addition subjects of the government of the country to which they are accredited, Ministers can employ not more than ten persons and Consul-general or Consuls not more than five persons.

(j) The Ministers, Consul General and Consuls of the two high contracting parties shall be at liberty to communicate freely with their own Government and with other official representatives of their Government in other countries by post, by telegraph and by wireless telegraphy in cypher or EN CLAIR, and to receive and despatch sealed bags by courier or post, subject to a limitation in the case of Ministers of six pounds per week which shall be exempt from postal charges and examination and the safe transmission of which shall, in the case of bags sent by post, be guaranteed by the Postal Departments of the two Governments.

(k) Each of the two Governments shall exempt, from the payment of Customs or other duties, all articles imported within its boundaries in reasonable quantities for the personal use of the Minister of the other Government or of his family, provided that a certificate is furnished by the Minister at the time of importation that the articles are intended for such personal use.

The Gandhi-Reading Interview

SIMLA, MAY 13TH—18TH, 1921.

Almost the first important work which the new Viceroy took in hand was an exchange of views with the prominent nationalist leaders of the country in private conversations. The most sensational of these political interviews was with Mr. Gandhi which gave current to all sorts of speculations. For, it seemed queer that the great leader of non-cooperation should seek an interview with the head of a Government with whom he was at war. There was altogether six of these interviews at Simla between the 13th and 18th of May. The first interview which took place in the afternoon of the 13th was the most prolonged one, and it looked as if Lord Reading would not release Mr. Gandhi out of the Viceregal Lodge at all that day. Anxious expectation prevailed throughout the station regarding the nature of the talk. Mr. Gandhi returned late that night, and when the next day dawned it was announced that the interview was to be resumed at 10-30 A. M. No sooner was this over than the Mahatma was ovated by the Simla people, drawn in a rickshaw through the principal streets amidst cries of "Betaz Badshah" (the "Uncrowned King") to the Arya Samaj Mandir where an address was delivered by him to the purdah ladies who contributed substantially to the Tilak Swaraj Fund.

On the 15th a large meeting was held at "Id-gah" where both Messrs. Gandhi and Lajpat Rai delivered important speeches touching on the interviews. In the speeches that were delivered Mr. Gandhi said that he could not divulge the matters discussed at the interviews and the Lala warned Mr. Gandhi that the country was firm on *Swaraj* and would not hear of any compromise. Pandit Malaviya was also present but he could not take part in it owing to ill-health, except in one instance when he called upon Lala Lajpat Rai to undergo "prayschitya" for having questioned the wisdom of the Mahatma and also asked latter not to yield on any matter of principle. This brought forth an explicit statement from the Lala who after reiterating his previous conviction assured Mr. Gandhi that the country would back him to the fullest extent

in the demand for complete Swara but he, for his part, would not be with Gandhi if he yielded on any question of principle. This became the topic of discussion in some volatile circles where the impression gained ground that Gandhi was slowly giving way before the Viceroy.

The Gandhi-Reading interview was again renewed on the 16th and the 17th at Viceroyal Lodge which was continuously surrounded by the simple villagers and unlettered peasants from far and near and who kept on crying "Mahatma Gandhi ki jai" The Viceroy also granted short interviews to Mr. Besant and Lala Lajpat Rai. Wednesday the 18th June there was great commotion at Simla for not only was Mr. Gandhi interviewed twice by the Viceroy, but also Pandit Malaviya was again asked to give advice. The Viceroy's Executive Council met and considered, it was surmised, very important documents connected with Mr. Gandhi's visit. It was believed that Mr. Gandhi was asked by the Viceroy to present a statement setting forth categorically the various demands of the Non-co-operators, so that he could discuss them before his Council that afternoon. Lord Reading, after taking the opinion of his Executive Councillors, it was believed called for the Pundit and then Gandhi late in the night and informed them that he would cable Home the contents of the documents with the opinion of his Council and wait for their decision. It was also rumoured that Mahatma Gandhi would again be invited by the Viceroy to Simla after the reply of the British Cabinet had been received. There was a strong rumour then afloat in Simla, that so far at least as the Punjab was concerned, all the remaining Martial Law prisoners with the exception of those who were arrested in the very act of arson and such other offences, would be released forthwith, and that the pensions granted to Sir Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer would be withdrawn very shortly.

There was a veil of secrecy over the whole matter and for a couple of months every sort of wild suggestion was made in the press. The Anglo-Indian organs were alarmed lest the new Viceroy would be trapped into a compromise with the "traitors," as they called Gandhi and his party. The nationalists also began to look at askance and some like Mr. B. C. Pal openly threw suspicion on Gandhi's motives.

Regarding the suspicion that was thus raised all round M. Gandhi, writing in his paper *Young India*, in reply to the question why the author of Non-co-operation had waited on the Viceroy, said: "The world is curious to know what ails us. H. E. the Viceroy represents a big world. His Excellency wanted to know why I with whom co-operation was an article of faith had non-co-operated. There must be something wrong with the Government or me. Non-co-operation is directed not against men but against measures. It is not directed against Governors but against the system they administer. I went to see Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya and heard His Excellency would like to see me and hear my views and I did not require any persuasion to prompt me to ask for an interview. I gladly seized the opportunity of waiting on His Excellency and assuring him that ours was a religious movement designed to purge the Indian political life of corruption, deceit, terrorism and the incubus of white superiority. The reader must not be too curious; he must not believe the so-called reports in press. The veil must remain drawn over the details of the conversation between H. E. the Viceroy and myself. But I can assure him that I explained as fully as I know the three claims, the Khilafat, the Punjab and Swaraj and gave him the genesis of non-co-operation. His Excellency heard me patiently, courteously and attentively. He appeared to me to be anxious to do only the right thing. We had a full discussion of the burning topics as between man and man. We discussed the question of non-violence and it appeared to me to be common cause between us. But beyond saying that we were able to understand each other I am unable to say that there was more in the interview."

The Ali Brothers' Apologia.

The immediate result of the interviews was that the public understood that something was coming. That something came on the 29th May in the shape of a public apology offered by the Ali Brothers in the following words:—

"Friends have drawn our attention to certain speeches of ours which, in their opinion, have a tendency to incite to violence. We desire to state that we never intended to incite to violence and we never imagined that any passages in our

speeches were capable of bearing the interpretation put upon them, but we recognise the force of our friends' argument and interpretation. We, therefore, sincerely feel sorry and express our regret for the unnecessary heat of some of the passages in these speeches and we give our public assurance and promise to all who may require it that so long as we are associated with the movement of non-co-operation, we shall not directly or indirectly advocate violence at present or in the future nor create an atmosphere of preparedness for violence. Indeed, we hold it contrary to the spirit of non-violent non-co-operation to which we have pledged our word."

And next day, on May 30th, the Govt. of India issued a press communique saying that: "In view of the publication of these expressions of regret and promises for the future, the Government of India desire to make it known generally that they had decided on the 6th May to prosecute Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali for certain speeches delivered in the United Provinces during the last few months. These speeches in the opinion of the Government of India were direct incitements to violence. The immediate object of the Government in determining to enforce the law on the present occasion was to prevent incitements to violence and to preserve order. After the decision to which reference has been made was reached, it was urged on the Government that their immediate object could be obtained without recourse to the criminal courts. The Government consequently suspended further action, and in view of the statement now issued over the signatures of Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali, have decided to refrain from instituting criminal proceedings against them in respect of these speeches so long as the solemn public undertaking contained in the statement issued to the press is observed. Should the condition of this undertaking not be performed, the Government of India will be at liberty to prosecute them for their past speeches. 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."

The Viceroy at the Chelmsford Club.

On May 30th. Lord Reading made an important pronouncement of his Government's policy at the Simla Chelmsford Club dinner given in his honour by Mr. M. Shafi and attended by a large and influential section of Moderates and officials. In the course of his speech His Excellency said :—

“The first is the fundamental principle of the British Rule in India. I suppose there is no one, (there is no section of the British community, I am sure) who would dispute the proposition that here in India there can be no trace and must be no trace of racial inequality. I say that there cannot be and must never be humiliation under British Rule of any Indian because he is an Indian, and I would add one further proposition which I believe is as true as either of those to which I have given utterance and which found support from you, that we British people in India and those also in our own country must realise that we have much suspicion to disperse, many misunderstandings to banish from amongst us, and that in truth the essence, to my mind, of co-operation between us and Indians is that we should convince them by our actions, which will accord with our thoughts and intentions, that we honestly and sincerely mean what we have said with regard to India. It may not be accomplished in a day. I am so thoroughly satisfied from long experience and some knowledge of public affairs that it is only by the interchange of thought and by constant communion between members of different races existing under the same Government and having precisely the same object in view, the welfare of India, that we can arrive at satisfactory results.

The Gandhi Interview

“I have recently had an opportunity of testing the value of this interchange of thought, although I must admit that in the full, free and frank discussion that took place between Mr. Gandhi and myself, I cannot tell you all that happened, yet the veil has been to some extent lifted and there is no secret as to how the interview came about. Mr. Malaviya came to see me and we had several interviews to my profit and I hope also to his, because I think two men cannot exchange ideas and discuss

problems without deriving some benefit to either side. He left me with the impression that he would like me to see Mr. Gandhi. Well, it did occur to me that my address was not altogether unknown, (prolonged laughter) but I informed Mr. Malaviya that if Mr. Gandhi applied to me for an interview I would readily grant it and I should be glad to hear his views. The consequence was that, in due course, Mr. Gandhi did apply and there was not only one interview but several interviews between us. There was no fineness or manoeuvre about it; it seemed to be a plain and straightforward arrangement for an interview. Here again, I think, I am not quite as free to tell you all that you might desire to know, (laughter), yet I will say that I am quite certain that the result of these interviews produced at least this satisfactory result that I got to know Mr. Gandhi and he got to know me. The result may be somewhat vague and indefinite, yet it is not entirely so. The result of these discussions was that Mr. Mohammad Ali and Mr. Shaukat Ali have issued a public pronouncement, expressing their sincere regret for certain speeches that they had made inciting to violence and have given a solemn public undertaking that they will not repeat these speeches or similar speeches, so long as, they remain associated with Mr. Gandhi. So far as the Government is concerned we achieved our immediate object which was to prevent incitement to violence. I have had occasion once before to say that it almost always reacts with fatal effects upon those who are most innocent. We, as a Government, have a duty to perform. We have to protect those who may be thus led away and we therefore had determined to take steps in order to vindicate the law to maintain its authority and to prevent the recurrence of any further incitements to violence. Fortunately it has not been necessary to have recourse to the ordinary law of the land, for the reason that we have now got the undertaking to which I have referred. I certainly shall assume that it is intended to keep that undertaking and that the expressions of regret are as sincere as their expressions seem to denote and so long as that undertaking is observed we need not fear that such speeches will recur, and provided the undertaking is observed, they too may be sure that there will be no prosecution for them.

Our Policy

"We mean to carry out our duty, we mean to act up to our responsibility. Whatever happens, we shall pursue our way, we shall do what we think is right.—Even if we do what is right, from some things that I have learnt and read, I am afraid we shall nevertheless be suspected of sinister and evil motives. I believe that the world has taught us that good purpose and good action must have their results and all we ask is that there should not be immediately a suspicion that the purpose and the motives are evil, even though the action may be right, ever so right in itself. It is not, I think, a very exaggerated demand to make. We believe that in the end we shall satisfy Indians and bring them to sympathetic co-operation and good will with us, working for that great purpose which lies before us, to lead India to that high destiny which is in store for it, when it becomes the partner in our Empire, when it has attained its full development and risen to those heights which the imagination of man, in my judgment, is as yet incapable of comprehending, when India shall have obtained that place among the Councils of the Empire which will enable her to exert her influence upon the councils of the world."

Gandhi-Reading Interview—The Agreed Statement

The matter, however, came to a close on July 30th after a great deal of excitement and acrimonious writing in the Press, by the issue of the following government statement agreed to by Mr. Gandhi on one side and the Viceroy on the other:—

"His Excellency the Viceroy's attention has been directed, and notably by Mr. Gandhi, to various statements that have appeared and to inferences that have been drawn in the public press relating to the conversations between His Excellency and Mr. Gandhi concerning Mr. Shaukat Ali and Mr. Mahomed Ali, and which in some respects do not correctly represent the purport of those communications. Consequently the Viceroy authorises the publication of the following agreed statement, which briefly reproduces the substance of these conversations:—

"All the interviews between the Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi resulted from conversations between His Excellency and Pandit Malaviya, relating to conditions generally prevailing in India. His Excellency informed Pandit Malaviya of the Government's

decision to commence criminal proceedings against Mr. Shaukat Ali and Mr. Mahomed Ali for having made speeches inciting to violence, and the discussion turned upon the disturbances that might possibly ensue. Pandit Malaviya expressed the opinion that it would be of advantage for His Excellency to meet Mr. Gandhi. His Excellency replied that he would be glad to see Mr. Gandhi and hear his views if he applied for an interview.

"On the next day, Mr. Andrews saw His Excellency and suggested that His Excellency should see Mr. Gandhi. It should be observed that various important matters were discussed during these conversations and that the proposed interview between His Excellency and Mr. Gandhi was intended to have reference to the situation generally.

"His Excellency is, however, aware that Pandit Malaviya, in inviting Mr. Gandhi to Simla, did not refer to the contemplated proceedings against Mr. Shaukat Ali and Mr. Mahomed Ali.

"In due course Mr. Gandhi came to Simla at the request of Pandit Malaviya and Mr. Andrews, and asked for an interview with His Excellency which was immediately arranged.

"At the first interview no mention was made of the proposed prosecutions. The conversation related to the causes of the discontent in India. Upon the next occasion His Excellency stated that according to the Government reports responsible non-co-operators had made speeches inciting to violence contrary to the doctrine advocated by Mr. Gandhi.

"Mr. Gandhi repudiated incitement to violence on the part of any of the responsible non-co-operators, and said that if he was satisfied that any of them had incited to violence he would publicly repudiate them and their teachings unless they withdrew statements that amounted to incitement to violence.

"His Excellency mentioned the names of Mr. Shaukat Ali and Mr. Mahomed Ali, and promised to show Mr. Gandhi passages in their speeches which, in his opinion, were calculated to incite to violence, and when the passages were actually read to Mr. Gandhi, he admitted that they were capable of bearing the interpretation His Excellency put upon them. He, however, asserted that he was convinced that it was not intended by Mr. Shaukat Ali and Mr. Mahomed Ali to incite the audience to violence.

"Mr. Gandhi added that he would see them as soon as he left Simla and advise them to express publicly their regrets for the unintentional incitement contained in the passages.

"His Excellency thereupon asked whether, in view of the importance of the document, Mr. Gandhi would show him the draft of the statement he intended to advise Mr. Shaukat Ali and Mr. Mahomed Ali to publish.

"It was at this stage that the Viceroy said that it was proposed to institute criminal proceedings against Mr. Shaukat Ali and Mr. Mohamed Ali in respect of these passages, and that if Mr. Gandhi showed him the statement, and if it satisfied him from the standpoint of his Government, he would use his influence to prevent the institution of the prosecutions, for, the Viceroy said, the object of the Government would be attained if the making of speeches of a violent character was in future prevented.

"Mr. Gandhi readily agreed to show the statement. The draft statement was duly shown by Mr. Gandhi to His Excellency who pointed out that the introduction of certain paragraphs gave the statement the appearance of a manifesto including that of the religious creed of Mr. Shaukat Ali and Mr. Mahomed Ali. The Viceroy observed further that the statement was incomplete in so far as it did not contain a promise to refrain in the future from speeches inciting to violence. The Viceroy added that after publication of the statement Mr. Shaukat Ali and Mr. Mahomed Ali could give any explanation by means of speeches, provided they did not infringe the law. Mr. Gandhi agreed to delete the paragraphs in question and add a passage to cover promises of future conduct.

"His Excellency then informed Mr. Gandhi that if Mr. Shaukat Ali and Mr. Mahomed Ali signed the statement as then altered by Mr. Gandhi, with the addition of the promise as to future conduct, steps would be taken to suspend the institution of proceedings and that no prosecution would take place so long as the promises given in the published statement were observed. But, if they were not observed, the Government remained free to take up prosecutions for the past speeches. The Viceroy added that in the event of the statement by Mr. Shaukat Ali and Mr. Mahomed Ali, and of the Government refraining in consequence from the prosecutions,

it would be necessary to issue a communique explaining the attitude of the Government. There was, however, no desire to bargain. Mr. Gandhi even said that whether the prosecutions took place or not, he would be bound, after having seen the extracts, to advise his friends, for their own honour and that of the cause, to express publicly their regrets.

"During the whole discussion His Excellency and Mr. Gandhi were actuated by the desire to prevent any untoward events that might result from the prosecutions, as also to prevent speeches inciting to violence. The Viceroy informed Mr. Gandhi that he might not be able to prevent the commencement of proceedings if the statement was not published with the least possible delay. There was already much discussion of the speeches, not only in India but also in the United Kingdom. Mr. Gandhi agreed that the statement should be published without delay. Mr. Gandhi then left Simla, and some days afterwards telegraphed to His Excellency that Mr. Shaakat Ali and Mr. Mahomed Ali had signed the statement, with an immaterial alteration and sent it to the press for publication.

"The alteration was as follows:—The passage in Mr. Gandhi's draft statement was:—"We desire to state that we never intended to incite to violence, but we recognise that certain passages in our speeches are capable of bearing the interpretation put upon them." The passage substituted by Mr. Shaakat Ali was:—"We desire to state that we never intended to incite to violence and we never imagined that any passages in our speeches were capable of bearing the interpretation put upon them, but we recognise the force of our friend's arguments and interpretation."

"After the publication of the statement an official "communique" was issued by the Government. The terms of the "communique" were not actually settled until just before its issue, and Mr. Gandhi never saw it, although the substance of it as already indicated has been communicated to him.

"The main part of the interviews between His Excellency and Mr. Gandhi consisted of conversations which ranged over the various causes of discontent in India, including the Punjab disturbances, the Khilafat agitation, the Treaty of Sevres, and the general conditions of the people. Mr. Gandhi did not submit any scheme of "Swaraj" to His Excellency neither was a scheme of "Swaraj" discussed at the interviews."

The Apology and After

As has been mentioned before, a split threatened the Gandhi camp over this matter of the interviews and the Ali Brothers' apology. Feelings, and especially the Hindu-Moslem pact, seemed to be very much strained when the Anglo Indians press, following on the wake of the Viceroy at the Chelmsford Club, began to gloat over the humiliation of the Ali's, while the more radical of Gandhi's followers interpreted the Viceroy's speech in the sense that the leader of non-co-operation had been treating with the Government and had secured a pardon for the Ali Brothers by inducing them to give a public apology. What made the affair so very galling was that whilst the Ali Brothers remained free, the lesser lights, the rank and file of the non-co-operators were encouraged to court arrest and imprisonment for speaking far less strongly. That Gandhi had for once capitulated before the seductive diplomacy of the Viceroy, there was no doubt, and the open charge was flung that in making the compromise as he did, Gandhi had given away the whole principle of non-co-operation. To all such charges Gandhi wrote in reply in his paper as follows:—

"As soon as I saw the speeches, I stated, in order to prove the bonafides of the Brothers and the entirely non-violent character of the movement, that I would invite them to make a statement. There was no question of bargaining for their freedom.....I have given the same advice to all the accused and told them that if their speeches were violent they should certainly express regret. . . . It is not enough for a non-co-operator not to mean violence ; it is necessary that his speech must not be capable of being interpreted to mean incitement to violence, must not be capable of a contrary interpretation by reasonable men. We must be above suspicion. . . .

We must play the game, whether the Government reciprocate or not. Indeed I for one do not expect the Government to play the game. It was when I came to the conclusion that there was no honour about the Government that I non-co-operated. Lord Reading may wish, does wish, to do right and justice. But he will not be permitted to. If the Government were honourable, they would have set free all the prisoners as they decided not to prosecute the Ali Brothers. They would not have caught youths and put them in prison whilst they left Pandit Motilal Nehru, the arch-offender, free. If the Government were honourable they would not countenance bogus Leagues of Peace. If the Government were honourable they would have long ago repented for their heinous deeds, even as we have for every crime committed by our people in Amritsar, Kasur, Viramgam, Ahmedabad, and recently in Malegaon. I entertain no false hopes or misgivings about the Government. If the Government

were to-morrow to arrest the Ali Brothers, I would still justify the apology. They have acted on the square and we must all do likewise. Indeed in as much as the Government are still arresting people for disaffection they are arresting the Ali Brothers.

For me solitary confinement in a prison cell, without any breach on my part of the code of non-co-operation or private or public morals, will be freedom. For me the whole of India is a prison even as the master's house is to his slave. A slave to be free must continuously rise against his slavery and be locked up in his master's cell for his rebellion. The cell-door is the door to freedom. I feel no pity for those who are suffering hardships in the goals of the Government. Innocence under an evil Government must ever rejoice on the scaffold."

The Broach Khilafat Conference.

Meanwhile Mr. Mabomed Ali himself was not silent. On June 2nd. in the course of his speech delivered as the President of the Gujrat Provincial Khilafat Conference held at Broach, he referred at great length to the "apology" and said that he knew of no speech of his or of his brother in which either had incited anyone to violence, nor did they know of any speech which they had undertaken not to repeat. Unlike Government he had no personal prestige to maintain beyond the prestige of truth and they could not sacrifice honesty and justice at the heathen altar of personal prestige. He and his friends held that no personality was so important at that time of the nation's peril that it could be permitted to jeopardise the success of the great movement they were in; that they could never dream of allowing personal pique to stand in the way of non-co-operation.

Neither they nor anyone else on their behalf had ever dreamt of bargaining with the Government and to talk of giving up their prosecution as if it were a *quid pro quo*, for their expression of regret to their own people is childish, but they would once more emphasise that, while their present policy coincided entirely with the creed of Mahatma Gandhi and those who like him believed in Ahimsa alone for all time, their creed did not coincide with the Mahatma's but also permitted the use of force in self-defence and certain circumstances may make the use of such force obligatory.

It was their firm opinion based upon the experience of working the non-co-operation programme that the movement had taken deep root in the country and that it would be absolutely enough for achieving their purpose, namely the

redress of Khilafat and Punjab wrongs and the attainment of Swaraja, even during that year, and they were fully convinced that the success of their movement depended entirely upon the continuance of the spirit of non-violence among the people. Whilst, therefore, gladly reiterating their faithful adherence to the programme of non-violent non-co-operation, they must exert their right to take up arms against the enemies of Islam, should non-co operation be found to have failed and should Jihad be proclaimed in terms of the law of Islam. No follower of the faith could shirk his clear duty if it ever came to him, as it had come to the warriors Badu, of responding to the call of Jihad. In support of this view he then quoted authentic passages from the Holy Quoran.

Mussalmans and Ahimse.

It was not, he said, because Mahatma Gandhi had preached Ahimse that the Brothers also preached it to Mussalmans, but because their prophets also had preached and practised it before they were permitted in the last extremity to unsheath their sword in defence of Islam against its implacable foes. The teaching of Mahatma Gandhi was dear to them because in similar circumstances it had been the teaching of their Prophet, but should circumstances change, nobody knew better than the Mahatma, and nobody honoured them more for it than he did, that they would follow their own faith and their own conscience. What they certainly considered mean and despicable beyond measure to do was to sail under false colours and make use of non-violent non-co-operation to create an atmosphere of preparedness for the use of violence. If nothing else, the honour of Islam itself demanded from the brothers and those whom they could influence, a faithful and literal adherence to the joint-programme of work by Hindus and Mussalmans and the followers of other faiths at two successive sessions of the Congress and initiated in the first instance by the Central Khilafat Committee itself. They were glad that Government had abandoned the idea of prosecuting them for adherence to their faith, but they would have equally and gladly faced such a prosecution. What concerned them was the movement of non-co-operation and keeping faith with other co-workers, not what Government chose to do or not to do.

The Karachi Khilafat Conference

And again, at the famous Karachi Conference, held at a time of great national triumph and all-India rejoicing over the Tilak Swaraj fund (see *postea*), Mr. Mahomed Ali referred to his famous apology in scathing terms of indictment of the honesty of the Government. The following is a detailed account of this now famous Conference—famous because it was here that the Brothers Ali first set the ball of non-co-operation rolling amongst the Indian Army and the Police, for which act they were subsequently put to goal along with five other leading Moslems (see *postea*).

The 8th All-India Khilafat Conference opened at Karachi on 8th July, 1921 and continued for 3 days. Some 5,000 persons were present. Very few came from outside Sind with the exception of the Nationalist leaders. Moulvi Mohamed Sadiq, Chairman of the Reception Committee, in his speech gave a lengthy recital of the well-known Khilafat grievances. (See I. A. R. 1921). Mr. Mohamed Ali, the President, delivered a lengthy Presidential address generally criticising the Government. In the course of his speech, in reference to his recent apology, he said:—

“In the eyes of our enemies we are politically extinct to all intents and purposes! We have been represented by the Sircar that having apologised none is prepared to listen to us. But the wonder is that after my brother and myself made the statement at Broach I went to Bombay and I was repeatedly asked to address which however I could not do owing to other engagements. I was given a warm reception at Poona and also an address of welcome by the Municipality of Belgaum. If more evidence were needed for our undisturbed public life, Sindhis have given proof of it. If there ever were a doubt about it, it no more exists now. I shall now refer to an important matter and there is a deep secret in it. I shall begin and end with it. The degree of Government anxiety to malign us surpasses all. The cordial relations of unity between Mahatma Gandhi and ourselves are like a magic drug which cures all diseases. The Secretary of State for India and the Viceroy have admitted it in the Montford Report. Some reactionary papers, like the “Daily Telegraph” and the “Morning Post”, have repeatedly characterised the unity as an unscrupu-

lous and unnatural alliance. Wonderful it is that a unity between master and slave should be considered natural. Regarding the so called statement, apology, or whatever you call it, I wish to say that it was primarily meant for the public ; but if mention of individual names were permissible, I declare it was meant for Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya who entertained fears of an Afghan invasion. It was meant to set at rest the fears of the Pundit. But, as it would seem, it has unfortunately not succeeded. But we have discharged our duty. The apology was only concerning violence in general, and not regarding any particular speeches. When copies of the speeches (complained of) were asked for, they were refused. The statement contained two things : (1) apology to you and Pundit Malaviya; (2) a declaration against violence unless the contrary is decreed in clear terms. I have given up carrying even a walking stick lest I should cause anxiety to Englishmen. The assurance that I have given is meant for all those who fear violence. Public assurance is given to all who may require it. I want you to understand that the apology is meant for you. We can never apologise to the Government.

"I have at this moment in my bag a document regarding my statement which I wish were published before I leave Sind. I have no authority to make it public. The Viceroy at a dinner in the Chelmsford Club boasted of having humiliated us. But that was a speech at 12 o' clock in the night and the intoxication was away in the morning. If the Viceroy does not agree to a joint announcement by Mahatma Gandhi and himself, the Mahatmaji would issue a separate statement and let the Viceroy then issue his own. The world will give credence to each on its merits and I know the Indian people would believe Mahatma Gandhi more than the Viceroy."

It seems that it was in view of the last statement that Government opened correspondence with M. Gandhi the result of which was the issue of the "agreed statement" late in the month of July.

Mr. Mahomed Ali then reviewed at some length the British policy in the East. In concluding his speech he said that the matters to be dealt with by the Conference were delicate and required serious attention. He and his brother had pledged themselves to remain non-violent and to preach non violence,

and they would respect that pledge in the face of all provocation.

The following are the famous Karachi Resolutions on which the famous trial of the Ali Brothers was subsequently held.—

(1) This meeting of the All-India Khilafat Conference declares allegiance of the Muslim population to His Majesty the Sultan of Turkey, the Commander of the Faithful, and gives him an assurance that they would not rest content until they had secured complete fulfilment of the Khilafat demands.

(2) It records its sorrow at the death of Jan Mahomed who had led the Hijrat movement and sends its condolence to his family.

(3) It further congratulates those workers in Sind who have undergone imprisonment in the cause of their religion and country and hopes that their efforts will meet with success.

(4) This meeting of the All-India Khilafat Conference declares that so long as the demands of Indian Muslims regarding the integrity of the Khilafat and the preservation of the sanctity of Jazirat-ul-Arab and other holy places which are based upon their religious canons are not fulfilled, neither shall they rest in peace nor shall they leave it to the enemies of Islam ; that the entire provinces of Thrace and Smyrna shall form the indissoluble components of the territories of the Turkish Sultan as they used to be before the war, and in no part of them shall Muslims tolerate the influence and interference of Greek or any other Power. The Muslims shall never agree to the conditions the Allies wish to impose upon the Turkish Government, or on its military, naval and air forces, or in connection with the financial, economic or judicial administration, as that would tend to interfere with the complete independence of the Khilafat and the Sultanate. This Conference calls upon local committees to make fresh declarations to the above effect so that no doubt be left as to the religious obligation of the Muslims.

(5) Whereas Mesopotamia contains holy places, such as the burial places of the descendants of the Prophet and holy saints, and is in addition an integral part of the

Jazirat-ul-Arab, the influence, residence or entrance of non-Muslim nationals without the authority of Islamic Powers is not permissible by religion, and in case a colonisation of the above character comes about, it would conflict with their holy Shariat. The Mussalmans are convinced that the Armenians would take advantage of their nearness to the holy places and revive their old enmities towards Islam. This Conference therefore demands that the above country be immediately vacated.

(6) The sixth resolution was to the effect that it permits the Central Khilafat Committees to send out emissaries to other Muslim countries to educate the people there, make them alive to their present position and promote the Islamic brotherhood

The Army & Independence Resolution.

That this meeting of the All-India Khilafat Conference congratulates Gazi Mustafa Kamal Pasha and his Government on the courage and suffering they have put up to save Islam and prays that they may be able to drive the foreigners out of Turkish territory. It further declares unlawful for any faithful to serve from to-day in the army or help or acquiesce in their recruitment. It further decides that if the British Government directly or indirectly, openly or secretly, fights the Angora Government, the Muslims of India will start civil disobedience and establish their complete independence at the next sessions of the Indian National Congress to be held at Ahmedabad and hoist the flag of the Indian Republic.

(7) This meeting of the All-India Khilafat Conference calls upon all local Khilafat Committees to devise measures to absolutely stop drinking within their districts, and congratulates the workers and volunteers of places where the liquor traffic has diminished and further commends to them to put forth their best efforts to achieve greater success.

(8) That this meeting of the All-India Khilafat Conference calls upon all Provincial, District and Village Committees to put forth their last efforts to enlist a crore of Khilafat members and collect 40 lakhs of rupees to relieve the distress in Smyrna and aid the Muhajirin Relief Fund.

(9) This Conference strongly appeals to the Pirs and Zamindars of Sind to take more interest in the Khilafat move-

ment than they had done hitherto and requests the former to command their disciples to do the same.

Other Resolutions

This Conference strongly condemns the repression inaugurated by the Government of the Frontier Province in its various districts such as Kohat and Bannu, its policy of imprisoning Khilafat workers and organizers and refusing admission to the students of the National Muslim University for collection of funds.

This Conference congratulates Sirdar Sardul Singh Cavassieur of Lahore on the great suffering he has patiently borne in the cause of his religion and country and further condemns the mischievous attempts of the Government to create disunion among the Sikh community.

This Conference appeals to all people to take to the spinning-wheel and wear Khadder leaving the mill-made cloth for the use of the poor, while sending out their clothes, made out of foreign articles, for the use of sufferers in Smyrna. It appeals to them to carry out effectively this new step of the Non-co-operation programme, and secondly appeals to women to discard foreign cloth and thus remove the cause of the nation's poverty.

[Sardar Sardul Singh, head of the Akali Sikh movement in the Punjab and a great religious leader of the Sikhs, was charged in June 1921 for sedition. As a non-co-operator he did not defend himself, though, as Pundit Malaviya said later on, a defence if taken would have exposed the false charge. The prosecution having failed to prove the main charge, the Sirdar voluntarily acknowledged it and in a long statement said that he was being prosecuted for having led the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabanthak Committee to accept non-co-operation which offended the Government officials and particularly Sirdar Sunder Singh Majithia, the Indian Member of the Punjab Government well-known for his anti-Indian views, and this led to the raking up of very old and forgotten articles upon the wilful misinterpretation of which he was hauled up. He was sentenced to 5 years' transportation !]

THE TILAK SWARAJ FUND & THE

All-India Congress Committee

The month of July was the month of great National rejoicing as a crowning piece of triumph attended the constructive efforts of the Congress party in the way of building up a fund commensurate with the gigantic work undertaken on behalf of 30 crores of the Indian people. In spite of the party-plank of non-co operation about which opinions differed, there was no doubt that Indian opinion in the mass was solidly at the back of the *Swaraj* and *Swadeshi* outlook of the Congress, and when on July 1st. Mahatma Gandhi announced at a meeting of the Bombay Stock Exchange that the collections for the Tilak Swaraj Fund had exceeded 1 *Crore* Rupees, there were thundering cheers in the city which rang and reverberated throughout the country as the message was caught up over the wires. Since the Bezwada meeting of the Congress Committee in March last all efforts had been concentrated on raising the fund, and Mahatma Gandhi, along with the great provincial leaders. Mr. C. R. Das in Bengal, Pt. Motilal Nehru in the U. P., Lala Lajpat Rai in the Punjab, and a host of other prominent Congress-men, made incessant tours throughout the country, addressing huge gatherings, explaining the economic solution of the country, and collecting funds for the Congress. The amount of work done by the Congress-organisations throughout India during this short period of 3 months was unparalleled in the history of the Congress. The total collections amounted to Rupees 1 *Crore* and 5 *lacs*; Bombay heading the list with 40 *lacs*, Bengal 25 *lacs*, Gujrat and Kathiawar 15 *lacs*, Punjab 5 *lacs*, Madras 4 *lacs*, C. P. and Berar, Maharashtra and Behar each 3 *lacs*, U. P. two and half *lacs*, Sind and Delhi each 2 *lacs*, and other provinces smaller amounts.

It was a phenomenal success, an eye opener to the true sense of the country, a thing which could hardly be believed. Indeed, Pundit Malaviya, the great Indian Independent Liberal, thought only a few days back that it would be an

unqualified success to the credit of M. Gandhi if he could raise even half the amount. And yet, inspite of the Government pouncing upon the workers as seditious and carrying on an active anti-non-co-operation campaign, backed by the whole Anglo-Indian community and the Moderates, Zamindars, Rajas and Princes, with oppression on one side and contumely on the other, Mahatma Gandhi raised the crore from the mass of the people. It was almost a miracle in Indian public life, and a great warning of things that were to come. The bulk of the crore came from the poor middle-class people, who, under the trying economic conditions of the time, were living a barely hand to month existence. The merchants and traders also contributed liberally, and the wealthy and shrewd business-men broke altogether a new ground. They knew the nature of economic conditions, and having a more clear perception of coming events than the easy-going conservative Zamindars, hastened to contribute to a movement which promised to usher in *Swaraj*. It was significant that the Parsis and Marwaris, the merchant princes of India, who rarely identify themselves with politics, now came forward and contributed large sums to the fund. From the Viceroy and provincial Governors down to the petty Government officers in the mofussil station, there was constant reiteration accompanied by the usual official frown that the Gandhi movement was calculated to bring anarchy in the land; the fears of the wealthy were roused by the suggestion that they would be the first sufferers under Gandhi *Swaraj* and lurid stories were spread of the terrors of Bolshevism towards which the country was alleged to be drifting, and at the back of all this was the more effective and drastic measures of bureaucratic coercion, police intimidation and bullying.

The next work to which Gandhi directed his attention was the complete boycott of foreign cloth. On June 30th he addressed eleven crowded public meetings at Bombay for making collection to the Tilak *Swaraj* fund and exhorted the audience to complete the boycott campaign as effectively by August next. All his great followers, Messrs Das, Nehru, Lajpat Rai, did the same in the provinces. A flush of success animated Congress-workers and a vigorous campaign for the boycott went on apace culminating in a huge bon-fire of foreign cloth all over India on August 1st, 1921.

The All-India Congress Committee

On July 28th the All-India Congress Committee met at Bombay to consider their next programme of work. Two hundred and twenty-nine members of the Committee attended from all over India. The Committee sat for three days during which there was an animated discussion and finally the resolutions given below were passed.

Prominent among those who stood in opposition to some of the items were Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mr. V. J. Patel and a few Maharashtra delegates, including Mr. Kelkar. All the important resolutions were moved by Mr. Gandhi who easily secured an overwhelming majority in spite of many amendments moved. About this time it was officially announced that the Prince of Wales was coming to India next winter and the Congress on behalf of the Indian people decided to boycott him.

In discussing the resolution concerning the boycott of the Prince of Wales' visit, Pundit Malaviya opposing urged that the visit of Prince was merely a conventional one, and that he was not coming to strengthen the hands of the bureaucracy as was alleged. Mr. Mahomed Ali replying said that India was in no mood to receive the Prince, being in mourning. Even if the Prince came on a mere conventional visit India did not want any boons even at the hands of the Prince of Wales.

The resolution on the boycott of foreign cloth evoked a heated discussion and several amendments were moved, most of them being against the destruction of foreign cloth and its being sent out to Smyrna. Mr. Patel supported by Mr. Kelkar opposed the destruction of foreign cloth which he thought was valued roughly at hundred crores and which he described as national wealth, especially at a time when millions were either ill-clad or naked.

Mr. Gandhi assured that the clause referring to the destruction of cloth did not apply to the cloth dealers but to the consumers only and alterations were made in the text of the resolution to that effect. Mr. Gandhi also modified the resolution adding words "as far as possible" to the charka schools. Pundit Malaviya moved a series of amendments suggesting the introduction of power-looms in addition to hand-looms and use of Swadeshi cloth in addition to Khaddar to help the production of Swadeshi cloth and elimination of mill monopoly.

To this Pundit Motilal Nehru replied saying that the boycott of cloth was resorted to because the use of cloth was universal and therefore would entail sacrifice on everyone which was a cardinal point in their creed of national purification. It was through the ruin of her textile industry that India has been brought to her present degraded position. He laid stress on the necessity of developing the spirit of self-reliance.

On the second day of the meeting, on 29th July, Mr. Patol at the start raised a point of order which was hotly discussed for hours together demanding a ruling from the President whether the All-India Congress Committee could inaugurate civil disobedience not sanctioned by the last session of the Congress. The President declared that the constitution provided that the All India Congress Committee could initiate any policy as it had all the powers of the Indian National Congress when not in session. Members from Aligarh and U. P. who wanted to start civil disobedience at once opposed the first part of this resolution, and suggested that reference to Aligarh be deleted as it would prejudice the case of the accused then undergoing trial.

Another amendment keenly discussed related to that part of the resolution which emphasised that the way to freedom lay through voluntary suffering and through imprisonment without defence. The opposition had the support of Pt. Malaviya. Members from Maharastra led by Mr. Kelkar, and from Nagpur (C. P.) led by Mr. Abhyankar, were for a modifying clause to include those who went to jail after defending themselves. The case of Lokamanya Tilak who had to defend himself when prosecuted was cited in support of the amendment. Mr. Abhyankar said that the Mahatma was a philosopher and wanted all men to be philosophers. He was for practicability, and as the movement was not for classes but for the masses, who alone would secure Swaraj, he emphasised that the movement should have a touch of practicability. Members should think not of tall poppies who, like the Mahatma, were avoided by Government, but of poorer men in the movement.

Next day, July 30th, was taken up with delegating powers to the Working Committee. Mr. Gandhi moved that all powers of the All-India Congress Committee be delegated to the Working Committee. There was a very keen and bitter opposition to this resolution, many members expressing

their opinion that the All-India Congress Committee would be taking a suicidal step in surrendering all powers to a small body. Three amendments were moved to the proposition. Mr. Patel moved that if the decisions arrived at by the Working Committee were not unanimous no action be taken on the resolution passed and the matter be referred to the All India Congress Committee. Another amendment was moved by Mr. Jeswani from Sind asking for provision that a resolution failing to be passed by a four-fifths majority be held in abeyance and referred back to the All-India Congress Committee. A third amendment was moved giving specific powers to the Working Committee to be used by it.

Mr. Gandhi modified his proposition and put in the words "that the Working Committee would use powers of the All-India Congress Committee in urgent matters only" The first and third amendments were withdrawn and the second was lost. A resolution was then moved to the effect that the remaining matters on the agenda be disposed of by the Working Committee. Pundit Rambhuj Dutt strongly opposed this, saying that some resolutions were either against the Working Committee or made personal charges against important members of the Committee. The President assured them that in such matters no final decision was likely to be arrived at and that the Working Committee would in such cases send its recommendation for decision to the All-India Congress Committee, and the resolution was then carried by a majority.

The Resolutions as finally passed.

Resolution No. 1—On Boycott of the Prince.

In the event of the British Government persisting in bringing to India His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales in spite of the growing unrest and discontent by reason of the failure of Government to respond to popular will, the All-India Congress Committee is of opinion that it is the duty of everyone, in terms and in virtue of the Non-co-operation resolution passed at the Special Session of the Congress in September 1920 at Calcutta and reaffirmed at the ordinary Session in December 1920 at Nagpur, to refrain from participating in or assisting any welcome to His Royal Highness or any functions organized officially or otherwise in connection with his visit.

While the All-India Congress Committee considers it its painful duty to tender the above advice to the people, it desires to place on record its opinion that India bears no sort of ill-feeling against the person of

His Royal Highness, and that this advice is tendered because the Committee regards the proposed visit as a political move and calculated to give strength and support to a system of Government that has resulted in a breach of faith with the Mussalmans of India and atrocious injustice to the people of India, as during the Martial Law days in 1919 in the Punjab, and a system that is designed to keep India as long as possible from her birthright of Swaraj.

Resolution No. 2—On Charka & Swadeshi

(a) The All-India Congress Committee desires to tender its congratulations to the nation upon the fulfilment of the resolution arrived at Bezwada to collect one crore of rupees for the All-India Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund, and in this connection specially tenders its warm congratulations to the generous citizens of Bombay without whose response the resolution seemed to be impossible of fulfilment.

(b) In order to be able to attain Swaraj and to secure the redress of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs during the current year, the All-India Congress Committee desires that all Congress organisations and those who sympathise with the national aspirations should concentrate their attention upon attaining complete boycott of foreign cloth by the 30th of September next and manufacture of Khaddar by stimulating hand-spinning and hand-weaving, and to this end the All-India Congress Committee advises that all persons belonging to the Congress shall discard the use of foreign cloth as from the 1st day of August next, and advises all Congress organisations:—

(1) to use all national institutions as far as possible for hand-spinning and hand-weaving;

(2) to introduce spinning-wheels into the homes which do not yet possess them;

(3) in every district to take a census of weavers and to induce them by offering facilities to discard the use of foreign yarn and to use as far as possible hand-spun yarn and otherwise to use Indian mill-spun yarn;

(4) to induce by special encouragement weavers who have given up their calling to return to it;

(5) to take a census of cotton carders and to induce them to prepare cards for spinning;

(6) to open depots for the supply of Khaddar, spinning wheels, hand-looms and all accessories required for spinning and weaving;

(7) to collect foreign cloth from consumers for destruction or use outside India at their option;

(c) The All-India Congress Committee invites the mill-agents and shareholders of the great spinning and weaving companies in Bombay, Ahmedabad and elsewhere to support the national effort by regulating the price of their manufactures so as to bear a proportion to the wages of mill-hands and other expenditure and so as to be within the reach of the poorest, and trusts that in no case will they raise the price beyond the prevailing rates.

(d) The All-India Congress Committee invites the importers of foreign cloth and yarn to co-operate with the nation by immediately stopping all foreign orders and by endeavouring to dispose of their stock as far as possible outside India.

Resolution No. 3—On Temperance Work

The All-India Congress Committee notes with deep satisfaction the growth of public opinion and the campaign against the use and sale of intoxicating liquors or drugs by means of peacefully picketing shops licensed for the purpose of selling such liquors or drugs, and notes with concern the undue and improper interference commenced by the Government in various parts of the country with the recognised right of the public to wear weak members from temptations to visit such shops, and desires it to be understood that, in the event of such interference with the peaceful exercise of the said right being persisted in, the Committee will be prepared to recommend the continuance of picketing in disregard of such interference and advises the Working Committee to investigate cases of interference and authorised disregard thereof, whenever and wherever it may be considered desirable and in the interests of the movement.

The All-India Congress Committee congratulates the Thana District Board for its resolution on picketing and the determination to continue it and calls upon other Local Boards and Municipalities in India immediately to follow the splendid lead of that Board.

The All-India Congress Committee appeals to the keepers of shops for the sale of intoxicating liquors or drugs to recognize the growing force of acute public opinion against the continuance of such trade and to respond to the wish of the nation by immediately discontinuing it.

Resolution No. 4—On Repression & Civil Disobedience

The All-India Congress Committee deplores the excesses committed by crowds at Malegaon and recently by some people in parts of the city of Aligarh, even though under grave provocation, and advises Congress organisations to inculcate among the people the importance of observing the spirit of complete non-violence as an indispensable part of Non-co-operation, and whilst condemning those isolated instances of popular violence the Committee desires to congratulate the people of India upon their having exercised complete self-restraint notwithstanding grave provocation given by the local authorities as in Dharwar, Matlari, Guntur, Chirala, Perala, Kerala, North-West Frontier Province, Keoghlar and elsewhere.

The All-India Congress Committee tenders its sympathy and congratulations to the families of those who have lost their lives by the unprovoked fire opened upon them by the local authorities at several places and congratulates all those brave and innocent citizens who have been wounded or are suffering imprisonment, and records its deep appreciation of the fact that in the majority of cases the patriots went to jail without offering any defence whatsoever.

The All-India Congress Committee is of opinion that the way to freedom lies only through voluntary suffering and therefore through imprisonment of innocent men and women without defence or bail.

The All-India Congress Committee regards repression going on in several parts of the country, and the serious and wide-spread repression going on in the United Provinces, as a sign of the near approach of freedom, and therefore hopes that the people in the provinces concerned will not be frightened or demoralized, and that willing workers will

come forward to take the place of those who without any moral breach on their part might lose their lives or might be imprisoned.

The All-India Congress Committee has taken note of the reasonable desire of workers in the United Provinces and other parts to take up civil disobedience in answer to the repressive measures of Local Governments, and has also taken note of the fact that the administration in the North-West Frontier Province has even prohibited the entry into that Province of the members of the Frontier Inquiry Committee appointed by the Central Khilafat Committee to enquire into the outrages alleged to have been committed by the local officials in Bannoo, but with a view to ensure greater stability of non-violent atmosphere throughout India and, in order to test the measure of influence attained by the Congress over the people, and further, in order to retain on the part of the nation an atmosphere free from ferment necessary for the proper and swift prosecution of Swadeshi, the All-India Congress Committee is of opinion that **civil disobedience should be postponed** till after the completion of the programme referred to in the resolution on Swadeshi, after which the Committee will not hesitate, if necessary, to recommend a course of civil disobedience even though it might have to be adopted by a Special Session of the Congress; provided, however, that it is open to any Province or place to adopt civil disobedience subject to the previous approval of the Working Committee obtained within the constitution through the Provincial Congress Committee concerned.

Other Resolutions

5 The All-India Congress Committee hereby authorises the Working Committee to take all such action as may be necessary to give effect to the resolutions of the Congress and of the All-India Congress Committee and to deal with all matters with which the All-India Congress Committee is empowered to deal and which may arise whilst this Committee is not sitting and which may require urgent attention.

6 The All-India Congress Committee calls upon the people of the provinces and districts which have not yet carried out their full quota of all the items in the Bezwada programme to complete the same as early as possible irrespective of the Nation having completed the programme as a whole.

7 That the following resolution passed at a public meeting of citizens of Bombay held on the 26th April 1921 under the auspices of the Central Khilafat Committee of India be recorded :—

"In view of the fact that the destiny of the people of India is inevitably linked with that of the neighbouring Asiatic Nations and Powers, this public meeting of the Mussalmans of Bombay requests the All-India Congress Committee to promote feelings of amity and concord with neighbouring States, and with a view to establish mutual good-will and sympathy, to formulate a clear and definite foreign policy for India."

Resolved further that the grateful acknowledgments of the All-India Congress Committee be communicated to Mr. Fickthall, the Chairman of the said meeting, and to the Central Khilafat Committee of

India for inviting the attention of the All-India Congress Committee to a matter of such importance and that the Working Committee be asked to frame a statement of such policy for presenting the same at the next meeting of the All-India Congress Committee for its consideration.

8. This Committee appoints Mr. Umar Sobani of Bombay to act as Joint Treasurer in the absence of Seth Chotani.

9. The following members constitute the Working Committee :-

PRESIDENT—(1) Sj. C. Vijiaghavachariar

EX-OFFICIO GENERAL SECRETARIES—(2) P. Motilal Nehru. (3) Dr. M. A. Ansari. (4) Sj. C. Rajagopalachariar.

TREASURERS—(5) Seth Jammalal Bajaj, (6) Mr. Umar Sobani.

ELECTED—[7] Mahatma Gandhi, [8] Lala Lajpat Rai, [9] Sj. C. R. Das, (10) M. Mahomed Ali, (11) Sj. N. C. Kelkar, (12) H. Ajmal Khan, (13) Sj. K. Venkatappah, (14) Sj. Rajendra Prasad, [15] Sj. V. J. Patel.

10. In the event of a vacancy occurring in the Working Committee the Secretaries shall take steps with all possible despatch to fill in the vacancy by asking for nomination and votes by correspondence provided that the work of the Committee shall not in any way be stopped or be affected by reason of such vacancy.

11. That the Working Committee be authorised to deal with the accounts and funds of the Punjab Sub-Committee appointed on the 8th June 1919 and take such other steps as may be necessary to wind up the affairs of that Sub-Committee.

The Holocaust of British Cloth

Immediately the work of the Congress Committee was over a great move was made by the non-co-operators to collect as much discarded Manchester and foreign cloth as possible to make a huge bonfire of them. The enthusiasm in the city ran very high for the whole week and meeting after meeting was held, attended by thousands, in which the cloth-boycott was strongly inculcated. As a fitting close to the labours of the Congress Committee, it was decided to celebrate the event by such a grand spectacular demonstration as will catch the imagination of the people and burn into them the sinfulness of foreign cloth.

On July 31st there was a tremendous gathering of some 2 to 3 hundred thousand people to witness the great holocaust. The pile of foreign cloth collected was ranged in an enormous circle about a mile in diameter and some 3 feet high. All sorts of foreign clothing, from rich brocades and silk saris

to torn hats, coats, neckties and collars, were thrown into the pile. All the prominent provincial leaders who had gone to Bombay for the Congress meeting were present, and also a few hundreds of ladies. M. Gandhi came in the evening and at once applied a lighted match, and the fire leaped up and went round the circle in a few minutes, and in about a couple of hour the huge pile worth some *crores* of rupees was burnt to ashes! Similar bonfires blazed in several other towns.

Writing in his paper "Young India" on this insensate waste when millions were going half-naked M. Gandhi said :—

Why Burn?

"Critics have overwhelmed me with their rebuke regarding the burning of foreign cloth. After having considered every argument advanced against it, I cannot help saying that destruction is the best method of dealing with foreign cloth. The Provincial Congress Committee has left it optional to the givers to choose between destruction and despatch to Smyrna or elsewhere. The discussion of the question therefore lacks the importance it would have had if destruction had been the only method prescribed for dealing with foreign clothes. The propriety of destruction depends upon the intensity of one's belief in the necessity of discarding foreign cloth. Just as a converted teetotaler will not hand the contents of his wine-cellar to a needy neighbour, so would a votary of Swadeshi. It he feels as keenly as the teetotaler he will refuse to give to the poor the contents of his wardrobe. I hold that the wearing of foreign cloth in India is almost as bad as drinking. I am not sure that it is not even worse than drinking in some respects. For the last hundred and fifty years India has been importing foreign cloth at the expense of her great cottage industry, its spinning. As Mr. Romesh Chandra Dutt has pointed out in his study of the history of the deliberately planned destruction of the spinning and weaving industries of India, Bihar which was once one of the richest provinces of India was reduced to poverty by the systematic and cruel destruction of her flourishing industry of spinning and weaving. If we only realised the magnitude of the injury done by the East India Company and of the sin committed by us in yielding to the persecution of the Company's Gumastas or the temptations put in our way, we would hang our heads in shame. Our great National Industry would not have perished, our women would not have been forced to labour on public roads. Millions of our people would not have been obliged to remain a part of the year in enforced idleness if we could have retained Swadeshi. In my humble opinion cloth which revives such black memories and is a mark of our shame and degradation is fit only to be destroyed. It certainly cannot be given to the poor. We should have much greater regard for their feelings and their national culture than to think that we serve them by giving them what to us is a mark of our slavery. Should not India's poor

have a sense of patriotism? Should they not have feelings about dignity and self-respect in the same manner as we have? I would not have the meanest of us remain without a spirit of true patriotism. Just as we would or at least ought to recoil with horror from giving them rotten food or food we will not eat, so should we feel about giving them foreign cloth. A moment's thought would also show that much of the fineries we are throwing away are perfectly useless for the poor. Of what use can the dirty hats and caps stinking with our perspiration be to them, or the rich silk seris and the finest muslins that are being given up? They had no value except for the wearers who loved these things. They cannot clothe the famine-stricken. The things that are really useful to them are very few indeed. But I do not base my argument for destruction upon the uselessness of the clothing discarded. My argument goes much deeper, if only because it is based upon a sentiment on which alone the noblest in us is and can be reared. Why should an Englishman resent an insult to a tattered flag. But he does, and rightly thinks that he must. What harm is there in gaining a million by concealing my faith for a moment? But I may not for the kingdom of the world. For exactly similar reasons we may not use foreign cloth for the poor in India. And it is after all making a convenience of an act of renunciation to send cloth thus discarded even to Smyrna or elsewhere abroad. But the moral objection to the despatch abroad is certainly not so strong as to its use at home."

The Tilak Anniversary Day

August 1st. was celebrated everywhere in India as the anniversary of the great Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak's death. The biggest demonstration was that at Bombay, where several lakhs of people gathered on the sea-beach to hear M. Gandhi speak on the occasion. So great, however, was the rush that the meeting had to be abandoned after M. Gandhi had spoken only a few words. The thoughtless crowd in its zeal to see and hear the Mahatma pressed forward so heavily that there was danger of the dais and its occupants being thrown into the sea. The address which Gandhi wanted to deliver was to the effect that foreign cloth was a pollution which had to be removed, preferably by burning. The sea-beach on which they were assembled was the same one on which the great Tilak was cremated. 'We must acquire this site,' said he, 'where we cremated the remains of Lokmanya. Here, out of his ashes arose the fire of non-cooperation. It was on the 1st. of August last that non-cooperation was inaugurated, and it was in Parel where the fire blazed the day before that the nation had begun the final stage in its march to Swaraj by purging its sin.'

The Coming Visit of the Prince

From demonstrations of cloth-boycott non-co-operation activity soon spread into an active campaign of boycott of the Prince of Wales. From sometime previous official arrangements were being made in secret to bring the Prince in India. The Prince's Indian tour, postponed in the previous cold-weather, was being delayed owing to importunate differences of opinion amongst his well-wishers in England, but as the prestige of the Crown must be maintained it was decided to have the Prince in India in November 1921, and a press communique issued in July 27th. gave the tour-programme of the coming Royal visit. Indian opinion was never consulted by the Government before this momentous decision was taken, fraught, as future events proved, with inevitable consequences. Under official inspiration the Bombay and Calcutta Corporations passed resolutions for presentation of addresses inspite of popular opposition. But nowhere was the bursting of the bauble so sensational as at Calcutta and Lahore. The Lahore Municipal Committee held a meeting on the 16th. August and resolved by a majority that "they are determined not to accord to His Royal Highness any welcome whatever or incur any expense in this behalf or take part in any official functions in his honour". It was in Calcutta, however, where the Moderates were supposed to be in a majority, that an attempt was made to show up a popular welcome of the Prince. On the 4th. of August the Sheriff of Calcutta invited people to a public meeting at Dalhousie Institute, to be presided over by the Governor on the 25th. at which the reception to be accorded to the Prince was to be discussed. Immediately the challenge was taken up by Mr C. R. Das and other prominent non-co-operators, and on the 21st and 23rd. meetings were held when the people were exhorted to muster strong to the Sheriff's meeting and give expression to their opinion.

The Sheriff's Meeting at Calcutta

Accordingly on the 24th. August people began to go to the Dalhousie Institute, the place where it was announced that the

Sheriff of Calcutta would convene the public meeting in connection with the reception to be accorded to the Prince of Wales. At 12'30 the door of the Institute was opened and within half an hour the hall was full. As the day advanced the number of the audience increased. But there was no sign of the Sheriff, or of the Governor who was to preside nor any one of the signatories of the requisition.

Eventually Mr. C. R. Das came and was at once voted to the chair. He said that as the Sheriff did not turn up they were determined to hold this meeting of the citizens of Calcutta there at the very place and time fixed by the Sheriff. All of them knew what resolution was adopted by the All-India Congress Committee regarding the visit of the Prince of Wales to India. It was decided by that body that they could not accord a reception to the Prince of Wales. That was the advice given by the All-India Congress Committee, the only representative body of India, and they were all bound to obey the decision of such a body. They had no complaint against the British. Their complaint was against the system of Government. They had declared non-violent war against that form of Government which did not recognise them as men and which was killing their national life. This bureaucratic administration was their enemy and the Prince was coming here to strengthen this form of Government. It was the duty of every true Indian not to welcome him, whoever he be—whether he be the King or the Prince—who would come here to make the bureaucracy strong. They must obey the mandate of the Congress, no matter what sacrifice they would have to make for it.

It had been said, continued Mr. Das, that the Hindus and the Mahomedans were bound by their religion to welcome the Prince as he was their guest. But, asked Mr. Das, who had invited the Prince? It was those who were in charge of the Government. So the Prince was not the guest of the people of India but of the Government of India. If the people had a free voice in the matter they would have told the Prince: "Please do not come to India as we are dying here." They were loyal to the Throne, they were loyal to the King, they were loyal to the Prince, but they could not be loyal to the people who were in charge of the Government of this country which was eating into the

vitals of their national life. After a few more speeches the following resolution was passed :—

“That in view of the resolution passed by the All-India Congress Committee, this meeting of the citizens of Calcutta, as convened by the Sheriff of Calcutta, resolves that no reception should be accorded to the Prince of Wales on the occasion of his visit here.”

Meanwhile, afraid to meet the non-co-operators, the venue of the Sheriff's meeting was, without public notice, altered from the Dalbousie Institute to the Town Hall. Elaborate precautions were taken at the Town Hall by the authorities to prevent any non-co-operators getting admission to the meeting. European and Indian police armed with lathis guarded the approaches, while near the portico were Indian armed police and a detachment of the Gurkha military police.

The Sheriff, then opened the meeting, Lord Ronaldshay the president delivered a short speech, the Chief Justice Sir Lancelot Sanderson moved the resolution according a hearty welcome to the Prince, and Sir Surendra nath Banerji and other eminent titled nobility gave speeches. Rajas and Maharajas gave their hearty support and finally a Committee was appointed with the Governor as the chairman to carry out the resolution.

In spite of the police cordon shutting out the people from this meeting, many men collected to see what they called the 'purdah party' at work ; the crowd gradually increased until there were fully a thousand persons present. When the meeting commenced the crowd surged on to the roadway up to the barrier and began a regular fusilade of cat-calls, howling, shouting and jeering. The Indian speakers were specially singled out for this form of annoyance, especially the veteran leader, Sir Surendra Nath Banerji. So hostile was the demonstration in the case of Sir Surendra Nath that it was fully three or four minutes before he could say a single word and the whole of his remarks were so punctuated by interruptions that it was hardly possible for those close by to hear him. So great was the noise that many speakers wisely decided to formally second the resolutions entrusted to them instead of attempting to speak. As a result of the confusion the meeting was cut short, lasting about forty minutes. While the European speakers treated the interruptions with good humoured

contempt, the Indian speakers resented it and strongly condemned the action of the non-co-operators.

Commenting on this ludicrous piece of business, the *A. B. Patrika*, the premier Indian paper of Calcutta, humourously said :—

“Since the Battle of the Spurs, in which the historian tells us the French did not make use of any weapon of warfare but simply used their spurs at the side of their horses to take them precipitately away from the battlefield, no such flight as was witnessed in Calcutta on Wednesday afternoon was ever seen, heard of, or recorded. Fancy, Rajas, Maharajas, Knights, Rai Bahadurs, Khan Bahadurs with the Governor at their head were seen rushing towards the Town Hall not once turning towards the Dalhousie Institute where the great public meeting on the invitation of the Sheriff was to be held ! Not a shot was fired, not a blow struck, but the spurs were used to take the gallant warriors to the obscurity of the Purdah in the Town Hall, which was guarded by Gurkhas and the police. We have before this heard of co-operators’ meeting converted into a meeting of non-co-operators, but never in the annals of public meetings in this country has one heard of the organisers of a meeting not venturing at all to assert for one moment their claim to hold the meeting against those who would supplant them. It was a case of abject surrender and a confession, as clear as any confession can be, that the organisers of the Sheriff’s meeting had absolutely no claim to accord a reception to the Prince in the name of the citizens of Calcutta. The whole incident shows that the citizens of Calcutta are at the back of the All-India Congress Committee and not of the notabilities who are anxious to carry out the mandate of the bureaucracy in the matter. The notabilities should have known it before they asked the Sheriff to call a public meeting. They should have known that they were a microscopic minority who had not the faintest claim to speak on behalf of the public. By their action they have not merely made themselves ridiculous, but have made matters unpleasant for the Prince. They should have, instead of calling a public meeting, called a meeting of the friends and admirers of the bureaucracy. Why did not they do it ?”

The U. P. Liberal Conference

So far there was no other counter-propaganda to stem the rising tide of the N-C-O campaign. Except the harassments of the Police and the vexatious interference of government officials, which rather helped than checked the success of the Congress propaganda, the Moderates were almost silent to a man. The Bengal and Bombay Liberals earned the reputation of not moving except for profit while the Besantites of Madras contented themselves with newspaper quibbling. The U. P. Liberals, however, more zealous of political principles than their party friends elsewhere, sent a deputation under Rai Bahadur Anand Swarup to the Viceroy at Simla on the 7th July 1921 to present a belated address of welcome. The Viceroy in reply made a long and important pronouncement. The Punjab wrongs was to him a closed chapter ;—"mistakes have been admitted, regrets have been expressed, and the moving appeal was made to forgive and forget"—what more ? As regards repression in the land, His Excellency said : "You advocate a steadfast endeavour by Government and their officers to substitute justice for prestige, but justice cannot be substituted for prestige, for the prestige of Government must depend for its existence upon justice which is the foundation of the influence and authority of Government." The Viceroy did not repeat this time his pet refrain of racial equality as he did in his Chelmsford Club speech (p. 227), probably in view of the glaring Khoreal case which was agitating Assam at this time. It is curious that the more the Viceroy uttered his platitude of racial equality the more was the lie given direct to it. Early in the year a British Major at Sialkot travelling with his wife *without ticket*, and thus himself cheating the Railway company, forcibly entered a compartment occupied by some Indians and forced them to leave the compartment all to himself and his wife ! And now another case cropped up at Agra where one Lt. House was prosecuted for having forced some Indian First Class passengers to leave the compartment for him, threatened and otherwise intimidated them with a revolver, and was consequently fined by the Court.

On August 6th an important Conference of the U. P. Liberals was held at Lucknow with Munshi Narayan Pr. Asthana as the President. Both Mr. A. P. Sen, the Chairman, and Mr. Asthana made strong comments on the policy of the Govt. in matters of racial distinction and mentioned the Khoreal shooting case as an instance. In this case a European planter of Assam shot at the father of a coolie girl whom he wanted for his lust, but in the trial the European jury acquitted him. The case created considerable sensation at the time, and though the great majority of Indians took these things as the inevitable consequence of the system of administration with which they were attempting strenuously to non-co-operate, to the Liberals they offered a good field for the exercise of their constitutional methods of co-operative exorcism of the blight of racial ascendancy. Mr. Asthana said that such cases of deliberate insult to Indians by young Englishmen were productive of more racial hatred than the preachings of non-co-operation, and the remedy lay with Englishmen themselves.

The following is a summary of the proceedings and resolutions of this important Conference :—

Pt. Gokarnath Misra moved the conference's disapproval of the Non-co operation movement as injurious to the best interests of the country and the condemnation of acts of violence committed by the people in some places.

Pandit Gokarnath also moved a resolution pointing out the necessity of introducing the principle of responsibility in the Central Govt. and make the provinces wholly autonomous after the term of the present council.

A resolution suggesting the appointment of a committee of officials and non-officials to enquire into the Aligarh riots and the conduct of the police in that connection was adopted on the motion of Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru who alluded to the conflicting nature of the reports of the incident, the officials holding that there was an organised attempt to attack Government servants and loot Government property, and the non-officials alleging that the police was not actuated by the desire to maintain peace and order but to have revenge on the people.

A resolution expressing strong disapproval of the policy of repression adopted by the Government as evidenced by the extensive and indiscriminate exercise of the powers under Sections 144 and 107, Criminal P. Code and other preventive provisions of law was also passed.

Pandit Krishna Prasad Kane of the Servants of India Society moved a resolution about the Punjab grievances and said that unless those

grievances were redressed there would be discontent in the country. What was considered a settled fact by Lord Morley was set aside and the same could be done in the case of the Punjab when H. R. H. The Prince of Wales came to India. The appeal of H. R. H. The Duke of Connaught to forget the incident would be unacceptable, and unless the liberal party obtained redress for the Punjab it was no use their opposing non-cooperation.

Rao Bahadur Ananda Swarup moved a resolution urging that the control of the services should be vested more largely in the local Government.

Mr. A. P. Sen moved a resolution supporting the Swadeshi movement, and in his speech, while exhorting them to take to Swadeshi he condemned the spectacular demonstration of industrial patriotism in the boycott and burning of foreign clothes at a time when the country had not even half the output of clothes to meet its demand.

Hon. Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, the U. P. Govt. Minister, in supporting the resolution spoke of Government's deep interest in the development of Swadeshi industries and mentioned the steps taken by Government to achieve that end. After condemning the boycott on economic grounds he said that the Liberal party was keenly alive to the developments of Indian industry and that even the official Liberal had come to support that resolution.

Resolutions insisting on equality of treatment for Indian settlers in the Colonies, protesting against the anti-Indian agitation in Kenya Colony and welcoming the deputation of Hon. Mr. Sastri, Kunjru and Corbett to Fiji were also passed.

On the motion of Major Ranjit Singh supported by Dr. R. K. Tandon a resolution urging separation into civil and military, of the Indian Medical Service, and protesting against the action of the British Medical Council in declaring Indian Medical graduates unfit for registration in the United Kingdom in view of maternity training was also passed.

Lengthy resolutions urging reduction in the military expenditure and Indianisation of the higher grades of Indian Army were adopted.

Several resolutions put from the chair included suggestions for the immediate repeal of the repressive laws, protest against the proposal to further increase the salaries of Imperial Services, and request to the Local Government to take early steps to bring about total prohibition of wine by introduction of local option and other suitable measures.

Resolutions urging the Government of India to amend as early as possible the Criminal Procedure Code so as to abolish the distinction between Indians and Europeans, that members of the Indian Territorial Force should enjoy the same designation and status as the Indian Auxilliary Force and that members of University Corps should receive the same training as the members of officers' Training Corps at British universities were also put from the chair. Resolutions strongly urging the Government of His Majesty to suitably revise the Turkish Treaty and suggesting that the criminal branch of the judicial service should be placed directly under the control of High Court were also passed.

The Munitions Case Scandal

Early in August 1921 a public scandal of far-reaching significance, exposing the inner workings of the bureaucratic conclave, came to light and kept the country, especially the great merchantile interests, convulsed for a length of time. It revealed the sense of justice that the bureaucrat enjoys in doing the ordinary work of administration—the justice which high officials from the Viceroy downwards never failed to put forth as the foundation of the Government in India.

The facts of the case are as follows.—

Four persons were accused in the court of the Chief Presidency Magistrate, Calcutta, of conspiring to cheat the Government of India over the supply during war time of wire rope of the value of about 1·5 lakh of rupees. Their names are Rai Bahadur Sukhlal Karnani, a great banker, Mr. J. C. Bannerji, a well-known architect and contractor, Mr. Waite, a former Controller of Munitions, and a high Govt. official, and Stringer, a subordinate official.

The case created a sensation at the time, and there were all sorts of bazar rumours of venality in high places. The Advocate General of Bengal along with Mr. Ross Alston of Allahabad and a host of Counsels was prosecuting on behalf of the Govt. of India, and money was spent like water on both sides to have the charge thrashed out in open court when many other mysteries which lay hidden under red-tape might have come to the public eye.

On the other hand, certain civil claims had been made for about Rs 3 lakhs on account of the supply of munitions by Karnani against Govt. Sir Thomas Holland, the member of the Govt. of India in charge of the munitions department seemed to be very greatly annoyed at this civil claim, and when pressed by many people influential in public and business to withdraw the criminal charge, he expressed the view that Govt. would not consider the withdrawal so long as Karnani continued to threaten the civil suit. Accordingly the whole job was finished when Karnani unconditionally withdrew the civil claim and in return Sir Thomas Holland sent instructions to withdraw the criminal proceedings.

Accordingly on the 5th of August 1921 the Advocate General withdrew the charges not only against Karnani but also against Bannerji. In withdrawing the case, however, the Advocate General detailed the charges at great length, and said with great emphasis that he could prove the charge to the hilt and there was no doubt of the guilt of the accused but, said he ;—

“I am instructed by the Government of India to say that the Government of India had been informed from various sources that if the prosecution of Karnani and Bannerji were proceeded with, widespread commercial and industrial interests would be seriously affected by reason of the association of Karnani and Bannerji with various business concerns, many of a Swadeshi character. Influenced by that consideration the Government had come to the conclusion that in the interests of the public it was not advisable to proceed with the prosecution against them. The Government considered that it was preferable that Sukhlal and Bannerji, though guilty, should escape punishment rather than that a large number of innocent persons should suffer loss.”

And Mr. Roy, the defence Counsel, in reply said :

“I wish to say just one word. I rejoice at the decision which the Government of India has taken and I desire to thank Sir Thomas Holland in particular. It is a great act of justice however tardily done. I don't mind mentioning it to-day that since last Friday I have been thanking the learned Advocate-General in my heart for the worthy position which he has taken up in this matter, and I would have thanked him in open Court to-day had he not been persuaded to make an ungracious statement of fact. It is a perfectly farcical statement. The Advocate General said that he mentioned those facts in order that the Court and public may know. He gave a solemn undertaking that he could prove the facts here and now. I have no hesitation in giving my assurance that I could disprove every single fact he mentioned and prove the complete innocence of the accused. The public will know and judge between the learned Advocate-General's undertaking and my assurance, and I have no doubt what they will think about this case. I had anticipated a termination like this. From the moment I looked into the brief, I knew that there could be but one end to it. I felt persuaded that if I could get the Government of India to look into the facts of this case, there will be an end of it. You will remem-

ber, Sir, that I made a prediction in this Court some few weeks ago, that this case will never come on for hearing. I will make another prediction to day. Rai Bahadur Sukhlal Karnani has enjoyed the confidence of His Majesty the King and Queen-Mother. Mr. J. C. Bannerji was spoken of in the highest terms by the Governor of a Province. The services of these two gentlemen to the State are great and numerous. The time is not distant when both of them will again enjoy the confidence of the Government in a more generous measure."

These astounding statements in open court, prostituting the spirit of justice which the Viceroy had been ever uplauding since he landed, made the public agape in wonder. Soon a storm of protest was raised. The European Associations, the Chambers of Commerce and other influential public and commercial bodies made strong representations to the Viceroy. The whole Press of India, both European and Indian, and the public at large, condemned the proceedings in unmeasured language. Such plenary indulgence of law-breaking, though not rare in high places, especially where racial distinctions operated, exhibited in open court, meant only an avowal of the degraded principle of "one law for the poor and another for the rich", and had never been made before by any responsible officer of the Crown.

The Advocate-General said that the withdrawal was made under instructions from the "Govt. of India". This use of the words "Govt. of India", to preface a decision and an explanation, which has never before been presented to a court of law, naturally suggested that the Viceroy himself—no other than the ex-Lord-Chief Justice of England, had given the permission. A few days later, however, the Viceroy caused it to be known that he was never consulted! It appeared that it was Sir Thomas Holland who was "the Govt. of India" here; that grave decisions were made by the departments without the Viceroy knowing them till they were unalterable settled facts!

In spite of the great agitation raised Government did not open its mouth till on August 16th questions were asked by Cols. Ashley and Burn in Parliament on the matter, and the Secretary of State in reply said that the Viceroy was not consulted in the matter and, further, he circulated a statement which he had received from the Government of India. This statement contained the following passages the glaring untruth of which still further roused feelings in India.

"As the result of the prosecution there were serious withdrawals of deposits in the Karnani Bank which endangered its stability. Sir Thomas Holland received information at Calcutta that if the prosecution was continued the Bank would fail and it would involve the ruin of more than 120 industrial concerns which Karnani financed. Before that, there had already been public agitation of which the implication was that the Government in prosecuting these persons designed to destroy the credit of a new industrial Bank actively engaged in financing Indian industries. There was danger of a great intensification of the agitation so as to cause racial ill-feeling if in consequence of the continuance of the case several industrial concerns had collapsed as seemed to be certain to result.

"Besides this, although the Government's legal advisers considered the case for the prosecution sound and the evidence trustworthy, they also pointed out that the accused would be committed for trial to the High Court, that the trial would not be finished for many months and that it was doubtful whether a jury in a complicated case of this character would convict. It is certain that the defence would have made a point with the jury of the public benefaction made by Karnani during the war.

"Thus, on the one hand, a conviction would seriously affect one section of the public, while, on the other hand, a long trial followed by failure to secure a conviction from the jury would have similar disastrous results and would appear to justify the feeling of bitterness and intensify it and give rise to attacks on the Government on the ground that public funds had been unnecessarily wasted in the prosecution.

"Sir Thomas Holland, for those reasons, thought it wisest to withdraw the prosecution. Before reaching the decision, he had consulted the members of the Government already familiar with the facts, but not the Viceroy who states that he would not have consented to the case being withdrawn upon the ground stated by the Advocate-General."

In a communique issued on the 28th August the Viceroy emphatically repudiated the grounds given by the Advocate-General for the withdrawal, and though the fact of the withdrawal was irrevocable, he strongly condemned the action of Sir Thomas in not consulting him. Excuse, however, was found for Sir Thomas by recognising that he was too over-worked to find time, though it was not denied that he used to

find a good deal of time to consult the D. I. G. of Police to whom the case was entrusted. Once more the term "error of judgment" was used to keep up bureaucratic prestige. The communique further repudiated the doctrine that where proof is believed to exist of palpable fraud Govt. would save the accused where his conviction would involve commercial dislocation; and also that the assertion of guilt of one against whom a charge is being withdrawn was entirely contrary to the spirit of justice.

As said the *Times of India*, Bombay :—

"The position at the moment is this. The public funds have been cheated of Rs. 1,49,000. The Government's Law officers can prove the case up to the hilt. The Government have withdrawn the case. Their action has been condemned by the Viceroy, an ex-Lord Chief Justice of England, by nearly the whole Press of India, by the public at large, and by the resolutions of numerous Chambers of Commerce and other organisations. Questions are beginning to be asked in the House of Commons. The Government have just issued a statement which contains neither new or convincing arguments, nor the least sign of repentance or of the intention of doing anything to satisfy the demand for justice that has arisen throughout the country. And yet something must be done; this stain upon the administration of justice in India cannot be allowed to remain. It must be wiped away. Is it to be said that justice in this country is for sale? That it can be bought by a profitter's public benefactions during the "war"? That if a man knows how to pay the price directly asked he can buy the right to cheat the people of lakhs of rupees? That you have only to found a bank and finance a few businesses to become too important, too dangerous a man for the Government to tackle? When the case was withdrawn the counsel for the defence crowed with joy. He said, "I have anticipated a termination like this from the moment I looked into my brief. I knew there could be but one end to it." The innuendo of these remarks is obvious. It is now a question not so much of the guilt or innocence of the accused as of the guilt or innocence of the Government."

The "innocence" of the government and of its head was proved, not the guilt but the "error of judgment" of Sir Thomas was deplored, and soon after Sir Thomas resigned, his resignation was accepted and the curtain drawn over the whole affair.

The Moplah Outbreak

On August 20th. occurred the great Moplah outbreak in Malabar. The Moplabs are a race of sturdy, independent-minded, supremely religious Mahomedans, said to be descendants of Arab traders and pirates who used to infest the Indian Ocean in early times, now inhabiting the hill and jungle tracts of Southern Malabar in the vicinity of Calicut. Their sturdy independence and stubborn resistance have made them ever a thorn by the side of the British and on many previous occasions they have broken out into riot.

The riot of the 20th August last gradually developed into an armed rebellion. For this Government laid the responsibility on the non-co-operators, while the latter laid the blame on Government. Assuredly, these inflammable people had heard of Gandhi's doctrine, had their own domestic and economic trouble, and had exaggerated accounts of desecration of the Hedaj. Government repressed their activities, prevented their leaders, especially Mr. Yakub Hussan, from approaching them, as Government never believed in the gospel of non-violence of the non-co-operators. The repression and its percussion kept the ground ready for explosion. And when the explosion occurred Govt. proceeded to the spot with troops and the triangle and declared Martial Law.

An official communique issued by the Madras Govt. stated that seditious speeches were made and seditious pamphlets circulated. More than that, bodies of so-called volunteers were formed, given a kind of uniform, and in some cases armed with swords. The Government admitted that it took no steps against the volunteers. It intended to proceed against the agitators, but before anything was done the outbreak took place. The signal for this outbreak was an attempt made by the authorities to set the law in motion against some people alleged to be guilty of sedition. The facts in detail are as follows :—

About the middle of August agrarian trouble arose owing to the rich Zamindars of Nilambur making new disposition of their land. The Moplah tenants of Pookootor suffered great hardships. Privileges enjoyed for generations are not easily given up, and the grant of *melcharth* by the sixth Thirumalpad of Nilambar naturally provoked the fanatic tenants. Riot broke out in Nilambar. The district authorities naturally sided with the rich landlords and the poor tenants had no relief. Their troubled state made them fit subject for religious fanaticism, further roused by false stories of the Khilafat agitation and about M. Gandhi's non-co-operation. But the authorities followed repression and did not allow Khilafat and N-C-O leaders to proceed to Malabar. Even the priests of the Moplahs were arrested, and mosques were surrounded by the military and police to arrest the priests. On the fateful day, the 20th August, 1921, the district Magistrate with a party of the Leinster Regiment arrived at Tiruvangadi, surrounded the mosque, and arrested three Moplah divines on the allegation of their having excited the Moplahs.

News of this soon spread. A crowd of 3000 Moplahs came by train from Tanur to Prapanagadi and the regiment was at once sent to meet them. They were dispersed by fire. Another crowd had in the meanwhile collected at Tiruvangadi and demanded the priests back. They were met by Lewis gun and magazine fire. Here 2 British officers were murdered, and the mob then looted the Railway station, cut the line, uprooted the rail, burnt Railway buildings, levelled the embankment and demolished a few Railway culverts. In a couple of days Ernad Taluk rose in a state of armed rebellion and cut itself off on all sides from British territory, and the Moplahs declared a Khilafat Kingdom. Within the next few days 10,000 Moplahs raided Tirur, and created havoc in the neighbourhood, setting fire to the Police station and the courts, plundering all arms and ammunition, and rooting up the rails. On the 21st the Nilambar palace was attacked; 13 people were slaughtered, the records of a century burnt, the premises partly demolished and all furnitures broken. Regular looting, especially of treasuries and police stations, commenced in Nilambar, Manjeri, Malapuram, Tirur, Palghat and other places. Several Europeans were killed. European planters were driven out. Hindu houses and temples were

desecrated, blackmail levied and there were wild reports of Hindus being forcibly converted into the Moslem faith. On the 25th. the Ernad treasury was looted and a cash of some Rs. 6,00,000 went into rebel hands. On the 26th the "battle of Pookutur" was fought for five hours, the moplabs having placed themselves in trenches and armed with arms and ammunition looted by them previously. The engagement cost them 400 killed out of a mob some 1000 strong, while the British regiment sustained a few losses. Soon, however, British troops began to pour into Malabar and on August 26th Martial Law was declared. And by the end of the month the situation was well in hand. On September 1st. Ali Musaliyar, the rebel leader of the Moplabs, surrendered with 40 men, and next day Kuntikoya Thangal, another Moplah leader, was arrested. Gradually the rebellion was put down in all the large stations, but the majority of Moplabs fled to the hills and jungles of Malabar from which they came out for occasional raids and continued to conduct a guerilla warfare.

In the interior of Palghat and Mannarghat the rebels continued their reign of terror, with pillage and arson committed everywhere, especially in East Ernad, where Kunhahmad Haji declared himself an independent sovereign. At Alanallur, near Mannarghat, a serious skirmish occurred between the rebel gang and the British troops. A Moplah conference was held in which a *jehad* was declared, and Hindus who did not actively help them were reported to have been forcibly converted. The trouble raged on for months, the rebels raising their head again again, as soon as marching columns of British troops had gone by.

It is not yet possible to judge affairs of this period at Malabar at their proper value. As in the Punjab in 1919, things happened during the Martial Law period in Malabar which do no credit to the administration. One glaring instance of cruelty of the administration to which history rarely affords a parallel and by the side of which all the alleged misdeeds of the Moplabs appear trivial, leaked out in November 1921. This was the notorious Moplah train tragedy in which a 100 prisoners were put in a closed and air-tight goods van and despatched by rail; when the door was opened 66 was found dead and the rest on the point of dying. How many such blood-curdling inhumanities lie buried in the dark chapter of Malabar history of this period, time alone will show.

The Arrest of the Ali Brothers

Ever since the Afghan bogey was started (p. 206), with a view partly to discredit the activities of the Khilafat leaders, and partly to prepare public mind for the inevitable repression that must follow the aggressive movement of the Indian nationalists, the impending arrest of the Brothers Ali was looming large. The affairs in the Moplah territory were handle enough for the Government to suppress the khilafatist activities. Rumour was in the air that at Simla high officials were scanning the political speeches of the leaders to discover passages which could come under the ordinary criminal law of the land—for, the application of extraordinary law was unthinkable in view of the abrogation of some of the obsolete and obnoxious repressive laws then in course of being repealed. Maulana Mahomed Ali along with M. Gandbi and their staff left Calcutta on the 13th. September to visit Malabar where they intended to pacify the rioters by preaching their creed of non-violent non-co-operation. This was prevented, and on their way to Madras, Mr. Mahomed Ali was arrested in the train at Waltair on September 14th. 1921. At first the arrest was made upon a warrant issued by the District Magistrate of Vizagapatam to show cause why Mr. Ali should not be bound over to keep the peace for one year under S. 107, 108, Cr. P. Code. On the 17th, however, he was released and at once re-arrested by the Bombay Police, who had by this time arrived with a warrant of arrest, and taken over to Karachi by a special train. For four days the nature of the charge for which the arrest was made was kept a secret, and in the meantime other arrests followed. Mr. Shaukat Ali was arrested at the Bombay Khilafat office, Dr. S. Kitchlew was arrested at Simla, and Pir Ghulam Majid at Sind, Moulvi Hasan Ahmad and Moulaua Nisar Ahmed were also brought over to Karachi. And, as if to show that it was not a rounding up of the Khilafat leaders alone in pursuance of the eternal principle of *divide et impera*, Shri Sankaracharya, a Hindu divine of great eminence, was also arrested. In a press-note issued by the Bombay Govt. on the 16th Septem-

ber it was announced that the arrests were sanctioned, with the concurrence of the Govt. of India, for a resolution passed at the Karachi Khilafat Conference in July last in which Moslem troops were alleged to have been seduced to leave the Army and the celebrated Ulemas' *Fatwa*, since proscribed, were circulated amongst Moslem troops (see p. 286).

Leaving the great Moslem leader at Waltair, M. Gandhi, Mrs. Mahomed Ali and party then proceeded by the same train to Madras where on arrival they were enthusiastically cheered by the citizens and splendidly ovated. On the 15th a large public meeting of Madras citizens was addressed by M. Gandhi who said that the arrest had come as a god-send, and implored every body to show his fitness by taking all repression with perfect calmness. Mrs. Mahomed Ali also addressed the meeting and said that she had asked her husband to go happily to prison promising him to serve the country in his place. When the news of the arrest was flashed all over the country, perfect peace was observed everywhere; there was not even the much practised hartal at any place, and no commotion amongst the people in the mass. Mr. Gandhi was, of course, not allowed to proceed to Malabar.

The arrests as such did not rouse public feeling, for it had for some time past been anticipated that repression was coming. But what fired public feeling was the ground of the arrest, viz. the Karachi resolution asking all Moslems on Koranic injunctions not to serve in the British Army as that would mean the taking of Moslem life which was *haram* in Islamic law. As said Pundit Motilal Nehru in a manifesto:—"the action of the Govt. in arresting the leaders was not due to a sudden outburst of ill-feeling—it was but a necessary step to the policy they had been pursuing. At first sugared words, then empty concessions. That failing, threats were resorted to (the apology episode). And now they have decided to have a final throw. It is only the beginning of a renewed policy of repression." This was borne out by what happened in the Kerala province in the Madras where prominent Congress-men were arrested whose only complicity in the Malabar outbreak consisted in earnest and devoted attempts to lead the grievances of the people into a non-violent channel.

Public meetings were held almost all over the country in all large places where the Ali Brothers and the other leaders

were congratulated for their arrest, for suffering righteously in the cause of their religion and country, and the self-same *Fatwa* was read and circulated by word of mouth. On September 20th the Punjab Khilafat Committee met at Lahore, joined by influential Sikh and Hindu citizens, where the Ulemas of the Punjab expressed the opinion that if Govt. could that day proscribe a *Fatwa* subscribed by 500 Ulemas of all India, no wonder that some day means will be found and excuse invented to proscribe the Holy Koran itself. On the 21st September the Central Khilafat Committee of India and the Jamiut-ul-Ulema met at Delhi under the presidency of Hakim Ajmal Khan, where, after a stormy debate, resolutions were passed for printing copies of the *Fatwa* anew for distribution broadcast and calling upon every Ulema to announce to the country the religious injunctions of the Koran in regard to that matter from every pulpit and platform, and for repeating the Karachi resolution at every meeting to be held by them thereafter.

The cue was at once taken up all over the country and the prosecution readily proved in the hands of the people a powerful weapon to seek the martyrdom of imprisonment for religious faith. On 29th. September a huge meeting of Delhi citizens was held where the Karachi resolution was reiterated, 'all standing and repeating every word of the resolution,' and extracts from the *Fatwa* regarding service in the army were distributed broadcast. As a result, several arrests were made, and men went to prison with religious zeal. Next day, another mass meeting was held at Lucknow convened by the Oudh Khilafat Committee. The Chairman said that the commandment contained in the resolution, stigmatised as criminal, would only mean that the reading of the Koran was held to be a crime which no Moslem could swallow, whatever the consequences. Then he read the full text of the resolution. At once 10 thousand people sprang to their feet and repeated the whole word per word. So, too, at Cawnpore, Agra, Nagpur, and many other places, the same thing occurred. On October 4th. 47 Congressmen, including M. Gandhi and all the N.C.O. leaders in the front rank, issued the following manifesto expressing both the Moslem and the non-moslem view of the matter :—

"In view of the prosecution of the Ali Brothers and others for the reasons stated in the Government of Bombay communique, dated the 15th

September, 1921, we, the undersigned, speaking in our individual capacity, desire to state that it is the inherent right of every one to express his opinion without restraint about the propriety of citizens offering their services to, or remaining in the employ of, the Government whether in the civil or the Military department.

"We, the undersigned, state it as our opinion that it is contrary to national dignity for any Indian to serve as a civilian, and more especially as a soldier, under a system of Government which has brought about India's economic, moral and political degradation and which has used the soldiery and the police for repressing national aspirations, as, for instance, at the time of the Rowlatt Act agitation, and which has used the soldiers for crushing the liberty of the Arabs, the Egyptians, the Turks, and other nations who have done no harm to India.

"We are also of opinion that it is the duty of every Indian soldier and civilian to sever his connection with the Government and find some other means of livelihood.

Similarly, at the first session of the Behar Khilafat conference held at Arrah on the 4th October, with Maulana Shah Badruddin as president, Hindu and Moslem religious heads joined hands in condemning the proscription of the fatwa and many Hindu Sanyasis vowed to work for the Khilafat. The Karachi resolution was put and the whole audience to a man stood up and repeated it word by word.

The Congress Committee Resolution

On October 5th an important meeting of the Working Committee of the Congress was held in Bombay and the following resolutions were passed :—

"The Working Committee congratulates the Ali Brothers and companions upon their prosecution, and having considered the Karachi Khilafat Conference resolution regarding military service under Government, the Working Committee is of opinion that the resolution virtually re-affirms the principle laid down by the Calcutta Special Congress and the Nagpur Congress last year, that it is contrary to national dignity and national interest for any Indian to engage or remain in Government service in any capacity whatsoever. The Working Committee has been only deferred from calling out the soldiers and civilians in the name of the Congress because the Congress is not yet ready to support those Government servants who may leave Government service and who may not be able themselves to find means of livelihood. The Committee, however, is of opinion that in pursuance of the spirit of the Congress N. C. O. resolution, 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 Committee draws the attention of all Indian soldiers and police to the fact that carding and hand-weaving afford them, by undergoing training for a brief period, honourable means of independent livelihood. The Committee further is

of opinion that the reasons given for the prosecution with reference to the Karachi resolution constitute undue interference with religious liberty.

"The Working Committee regrets that the boycott of foreign cloth while it has made considerable progress during the last two months, has not been so complete and appeals to the Congress organisations to put forth special efforts.

"The Working Committee considers it not possible to authorise any plan of general civil disobedience in any Congress district or province where effective boycott of foreign cloth had not been brought about and spinning and weaving had not been developed so as to produce sufficient "Khaddi" for the wants of the district. The committee, however, authorises civil disobedience by individuals, who may be prevented in the prosecution of Swadeshi propaganda, provided it is done under the authority of the Provincial Committee and that the Provincial Congress Committee is assured of non-violent atmosphere being retained.

"The Working Committee is of opinion that on the day of 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 to His Royal Highness during his visit to the different cities of India, the Working Committee leaves the arrangements in the hands of respective Provincial Congress Committees.

Foreign Policy of the Indian People

"With reference to the resolution on the foreign policy referred specially by the All India Congress Committee held at Bombay in July to the Working Committee, the latter is of opinion that the Congress should let it be known to neighbouring and other states :—(A) that the Government of India in no way represent Indian opinion and their policy has been traditionally guided by the consideration more of holding India under subjection than of protecting her borders. [B] That India as a self-governing country can have nothing to fear from the neighbouring States or any State, as her people have no designs upon any of them and hence no intention of establishing any trade relations hostile to or not desired by the peoples of such States, and the people of India regard most treaties entered into with the Imperial Government by the neighbouring States as mainly designed by the latter to perpetuate the exploitation of India by Imperial Powers, and would therefore urge the States having no ill-will against the people of India and having no desire to injure her interests, to refrain from entering into any treaty with the Imperial Power.

"The Committee wishes to assure Mussalman States also that when India has attained self-Government, her Foreign Policy will naturally be always guided so as to respect religious obligations imposed upon Mussalmans by Islam. Whilst such is the view of the Working Committee on the Foreign Policy, the Committee is unwilling to let it go forth as the opinion of the All India Congress Committee without its being fully discussed by the public and adopted at a meeting of the latter. The Committee therefore authorises the Secretary to circulate its opinion to the Press as a draft prepared for public criticism and for submission to the All India Congress Committee's adoption."

The 'inherent right of everyone to express his opinion' as to people remaining in Govt. employ, as asserted by the manifesto, was fully expressed in several mass meetings held in Bombay, Karachi, Madura, Negapatam, Trichinopoly and other places in South India; the congress resolution and the leaders' manifesto were endorsed, and the Karachi resolution repeated. In Madras, however, a meeting was announced on the 21st Oct., and the Govt. prohibited it on the ground that a resolution was to be passed declaring it *haram* for a Mussalman to serve in the British Army or Police. The effect of this was that the manifesto was sent over from man to man and tens of thousands of signatures obtained.

The Karachi Trial.

The great State trial of the Ali Brothers and 5 others opened at Karachi on September 26th. It was rumoured that the Law Member of the Govt. of India, Dr. Sapru, was for charging them for the capital offence of sedition but that the Advocate-General was opposed to it for want of evidence, and the Ministers of the Bombay Government were against any drastic action. After the formal recording of evidence by the Magistrate charges were drawn up of seducing troops, and the accused were committed to the sessions. Certain irregularities vitiated the strictly legal proceedings but in such cases no notice of mere formalities could be taken. The sessions trial began on the 24th October and occupied the next 6 days. A fresh supplementary charge of sedition was here entered against Mr. Mahomed Ali in spite of protest that no evidence had been recorded in the lower court.

All the accused, acting upon their principle of non-cooperation, did not defend themselves, nor did they recognise the court to have any jurisdiction to try them, but they simply made long statements explaining their course of public action, and that they were following their religion in doing as they did. The statement made by Mr. Mahomed Ali was by far the most important and put forth the position of Islam. This is given in the following pages. The jury selected consisted of 3 Christians and 2 Hindus, recruited from the public of Karachi, and it is significant that 2 among them were from the firm of the Ralli Brothers whose proprietor was then a minister of the Greek Govt. and an avowed enemy of Islam.

THE KARACHI TRIAL

M. Mahomed Ali's Statement

In the course of a long statement made at the request of the Magistrate, Maulana Mahomed Ali after accepting full responsibility for the resolution, the subject-matter of the charge, said :—

“It seems to me that, unless Government has been made deliberately to misunderstand the drift of that and a similar resolution at Gokak, it is the aim of Government itself to put false stress upon the army part of the resolution as their justification for betraying once more the word given through the mouth of the Viceroy regarding our prosecution. But that is his own concern and I have little to do with it beyond expressing my gratefulness that for once it has come into the open and has challenged Islam in India to do what it can in defence of the faith. It was clear to everybody at the time of the Gokak and Karachi Conferences that it was only a matter of “touch and go” with regard to the re-opening of hostilities by the British against the defenders of Islam and its Khalifa whom the British Government had done everything in its power to destroy and to get destroyed in its characteristic fashion through third parties. Indian Mussalmans who had given a warning to this Government were fast losing patience and we feared that the peace of India might be disturbed in vain attempts by the more ardent if not the more imperious amongst our co-religionists in this country to compel this Government to respect their religious obligations and save the Khilafat.

“We realised our responsibility to God and man and diverted the wandering attention of excited Mussalmans into a fruitful channel. We warned Government of two things, firstly, of the commencement of civil disobedience in concert with the Congress and secondly, in December next at a forthcoming session of the Congress, of the Declaration of Indian freedom and the establishment of a Republic in India. These two were to be contingent on the re-opening of hostilities by the British—whether secretly or

openly, whether directly or through the Greeks—against the remnant of the temporal power of Islam. Every newspaper in the country, co-operator or non-co-operator, discussed the question of the Indian Republic looming in the distance, and I do not know if anyone discussed in the public the question of the Indian Army which, as is clear from wordings of both the resolutions, is only incidentally involved. 500 of the most distinguished Ulemas of the Muslims of India had several months previously issued a most clear and unambiguous religious pronouncement with regard to non-co-operation including the questions of membership of the Legislative Council, practice at the bar, education in Government-aided schools, titles and honorary offices and, of course, services under Government whether as soldier or as civilian. If it was said that the Karachi and Gokak Conferences were held mainly to ask these poor title-holders, who had purchased their title by the sale of much honour and hugged them to their bosoms, it would have been hardly more ridiculous than this belated attempt to discover a conspiracy to tamper with the loyalty of our loyal troops. I say "hardly more ridiculous than this", for, whereas I despair of these title-holders, I have every hope from our loyal soldiers. Government have not spared the humiliation of giving them a compliment even in its last communique regarding our intended prosecution and the extent to which that compliment is well deserved is also the extent of the demoralisation brought in a religious people by an irreligious Government, and if that compliment has been truly paid, I make the abject confession that it is the *Karma* (our misdeeds) and our gross negligence of our poor brothers in the Army which is coming home to chastise us in the hour of our need; but we cannot neglect our hunger-stricken unsophisticated brothers any longer, and although I was absolutely ignorant of the existence of the leaflet sent to the Mussalmans in the army, called 'officers' only by way of euphemism, I am glad that the Association of the Ulemas is at long last carrying the message of God to the Indian Army. I may correct myself as I am informed that the *Jamiat ul-Ulema* denies having issued these leaflets to the Indian Army but I trust they will soon convert the forgery into a fact.

"Now, Sir, I should like to say that in 1858 when there had been a mutiny in this country involving the Indian Army,

the main issue was a religious one. Queen Victoria who assumed the reins of administration for the first time issued a Proclamation in order to pacify and reassure the people. A curious incident is worth mentioning about this Proclamation. Along with titles of the Ruling Sovereigns of England is the significant title "Defender of the faith." The Prime Minister of those days, perhaps as adroit as the Primo Minister of these days, was in hope that in the Indian translation, this significant translation would appear as protector of religion generally, but he was told by experts in vernacular that it was justifiable to convey to the Indian mind the idea of this special head and champion of a creed antagonistic to the creeds of the country. So long Lord Derby was inclined to omit it but he sought the opinion of the Queen herself. She resolutely refused. Lord Derby himself redrafted the Proclamation and here is the very first paragraph therein relating to the obligations of the Queen towards the people of India in which she says :—"By the blessings of Almighty God shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil." This relates to our religion and runs as follows :—"Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity and acknowledging the solace of religion, we disclaim the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects." And yet for two days and a half, my friend, the Counsel on behalf the Crown, has been trying to impose convictions, I do not know whose but certainly not ours, on six very good Mussalmans and one very good Hindu. The Proclamation adds : "We declare it to be our Royal Will and Pleasure that none be in any wise favoured, none molested or disquieted by reason of their religious faith or observances. But that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law" which I hope you are going to do.

"It goes on to say—"And We do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects on pain of our highest displeasure". The first authority mentioned in the Proclamation is the Governor-General himself, and I understand that it is with his concurrence that we have been molested and disquieted by reason of our religious faith.

"All men have enjoyed the protection of the law. The law itself had been administered without disrespect to any creed or caste, or to the usages and ideas rooted in your civilization. When the present Sovereign of India ascended the throne, he issued a letter to the Princes and peoples of India, on the 24th May 1910, in the course of which he said referring to the two Proclamations from which I have cited :—

"All these are the charters of the noble and benignant spirit of the Imperial Rule," and by that spirit this is the protection of the law that we are enjoying. No Sovereign can survey the labours of his Government any longer with a clear gaze or with good conscience, and these poor charters will only serve to mock the noble and benignant spirit of the Imperial Rule which seeks to-day to impose heathen convictions on a believing people and would lead them to look upon God as a figure-head and not as the one real fact of our daily existence. For, after all, what is the meaning of this precious prosecution? By whose convictions we, the Hindus and Mussalman of India, are to be guided? Speaking as a Mussalman, if I am supposed to have erred from the right path, the only way to convince me of my error is to refer me to the Holy Quoran, or the authentic traditions of the last of the Prophets, (on whom be peace and God's benedictions), or to the religious pronouncements of recognised Mussalman divines, past and present, which purport to be based on these two original sources of Islamic authority, and I contend that I have not erred, only because all religious authority demands from me in the present circumstances the precise action for which a Government that does not like to be called Satanic is prosecuting me to-day. That which I neglect becomes a deadly sin, and is yet a crime when I do not neglect it—how am I to consider my action in this country? I must either be a sinner or a criminal, and like one British Prime Minister of Eastern origin, and like the Secretary of State and Viceroy of to-day, I like to be on the side of the angels. Islam recognises One Sovereignty alone, the Sovereignty of God, which is supreme, unconditioned, indivisible and inalienable. This can be seen from the following discourse of the Prophet Yusuf (on whom be peace) with his fellow prisoners, in the twelfth chapter of the Holy Quoran,—“Oh my fellow-prisoners, are sundry lords better or the One All-controlling God? Ye serve not besides

Him other than the names which ye have named and your fathers". God hath sent down therefore no warrant. There is no Government but God's. He hath commanded that ye serve none but His Own Self. This is the right religion, but the grearer part of men know it not. I am afraid that is even more true to-day, when the poor Subedar-Major is called upon by the Officer Commanding to ignore the very first duty he owes to his Maker. The Sovereignty of God was carried on in His name, from time to time, among various tribes and peoples by the Prophets sent down to them, and when Mahomet departed from this world as the last of the Prophets, after having brought the final message of God's peace to all mankind, he was followed by his Khulara or successors, who were entitled "Commanders of the Faithful" (Amir-Ul-Kashim). They continued the succession to this day, the present Commander of the Faithful, according to one creed, being His Imperial Majesty the Sultan of Turkey. The only allegiance that the Mussalman, whether civilian or soldier, whether living under a Moslem or non-Moslem administration owes, as commanded by the word of the Quoran, is his allegiance to God and to those in authority from among the Mussalmans, the chief amongst the last mentioned being, of course, that prophet, successor or the "Commander of the faithful". But to these latter his allegiance, unless his allegiance to his God and his Prophet is subordinate and conditional allegiance, is the following according to the fourth chapter of the Quoran entitled 'Nisar or women',—"Oh ye faithful, obey God, the Prophet and those who are in authority from among you, and if ye dispute regarding aught, refer it unto God and his Prophet if ye believed in God till the last day." This is the better and the fairest determination. If the "Commander of the Faithful," the successor of Prophet himself, commands a Mussalman to do anything that he is unwilling to do, he is not only entitled but is required to refer the matter in dispute between himself and the highest human authority that he recognises to-day, to the arbitrament of the "Holy Quoran" and the authentic traditions of the Prophet. This is the central doctrine of Islam which is summed up in the well known "Kalema" or creed "*la ilaha illa Ullahu Mahomed Resulillu*".—"There is no God but God and Mahomed is His Prophet." This Doctrine of Unity is not a mathematical formula elaborated

by abtruse thinkers, but a work-a-day belief of every Mussalman, learned or unlettered. It was to test the clearness and purity of this belief that Khalifa Umar one day turned to the congregation assembled in the mosque for the service he was conducting, asked him what they would do if he, who was by far the greatest conqueror amongst the successors of the Prophet, commanded them to do anything that was against the Commandments of God and the traditions of the Prophet; and the only proper answer for a Muslim to give to such a question was given by Hazrat Ali, who himself subsequently became the Khalifa,—that if Hazrat Omar did command such an infraction of the law of God, he, Ali, who had sworn an allegiance to him as his Khalifa, would unhesitatingly cut off his head. I believe a similar contingency arose in the course of British rule, not in India but in England, when the Puritans knocked off the head of a King who very much believed in the divine right of Kings.

"Mussalman have before this also, and elsewhere too, lived in peaceful subjection under the non-Moslem administration but the unalterable rule is and has always been that as Mussalman they can obey only such laws and orders issued by their secular rulers as do not involve disobedience to the commandments of God who, in the expressive language of the Holy Quoran, is The All Ruling Ruler. These very clear and rigidly definite limits of obedience are not laid down with regard to the authority of non-Muslim administration only. On the contrary they are of universal application, and can neither be enlarged nor reduced in any case. Neither His Highness the Nawab of Rampur, my own Sovereign, nor His Exalted Highness the Nizam, nor even His Imperial Majesty the Sultan of Turkey dare demand from his Muslim subjects obedience to such commands of his as transgress the laws of Islam. A further exposition of the principle is provided by the following among other authentic traditions of the Prophet.

"For a Mussalman to hear is to obey whether he likes what is ordained or he does not like it, provided it does not ordain aught that constitute divine disobedience. And if he is ordained aught that constitutes divine disobedience, there is neither hearing nor obedience is due in aught that constitute divine disobedience; obedience is due only to that which is righteous. The same idea is

expressed in another tradition of the Prophet the logic of which is invincible. "No obedience is due to a creature of God in aught that involves disobedience to the Creator Himself." A due warning of the ultimate consequence to which the anti-Khilafat and anti-Islamic policy of Mr. Lloyd George's Government was driving was given by the Muslims of India, by the Indian Khilafat Delegation, of which I had the honour to be the head. The last mentioned tradition was cited more than once, and also in the course of the interview which the Delegation had with him at 10, Downing Street on the 19th March 1920. There is, therefore, nothing in the action of Indian Mussalmans generally, or ourselves particularly, that should have come as a surprise to the Government. We owed a duty to God and we owed a duty to the Empire in the last resort. When the demands of the Imperial Government came into direct conflict with the demands of the universal Government of God, as Mussalmans we could only obey God and are endeavouring to do so to the best of our humble capacity. A Mussalman's affection and disaffection are alike regulated by Divine pleasure. As the prophet said "Love is in God. Hate is in God." So long as the Mussalmans of India had not been forcibly driven to believe that the British Government was the enemy of God and the enemy of Islam they remained loyal to it through thick and thin. My grandfather served it in the Mutiny. Their loyalty was carried to such a length that it was often made, and not always without reason, a reproach on them by the sister communities in India. But they have now been convinced of the hostility of the Government to their faith, as well as to their country, by the policy pursued for more than a decade by the Government with regard to Islamic States, and particularly the Khilafat, to which every Mussalman owes allegiance as a part of his creed. During the last war, which so far as the Khilafat is concerned has not yet ceased, pledges solemnly given by the Government regarding the freedom of the Holy places of Islam, which are territories and not buildings, from attack and molestation, and the retention by the Khalifa of his capital in Constantinople and of Thrace and Smyrna, have been broken with the same light-hearted ease with which the religious obligations of the Mussulmans, on the full respect for which Muslim loyalty has always been based, when they were compelled to fight against the Muslim armies

of the Khalifa. This was done even after the declaration of *Jehad*, and our terror-stricken warriors were packed off to fight in what responsible ministers themselves, including the Prime Minister and Mr. Winston Churchill, then Minister of Marine, characterised as a Crusade. That Crusade still continues, and new Christian recruits have been enlisted by the Government to carry the Crusade into the homelands of the Turks in the persons of the Greeks who became responsible for the Greek invasion of Turkey in contravention of the terms of the armistice, and it has in many ways, both open and secret, assisted the Greeks who are also responsible for the shameless and nameless atrocities which they have indubitably perpetrated on the showing of the Allied Commission of Inquiry. If Indian Mussalmans had a more effective force at their command to try conclusions with the Government, they would have been obliged to-day by the Islamic law, if they chose to remain Moslems, to declare a Holy war against it, and this dispute of ours would then have been in the course of settlement at a very different place from Khalikdana. But in the regrettable absence of such force, such of them as can arrange to leave the country are requested by the same law to migrate to a safer land where no Crown Prosecutor would molest or disquiet their religious faith, though, of course, only with a view to return to it after they had freed their country and made it safe for the undisturbed worship of God.

Crown Counsel—Section 342 C. P. Code lays down that the accused shall get the chance to make a statement explaining the evidence in the case.

Mr. Mahomed Ali—After all I am explaining my case and making the evidence clear. I demand of every Mussalman that he would do his duty towards God first, and his Sovereign next. That is the charge laid against me and I am explaining away that charge. I am making no speech. I am making a statement of religious law by which I have been bound to go. The punishment has to be given to me. Mr. Smart would not be hanged for the charge; it is I who will go to the gallows. Am I to follow God or your law? Are the Proclamations of Queen Victoria, King Edward, King George mere scraps of paper? With the resolution pertaining to the army and troops I am now dealing, I am sure there is nothing irrelevant in my statement.

“But in June 1920, the Central Khilafat Committee in accordance with the Laws of Islam and in consultation with some leading compatriots of ours of other faiths decided upon a course of action which gave the Mussalmans hope of early emancipation without having to wage war against Government or to migrate to another country. They resolved that they would, to begin with, cease to co-operate with Government, and in this way, while incidentally helping to paralyse the administration, they would no longer be a party to such hostile action as Government still continued to take against the Khilafat and Islam. This plan of Non-co-operation was based on the well-known Islamic doctrine of “Tark Mawalat” for which there is ample authority in the Holy Quoran itself, not to mention the numerous authentic traditions of the Prophet on the subject. Only a few passages from the Holy Quoran are here cited :—

“O Ye Faithful, if ye go forth to fight in defence of My religion and out of a desire to please Me, take not My foe and your foe for your friends; rushing into friendly relations with them since they deny or reject that which hath come unto you, of truth down for the Apostle and yourselves, because ye believe in God your Lord, ye privately show friendship up to them; verily I will know that which ye conceal and that which ye discover and whoever of you doth this hath already gone astray from the even path. If they get the better of you, they will be toys unto you and they will stretch forth their hands and their tongues against you with evil, and they ardently desire that ye should become once more unbelievers. Neither your kindred nor your children will avail you at all on the Day of Resurrection; God will separate you from one another and God doth behold what ye do. Ye have an excellent exemplar in Abraham and those who were with him when they said unto their people.— verily we were clear of you, and if those that ye serve besides God, we have renounced you and enmity and hatred is begun between us and you for ever until we believe in God alone except Abraham's saying unto his father, verily I will beg pardon for thee but I cannot obtain aught of God in thy behalf :

O Lord, in Thee do we trust and unto Thee do we turn and unto Thee is the eventual coming. O Lord, suffer us not to be put to trial by the unbelievers (i.e. by the terror of their persecutions) and forgive us, O Lord, for thou art the Mighty, the Wise.

God will establish friendship between yourselves and such of them as yet now hold for enemies; for God is Potent and God is inclined to forgive and be merciful. As to those who have not warred against you on account of your religion nor drove you forth out of your homelands, God forbiddeth you not to deal kindly with them and behave justly towards them, for God loveth those who act justly. But as those who have warred against you on account of your religion

and have dispossessed you of your homelands and have assisted those who drove you forth, God forbiddeth you to enter into friendship with them, and whosoever of you entereth into friendship with them, those are wrong-doers. O Ye Faithful, enter not into amity with the people against whom God is wroth; they despair of the life to come even as the Infidels despair of the Resurrection of the dwellers in graves." (Sura-i-Mumtahina, "She who is Tried," chapter 60th).

"These verses, it may be here mentioned, were revealed when, on the eve of the conquest of Mecca, a companion of the Prophet Hatebibu-i-abi-Baltaa, had by a letter which was intercepted sought to advise the Mecca infidels to be on their guard merely because he wished thereby to induce them to treat his family, which was still at Mecca, with kindness. The verse laying down a very different course of conduct with regard to the relation of Mussalmans with a different class of non-Muslims to those warring against Islam are said to have been revealed with reference to the action of Hazrat Asma, the daughter of Hazrat Abubakar and sister of the Prophet's wife Hazrat Ayesha, who had gone so far in her renunciation of her own mother who was still an Unbeliever that she had not only refused to accept the presents which her mother had brought to her but had even denied her admittance. Both these incidents indicate the rigidly fixed limits of a Muslim's relations with non-Muslims, distinguishing clearly between such non-Muslims as war against them on account of their religion and dispossess them of their homelands, and such others as do not. Since the British Government so obviously falls in the first category, co-operation or friendly relations with it is not possible for a Mussalman.

"A few more passages from the Holy Quoran will be cited here on the subject just to indicate that there is no lack of them. In Swara-Muja dilsh ("She who Disputed") in the 58th Chapter the following verses occur :—

"Hast thou not observed those who have taken for their friends a people against whom God is incensed? They are neither of you nor of them and they swear to a lie knowingly. God hath prepared for them a grievous torment; for, verily evil is what they do. They have taken their oaths for a cover and under cover of their perjuries, they have turned people aside from the path of God, wherefore a shameful torment awaiteth them. Neither their wealth nor their children shall avail them aught against God; these shall be companions of the fire i.e., dwellers in Hell: they shall abide therein for ever. On the day when God shall raise them all they will swear unto him then as they swear unto you now deeming that it will avail them. Are they not—yes

they are—the liars! Satan hath gained mastery over them, and hath caused them to forget the remembrance of God; these are Satan's Party. What? Shall not verily the Party of Satan be doomed to perdition? Verily, those who oppose God and His Apostle shall be placed among the most vile. God hath written this decree; verily I will prevail, I and My Apostle, verily God is strong and mighty. Thou shalt not find a people who believe in God and the Last Day to bear affection towards him who opposeth God and His Apostle even although they will be their fathers or their brethren or their nearest kin. On the hearts of these hath God graven the Faith, and with His own spirit hath He strengthened them and He will lead them into the gardens beneath whose shades the rivers flow to remain therein for ever: God is well pleased with them and they are well pleased with him; these are God's party and is not, of a truth, the Party of God destined to prosper!"

"Surely, in view of these passages there can be no ambiguity about a true Muslim's co-operation or non-co-operation with those who are ranged in opposition to God and His Apostles. Again in Suraj-Ali-Imran (the third chapter of the Holy Quaran entitled "The Family of Amran") the following passages occur:—

"Say; O God, Possessor of all dominion! Thou givest dominion to whom Thou wilt, and from whom Thou wilt Thou takest it away. Thou exaltest whom Thou wilt, and whom Thou wilt Thou dost abase; in Thy hand is good, verily Thou art over all things potent. Thou causest the night to pass into the day, and Thou causest the day to pass into the night. Thou bringest the living out of the dead and Thou originate the dead out of the living and givest sustenance to whom Thou wilt without measure. Let not the Faithful take infidels for their friends rather than the Faithful who shall do this hath naught to hope from God unless indeed ye entertain a dread of them; but God warneth you to beware of Himself for unto God is the eventual coming. Say, whether you hide what is in your breasts or whether ye declare it, God knoweth it; He knoweth whatever is on earth, for God is over all things potent. On the day when every soul shall find present unto it the good that it hath wrought and also the evil that it hath wrought, it shall long that between itself and that evil were wide space; and God warneth you to beware of Himself, for God is Gracious unto His servitors. Say; if ye love God, then follow me! God will love you and forgive you your sins, for God is Forgiving and Merciful. Say; obey God and the Apostle but if you go back, then verily God loveth not the Infidels..... Say; O people of the Book! why do ye reject or deny the signs of God; and God is witness of that which ye work. Say; O people of the Book, why do ye hinder him who believes from the path of God; ye seek to make it crooked and yet ye are its witnesses; but God is not unmindful of what ye do. O ye Faithful! if ye obey any party from among those who have received the Scripture they will turn back Infidels after your very faith; and how can ye become Infidels when the signs of God are recited unto you and among you is His Apostle! But who-so-ever holdeth fast by God is already guided to a straight path. O ye Faithful, fear God as He

deserveth to be feared and die not till ye also be true believers. And hold ye fast by the cord of God, all of you and break not loose from it, and remember the favour of God towards you, how that when ye were enemies He cast affection of each other into your hearts and ye became brethren by His favour; and ye were on the brink of a pit of fire and He delivered you thence: thus doth God make clear unto you His signs that ye may be guided. Let there be a people among you who invite to the Good and enjoin the Just and forbid the Wrong, and these are they who are destined to prosper. And be not like unto those who are divided and fallen into variance after manifest proofs have been brought unto them; these! A terrible torment doth await them on the Day when faces shall turn white and faces shall turn black; and as to those whose faces have turned black God will say; what, after your belief have ye become infidels? Taste then the torment for that ye have been unbelievers. And as to those whose faces shall have become white they shall be within the mercy of God; therein shall they abide for ever. These are the signs of God; we recite them unto thee in truth; and God willeth not injustice to the worlds. And to God belongeth whatever is in heaven and whatever is on earth and unto God shall all affairs return.

“O ye Faithful, contract not intimacies among others than yourselves, they spare you not the infliction of harm; they long for your ruin; hatred hath already appeared from out of their mouths but what their breasts conceal is still more inveterate; we have already made plain unto you the tokens thereof if ye will but comprehend. Behold! we love them but they love you not; ye believe in the Book, the whole of it; but when they meet you they say we believe, and when they are apart they bite their finger's ends at you in wrath; say; die in your wrath, God truly knoweth the very recesses of your breasts. If good befalleth you it grieveth them and if evil afflicteth you they rejoice in it; but if ye be steadfast and fear God their strategem shall in no way harm you; for God encompasseth whatsoever they work”.

“These passages refer directly to the People of the Book such as Jews and Christians, and they lack neither in clearness nor in emphasis nor indeed in the irrefutable logic of the arguments therein employed. I will cite here only one more passage wherein Jews and Christians are more specifically mentioned:—

“O ye Faithful! take not the Jews or the Christians for your friends; they are friends, the one to the other; but whoso among you taketh them for his friends, he surely is one of them; verily God guideth not the unjust people. So shalt thou see the diseased at heart speed away unto them and say; we fear lest we get involved in some change of fortune; but happily God will bring about the victory or some event of His own ordering; then soon shall they repent them of the imaginings they secretly harboured in their minds. Then will the Faithful say; what are these they who swore by their most fervent oath, that they wre surely with you; vain their works; and themselves shall come to

ruin. O ye Faithful ! should any of you desert His religion, God will then raise up a people whom He will love and who will love Him ; lowly towards the faithful, haughty towards the Infidels ; for the cause of God will they strive or contend (i.e. wage Jihad) and not fear the censure of any censurer ; this is the grace of God ; on whom His will He bestoweth ; and God is Vast, Omniscient. Verily your friend is God and so is His Apostle and the Faithful who keep up prayer and pay the alms of obligation and who bow down before God. And whoso take God and his Apostle and the Faithful for friends, they truly are the Party of God and the Party of God are destined to dominate. O Ye Faithful ! take not such of those who have received the scriptures before you as scoff and jest at your religion or the Infidels for your friends, but fear God if ye be Faithful. Nor those who when ye call to prayer make it an object of raillery and derision ; this they do because they are a people who understand not. Say ; O People of the Book, do ye not disavow us because we believe in God and in what hath been sent down to us and in what hath been sent down aforetime and the greater part of you are transgressors thereof ? Say ; shall I denounce unto you a worse than this deserving of the retribution which awaiteth them with God : they whom God hath cursed and with whom he hath been wroth—some of them hath he changed into apes and swines and they who serve Taghout (the Devil) they are in the worst plight and have gone far astray from the right path. When they presented themselves to you they said : we believe ; but Infidels they came in unto you and Infidels they went forth : God knoweth best what they conceal. Many of them shalt thou see hastening together to sin and transgression and to eat what is unlawfully acquired ; shame on them for what they have wrought. Hath not their Rabbis and doctors of law forbidden their uttering what is sinful and their eating of that which is unlawfully acquired ; evil indeed is that which they have wrought." (Surai-al-Maidah, the 5th Chapter of the Holy Quoran entitled "The Table," or "The food.")

"There are, besides these, many more verses in the Holy Quoran itself, not to mention the Traditions of the Prophet, every one of which forbids a Mussalman, on pain of the wrath of God and the most grievous Hell, to maintain relations of amity and friendship, much less rendering assistance to or co-operating, with such Non-Moslems as are at war with Moslems, and oppose God and his Apostle, which is precisely the case here. Indeed, so rigid is the Law of Islam in this behalf that Mussalmans are forbidden even to assist each other in aught that is unrighteous. Says the Holy Quoran : 'Assist each other in righteousness and God-fearing, but assist not each other in sin and transgression.'

"These being the limits of co-operation even among Mussalmans themselves, how is it to be supposed that co-operation will be permissible with Infidels waging war against Islam and the defenders of Islam as Government is doing to this day,

and co-operation too in waging that very war itself. Five hundred of the most distinguished Ulemas of Islam in India issued a juridical pronouncement against it months before the Karachi Khilafat Conference was even thought of by anybody in India. But all of a sudden, when the shameless effort of Government to twist our statement regarding non-violence into a recantation and abject surrender for fear of prosecution failed so ignominiously through the persistence of Mahatma Gandhi, the incidental mention of the army in the resolution of the Karachi Conference was pounced upon by Government as subsequent to the Gandhi-Reading interviews, and lo and behold! the Fatwa of the Ulemas was declared forfeited of His Majesty, after perhaps half a million copies thereof had been distributed all over India by various provincial and local bodies in addition to the central organisations themselves. Not by such tricks, I submit, can three hundred and twenty millions be ruled in the twentieth century.

“And on what is the Fatwa of these five hundred divines based? On the clearest and most emphatic commands contained in the Holy Quoran which prescribes the severest sanctions, and on the repeated testimony of the Prophet's most authentic Traditions. I do not think I can do better than cite both without argument or comment of my own, for none is really necessary.

“Here are some six passages from the Holy Quoran :—

1. “It is not for one of the Faithful to kill another but by mischance”—and there-after follow the severe penances prescribed even in cases of such mischance. (Sura-i-Nisa, Chapter IV.)

2. “But whoever shall kill one of the Faithful wilfully, his recompense shall be Hell; for ever shall he abide therein; God shall be wroth with him, and shall curse him, and hath prepared for him a great torment.” (Idem.)

3. “O ye Faithful! devour not each other's substance falsely except that it be trading among you by your own consent; and kill not your own people, verily God is unto you Merciful. And whoever shall do this of malice and wrongfully, we will soon cast him in fire, for unto God is this easy. If ye shun the great things that are forbidden we will blot out your faults, and we will lead you into Paradise with honourable entry.” (Idem)

4. After renouncing the story of the first killing, the murder of a brother by a brother, the crime of Cain, in spite of Abel's declaration of his own doctrine of non-violence, the doctrine of every Moslem in like

circumstances : "Even if thou stretch forth thy hand against me to slay me I will not stretch forth my hand against thee to slay thee ; verily, I fear God the Lord of the Worlds." The Quran says "For this have we ordained unto the children of Israel that whoever slayeth another soul unless it be for man-slaughter or for spreading disorder in the land, it is as though he saved all mankind : and whoever saveth a life, it is as though he saved all mankind alive" (Sura-i-Maidah chapter V)".

5 "And (the servitors of the Beneficent God are) they who call on no other gods with God, nor slay the soul God hath forbidden to be slain, except for just cause, and commit not fornication, for he who doth this shall meet the reward of sin (that part of Hell which is known as Asam) Doubled unto him shall he remain disgraced for ever" [Sura-i-al-Furqan Chapter XXV]

"And slay not a soul whom God hath forbidden you to slay except for just cause [Sura-i-Bani-Israel, Chapter XVII]

"If we turn to the Traditions of the Prophet—they are so numerous and each and every one of them so clear and emphatic that it becomes exceedingly difficult which to choose and which to leave out. Nevertheless I shall attempt a selection, and the following should suffice. The first cited here being the Tradition that explains what alone is "just cause" for which a Moslem is permitted to slay another.

(1) "Shedding a Moslem blood is not permissible except in three cases, when life is taken for a life, as punishment for adultery, and as punishment for a renegade deserting his side."

(This is to be found in the most authentic collections of Bukhari, Moslem, Tirmizi, Abu Daud, Nasai and others.)

(2) "A Moslem is he from whose tongue and hand a Moslem remained immune." (Bukhari B, Moslem M, Abu Daud A. D. Tirmizi T &c.)

(3) "To abuse a Moslem is wrong doing, and to war against him is INFIDELITY ('kufi') B. M. T. A. D. Nassai-N. Ibu-i-Maja IM.)

(4) "He who bore arms against us is not from among us," i.e. is not a Moslem any longer, [B. M. T. A. D.]

5. "Even if the inhabitants of all the heavens and all the earths were accessories in the slaying of a single Moslem, God will certainly push them all into the Fire." [T : Behaqi-BQ Tibrani-TB]

6. "Whoso assisteth in the slaying of a Moslem even with half a word, shall meet God with this written between his eye : "Despaiser from God's Mercy [i. e. he shall receive no portion of God's abounding Mercy [IM : BQ : Asbahani].

7. "The murder of a Moslem is greater in the sight of God than the disappearance [i. e. destruction] of the world [N:BQ]

8. "The disappearance of the world [i. e. destruction] is a lighter matter to God than the murder of a Moslem, [M:N:T:IM]

9. God may, it is to be hoped, forgive every sin, but not the man who died while still an Infidel, nor the man who killed a Moslem wilfully." [AD; Ibu-i-Haban. N: Hakim]

10. "Whoso killed a Moslem without discriminating between killing for just cause or without it, God will accept from him neither his discharge of obligatory duties nor optional devotion." [AD.]

11. "Every Moslem's life and honour and property are haram [unlawful, forbidden] for every other Moslem." [M]

12. "There are seven doors to Hell, one of which is for those who draw sword on my followers." [T]

13. The major sins are associating another with God, disobedience towards parents, slaying of a soul that is forbidden and perjury. [B. M. &.]

14. "Let him who can see to it that there is not between him and heaven even a handful of a Moslem's blood even as much as a fowl's which is killed for food, for whensoever such a man will present himself before any of the gates of Paradise, God will interpose Himself between Him and Paradise." [T. B. B. Q]

15. "Whoso went forth drawing his sword against my followers, striking alike the good and the bad, sparing neither the Faithful nor those in alliance with them literally, nor fulfilling the pledge in the case of those to whom pledge was given, is not of me nor am I of him. [i. e. he is not a Moslem and the Prophet too has no concern with him.] [M]

16. "When two Mussalmans quarrel with each other and use their swords both the slayer and the slain shall be cast into the Fire. When the people said : O, Prophet of God, the reason for the slayer being cast into the Fire is plain but why the slain as well? The Prophet replied : "Because he had intended to kill his companion." [MBT &c.]

"I will cite two more Traditions which I have purposely left out hitherto because they need special emphasis. Ibn-i Maja gives the following HADEES related by that Prince of Traditionists, Hazrat Abdullah, son of Hazrat Omar :—

"I saw the Prophet of God ^{circumambulating} the Ka'ba saying the while : "How good art thou [O Ka'ba], and how good is thy air ! How great art thou, and how great is thy sanctity ! But by the Lord in whose hand is the touj of Mohamed, CERTAINLY THE SANCTITY OF ONE OF THE FAITHFUL IN THE SIGHT OF GOD IS GREATER THAN THINE OWN, THE SANCTITY OF HIS GOODS AND OF HIS BLOOD !—

"And this Infidel Government prosecutes six Mussalmans and a Hindu of recognised sanctity for calling upon Mussalmans to respect the sanctity of Moslem life and Moslem property that is greater than the sanctity of the Holy of Holies, after having outraged the sanctity of both !

"The last Tradition that I am going to cite here is the last word of the last of the Prophets on this subject. Only three months before he passed away, closing for ever the chapter of Divine Revelation, he went on his last pilgrimage to Mecca where about 175,000 people accompanied him ; addressing those assembled multitudes on the day of the Haj, he asked

them what day it was, and the people understanding that he could not be unaware of that and was asking it only to emphasise the importance of the occasion answered, God and the Prophet of God know best. Then he asked what month it was and they answered in like manner. Finally he asked them what city it was and they answered as before. Then said the Prophet and it is related in all the collections of his Traditions and in books of history and in his biographies:—
 "Beware in truth, your blood and your goods and your honour are *haram* (religiously forbidden) unto you like the *haram* of this day in this city and in month. Beware, turn ye not into infidels after me *cutting off the necks of each others.*" It is to this infidelity that Government still continues to invite Moslem soldiers, and when we remind them of this solemn warning of the Prophet on so solemn an occasion, a Government which desire us to disregard even the Prophet's dying injunction regarding the elimination of all non-Moslem control from the Jezirat-ul-Arab, prosecutes us, in spite of all the Proclamation of all British Sovereigns who have solemnly disclaimed alike the right and the desire of imposing their own convictions on us.

"I will only mention one fact which should bring the law of Islam home to all. The Sepoy Mutiny after which the Queen's Proclamation was issued had originated with greased cartridges in which cow's and swine's grease was believed to be mixed. But Islamic law, according to the best authorities which I can cite, not only permits a Moslem to take swine's flesh if he is in case of *refusal* threatened with death, but lays it down he would die a sinner if he refused it, but if he is threatened with death unless he slays another Moslem *he must refuse*—He may, in like circumstances, even resent Islam, if he continues to be believer at heart; but *he must not slay a Moslem.* And yet a Government which is so tender as to ask soldiers before enlistment whether they object to vaccination or even re-vaccination, would compel a Moslem to do something worse than apostasise or eat pork. If there is any value in the boast of toleration and in the Proclamations of three Sovereigns, then we have performed religious and legal duty in calling upon Muslim soldiers in these circumstances to withdraw from the army, and are neither sinners nor criminals."

The trial ended on November 1st. 1921. The charges against the accused were (1) the major charge under section 120B read with section 131 i.e., being parties to a criminal conspiracy to seduce Mussalman officers and soldiers in His Majesty's Army from their duty; and (2) the minor charge under section 505 read with sections 109 and 107 i.e. with making a statement or abetting in the same with intent or likely to cause Mussalman officers and soldiers in the army to disregard or fail in their duty. The minimum punishment provided by the sections are transportation for life under the first set, if it was held that there was a conspiracy to attempt to seduce troops; and if it was held that the leaflets were not sent by any member of the conspiracy in pursuance of that conspiracy, the maximum punishment would then be seven years' rigorous imprisonment. Under the second set of charges the punishment provided are 2 and 3 years respectively.

The Karachi Resolution

The prosecution relied mainly on the second paragraph of the following resolution passed at the Khilafat Conference in Karachi on July 9th. 1921 :—

"This meeting of the All-India Khilafat Conference heartily congratulates Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha and the Angora Government upon their magnificent victories and the success of their most desperate (or self-sacrificing) endeavours in upholding the laws of Islam and this meeting prays to Almighty God that they may soon succeed in expelling the whole of the armies of the foreign Governments from every nook and corner of the Turkish Empire.

"In addition this meeting clearly proclaims that it is in every way religiously unlawful for a Mussalman at the present moment to continue in the British Army or to induce others to join the army and it is the duty of all the Mussalman in general and the Ulemas in particular to see that these religious commandments are brought home to every Mussalman in the Army.

"Furthermore this meeting also announces that if the British Government were to take any military measures against the Angora Government, directly or indirectly, openly or secretly, then the Mussalman of India will be compelled to commence the breaking of laws, that is civil disobedience, with the concurrence of the Congress and to proclaim in the forthcoming annual session of Congress, to be held at Ahmedabad, the complete independence of India and the Indians and the establishment of a Republic for the government of India."

Addressing the jury, the Judge said that the jury must dismiss from their minds anything which might have appeared

in the papers about the Khilafat agitation. The accused were not being tried for being members of the Khilafat Association, and there was no evidence before the court as to their responsibility for the deplorable events in Malabar. They must not allow themselves to be swayed by external or personal considerations or sympathies or the threat of assassination of Mr. Shaukat Ali if certain demands of his were not granted by the Government. They must not acquit him or the other accused on account of fear even if it would shorten their allotted span of life by one moment. Some of the accused seemed learned and pious men and all seemed esteemed citizens to whom the country would owe much if they followed the right path, and Islam and the Empire and this country might have been profited by them had they not taken up the attitude they had done. Yet they could not but deeply regret that some of the accused were at the bar in this court instead of being high in the service or the councils of His Majesty. They must not, however, let that make them swerve from the path of duty according to the law of the land and the evidence before the court. Nor were they in any way to be swayed by their feelings as to the Turkish question; some of them might think that Turkey had had hard knocks given to her, they might sympathise with those who felt aggrieved for the Khilafat.

The Verdict of the Jury

The Jury then retired to consider their verdict and returned after an absence of two hours and a half. A large and expectant crowd had now gathered in the court anxious to hear the end of the case. The verdict of the jury was unanimous in holding all the accused **not guilty under the two conspiracy charges**, that is, the first two charges under section 120 B read with section 131. while four of the jurors held that accused number one was guilty under section 505 and accused numbers two to five and number seven guilty under section 505 with section 109. They also found accused number one guilty under section 117 I. P. C. and accused numbers two to five and number seven guilty under section 117 read with section 109.

The fifth juror returned a verdict of "not guilty" against all accused.

With regard to accused number 6, Bharaty Krishna Tirthaji, the jury unanimously held him not guilty, giving him the benefit of doubt.

The sentence pronounced by the judge was that he was not inclined to disagree with the verdict of the majority of the assessors. He acquitted accused number six, Bharati Krishna Tirthaji, on all the charges and convicted all the remaining six accused on the charges in accordance with the verdict of the assessors and sentenced them each to two years' rigorous imprisonment on each of the charges, the sentences to run concurrently in all cases.

No sooner was the sentence delivered than a tumult broke out and the court at once ceased to be a court any longer, though the judge still continued seated on the bench. Uproarious cries of *Mahatma Gandhi ki Jai* and *Moulana Mahomed Ali ki Jai* were raised and the whole crowd made a rush around the accused. Mr. Mahomed Ali got up and raising his voice above the din shouted that they would be free men under Swaraj before the expiry of the sentence. After a minute he added, addressing the judge: Let me tell you extrajudicially that the opinion you expressed on the religious questions are wrong.

The scene outside the court premises was one of similar excitement but on a very large scale. Thousands of people who had been waiting for hours to hear the sentence, made a rush forward and began wildly to cheer the prison-van as it disappeared out of sight. The acquitted Swami was next the object of attraction. A party of Hindus and Mahomedans equipped with the paraphernalia requisite for taking the Swami in procession was waiting outside in readiness as they had anticipated his acquittal. This party was admitted into the court premises at once and the Swami was taken in procession through the streets followed by large cheering crowds. A meeting to be presided over by the Swami and to be held on the Idgah maidan was announced on the spot. The demonstrations of the crowds in the streets were by no means of a hostile nature and they were very tactfully handled by the police, but the provision of a barricade of barbed wire around the court premises and having a large force of police in readiness served a very useful purpose in dealing with the crowd.

The All-India Congress Committee

DELHI, NOVEMBER 4TH. 1921.

Subsequently the sedition charge against Mr. Ali was withdrawn. The trial conveyed to the public the impression that Govt. had failed to prove the charge ; the main charges broke down though the accused refused to defend themselves knowing that justice was not to be expected. On November 7th. Mr. Yakub Hassan was similarly sentenced to 2 yrs. at Tanjore, and other convictions of persecuted moslem divines covered the land (see chronology).

On November 4th. the great Delhi meeting of the All-India Congress Committee came in. It had two important tasks before it : one, to compose the threatening split inside the Congress camp over the Nehru-Acharyar controversy, and second, to allay the surging tide of feeling of the more extreme non-co-operators, especially the 'Young Moslems', to launch into civil disobedience at once.

The first involved some constitutional question upon which Mr. Achariar, the president, had ruled that the calling of the meeting was not in order and Mr. Nehru, the Secretary, regarded that ruling as ultra-vires. The discussion commenced on Mahatma Gandhi's motion endorsing the action of Pt. Motilal Nehru as against that of the president in carrying out the resolution of the Working Committee convening that meeting and also endorsing the resolutions of the Working Committee regarding complaints of irregularity about the last elections to the All-India Congress Committee in Bengal and Madras. The resolutions referred to advised the aggrieved parties in Bengal and Madras to co-operate with their Provincial organisations and opined that the adoption of the method of single transferable vote in the matter of election of delegates to the Congress be left to the option of the Provincial Congress Committees. Mr. Gandhi appealed to the members to set aside all differences and recognise the position that stared them in the face in the country. He said the committee had to give its verdict as to whether after having armed the Working Committee with all the powers, it was not

the elementary right of the Working Committee to call together a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee. After hearing Mr. Gandhi the members agreed with his view and then the following resolution was passed :—

“The All-India Congress Committee endorses the resolution of the Working Committee convening this meeting of the All-India Congress Committee and also endorses the resolution of the Working Committee regarding complaints about last elections to the All-India Congress Committee at its meeting held in Bombay on the 2nd August and in Calcutta on the 7th September.”

Next the question of civil disobedience was taken up, and before adjournment the Committee took one step forward on the non-co-operation programme by sanctioning a limited form of civil disobedience including the non-payment of taxes, which, in the words of Mahatma Gandhi, declared an open but peaceful revolution, and was in fact the key resolution of this sitting. The debate was very lively and some stern fight was set up by several speakers to liberate the resolution from the many restrictions which Mahatma Gandhi had placed in their way. The proceedings revealed a decided and advanced opinion in favour of full-fledged civil disobedience, but in almost every case the opposition slowly died down.

Mr. Gandhi in moving the resolution outlined the course all provincial organisations should follow and said that India had during the last ten months made a tremendous head-way. If they were simply to gauge the quantity of progress, there was every reason to feel proud of it, but if he was asked to say whether it was sufficient for the removal of the triple disease that they were suffering from, then he had to confess that it fell far short of the requirements. Hence the necessity of repetition and emphasis of all vital items of the programme of non-co-operation so far sanctioned, particularly those mentioned in the resolution on civil disobedience. They were prepared to give no quarter to the Government and should expect none. The bigger the injustice and hardships they were put to, the greater the patience and unflinching determination they observed, the sooner would Swaraj come. Mr. Gandhi defined civil disobedience as a civil resolution which, wherever practised, would mean an end of Government authority and open defiance of the Government and its laws. It was a gigantic step and although provincial autonomy was being granted to provincial organisations in this matter, he advised all to wait before launching on it and

see what he did, if it was at all possible, in his own district of Gujrat, and after seeing the result they should follow his example, which should open the eyes of the whole world to their wonderful achievement. He knew that at that time mass civil disobedience was impossible, and he would be quite satisfied if in such a big continent only one tahsil or district fully prepared should practise it rather than the whole unprepared masses should partake in it. He advised caution, and reiterated his warning that in view of the gigantic step which the resolution allowed, nothing should be done without a full recognition of the realities, so that once a step was taken there should be no tracing back.

When Mahatma Gandhi concluded his opening speech amendments were rushed forth from all sides, and the chairman was obliged to take the resolution part by part and dispose of all the amendments. The main purpose underlying all these amendments was to secure relaxation in the conditions which would in fact mean the postponement of civil disobedience for some months, and in certain cases make its declaration impracticable. The main bone of contention was that the conditions that individuals practising civil disobedience should know the art of hand-spinning and that the district or tahsil launching on it should be self-contained in the matter of clothing its own population, the majority of which should be wearing hand-spun and hand-woven cloth, were impossible for universal practice. These amendments were brought forward by Maulana Hasrat Mohani, and Chowdhuri Rambhuj Dutt characterised the limitations as impracticable. Those who supported these amendments contended that supposing any individual or tract were ready in every other respect except the full-fledged Swadeshi as defined in the resolution, it would mean that all their sacrifices would be nil when compared with one Swadeshi requirement which unfortunately, due to circumstances over which they had no control, it was difficult for them to fulfil. Unless these restrictions were removed the motion would virtually mean indefinite postponement of civil disobedience, while they had only 6 weeks left to win the Swaraj, or die, or go to jail in the attempt. Moreover, economically the condition was ill contrived, for all the districts could never be self-contained.

Mahatma Gandhi, and the supporters of his view, emphasised

ed that having pledged, and believing, that it was only through complete fulfilment of the Swadeshi programme that they could attain Swaraj, it would now be laying the axe at the very root of the edifice so far built if they were to omit strict compliance with the Swadeshi programme. It was much better to have only one tahsil or one district in the whole of India practice civil disobedience, rather than the entire country, while unprepared for it.

Maulana Hasrat Mohani pointed out the danger of starting civil disobedience in one particular place, for Government could concentrate its repression on that place. Unless the disobedience was simultaneous, no end would be gained.

After a very heated discussion, in course of which it was not certain on which side the scale might turn, all the amendments except one, which wanted to substitute Indian cloth in place of hand spun and hand-woven were defeated by a large majority. This amendment was also defeated but by a narrow majority. Upon this Mahatma Gandhi emphasised that they should arrive at a conclusion which they should feel as right and which they should earnestly and sincerely try to put into practice. A casual suggestion, emanating probably from a member, offered as a compromise that at the end of the resolution a proviso be added authorising the Working Committee to relax conditions in any case, when it was amply satisfied that such relaxation was justified in the exceptional circumstances of the case. This suggestion was heartily welcomed by all and reduced the opposition almost to nil, only a couple of voices still persisting in their claim. The debate revealed that there was an ever-growing opinion among the Committee who could not tolerate any postponement of civil disobedience and were anxious that it should be launched immediately. Of the three other minor resolutions that were passed, the second one reiterated the famous Karachi resolution on the withdrawal of soldiers from Govt. service.

The following are the resolutions as passed :—

The All India Congress Committee, while regarding progress so far made in swadeshi as encouraging, is of opinion that enough progress has not been made all round and calls upon workers throughout India to devote their exclusive attention to the completion of boycott of foreign yarn and cloth and to the manufacture of hand-spun yarn and hand-woven cloth, so as to enable the country to offer universal civil disobedience if necessary.

The All-India Congress Committee endorses the resolution passed by the Working Committee regarding the duty of all Government employees, whether civilians or soldiers, and is of opinion that it is the inherent right of a citizen to pronounce his opinion upon the advisability or otherwise of the Government servants leaving civil or military service, and it is the inherent right of every citizen to appeal in an open manner to a soldier or civilian to sever his connection with a Government which has forfeited the confidence and support of the vast majority of the population of India.

The All-India Congress Committee congratulates the Non-Co-operators who have been arrested or imprisoned in the country, and is of opinion that their sufferings will hasten the attainment of the country's purpose.

The Civil Disobedience Resolution

Whereas there is not much over one month for the fulfilment of the National determination to establish Swaraj before the end of the year, and whereas the Nation has demonstrated its capacity for exemplary self-restraint by observing perfect non-violence over the arrest and imprisonment of the Ali Brothers and other leaders, and whereas it is desirable for the Nation to demonstrate its capacity for further suffering and discipline sufficient for the attainment of Swaraj, the All-India Congress Committee authorises every Province on its own responsibility to undertake civil disobedience, including non-payment of taxes in the manner that may be considered the most suitable by respectable Congress Committees, subject to the following conditions :

[1] In the event of individual civil disobedience, the individual must know handspinning and must have completely fulfilled that part of the programme which is applicable to him or her, *E. G.*,—

he or she must have entirely discarded the use of foreign cloth and adopted only hand-spun and hand woven garments ;

must be a believer in Hindu-Muslim unity and in unity between all communities professing different religions in India as an article of faith ;

must believe in non-violence as absolutely essential for the redress of the Khilafat and Punjab wrongs and the attainment of Swaraj and, if a Hindu, must, by his personal conduct, show that he regards untouchability as a blow upon Nationalism.

[2] In the event of mass civil disobedience, a District or Tahsil should be treated as a unity, and therein a vast majority of the population must have adopted full Swadeshi, and must be clothed out of cloths hand-spun and hand-woven in that District or Tahsil, and must believe in and practise all other items of Non-Co-operation.

Provided that no civil resisters should expect to be supported out of public funds, and the members of the family of civil resisters undergoing sentence will be expected to support themselves by carding, handspinning and hand-weaving or any other means. Provided further that upon application by any Provincial Congress Committee, it is open to the Working Committee to relax the conditions for civil disobedience after it is satisfied that any condition should be waived.

THE ARRIVAL OF

The Prince of Wales

BOMBAY, NOVEMBER 17TH. 1921

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales landed in Bombay on November 17th. The Prince, England's beloved Prince, the common object of pride and joy to the Englishman wherever he is, was received with the ceremony and attention which his rank demands from high officers of the Government. And the gorgeous proceedings were in harmony with the occasion. From the day previous the ships of the East India squadron lay collected in array, bedecked with flags and fastoons, at the harbour. The *H. M. S. Kenown* carrying the Prince slowly steamed in about 8 in the morning and the Prince landed shortly after 10 A. M.

His Royal Highness was received by the Viceroy and the Governor of Bombay and was then taken in procession to a pavilion close by where were assembled all the great Ruling Chiefs and Princes of India who had come all the way to Bombay to pay obsequious homage to the Heir to the British Throne. After the ceremony of presentations H. R. H. was then conducted to the dais in the Amphitheatre where he took his seat, and immediately after, taking a paper from the hand of Lord Cromer, said: 'I have a message from my father and it is this.' The Prince then read the King's Message.

The King's Message to India

"On this day, when my son lands for the first time upon your shores, I send through him my greetings to you, the Princes and People of India. His coming is a token and a renewal of the pledges of affection which it has been the heritage of our house to re-affirm to you. My father when Prince of Wales counted it his privilege to see, and seeing to understand, the Great Empire in the East over which it was his destiny to rule

and I recall with thankfulness and pride that when he was called to the Throne, it fell to me to follow his illustrious example. But I have the same hope and in this same spirit my son is with you to-day. The thought of his arrival brings with a welcome vividness to my mind the happy memories I have stored of what I myself have learned in India: its charm and beauty, its immemorial history, its noble monuments and, above all, the devotion of India and its faithful people, since proved as if by fire, in their response to the Empire's call in the hour of its greatest need. These memories will ever be with me as I trace his steps. My heart is with him as he moves among you and with mine the heart of the Queen-Empress whose love for India is no less than my own.

"To friends, whose loyalty we and our fathers have treasured, he brings this message of trust and hope—my sympathy in all that passes in your lives is unabating. During recent years my thoughts have been yet more constantly with you. Throughout the civilised world the foundations of social order have been tested by war and change. Wherever citizenship exists, it has had to meet the test, and India, like other countries, has been called to face new and special problems of her own. For this task her armoury is in the new powers of her own—powers and new responsibilities with which she has been equipped. That with the help of those, aided by Lord Reading's guidance of my Government and its officers, you will bring these problems to an issue worthy of your historic past and of happiness for your future, that all disquietings will vanish in well-ordered progress, is my earnest wish and my confident belief. Your anxieties and your rejoicings are my own. In all that may touch your happiness, in all that gives you hope and promotes your welfare, I feel with you in the spirit of sympathy.

"My son has followed from afar your fortunes. It is now his ambition by coming among you to ripen goodwill into a yet fuller understanding. I trust and believe that when he leaves your shores your hearts will follow him and by his stay with you one link more will be added to the golden chain of sympathy which for these many years has held my Throne to India. And it is my warmest prayer that wisdom and contentment growing hand in hand will lead India into ever increasing national greatness within a free Empire—the Empire for

which I labour and for which, if it be the divine will, my son shall labour after me."

The Municipal Address

This over, the address presented by the Municipal Corporation of Bombay was then read out by Sir Sassoon David. In the course of the address the Corporation said that the political advancement of India was accelerated by the war which had shattered old ideas and ideals. The inevitable result was that there was a great diversity of opinion in the body politic and many believed that the country was already ripe for a more democratic form of government. The Corporation therefore trusted that the Prince's voice would still the voice of discord and leave an atmosphere of mutual understanding and good-will. In the reply, however, which His Royal Highness made to the address there was no mention of his being the "harbinger of peace". The passage in his speech which touched the audience home was this: "Coming from the West to the East, as a young man, to this ancient vast country, I feel some awe at the difficulty which I may experience in getting to know India. But I am fortified by the thought that sympathy begets knowledge and my sympathy with India has been aroused since my childhood."

After this function the Prince drove in state to Govt. House, and the Royal procession was lustily cheered by the thousands of sightseers who crowded the streets which were lavishly decorated and lined by troops.

The Counter-Demonstration.

In marked contrast to the large crowds mainly composed of Europeans, Eurasians, Parsis and the wealthy resident of Bombay which assembled to cheer the Prince along the route of the Royal Procession, there was a huge public meeting at the opposite end of the town where Mr. Gandhi addressed the audience to boycott all official functions in connection with the Prince's reception, and a huge bon-fire was made of a pile of foreign cloth. From the previous day thousands of placards were displayed at every nook and corner of the city appealing in the name of Gandhi for a boycott of the Prince's visit. During the morning the tram-cars were running and the mills were working. Within a few hours,

however, all this stopped and swelling crowds rushed into the streets, declared hartal and joined the boycott meeting at the beach. What followed next is given in the Mahatma's own language.

"The reputation of Bombay, the hope of my dreams, was being stained yesterday even whilst in my simplicity I was congratulating her citizens upon their non-violence in the face of grave provocation. For, the volunteers with their captain were arrested during the previous night for pasting posters under authority on private property. The posters advised the people to boycott the welcome to the Prince. They were destroyed. The Swaraj Sabha's office was mysteriously entered into and the unused posters, so far as I am aware, not declared unlawful, were also removed. The Prince's visit itself and the circumstances attending the ceremonials arranged and the public money wasted for the manufacture of a welcome to His Royal Highness constituted an unbearable provocation. And yet Bombay had remained self-restrained. This, I thought, was a matter for congratulation. The burning of the pile of foreign cloth was an eloquent counter-demonstration to the interested official demonstration. Little did I know that, at the very time that the Prince was passing through the decorated route and the pile of foreign cloth was burning in another part of the city, the mill-hands were in criminal disobedience of the wishes of their masters employing them, first one and then the others, by force; that a swelling mob was molesting the peaceful passengers in the tram-cars and holding up the tram traffic; and that it was forcibly depriving those that were wearing foreign caps or their head-dresses and pelting inoffensive Europeans. As the day went up, the fury of the mob, now intoxicated with its success, rose also. They burnt tram-cars and a motor, smashed liquor shops, and burnt them too.

"I heard of the outbreak at about one o' clock. I motored with some friends to the area of disturbance and heard the most painful and the most humiliating story of molestation of Parsi sisters. Some few were assaulted and even had their *saris* torn from them. No one among a crowd of over fifteen hundred who had surrounded my car denied the charge as a Parsi with hot rage and quivering lips was with the greatest

deliberation relating the story. An elderly Parsi gentleman said : "Please save us from the mob rule."

"This news of the rough handling of Parsi sisters pierced me like a dart. I felt that my sisters and daughters had been hurt by a violent mob. Yes, some Parsis had joined the welcome. They had a right to hold their own view, free of molestation. There can be no coercion in Swaraj. The Moplah fanatic who forcibly converts a Hindu believes that he is acquiring religious merit. A Non-co-operator or his associate who uses coercion has no apology whatsoever for his criminality.

"As I reached the two Tanks I found, too, a liquor shop smashed and 2 policemen badly wounded and lying unconscious on cots without anybody caring for them, and alighted. Immediately the crowd surrounded me and yelled "Mahatma Gandhi-ki-jai". That sound usually grates on my ears, but it has grated never so more as it did yesterday, when the crowd, unmindful of the two sick brethren, chocked me with the shout at the top of their voices. I rebuked them and they were silent. Water was brought for the two wounded men. I requested two of my companions and some from the crowd to take the dying policemen to the Hospital.

"I proceeded then to the scene, a little further up, where I saw a fire rising. There were two tram-cars which were burnt by the crowd. On returning I witnessed a burning motor-car. I appealed to the crowd to disperse, told them that they had damaged the cause of the Khilafat, the Punjab and Swaraj. I returned sick at heart and in a chastened mood.

"At about 5 a few brave Hindu young men came to report that in Bhindi Bazar the crowd was molesting every passer-by who had a foreign cap on and even seriously beating him if he refused to give up his cap. A brave old Parsi who defied the crowd and would not give up his *pugri* was badly handled. Moulana Azad Sobhani and I went to Bhindi Bazar and reasoned with the crowd. We told them that they were denying their religion by hurting innocent men. The crowd made a show of dispersing. The police were there, but they were exceedingly restrained. We went further on and retracing our steps, found to our horror a liquor shop on fire. Even the fire brigade was obstructed in its work. Thanks to the

efforts of Pandit Nekiram Kharan and others, all inmates of the shop were able to come out.

Nature of the crowd.

"The crowd did not consist of hooligans or only of boys. It was not an unintelligent crowd. They were not all mill-hands. It was essentially a mixed crowd, unprepared and unwilling to listen to anybody. For the moment it had lost its head, and it was not a crowd but several crowds numbering in all less than twenty thousand. It was bent upon mischief and destruction.

"I heard that there was firing resulting in deaths, and that in the Anglo-Indian quarters every one who passed with Khaddar on came in for hard beating if he did not put off his Khaddar cap or shirt. I heard that many were seriously injured. I am writing this in the midst of six Hindu and Mussalman workers who have just come in with broken heads and bleeding and one with a broken nasal bone and another lacerated wounds and in danger of losing his life. They went to Parel led by Maulana Azad Sobhani and Moazzam Ali to pacify the mill-hands, who, it was reported, were holding up the tram-cars there. The workers, however, were enabled to proceed to their destination. They returned with their bleedings to speak for themselves.

Civil Disobedience.

"Thus the hope of reviving mass civil disobedience has once more been dashed, in my opinion, to pieces. The atmosphere for mass civil disobedience is absent. It is not enough that such an atmosphere is to be found in Bardoli and therefore it may go on side by side with the violence in Bombay. This is impossible. Neither Bardoli nor Bombay can be treated as separate unconnected units. They are parts of one great indivisible whole. It was possible to isolate Malabar, it was also possible to disregard Malegaon. But it is not possible to ignore Bombay. Non-Co-operators cannot escape the liability. It is true that Non-Co-operators were ceaselessly remonstrating everywhere with the people at considerable risk to themselves to arrest or stop the mischief and that they are responsible for saving many precious lives. But that is not enough for launching on civil disobedience or

to discharge them from liability for the violence that has taken place. We claim to have established a peaceful atmosphere *i. e.* to have attained by our non-violence sufficient control over the people to keep their violence under check. We have failed when we ought to have succeeded, for yesterday was a day of our trial. We were under our pledge bound to protect the person of the Prince from any harm or insult and we broke that pledge inasmuch as any one of us insulted or injured a single European or any other who took part in the welcome to the Prince. They were as much entitled to take part in the welcome as we were to refrain.

"Nor can I shirk my own personal responsibility. I am more instrumental than any other in bringing into being the spirit of revolt. I find myself not fully capable of controlling and disciplining that spirit. I must do penance for it. For me the struggle is essentially religious. I believe in fasting and prayer, and I propose henceforth to observe every Monday a 24 hours' fast till Swaraj is obtained.

"The Working Committee will have to devote its attention to the situation and consider, in the light thereof, whether mass civil disobedience can be at all encouraged, until we have obtained complete control over the masses. I have personally come deliberately to the conclusion that mass civil disobedience cannot be started for the present. I confess my inability to conduct a campaign of civil disobedience to a successful issue unless a completely non-violent spirit is generated among the people.

"I am sorry for the conclusion. It is a humiliating confession of my incapacity, but I know that I shall appear more pleasing to my Maker by being what I am instead of appearing to be what I am not. If I can have nothing to do with the organised violence of the Government, I can have less to do with the unorganised violence of the people. I would prefer to be crushed between the two."

The Bombay Riot

For full five days the riot went on. There were Parsi mob in the Parsi quarter, Moslem mob in the Moslem quarter, Christian and Anglo Indian mob in their own quarter, and to crown all the monster mob of mill-hands in the Mill-quarter of the town. The surging mob-fury now rushed

this way and that, uncontrollable, mad, reckless of what they did, and fair Bombay was given up to an orgy of communal warfare. The first day the mill-hands had the upper hand. Next day it was the Parsis, Jews, Christians and Anglo-Indians that became aggressors. The Parsis, infuriated at the treatment of their women and children, came out in the streets armed with guns, lathis and bamboos and belaboured whoever came in their way—not excepting their own kinsmen who happened to have khadder and Gandbi cap on. Europeans and Jews also took the law unto themselves—it was widely rumoured that they were supplied with arms and ammunition—and by way of retaliation mercilessly injured Hindu and Moslem passers by. As a result there was another mob rising which was quickly quelled by military and police fire. Many men were killed, including one European, and a couple of hundreds were badly injured. Several grog-shops were burnt, a Parsi-temple was set fire to, and immense damage was done to shops. Moslem and Hindu leaders who were out to pacify the fighting mobs, including Messrs Jayakar, Sathay, Mehta, Banker, Desai, Azad Sobhani, and many Khilafat workers, and even Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, were badly molested by the Parsis and Anglo-Indians. At Mahatma Gandhi's place score of Congress volunteers who had gone in the thick of the fighting to stop it by persuasion lay with mangled bodies and limbs. Gradually, however, the city sobered down. Mahatma Gandhi, who had vowed to abstain from any food till the violence stopped, fell ill, while influential Hindus, Parsis, Moslems and Christians were on daily round, going over the disturbed area, pacifying the people. The military admirably co-operated with the leaders and allowed them to pacify and disperse the mob before firing. As a result of the outbreak, some of the minor official functions in connection with the Prince's visit had to be dropped, and the Viceroy and staff were detained in Bombay for a day. At last on the 21st November peace was restored and Mahatma Gandhi issued another appeal, so characteristic of him, and one which has drawn so much attention of late, addressed to the rioters. Said he :—

“To the Hooligans of Bombay

“The most terrible mistake I have made is that I thought Non-co-operators had acquired an influence over you, that you

had understood the relative value and political wisdom of non-violence, though not the moral necessity of it. I had thought that you had sufficiently understood the interest of your country not to meddle with the movement to its detriment and that, therefore, you would have wisdom enough not to give way to worst passions ; but it cut me to the quick to find that you have used mass awakening for your own lust, for plunder, rapine and even indulging in your worst animal appetite.

Whether you call yourself a Hindu, Mahomedan, Parsi, Christian or Jew, you have certainly failed to consider even your own religious interests. Some of my friends would, I know, accuse me of ignorance of human nature, but I know that I had no difficulty in controlling even Indian hooligans in South Africa. I was able, because I had succeeded in approaching them through co-workers where I had no personal contact with them. In your case, I see, we have failed to reach you. I don't believe you to be incapable of responding to the noble call of religion and country. See what you have done. Hindu and Mussalman hooligans have violated the sanctity of Parsi Temples and they have exposed their own to a similar risk from the wrath of Parsi hooligans. Because some Parsis have chosen to partake in the welcome to the Prince, the Hindu and Mussalman hooligans have rudely, roughly, and insolently removed foreign cloth worn by some Parsis and Christians, forgetting that not all Hindus and all Mussalmans, nor by any means even a majority of them, have religiously discarded the use of foreign cloth. Parsi and Christian hooligans are, therefore, interfering with Hindu and Mussalman wearers of "Khaddar." Thus we are all moving in a vicious circle and the country suffers. I write this not to blame, but to warn you, and to confess that we have grievously neglected you. I am doing penance in one way, other workers are doing penance in another way. Messrs. Azad Sobhani, Jayakar, Jamnadas, Mehta, Sathe, Moazal Ali and many others have been risking their lives in bringing under control this unfortunate ebullition. Srimati Sarojini Naidu has fearlessly gone in your midst to reason with you and to appeal to you. Our work in your midst has only just begun. Will you not give us a chance by stopping the mad process of retaliation? Hindus and Mussalmans should be

ashamed to take reprisals against Parsis or Christians. The latter must know it to be suicidal to battle against Hindu and Mussalman ferocity by brute strength. *The result is they must seek the assistance of an alien Government, i.e. sell their freedom.* Surely, the best course for them is to realise their nationality and believe that reasoning Hindus and Mussalmans must and will protect the interests of minorities before their own. Any way, the problem before Bombay is to ensure the absolute protection of minorities and the acquisition of control over the rowdy element, and I shall trust that you, hooligans of Bombay, will now restrain your hand and give a chance to the workers who are desirous of serving you. May God help you. I am your friend—Sd. M. K. Gandhi.—”

Calcutta on 17th, November and After

In striking contrast to the mad mob-outrage of Bombay was the perfectly peaceful, though more extensive and significant, hartal of Calcutta. On the previous day the Congress and Khilafat organisations issued manifestoes conveying to the people Gandhi's request to observe a national cessation of work as a silent and peaceful protest of the Prince's visit. One such placard is shown below :—

REMEMBER THE LEADERS IN JAIL.

Boycott Bureaucratic Welcome

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales lands in Bombay on the 17th instant to see, so we have been told, the country and to learn things for himself.

The loyal duty of every patriot is to help the Prince to learn the true state of things and this duty he will best discharge by thoroughly boycotting the bureaucratic welcome that is being arranged for the Prince.

WELL THEN,

Are you a loyal patriot? — not then mislead the Prince and thus do him as well as the country a grievous wrong.

Do you want to get the Khilafat wrong to be redressed? Let the Prince learn it by your action that there can be no gala days for you now, nor any guests whom you can pleasantly and duly honour.

Is Swaraj your goal? Then do not slavishly hide your desire by showing any readiness to acquiesce in a welcome solely organised by a foreign bureaucracy. Listen to what Mahatma Gandhi says —

1. Organise complete boycott of all functions held in the Prince's honour.
2. Refuse to illuminate or to send your children to see organised illuminations.
3. Religiously refrain from attending charities, fetes or fire works organised for the purpose.
4. Publish leaflets by the million and distribute.
5. See that your city wears the appearance of a deserted city on the day the Prince visits it.

Accordingly on the 17th November Calcutta looked like a deserted city. All Indian shops, bazars, markets, including the great business quarters, were closed. There was no tram, nor any sort of vehicular traffic in the streets. All drivers without exception, including the drivers of private carriages, struck work for the day. All mills were closed and the mill-hands occupied themselves with singing *bhajans* (religious songs) and taking ablutions in the river. The European business offices had to stop work owing to the absence of the Indian staff. The Courts and Government offices had similarly to close down. The High Court had to close down as lawyers could not come, and some of the judges even had to come walking all the way from their residence as their drivers won't work. It was "Gandhiji's hukum," in every case. It was remarkable how the Goliath of Western civilisation, the London of the far East, Calcutta, the second city of the Empire, could come to a sudden stop lead by the finger of one man thousands of miles away.

The Railway stations and their goods-sheds were deserted—no coolies, no porters, no carriages or carts. To meet very needy cases there were a few national volunteers with cars labelled "on national service" serving invalids, women and children who came by the trains. Doctors took permits from

the Congress office to run their cars to attend to emergent cases. In the streets policemen and volunteers worked independently to regulate the traffic of which there was little. The guardians of the law had practically no work to do while the volunteers managed to disperse the small crowds of street-urchins that gathered here and there by requesting them with folded hands not to make any *golmal*. In the night the greater part of the town was in darkness as no lights were lighted. The municipal-hands, the sweepers, scavengers, gas-lighters all struck work. In the European quarter European residents themselves lighted some of the lamps in the important thoroughfares. Some armoured cars were found patrolling the streets. But so great was the success of this non-violent hartal *coup* that not a single case of riot, street brawl, or even ordinary crime was reported. The hartal worked with clock-wise precision. Everywhere there was the same absence of excitement of any sort; the whole Indian population to a man simply refrained from doing any work. The sight gladdened the heart of every Indian, that at least for one single day they could do just as they liked—that they could regulate their own house to their own order. It was remarkable how the riff-raff and the hooligans of Calcutta, who in normal times are beyond the control of the police, were kept perfectly quiet by the presence of the Khilafat volunteers using not force but moral persuasion only.

And not alone in Calcutta—all over Bengal, and in all the chief towns of India, there was hartal, at some places partial, at others total, and everywhere peace reigned, perhaps more hearty than ordinarily.

But the non-co-operator's success was the foreigner's gall. To Europeans generally, and to their Indian protege, the hartal was symbolic of a down-right insult to the Prince and to the mighty prestige of the British Raj. Refusal to work was unpardonable breach of peace. Moral persuasion was gross intimidation and criminal interference with people's loyalty. At once a howl of protest was raised by the Anglo-Indian and European Communities, the great European merchant houses, the European officials, traders, planters and their Indian henchmen. An alarm was raised of Calcutta being given up to *goonda-raj* (rule of the ruffians), of life and property being left to the mercy of the Indian mob. Indeed a mob-rising, as

at Bombay, was apprehended, and panic reigned in European circles. The combined wrath of these people fell upon the Congress, though, as a matter of fact, it was the people in the mass who voluntarily went into hartal and the Congress volunteers only functioned to see that there was no trouble out of the affair. The Anglo Indian newspapers poured forth their venom of abuse against the non-co operators in flaring head lines. Their columns were filled with arrogant outbursts from panicky Europeans and Eurasians, and an exhibition of racial hatred was made such as India has not seen since the days of Genl. Dyer. The European Association of Calcutta demanded of the Governor "immediate action against people who were bringing Government into disrepute"—meaning thereby, of course, the hartalists and non-co-operators, alleging that the inactivity of the Government had resulted in "not only the educated classes but also the masses gaining a contempt for authority" and, in short, urging a vigorous policy of repression. The Bengal Chamber of Commerce—the most powerful European financial interest in India—similarly wrote to the Government alleging :—

"That it (the hartal) was brought about by the wholesale intimidation of the working classes of the community. There exists no general wish on the part of these classes to cease from work. In fact, many urged their employers to allow them to sleep on the premises during the previous night, so that they could attend to their duties without having to pass through the streets, and to risk being molested. But the organisation which is now in control of the city terrorised them by way-laying them, and threatening them with violence, or assuring them that their homes would be wrecked in their absence. They were assured by the emissaries of this organisation that the British Government had ceased to rule India, and that the Khilafat authority is now supreme. These assurances carry conviction with them, for it is a fact, as is patent to the humblest worker, that the policeman who is paid to protect him stands helplessly by while he is being molested by the so-called volunteer. If examples of this system of terrorism are wanted they can easily be supplied. It extended not only to industrial workers, domestic servants and other manual labourers, but to clerks, thousands of whom were accosted and threatened. And in parts of the city even traffic regulation was undertaken, while the police looked on, by "volunteers" clad in Khilafat uniform.

"The success of their exertions must of necessity encourage the leaders of the movement to redouble their efforts. What is possible for one day is possible for more than one. Indeed there seems no reason to doubt that this is merely a trial of strength, preparatory to the proclamation and organisation of a complete HARTAL to be observed for the week during which His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales will be in Calcutta,

"The organisation which has taken upon itself to exercise control over the city should be broken up, and the wearing of its uniform and badges should be prohibited. The police should be given fuller powers to deal with provocative exhibitions of insolence, such as the display of Khilafat banners, and the placarding of motor cars with the words 'On National service.' Notoriously bad characters and agitators from up-country, should be deported from Calcutta, and all public meetings at which resolutions urging hartals, or a boycott of the Prince's visit, should be proclaimed and prohibited."

And the Government response came quickly too. At Govt. house anxious consultations were held, and a high official demanded full discretion and freedom of action and this was given. Immediately armoured cars rolled out of the fort and patrolled the streets. On November 19th, the Government of Bengal issued the following communique declaring the Congress and Khilafat volunteer organisations unlawful :—

The Govt. Proclamation

"For some time past the enrolment of so-called volunteers has been a feature in the programme of various bodies prominent in political matters. Such men appear at first to have been honorary workers, often of the student class, who helped on specific occasions such as receptions, meetings etc. More recently the movement has taken on a different aspect, and under the auspices of the Khilafat and Congress Committees numerous persons have been regularly enrolled in definite organisations under specific leaders ready to emerge and perform the tasks allotted to them by those in authority in these associations. These men are drawn often from the lower classes and are believed to be paid for their day's work.

"Through the agency of these "volunteers", Calcutta and its environs have been subject for some time past to a persistent campaign of intimidation and molestation. Whether it be the observance of a "hartal," the picketing of cloth-shops, the discouragement of the sale of liquor, a trial which has excited political interest, or interference with attendance at schools and colleges, these volunteers, in obedience to the orders of those in command of them, have been in evidence threatening and interfering with the citizens of the town in the pursuit of their lawful avocations. A determined attempt is being further made to undermine the loyalty of the police

and to terrorise them in the discharge of their duty. Outside Calcutta and its neighbourhood the same activities have been manifest in various districts of the Presidency.

"The Governor in Council is of opinion that the movement has now gone beyond all limits of permissible agitation and in the interests of the administration of the law and the maintenance of law and order, he has accordingly issued the following notification :—

"Whereas the Governor-in-Council is of opinion that the associations at present known by the names of the Bengal Non-co-operation Volunteer Corps, the Central Muhammadan Volunteer Corps, the Congress Committee Corps and other associations existing in the Presidency of Bengal and having similar objects interfere with the administration of the law and with the maintenance of law and order,

"It is hereby declared by the Governor in Council under Section 16 of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908, as amended by the Devolution Act, 1920, that all the said associations are unlawful associations within the meaning of Part II of the said Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act."

The Criminal law Amendment Act of 1908 under which the Government declared the volunteer organisations unlawful was passed to meet anarchist operations which Lord Carzon's iron rule had given birth to, and at this period there was talk of repealing this. To the people now the application of this act to operations which were perfectly non-violent appeared to be wantonly repressive. For, except in Bombay not a single case of violence was reported from Calcutta or elsewhere, while, on the other hand, the nationalist papers were daily reporting cases of oppression on non-resisting Khaddar clad or Gandhi-capped non-co-operators. No doubt non co-operation attended by violence, as at Bombay, was welcome to those who opposed it; non co operation without violence, peaceful, hearty, just as the Mahatma wished to have, was an awful contingency. As said the "Capital" of Calcutta: 'Of the two (Calcutta and Bombay hartals) the (Calcutta) was the more humiliating to the decent citizen'—for the 'decent citizen' had nothing at all to do, and could not by any means kick up a row. And the "Catholic Herald of India" said :—

"Though the incidents that have turned Bombay into a bear garden and an eastern Belfast be regrettable in view of the visit of our amiable Prince, they are, from the Government's point of view, a perfect God-send. When the crowds addressed by Mr. Gandhi broke loose and waxed mad, burned tram cars, clubbed Europeans, Parsis and policemen, the pandemonium broke the subtle and intellectual spell of non-co-operation and reduced it to the vulgar level of a ramshackle revolution. Brains were required to circumvent the elusive soul-force of a spiritual revolution which no law could reach; now any man with a gun in his hand can settle it. It may still be a difficult task and a tough conflict, but with this difference that whereas an Englishman respects and fears brains, he is not afraid of physical force and of blood. Every Englishman now breathes freely.

"It is a pity from a bookish point of view, and students of politics, who had watched the movement as a novelty in the history of nations, may perhaps be disappointed. But it is a relief for the man in the street. Now he can close his books and tucking up his sleeves, say, 'Come on!'"

The Police Raids.

And Government could not stop at that alone. At midnight on the 18th the police surrounded the Khilafat and the Congress offices and carried on a systematic raid. The reason of this midnight attack is not quite clear but the way in which it was carried out showed that the object was to break down the respective organisations. As one nationalist paper of Calcutta in writing on this matter said:—

"There was only one Congress officer in the office. He was surrounded by four police officers. They demanded the keys of almirahs and boxes, but when they were told that the keys were with the Secretary, they broke open the almirah and boxes. The police officers were asked to wait for some minutes so that the keys might be brought to the office from the Secretary. But they did not listen but jumped upon the boxes and beddings. They broke open all the boxes and almirahs and took the contents with them. They threw away khadder shirts and coats and danced upon beds with their boots on to tear the khadi bed-sheet into pieces. They tore into pieces all national flags and some placards."

On the whole of the next 24 hours police raids went on vigorously on all the Khilafat and Congress offices, in all some ten. Harrowing accounts of the raids were published in the nationalist papers. No arrests were then made but all papers, documents, account books, etc. were taken away obviously with the intention of paralysing the movement. On the 20th the Commissioner of Police by proclamation suppressed all public assemblies and processions for three months within the

limits of the town and the suburbs of Calcutta and similar prohibitions were made in some of the mofussil towns.

Commenting on these matters a prominent Indian paper wrote : "Here is grand preparation to regale the Prince with a sight he has never seen anywhere in the British Empire and will not find anywhere else in the whole world. By the time he will reach Calcutta, he will see India, already soundly thrashed, bound hand and foot, and gagged. The thrashing had begun as soon as the announcement of the Prince's visit was made. In Bengal it was begun at Chandpur, Chittagong comes next. The reader knows how the Gurkhas there were let loose upon innocent people. In quick succession came Howrah where there was indiscriminate firing, the responsibility of which has been denied by every officer. . . . Thus Bengal has been made perfectly fit to be seen in her true condition by the Prince. His Royal Highness will be able to tell his father that he saw Bengal gagged, securely bound hand and foot and bearing on her person marks of caresses. The first process in the operation, namely, beating has been done all over India. But can anybody tell us why of all provinces Bengal has got the subsequent processes—binding and gagging—gone through so much in ahead of the Prince's visit to Calcutta? Is it because Calcutta and rural Bengal have observed the most complete and at the same time peaceful *hartal*? Volunteers are not suppressed and public meetings are not even now prohibited in Bombay. The Anglo-Indian papers see the anomaly and are from day to day writing in blazing lines : "It is now time for the Viceroy to Act." "Save the face of the Government of Bengal, oh my Lord Reading, by instructing all other provincial Government to follow its lead"—goes the prayer from Anglo-India. We say 'amen'. The Prince should not see the true condition of India in one province only." This was typical of Indian sentiment.

Lord Ronaldshay on the Situation.

Next day, 21st Nov. 1921, the Governor, Lord Ronaldshay attended the Bengal Council and made a lengthy speech calling upon the members to join the authorities in suppressing 'lawlessness.' "There are limits" he said, "beyond which no Government that has regard to the interests of the law-abiding citizens over whom it holds sway, can permit license

to go. We are of opinion that those limits have been reached and that the instigations to the people to overthrow the existing order have become a menace to the maintenance of peace. It has, therefore, become necessary to impose some restrictions upon the freedom of holding meetings and processions in this city.

"With a full knowledge of the danger with which society is faced and with a full sense of my responsibility as head of the administration in Bengal, I make this appeal to the members of this Council and through them to all who desire to see Bengal marching in orderly progress to that goal which is already in sight, to range themselves whole-heartedly on the side of liberty for the individual and law and order for all, and to join hands cordially with Government in fighting lawlessness and sedition.

"The time has come when men have got to come down on one side of the fence or the other. Those who are not on the side of law and order are on the side of revolution : and revolution means anarchy. The Government of Bengal will not hesitate to make use of all the powers which it possesses to quell disorder and to secure to the people liberty to proceed peacefully about their lawful avocations. And if it finds that powers over and above those which it possesses are necessary to enable it to achieve this purpose, it will not hesitate to ask for them." And the Council meekly acquiesced.

Non-co-operation Counterblast.

As a counterblast to the order declaring the Khilafat and Congress Volunteer Corps illegal a manifesto was issued, signed by thousands of Calcutta nationalists, taking up the gauntlet thrown down by the Government of Bengal, and announcing the formation of a Congress Volunteer organisation. It runs as follows :—

"In view of the proclamation issued by the Government of Bengal with reference to volunteer organisations, it has become our duty to make our position perfectly plain in the matter.

"In point of fact there are no such associations as the Bengal Non-co-operation Volunteers Corps, the Central Mahomedan Volunteer Corps or the Congress Committee Corps referred to in the Governor's proclamation. But undoubtedly there are Congress and Khilafat Volunteers all over the province, working in a peaceful, non-violent and perfectly

honourable manner ; and it is untrue to say that they have interfered with the maintenance of law and order. Accordingly, we are clearly, definitely, of opinion that these Volunteer organisations should continue to exist and work in spite of the arbitrary and unjustifiable ukase of the Governor : and to show our practical adherence to this plan of action, we, the undersigned, in our individual capacity, hereby enrol ourselves, as members of the Bengal National Volunteers Corps, and we request all members of Provincial and District Congress Committees to enrol themselves as members of this or similar organisations. We pledge ourselves, according to the very principle of Non-co-operation, to see that all our Volunteers refrain from every form of intimidation or violence."

To this a long list of names was appended. And after the gagging order of the 20th. suppressing all public meetings in Calcutta, Congress and Khilafat workers, on recovering from the shock of surprise, rose in revolt and circulated notices announcing meetings at College Square, Halliday Park and other places in the city, in defiance of the order of the Commissioner of Police. In another public manifesto subsequently issued by the N.C.O leaders, they said :—

"So far as the challenge to the Congress was concerned (viz. by the order declaring volunteer organizations unlawful) we have met and accepted that challenge : we have enlisted ourselves as volunteers and asked all Congress members to do so. To have done this much as it involved only the preparedness of individual Congress members for suffering and imprisonment ; and believing in the fact of such preparedness, we were ready to take and have taken the risk.

"But the challenge to the right of holding public meetings involved in the latest order of the Police Commissioner is a different matter and raises larger issues. The proper way of meeting the challenge would be to hold a public meeting in open defiance of the Police Commissioner's order. But the holding of a public meeting in spite of the best of good intentions on the part of the people and organizers would, at the present time, inevitably lead to conflict and collision specially in view of the poisonous atmosphere of race-hatred that has been created by the rabid outpourings of the Anglo-Indian Press. Therefore, in spite of the clearly unjustifiable character of the Police Commissioner's notification, of the untrue assumptions upon which it is based, and its clear challenge to the public to meet and disregard it, we postpone action for the immediate present, pending next Sunday's meeting of the Provincial Congress Committee. Meanwhile, we urge the public to bide in patience for a while, to go on with the steady pursuit of the Congress programme, and to prepare with calm and silent fortitude for the **Second full HARTAL on the 24th of December.**"

December 24th. was the Day of the Prince's Visit to Calcutta. Meanwhile the action of the Bengal Government heartened officialdom all over India.

Repression in Excelsis.

The other provincial Governments were not slow to act. On November 23rd. Delhi province was proclaimed under the Seditious Meetings Act for six months and the Volunteers' Association was declared unlawful, and similar proclamations were issued, by the Punjab and U. P. Governments. In the Punjab the districts of Lahore, Amritsar and Sheikhpura were declared to be proclaimed areas under the Seditious Meetings Act. Gradually the whole of the Punjab was gagged by the extension of the Seditious Meetings Act. All meetings were prohibited and declared unlawful in all big towns such as Allahabad, Chittagong, etc. On the 26th. Assam was similarly treated and the Cr. Amend. Act Part ii applied. Arrests, house-searches, police raids, and other methods of a strong police-rule were indulged in. At Lahore there was a special occasion for rousing the bureaucratic ire. On 26th November a special meeting of the Municipal Committee was held to propose a welcome to the Prince. Such a proposal had on 16th August last been discussed and by a majority the municipality refused to receive the Prince. On the question being again raised a heated debate followed, and on the motion being put to the vote, there was a tie of 15 votes for and against it. On this the Deputy Commissioner who is the official chairman of the Lahore municipality gave his casting vote, and the resolution was thus passed. This fact was brought to the notice of the Private Secretary to the Prince, Lord Cromer, by Mr. K. Santanam, a municipal commissioner and the Secretary of the Provincial Congress Committee, "so that His Royal Highness might be under no delusion as to the real sentiments of the people of Lahore"!

On November 26th. the shrewd Viceroy at last opened his mouth. Lord Reading's position was indeed delicate. His Govt. had invited the Prince and it was up to the Govt. of India to see that the Prince was well received by the people at large. Coercion at such a time was out of the question. But the affairs of Bombay were 'thaumaturgic'. The authorities never thought that they could be landed in such difficulties before the Prince. Sir George Ilyod, however, kept a cool head, and so too the Viceroy, watching the game from Delhi. It was the juncker outburst of the Calcutta

Anglo-Indians and their favourite Governor, Lord Ronaldsbay, that precipitated matters. The first spark of repression was let off from the Govt. house, Calcutta, and at once there was a furious outburst demanding the Viceroy to Act. In rapid succession came the thoughtless repressive orders from the Govts. of U. P., Punjab and Assam. And then the Viceroy could keep silence no longer. In reply to a deputation of the Punjab Chamber of Commerce His Excellency took opportunity to refer to the political condition of India and said :—

"I wish to take this opportunity of impressing upon you that the Government of India will spare no effort to protect the peaceful and law-abiding citizens against violence or coercion or intimidation or other breaches of the law. I shall not dilate upon this subject but there is to-day a natural and the legitimate desire on the part of the vast majority of the people that the law should be respected and observed. I cannot but think that in some quarters there is a misconception of the position. The Government of India are very conscious of their power and their strength and they have, I verily believe, the support of all law-abiding citizens of India. It cannot fairly be said that we have abused this power. Indeed, we are sometimes criticised for not having sufficiently exerted it, and I readily admit that we have sought to avoid action which might either be misconceived or misrepresented as too severe or as provocative. But recent events have made it imperative that the full strength of the Government should, if necessary, be exerted for the purpose of vindicating the law and preserving order. In some quarters, I shall not designate them—they are too well known—intimidation, and consequently coercion, which is only another form of violence and is, of course, unlawful, were practised, and it must be said, with considerable effect. This conduct cannot be permitted and must be stopped. Proper precautions will be adopted and all necessary steps taken to protect the peaceful citizen to give him that security to which he is entitled and to bring the wrong-doer to justice. The peaceful citizen wishes to carry on his own business, his own pursuits, his own avocations without improper interference or molestation by others with whom he may not be in agreement. We have no desire to interfere with the lawful activities of political parties, however opposed to us, but although that is our view and although we are most anxious, as I have repeatedly said, to redress all legitimate grievances and to remove the grounds of popular discontent, yet we cannot allow any political activity to impose its will upon the country by violence, intimidation, coercion or other unlawful means. I have therefore taken this opportunity of telling you what is in this respect in the minds of the Government of India, and of assuring you that the Government, of which I have no doubt you are keen critics, will use its efforts to ensure that every man may carry on his lawful pursuits in his own way and at his own will and you may rest satisfied that all necessary steps for this purpose will be taken.

The Jamiat-ul-Ulema Conference.

Meanwhile the activities of the Congress and related bodies were not confined to the Volunteer organisations alone. On Nov. 19th an important meeting of the *Jamiat-ul-Ulema* (Conference of Moslem Divines) was held at Lahore, presided over by Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, at which the position of Moslems under the political conditions of the country was discussed.

Resolutions were passed on Swadeshi and boycott of foreign cloth and on the rumoured atrocities of the Moplahs on the Hindus of Malabar which were condemned.

Resolutions were passed, confirming the resolutions passed by the Executive Committee of the *Jamait-ul-Ulema* at its meeting held at Delhi on the 21st September last, declaring that the resolution passed at the Karachi Conference held on the 8th, 9th, 10th July, which had been the cause of the arrest and incarceration of Maulana Muhammad Ali, Shaukat Ali and others, was part of the decided and open commandments of Islam, which were in force since the last 1,300 years and so often declared in India, and Musalmans could never cease to declare it. The *Jamait-ul-Ulema* invited Musalmans to perform their duties at this critical juncture and make their best efforts to declare and announce this Commandment of God.

Resolutions were also passed, protesting against the proscription of the Fatwa of the Ulemas by the Government of Delhi and other Governments and declaring it sinful and *haram* for Mussalmans to serve in Police and Army under the present Government and asking every Mussalman to boldly request soldiers and Muslim Policemen to immediately leave service under the Government. The Ulemas asked the assembled Mussalmans to serve their Allah and the Prophet and to protect the Holy *Quran* and help the Turks in their struggle against non-Muslims. They were asked to boldly repeat the Ulemas' Fatwa from every platform and to request every Policemen and soldier they met to leave Government service even at the risk of being imprisoned.

The All India Congress Committee.

The Working Committee of the Congress met at Mahatma Gandbi's residence at Bombay on 22nd and 23rd Nov, and all the prominent provincial leaders were consequently drawn

away from their provinces to Bombay. Messrs. C. R. Das, Motilal Nebru, Moulana A. Kalam Azad, Lajpat Rai, Azmal Khan, Dr. Ansari, Umar Sobhani, N. C. Kelkar and many others were collected round the Mahatma. Resolutions were passed deploring the riots at Bombay and enjoining upon all Congress workers the strictest observance of non-violence. The most important resolution was on the volunteer organisation as follows :—

"This Committee considers it of national importance that all N.-C.-O. Volunteer Corps, Khilafat Volunteer Corps and other non-official volunteer bodies should be brought under control and named the 'National Volunteer Corps' and, therefore, advises Provincial Congress Committees to appoint Central Boards in their Provinces for controlling and bringing under a uniform discipline all the existing volunteer corps, and commends to their attention the following draft general instructions, and further requests the Central Khilafat Committee and the Khalsa Committee to pass the necessary resolution to give effect to them.

"The draft general instructions are :—

"Every volunteer should sign the following pledge in triplicate, one copy shall be given to the volunteer, one sent to the Central Office in every Province, and one kept in the District in which the volunteer is enlisted. The pledge shall be written in the language of the Province in which the volunteer is resident, as also in Hindusthani, in Urdu and Devanagiri scripts. So far as possible for the uniform of volunteers, an imitation of military uniform shall be avoided. Volunteers shall not carry any sword with them, but may carry an ordinary walking stick, not longer than four feet. The lowest unit shall consist of not more than nor less than 20 people, of which one shall be a leader elected by the members of a particular unit. Twenty such leaders shall elect from among themselves an officer. All other officers shall be appointed by the Central Provincial Office, which shall consist of a board of five who will elect their own Chairman. All subordinate officers shall implicitly obey the instructions issued from time to time by the Board.

"The duties of volunteers shall be to preserve order, regulate meetings, hartals and processions, and to render social service in emergencies in accordance with the instructions given to them. No volunteer shall be enlisted who is known to be a bad character. The Central Board shall be under the control of, and appointed by, Provincial Congress Committees. The Khilafat volunteers should also form part of the national volunteers and be subject to the control of the Central Provincial Board. No one under eighteen shall be enlisted as a volunteer.

"PLEDGE :—So long as I remain in any voluntary organisation, I shall faithfully and diligently carry out all instructions received from my superiors. I shall observe the pledge of non-violence in word and in deed and shall inculcate the spirit of non-violence amongst others. I shall regard the pledge as binding upon me so long as the policy of non-violence is continued by the Nation. I shall run all risks attendant upon the performance of my duty."

From Bombay the Congress leaders then came back to their respective provinces. Meanwhile, after the Viceroy had spoken, the whole machinery of government, from Governors to the last petty village-officer, was at once set in motion to crush the new national spirit. Anglo-Indians, Europeans and the donationalised Moderates of Calcutta were drafted into a "Civil Guard," like the famous "Prussian Guard" of history, to act as an auxilliary to the military and police. The way the "Civil Guards" were trained and recruited brought back to people's mind the exploits of the "Red and Tans" in Ireland, but it was infinitely better to have the rowdies of these communities under the able command of Sir Frank Carter, the commander of the Civil Guards, than to keep them loose as at Bombay on the days following the 17th. November. It is impossible here to narrate in detail the harrowing tale of repression that raged for the next month or so; enough has been given in the chronology (see pp. 54-68) to give the reader some idea. Arrests and gagging orders, not to say of the thousand and one devious methods of torture and tyranny exercised by the underlings of government, went on apace, and people saw everywhere the red-eye of the angry and armed government on one side and, on the other, the cool determination of the disarmed khadder clad volunteers ready unto death to preach "*khadder* and hartal on the 24th." As wrote the poet Tagore about this time :—

"Power has to be made secure not only against power, but also against weakness; for there lies the peril of its losing balance. The weak are as great a danger for the strong, as quicksands for an elephant. They do not assist progress, because they do not resist, they only drag down. The people who grow accustomed to wild absolute power over others are not to forget that by doing so they generate an unseen force which some day rends that power into pieces. The dumb fury of the down-trodden finds its lawful support from the universal law of moral balance. The air which is so thin and unsubstantial gives birth to storms that nothing can resist. This has been proved in history over and over again and stormy forces arising from the revolt of insulted humanity are openly gathering in the air at the present time. Yet the psychology of the strong stubbornly refuses the lesson and despises to take count of the terrible-ness of the weak. This is latent ignorance that like an unsuspected worm burrows under the bulk of the prosperous. Have we never read of the castle of Power, securely buttressed on all sides, in a moment dissolving in air at the explosion caused by the weak and outraged besiegers? Politicians calculate upon the number of mailed hands that are kept on the swordhilt; they do not possess that third eye to see the great invisible hand that claps in silence the hand of the helpless and awaits its time. The

strong form their league by a combination of powers, driving the weak to form their own league alone with their God."

On December 2nd, Mr. Das, on coming back to Calcutta from the Bombay meeting, issued the following message :—

My message to the Congress workers

"The recent communique of the Government of Bengal, the order of the Commissioner of Police, and the various orders under Section 144 issued by Magistrates in different districts of Bengal, make it absolutely clear that the Bureaucracy has made up its mind to crush the movement of Non-co-operation. The people of Bengal has therefore resolved to persevere with all their strength in their struggle for freedom. My message to them is one of hope and encouragement. I knew from the beginning that the Bureaucracy would be the first to break the law. It began its illegal career at the very outset by occasional orders under Section 144. It continued the unjust and illegal application of the Section in opposition to this movement. Now that the movement is about to succeed, it has adopted forgotten laws and forsaken methods, and Section 144 is being indiscriminately used to further the same object.

"Our duty is clear. The Indian National Congress has declared that Swaraj is our only goal and Non-co-operation is the only method by which to reach that goal. Whatever the bureaucracy does, the Nationalists of Bengal cannot forget their ideal. The people of Bengal are now on their trial. It entirely depends on them whether they would win or lose. I ask my countrymen to be patient, I appeal to them to undergo all sufferings cheerfully. I call upon them not to forsake the sacred work which the Indian National Congress has enjoined.

"The Congress work is done and can only be done by volunteers. Let it be clearly understood that every worker, young or old, man or woman, is a volunteer. I offer myself as a volunteer in the service of the Congress. I trust that within a few days there will be a million volunteers for the work of the Province. Our cause is sacred, our method is peaceful and non-violent. Do you not realise that the Service of our country is Service of God? I charge you to remember that no communique of earthly Governments can be allowed to stop God's worship.

"I appeal to the people of Bengal to realise this truth. I pray to God that it may be given to the Bureaucracy to understand, appreciate and recognise this great truth.

My message to my countrymen

"My first word and my last word to you is never to forsake the ideal of non-violent non-co-operation. I know it is a difficult creed to follow. I know that sometimes the provocation is so great that it is extremely difficult to remain non-violent in thought, word and deed. The success of the movement, however, depends on this great principle and every worker must strengthen himself to withstand such provocation. We are too apt to throw the blame on other persons. For instance, if there is a riot in a City we say that the hoodligans were provoked to

commit the riot. Let us not forget that these so called hooligans are our countrymen. Let us not forget that we the Non-co-operators claim to build the country. Let us realise that to the extent to which we do not succeed in so controlling the masses, be they hooligans or not, to that extent Non-co-operation has failed. The responsibilities are ours. It does not lie in our mouth to say that wicked people have instigated the masses to break law and order. Do you not realise that the success of our movement depends on this, that no other people, wicked or otherwise, should be able to lead the masses or any section of our countrymen towards violence and bloodshed? If we fail to exercise control over the masses, how can we claim to have success? I am not discouraged, I do not want you to be discouraged. I Pray to God that you may have sufficient strength to carry on this great battle peacefully and never forsaking the ideal of non-violent Non-co-operation in all its bearing."

The retribution, however, had soon to come. It came earlier at Lahore. On December 1st. Mr. Santanam wrote to Earl Cromer, the Prince's Secretary, that the people of Lahore had resolved not to receive the Prince, forwarding the resolution of the Municipality, and exposing the way in which a public reception was being manufactured in the name of the people. On this a private Committee meeting of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee was declared illegal, broken up by the Police, and all the leaders including Lala Lajpat Rai, Dr. Gopi Chand, Malik Lal Khan, Mr. Santanam and others were arrested and kept in jail. And even religious meetings were not excluded, for on November 26th, and previous to that, several members of the Gurdwara Committee of the Punjab were arrested for holding a religious meeting!

On the 2nd. December Sardar Bahadur Mehtab Singh of the Sikh Gurdwara Committee along with 9 others were tried and sentenced to 6 months hard labour and Rs. 1000 fine under the Seditious Meetings Act.

The next day Mr. S. E. Stokes, the American disciple of Gandhi, was arrested at Lahore and on the 5th sentenced to imprisonment on a charge of sedition.

The following account of the arrest of Mr. Lajpat Rai and others is taken from the *Tribune* of Lahore :—

"Lalaji and Mr. Santanam and other members of the Committee were fully prepared. The meeting was a Committee meeting, attendance being confined only to members of whom less than 40 were present. Col. Gregson and armed police surrounded the house and standing at the door, read out the Magistrate's order declaring the meeting unlawful. Thereupon Lala Lajpat Rai asked those who wanted to leave and go away.

Nune stirred from his seat. Even before the commencement of the meeting Lala Lajpat Rai had tried to dissuade certain people from attending the meeting in view of the fact that probably all would be arrested and no responsible man left to carry on the work. Those asked to desist included Lala Hans Raj and Syed Ata Ulla Shah (both of Jullundur) and Mr. Abur-Rashid. Lala Hans Raj and Syed Ata Ullah Shab requested to be allowed to attend for the sake of the honour of their town. Immediately after Major Ferrar, District Magistrate, and Col. Gregson, the Senior Superintendent of Police, entered the room, while the committee was sitting. The District Magistrate said that he declared the meeting an unlawful assembly and ordered it to disperse. Lala Lajpat Rai, who was in the chair, thereupon replied that he considered the meeting lawful and as president refused to disperse it. Major Ferrar addressing Pt. Rambhuj Dutt asked who the speaker was. He was informed by Panditji that it was Lala Lajpat Rai who spoke. Lala Lajpat Rai himself said, "I am Lajpat Rai." Thereupon Major Ferrar said "I arrest you." Lalaji gladly surrendered himself. The District Magistrate then called out for Mr. Santanam and arrested him. He then asked for Dr. Gopi Chand and arrested him also. The three were taken to a motor car waiting below. Col. Gregson again went up to the room. Meanwhile the proceedings of the meetings were going on under the presidentship of Pandit Rambhuj Dutt Chaudhuri. A resolution congratulating the arrested leaders was passed.

"The Senior Superintendent of Police said that the meeting was an unlawful assembly and asked it to disperse. Chaudhuri Rambhuj Dutt protested and said that they would not move unless forcibly dispersed. Panditji wanted to explain his position but the police official impatiently said that he did not want to argue and ordered the Police to forcibly disperse the meeting. Pt. Rambhuj Dutt told the members that it should be clearly understood that force had been used in dispersing them. A police touched each on the back with the hand. When the members came downstairs, Malik Lal Khan was arrested. Malik Sahib at the time of his arrest said "I was waiting for this very opportunity."

"The motor car containing Lala Lajpat Rai, Mr. Santanam and Dr. Gopi Chand had already left amid shouts of "Bande

Mataram and Gandhi Maharaj Ki Jai.' Lalaji, when his motor car departed, said "Goodby friends"! Malik Lal Khan was at once taken in a "tonga." Several hundreds of people were assembled on both sides of the road. The police in large numbers was present and military had been posted at several places but the crowds maintained a perfectly calm behaviour. Permission was no doubt sought by certain people to observe "hartal" in the city but the Congress officials dissuaded the people from taking that step.

"It will be remembered that immediately after their arrest during martial law in 1919 Lala Harkishen Lal and others were taken in the first instance to the telegraph office. The same story was repeated on the present occasion. Lala Lajpat Rai and his comrades were taken to the Telegraph Office and kept waiting there. Meanwhile the office of the Provincial Congress Committee was locked and sealed for search. Large crowds had assembled on the Mall outside the Telegraph office. Nobody was allowed to go in. The representative of the "Tribune" sought the permission of the police official on duty. The official sent in a chit asking if a newspaper man could be allowed to go in.

"Mr. Keough the Additional District Magistrate of Lahore who was present inside refused permission. The leaders were kept inside for about two hours. Lala Lajpat Rai on noting the crowds outside sent a message asking people to disperse and remain perfectly peaceful. All the four leaders were produced before Mr. Keough. The charge against them is under Section 145 Cr. P. Code. Bail was offered but refused. Dr. Gopi Chand and Malik Lal Khan were first taken in a car to the Central Jail. Lala Lajpat Rai and Mr. Santanam followed in another. The Police demanded a remand up to the 10th. but the Magistrate fixed the 7th. Dec. for hearing.

"While in the Telegraph Office Lala Lajpat Rai sent a message through Lala Raghunath Sabi, Wakil, asking people to maintain peace under even the most provoking circumstance, since non-violence is of the very essence of the Non-cooperation movement. He hoped the people would carry out his wishes.

"Apart from the Police, ordinary and armed, there was military posted at King Edward Statue, and at Telegraph Office two machine guns were also seen inside the Telegraph

office compound along with the military. It is stated that all the four leaders and Mr. Stokes has been put in the same cell.

"When the Senior Superintendent of police went up after seating Lala Lajpat Rai, Mr. Santanam and Dr. Gopi Chand in the motor car, Raizada Hans Raj of Jullundur said to him "we are old friends, we have met again". Colonel Gregson replied "it is a sad business.

"Similarly, Lala Gridhari Lal of Amritsar asked Colonel Gregson to arrest him. The Colonel said that he could not oblige him just then. On coming downstairs the Colonel saw Lala Gridhari Lal seated with garlands of flowers in his hand. Asked for whom they were meant, Lala Gridhari Lal said "I am willing to garland you provided you arrest all of us."

"The office of the Provincial Congress Committee was searched on Sunday. After a search of several hours the police went away with a number of papers and registers."

The Punjab arrests made a tremendous sensation. But this was nothing compared to what happened in Calcutta a few days after. On Dec. 6th Master Chiraranjan Das, son of Mr. Das, went out with a few friends with Khadder on and cried in the streets "Hartal on the 24th". He was at once arrested by an European sergeant and was inhumanly beaten. Before the court, he said :-

"While we (myself and seven other volunteers) were sitting in the right side of the prison van, the sergeants without asking us anything pushed us to the left side of the van. Then we got down at Lalbazar. The sergeant caught the volunteers by the neck and threw them mercilessly and caught hold of my arm and twisted it so much that it fairly came to the point of breaking. We were then taken into the lock up by sergeants (soldiers were engaged as sergeants) who seemed to be tipsy and at once began beating of volunteers with their batons. I protested when three soldiers began kicking me from three sides, and while they were going away they beat me on the head. Volunteer Tiwary has got his knees hurt. Volunteer Sudhir has got a blow and nearly fainted. All the volunteers were more or less hurt by the sergeants. The Indian Police did not take part in the assaults'

The news stunned Calcutta. But more had to come. Next day Mrs. Das and 2 other ladies of the family came out. The fond mother praying for her child could restrain herself no longer. Chiraranjan in prison for selling Khaddar and saying "hartal on 24th"; this was enough for many mothers in Calcutta. Master Chiraranjan was no less dear to Bangalis than

the Prince to his people. So, taking her leave of the family gods, the fond mother sallied forth to join her child in gaol! "It was torture for us", she said, "to stay when our young boys were going to jail". Mr. Das, Mrs. Urmila Debi and Miss Suniti Debi went along the same road that Chiraranjan had gone by, selling Khadder and saying: "Brothers and Sisters, remember, hartal on the 24th". It was an impressive spectacle, reminiscent of the days of yore when Rajput ladies of princely families went about the streets bare-footed for the cause of the nation. Eventually, as before, a European sergeant approached the party and arrested them.

"The Ladies Arrested"! It was like wild fire. Calcutta on this day was in tumult that beggars description. Thousands rushed forth, offering to be arrested. A scene was witnessed in Barabazar, where the arrest took place, such as comes but once in the life-time of a nation. Marwaris joined, Moslems joined, Bhattias joined, Sikhs poured in, Coolies, mill-hands, school boys, all rushed to the scene. Some wept, some cried, some ran aimlessly—the wild multitude watched and watched and then long after melted away with brewing thoughts such as brew only on the eve of a revolution.

The same night the ladies were released by the Governor's orders.

And the same night the Moderates under Sir B. C. Mitter were eating a dinner with the Viceroy.

And Calcutta stood stunned.

The Viceroy was then in Calcutta. It was rumoured that Mr. Das was soon to meet the Viceroy and that a compromise was being hatched. In this setting was Mrs. Das, the wife of the President-elect of the Congress, arrested by the Police for selling khadder. At her arrest, Calcutta felt as if her women-folk had been all arrested. The tension of feeling was undescrivable. The Indian papers stopped writing editorials. Public life was on the guillotine. As one prominent Congress organ, the *Servant*, wrote:—

"We feel that our only reply to the hourly growing encroachment on our commonest rights and liberties ought to be a dignified silence. The bureaucracy has rightly decided that we must cease to have any self-expression as a nation. Perhaps our very existence is unlawful, and we are merely cumbering the earth with our futile weight. If selling KHADDAR is unlawful, preaching boycott or non-co-operation is unlawful, if very association is unlawful, if our Congress Committee

meetings are unlawful, if religious assemblies are unlawful, if peaceful persuasion is unlawful, then logically and consistently all our activities should come under such a ban. Hence we do not want further to deceive ourselves that we have still any right of expression. We seem to be living on sufferance. As non-violence is our creed, we think that our loyalty to it can be facilitated only by entering the silence of the grave. We have all along been writing with a halter round our neck. The unholy Inquisition which is sitting on our thoughts and sentiments has become simply intolerable. We have therefore decided to suspend all Editorial writings till we again feel that the interests of our class demand it."

The Moderates' Dinner to Viceroy

At this dinner Sir Benode Mitter, who presided, proposed the Viceroy's health, and in so doing condemned the non-co-operation movement, and assured the Viceroy of the support of the Moderates in combating lawlessness, but hoped that any measures that might be necessary would not be thought allowed to prejudice the steady pace towards the goal which has been set for the country.

The Viceroy, in reply, said that he did not wish to say a word to exasperate the feelings, but putting himself into the place of those who desired to spoil the Prince's reception he could not see what purpose it would serve. He would have thought there could have been no grander opportunity for showing that the people were fit for that Swaraj which could only come either from the British Parliament or by the sword. The non-co-operators could have shown to the British people and the Dominions that, while they opposed the Government, they were loyal to the Crown and were better fitted for complete Self-Government than might have been thought.

The Viceroy said that he would not repeat the observations he had already made about the enforcement of law and order. It gave no pleasure to any Government to have to arrest citizens. The Government's object was the opposite. But they must protect law-abiding citizens.

Lord Reading then referred, amid applause, to the settlement of the Sinn Fein question, and said that the people might ask what lesson was to be learnt. Ireland had attained the present result after long years. India, without any of the acts which characterised the history of the movement in Ireland, had attained a tremendous boon in the grant of the Reforms,

which had taken her a long way on the road to complete Swaraj which all wanted, and India had, by ordinary constitutional means, the opportunity of proving that Indians were the people who would soon be ready for the full grant of Self-Government. He thought that India held a wonderful position at the moment. It had already taken a very great place in the councils of the British Empire, in the Imperial War Cabinet and at the League of Nations, and 20 years ago it would not have been thought possible to achieve so much as in the years from 1918 to 1921, and he would ask whether any steps that could be taken could possibly procure for India a greater or higher destiny than that of a partner in the Commonwealth of Nations, designated the "British Empire," forming one with the great Dominions, all honoring the King-Emperor, the link binding them together, symbolising what he believed was at the heart of all Indians, the noble ideals of liberty and justice.

Arrest of Mr. Das and Other Leaders.

Next day, Dec. 8th., Mrs. Das and party, and a large number of Punjabi ladies who had in the meantime joined the volunteer corps, came out in the streets and went along picketing. Large crowds followed them and the whole city was throbbing with agitation as to what would happen next. Fortunately the police carefully avoided them and a very perilous situation was saved from a sudden explosion. The same day the Governor, Lord Ronaldshay, saw Mr. C. R. Das, and the points of view of both Govt. and the non-cooperators were set forth and discussed. No means of adjustment between their diametrically antagonistic views about public rights was discovered, and the substance of the conversation was communicated by Lord Ronaldshay to the Viceroy. The Viceroy and the Governor wanted the boycott of the Prince to be called off, but this Mr. Das could not vouchsafe, as the Congress had passed that resolution and only the Congress could withdraw it. As to picketing and the volunteer activities which were then blowing in blazes everywhere, Mr. Das assured the Governor that they will automatically cease if Govt. withdrew its repressive order declaring the volunteer organisations unlawful. So long as they went along perfectly peaceful lines, it was against law to declare them unlawful; and if individuals were found to break the law, it was open to Govt.

to haul them up before a court and punish them with the aid of the ordinary law of the land. But it was useless to argue with Lord Ronaldshay, for next to securing a popular welcome for the Prince the Govt. was bent on breaking the N.C.O.

Negotiations failing, Mr. Das was arrested on Dec. 10th. He left the following message.—

Mr. Das's Message on Arrest

"This is my last message to you, men and women in India: Victory is in sight, if you are prepared to win it by suffering. It is in such agony as that through which we are passing that nations are born. You must bear this agony with fortitude, with courage and with perfect self-composure. Remember that so long as you follow the path of non-violence, you put the bureaucracy in the wrong; but move by a hair's breadth from the path which Mahatma Gandhi has mapped out for you, and you give away the battle for the bureaucracy. Swaraj is our goal. Swaraj not in compartments, not in instalments; but Swaraj whole and entire. Now it is for you, men and women, to say whether we shall attain the goal for which we are striving!

"To my Moderate friends I say this: Survey the history of the world from the beginning of all time; has any nation won freedom by pursuing the path which you are pursuing? If the appeal should reach any waverer amongst you, I ask him to consider whether he will not stand on the side of India in her conflict with the bureaucracy? There may be compromise in the matter of details, but there can be no compromise in the essential question that divides us from the bureaucracy. And if you do not stand by for India, you assuredly stand for the bureaucracy.

"And to the students, I say this: You are at once the hope and the glory of India. True education does not consist in learning to add two and two to make four; but it lies in the service which you are prepared to give to the Mother of all. There is work to be done for the Mother: Who amongst you is prepared to answer the Call?"

Bengal Govt. Communique

The following communique was issued by the Government of Bengal explaining why they arrested Mr. Das:—

"In a communique which appeared in the Press on November 19, it was explained how the persistent campaign of

intimidation and molestation on the part of "volunteers" associated with the Congress and Khilafat movements had forced Government to issue a notification under section 16 of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908, declaring certain associations to be "unlawful associations." The immediate effect of this action was good, and open picketing and intimidation ceased for a time. On November 22 the Extremist Press published a declaration, to which a large number of names was appended, (and which was republished with fresh names in several subsequent issues) constituting a definite challenge to the action of Government, as the following extract abundantly shows :—

(Here follows the manifesto given on p. 326 top.)

"In order to bring home to the signatories that their action was a defiance of law, a separate notification was issued on November 24 specifically declaring the Bengal National Volunteer Corps to be an unlawful association.

"This original challenge was, however, soon followed by other developments. On the very same day, November 22, a letter appeared in the "Servant", signed by six of the leaders, which begins :—(Here follows the 3rd para given on p. 316)

"On Nov. 27 a meeting was held of the Provincial Congress Committee at which the following resolutions were passed.—

"Whereas, in the opinion of this Committee, the recent orders of the Governor-in-Council and the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, are unjust, arbitrary and intended to paralyse the activities of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee and thus the movement of non-co-operation, this Committee appeals to the public to enrol themselves as Congress volunteers."

"Resolutⁿ IV resolved that in view of the present extremely grave political situation in this province Srijut, C. R. Das, President of this Committee, be vested with full power to carry on the work of the Congress on behalf of the Committee in consultation with the Bengal Prov. Khilafat Committee."

"Subsequently the Khilafat Committee passed similar resolutions, but associated a Committee of four with Mr. C. R. Das in exercise of his full powers. Both these sets of resolutions were published in the Press on December 1.

"On December 2 Mr. Das published a statement entitled "My message to my countrymen" in which he called for a million volunteers for the work of the province.

"On December 5 an advertisement appeared in the extremist press, signed by C. R. Das calling on volunteers.

"On Dec. 6 there appeared an appeal to Calcutta students by Mr. C. R. Das, which has since been distributed widely in leaflet form. Its inflammatory nature may be gauged from the following sentence which contains the gist of the appeal :—

"Only five thousand in this great city and the work of the Congress about to be stopped! have the students of Calcutta nothing to say? Is this the time for study—art and literature, science and mathematics? Oh, the shame of it, when the Mother calls and they have not the heart to hear."

"On the same day, to quote the *Servant*, "according to the order of Deshbandhu C. R. Das that the work of the Congress and the Khilafat must be carried on, "volunteers" were sent out on *swadeshi* work towards the direction of Barabazar. The first batch was led by Deshbandhu's son, Sriji Chira Ranjan Das. He was arrested along with his batch near the junction of College Street and Harrison Road. Several batches were sent out one after another. Only two of these were arrested".

"In accordance with the policy now definitely adopted by the leaders challenging Government by the deliberate defiance of the law, in addition to batches of volunteers, mostly of the student class, three ladies, including the wife and a sister of Mr. Das were sent out on December 7th with the intention of forcing the police to arrest them. In the message from them published in the Extremist Press of December 8, they state : "We came out fully prepared for arrest," and, although every effort was made to induce them to desist, the police were eventually obliged to arrest them. They declined to give bail or allow bail to be given for them, and the police had no alternative but to send them to the Presidency Jail, whence they were released that same night by an order from Govt. On the following morning they issued a message to the students.

"On this day and on December 9 and 10 the leaders pursued their policy of sending out large numbers of youths in batches as volunteers in order to court arrest, and, although the police refrained from arresting any but the most prominent of them, the number of arrests on these three days has totalled 500, and their action has seriously endangered the peace and security of the town.

"It is thus clear that the leaders of the movement have deliberately challenged the power of Government to maintain law and preserve order, and to that challenge there can be but one reply. These leaders have so far tried to force Government to take action against ladies or immature youths, who have been swayed by inflammatory appeals to their patriotic sentiments. Although it has been necessary to arrest and prosecute a considerable number of these, Government has no wish or intention to visit on them the offences of those who have led them astray. Government is advised that the leaders have rendered themselves liable to prosecution under the law, and in the condition of things that have been brought about by their action Government has no alternative but to put the law in force against them. It has therefore been decided to arrest and prosecute certain of the more prominent amongst those who are responsible for the present state of affairs."

Accordingly along with Mr. Das, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Messrs. B. N. Sasmal, Subhas Ch. Bose, Padamraj Jain, B. N. Barman, M. Akram Khan and Pt. Ambica Prasad Bajpai,—all prominent leaders of the different Congress and Khilafat organisations of Calcutta, were arrested and locked up in jail. The *Patrika* and the *Servant* newspaper offices were searched, and many Khilafat and Congress offices were raided. The military was called in and parties of British soldiers were stationed at all crossings of Barabazar and the neighbourhood of the Congress office. Armed police and European sergeants paraded the streets, and the Indian quarter of the town looked as if under Martial Law. Panic reigned and many people were assaulted. Principal H. C. Moitra, a leading light of the Moderate party, had a sound thrashing from the British soldiers. Schools and Colleges went on strike, more and more volunteers were enrolled, and more and more were arrested. For the next few days there was no other talk or work in the town; the criminal courts were overflowing, the police stations were overflowing, the jails were overflowing, and over them all flowed the surging crowd of thousands upon thousands of volunteers, from boys of 10 to old men of 80, from the delicately nurtured spoon-fed boy of princely families down to the rough day-labourers and wage-earners of the mills and factories. Parties arranged to be given to the Viceroy and

other pleasant functions were dropped. Lawyers boycotted the courts in protest, but all to no purpose.

Arrest of Pt. Motilal Nehru

All over Bengal, the U. P., and the Punjab, it was the same. At Allahabad Pt. Motilal Nehru was arrested on the 6th. with all the prominent male members of his family, and the important N-C-O workers (see chronology p. 58 *et. seq.*). On the previous day the Dist. Magistrate served him with a notice that he would be personally liable for any disturbance in the town during the Prince's visit on the 12th. The U. P. Govt. wired for his arrest, as the perfect organisation of the volunteer corps in Allahabad was dreaded by the authorities, and there was not a shadow of a doubt that the Prince's welcome to the town would be a fiasco. On the 7th. a summary trial was held and the great Pundit was convicted and sentenced to 6 months' imprisonment. This served but to accentuate the hartal, and on the 12th. when the Prince came, he found the whole town closed upon his face ! Never was a boycott more complete as on that memorable day at Allahabad.

This insensate policy of repression soon roused even the Moderates from their cosy bed of the Resorms. Some openly, some unobtrusively became non-co-operators. Some, like Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar, gave up their seat in the council, some, like Dewan M. O. Parthasaray Aiyangar, gave up their titles.

On December 10th. the Hon. Mr. Raza Ali, an influential member of the Council of State, voiced the sentiment of his fellow-councillors in a wire to the Viceroy as follows :—

"As one who has co-operated with the Government, I respectfully but emphatically protest against Your Excellency's Government's new policy. Apparently, panic is setting on the Government's nerves since the Bombay riots, and they see nothing but danger signals all around. Indiscriminate arrests are being made in every Province, and by incarcerating persons like the revered Pandit Motilal Nehru, Messrs. Lajpatrai and Jitendralal Banerji and Mrs. Das, Government are seeking to imprison India's soul. Unconsciously they are helping the Non-co-operators to prove their claim that the only place for an honest Indian is gaol, and each senseless arrest brings new followers within the Non-co-operation fold. Whatever may be the differences of opinion among the Indian political parties, nobody can reconcile himself to a suppression of the Congress and Khilafat movements. Courageous men who have not hesitated to part company with Mr. Gandhi cannot be expected to acquiesce in a reign of terror being established by the Government. People are asking whether a Government that cannot tolerate the Congress and the Khilafat Volunteers will be prepared to grant responsible

Government to India with her own Army and Navy. The irony is that Government are helping the formation of a Civil Guard in Calcutta simultaneously with the proscription of the Congress and Khilafat Volunteers. Sir Edward Carson's Volunteer Army of 1913 is a parallel case. May we hope that Non-co-operation will not be goaded into Sinu Feinism? I beg of Your Excellency to consider two things. By arresting all leaders the Government are removing the only guarantee against non-violence, and if disorders ensue it is clear where responsibility should rest. Secondly, by interfering with the right of free speech and free association Government are driving discontent underground. The saddest and most objectionable part is that this policy of frightfulness has been launched when His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales is in our midst on a mission of peace. The issue is simple. One can understand Government's efforts to put down intimidation and actual or apprehended violence, but recent events indicate the Government's desire to strike at the Congress and the peaceful part of its propaganda. The new policy, it is my duty to state, will be met with opposition by united India. How can any self-respecting Indian stay at home when our ladies are being put under lock and key in the name of law and order? Repression and coercion will fail as they have failed in the past. The situation is graver than it was in February, 1919. The eyes of all who stand for British connection are turned towards Your Excellency. Repression is untenable, because it will totally alienate the sympathies of those who have hitherto supported the Government. Among the first victims of Government fury were those valiant sons of Islam, Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali. Their bodies are in gaol, but their inner soul is finding expression on thousands of platforms and through millions of mouths. By prosecuting them Government have been instrumental in spreading the very gospel that was desired to be proscribed. The wiser and better course is to win back the people by adopting a bold policy of genuine and whole-hearted conciliation. Surely, British genius, that has just succeeded in solving the Irish problem, should not find the Indian question beyond it."

On the 15th the Lucknow Liberal League wired to the Viceroy the following resolutions :—

"The Lucknow Liberal League views with great alarm the new policy of the Government in pursuance of which Volunteers and similar organisations of the Congress and Khilafat have been declared unlawful under the Criminal Law Amendment Act and strongly disapprove of the wholesale and indiscriminate arrests and imprisonment that are taking place in the name of law and order.

"This policy is highly unwise and inexpedient, because it has the effect of aggravating the very evil which it seeks to remedy, because its blind enforcement has been exasperating all parties in the country and because it is based upon a total misconception of the present temper of the people and the realities of the situation, and further because it failed to take sufficient note of certain recent indications of a feeling of reaction against the policy and programme of Non-co-operation in certain quarters.

"While the League is prepared to support all legitimate measures to put down lawlessness and disorder, to punish those who actually intimi-

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date or use violence or incite people to violence, it apprehends that the present attitude and action of the Government, instead of promoting the true purpose of law and order, namely, peace and contentment of the people, is seriously accentuating widespread dissatisfaction which already prevails in the country.

"The League warns the Government of U. P. against the false assurance that it has received that the situation is improving or is likely to improve by the application of this policy or that any section of the people really welcomes the measures that are being enforced. People who give such assurance are either ignorant or interested and any man who can see that Non-co-operation will not yield to repression. The situation demands that the root causes of discontent should be looked to and the main grievances of the country should be removed. Unless the Government of India gives the indication of a constructive policy, mere repression will not improve the situation.

"The League is firmly of opinion that immediate and earnest efforts should be made by the Government and the people alike to compose the situation, and it strongly suggests that an early Round Table Conference should be held in which prominent leaders of the party of Non-Co-operation, the Liberal Party and the National Home Rule League and some members of the Government should participate with a view to bring about a better understanding and satisfactory settlement.

"That the notification extending the Criminal Law Amendment Act to the Congress and Khilafat Associations should be at once withdrawn and the persons convicted and imprisoned thereunder should be immediately released. This will also enable some of the distinguished leaders who have been thus imprisoned to take part in the deliberations of the proposed Round Table Conference.

"The League strongly protests against the disallowance of the Governor of the motion of adjournment of the Council as undue interference with the legitimate expression of opinion by the representatives of the people of the declaration of policy by the Government which had led to arrests throughout the Province and on the general situation so created."

And on the 18th. Sir Shivashwamy Aiyer, president of the Madras Liberal League, wired to the Viceroy as follows :—

"The Madras Liberal League, while recognising the difficulties of Government in dealing with the present critical situation, views with great concern the inauguration of a policy of wholesale repression and indiscriminate arrests, and is emphatically of opinion that such a policy defeats its own object by increasing the tension, alienating popular sympathy and aggravating the general unrest.

"The League is further of opinion that the extension of part (2) of the Criminal Law Amendment Act to the Presidency of Madras is uncalled for in the circumstances of the Presidency outside the Martial Law area, and expresses its strong disapproval of the extension as a mere precautionary measure.

"This League further earnestly calls on the Government to reconsider its policy with a view to ease the present situation, and suggests a Conference of representatives of all shades of opinion as one of the steps likely to secure the above object."

The Moderates' Appeal

By this time every class of the Indian community, including the most confirmed Moderate, was getting thoroughly exasperated at the enormity of the outrages committed by the police and military, aided by the much despised band of Civil-guards, while the Viceroy was serenely watching the game from Belvedere. On the 13th. the National Liberal League, the Ministerial party, sent a memorial to the Viceroy and the Governor of Bengal complaining of the manner in which the Military and the Police behaved in the streets of Calcutta, and said further :—

“There has been deep and widespread discontent in consequence of the attitude and conduct of the Police and the Military. The grievance is keenly felt by the citizens, many of whom have badly suffered at their hands. It is necessary that the Government should clearly declare its policy and dissociate itself from the lawless acts done in its name. It should take steps to prevent a repetition of such conduct and to ensure a more just and human attitude on the part of those that act in its name.”

Strong objection was also taken of the way in which the law was administered by the Magistracy and the Police and of the atrocious beating of undertrial prisoners ; and finally the memorial said :—

“The League calls the attention of the Government to the necessity of consulting the Ministers, who are the leading and responsible representatives of the people, before any measure emergent or otherwise, are taken affecting the rights and liberties of subjects.”

The central organisation of the Bengal Moderates, the Indian Association of Calcutta, also addressed the following letter to the Private Secretary of the Viceroy. The Secretary wrote :—

Sir, I am directed by the Committee of the Indian Association to address the following communication to you and to request you to be so good as to place it before His Excellency.

2. The situation that has arisen in the city during the last few days in consequence of some recent Government measures and of the manner in which effect has been given to them by the military and the police has been causing grave anxiety to all who are interested in the preservation of peace and order. It has created widespread panic among the citizens and has caused considerable tension of feeling, and

my Committee, therefore, are constrained to urge upon His Excellency the necessity of taking immediate steps to allay the prevailing alarm and uneasiness.

3. Among the points to which my Committee desire to specially invite the attention of His Excellency are the following :—

[1] The widespread impression, confirmed by newspaper reports of trials, that persons are being arrested and convicted simply for selling or wearing Khaddar, crying Bande mataram or Gaudhi Maharaj-ki-jai, or for asking people to close their shops on the 24th December.

[2] Assaults and rude behaviour by the military, the police and the Anglo-Indian Civil Guards on unoffending persons.

[3] Indiscriminate arrests.

[4] Arrests of ladies.

[5] Maltreatment of arrested persons.

[6] Reported forcible seizure and removal of "Khaddar" from shops and other places.

[7] Trial of prisoners in camera and in jail; information in some cases not being given even to Counsel desirous of appearing for or watching proceedings on behalf of accused persons.

[8] Severity of the sentences passed on persons accused of political offences or offences of a technical or trivial character.

[9] The detention of persons in custody without any charge being formulated against them.

[10] The stationing of military pickets in various parts of the city (in some cases with machine guns.)

4. The Committee most earnestly and respectfully urge that His Excellency may be pleased to bestow his careful attention on the above mentioned causes of the deplorable state of unrest which has been created in the city and to remove them with a view to the restoration of public confidence.

My Committee further urge that an official communique may be immediately issued stating the measures that are resolved upon by the Government for the purpose indicated above.

My Committee hold (i) that a high judicial officer possessing public confidence should be deputed to shift the evidence in the cases of persons convicted of political offences and offences against the recent Proclamation; [ii] that persons convicted without sufficient evidence should be released; and [iii] that the power enjoyed by Government under Section 402 Cr. P.C. to commute sentences should be freely exercised so as to remove the feeling of unrest now prevailing.

5. My Committee beg earnestly to repeat what they have urged before that political offenders should be treated as first class misdemeanours as in England and not as ordinary criminals under any circumstances.

6. In conclusion my Committee deem it their duty to invite His Excellency's attention to the fact that great excitement has been caused by the assault on Principal Heramba Chandra Maitra which can only be allayed by the issue of an official communique stating the punishment inflicted on the offender and the steps taken to prevent similar occurrences in future.

A second letter followed immediately after :—

Sir, In continuation of my previous letter I am directed by the Executive Committee of the Indian Association to address you the following communication on the present repressive policy of Government.

Sir, My Committee have no hesitation in saying that the action of Government during the past few days has brought about a situation which is full of grave peril to the best interests of the country. The Indian Association have always supported and will support Government in all attempts to put down lawlessness and intimidation, but when Government in the name of preserving peace and order allow their own officers to exceed the bounds of law and to create a general state of terrorism, they feel bound to enter their emphatic protest.

(3) It is to be sincerely deplored that Government should have thought it necessary to use the extraordinary powers under Part II of the Criminal Law Amendment Act and the Seditious Meetings Act to deal with the situation, and that at a time when it was widely known that an early repeal of these obnoxious pieces of legislation had been unanimously recommended by the Repressive Laws Committee. There is a widespread feeling that the provisions of these extraordinary laws are being applied for a purpose very different from that which the Acts were designed to meet. My Committee are convinced that if any thing the events of the past few days have only strengthened the case for an instant withdrawal and subsequent repeal of these Acts. The position that has actually arisen, involving as it does wholesale and indiscriminate arrests and the chances of abuse of power on the part of the very guardians of law and order, is one that should have been scrupulously avoided by Government.

(4) My Committee have no desire to pronounce on the legality or otherwise of the notification which has been promulgated by Government but they have no doubt whatsoever as to the utter inexpediency and futility of the policy which is being pursued. The situation which arose in Calcutta on the 17th November last did not certainly call for such drastic action as has been taken but might have been amply met by a judicious use of the powers possessed by Government under the ordinary criminal law. Judging by results, it is indisputable that the measures adopted by Government have produced a regrettable revulsion of feeling which is bound to react and has reacted most unfavourably on the whole situation. It has given a fresh and unwonted impetus to the very movement which it was designed to check; it has fostered that very spirit of defiance of constituted authority which it was intended to put down. It has further alienated the sympathies of a large and growing section of the peaceful and law-abiding citizens.

5. In the best interests of law and order, therefore, my Committee are emphatically of opinion that a fresh enunciation of policy is urgently called for, announcing the complete abandonment of repression as an instrument of Government. Repression, as has been remarked, only stiffens the gristles of infancy into the bones of manhood, and a persistence in the present methods will only strengthen the hand of the Non-co-operators.

6. My Committee would once more earnestly urge on the Government the necessity of a free and generous use of their power under chapter

29th of the Criminal Procedure Code, with a view to remit or mitigate the severity of some of the sentences which have been passed. Nothing could be more unfortunate than even the appearance or trace of vindictiveness on the part of Government or their agents towards political offenders, and my Committee venture to think that it is only by such action as they have suggested that such an impression can be effectually dispelled.

My Committee would also emphasise the necessity of publishing an authoritative statement of the actual happenings from day to day as the most effective way of counteracting misleading and erroneous reports and rumours, which can only have the effect of adding to the difficulties of an already difficult situation.

8. Finally, I am to enquire if the present policy was inaugurated, in particular, if the notification under Part II of the Criminal Law Amendment Act was promulgated, with the concurrence of, or in consultation with the Hon'ble the Ministers. If the Reforms have any meaning it is essential that the popular representatives in the Government must have a determining voice in the shaping of a policy for which they must necessarily share the responsibility.

To these representations however, as elsewhere, no reply was vouchsafed, and once more it was demonstrated beyond the shadow of a doubt that in vital matters affecting the rights and liberties, the life and death, of the Indian people, the Indian bureaucracy was as autocratic as ever, Moderates or no Moderates, and reforms or no reforms. Between the coldness of Government on one side and the dumb reproach of the non-co operators on the other, and the universal disgust with which their supine inactivity was viewed, the Moderates as a party were already showing signs of breakdown, and as a last effort they rallied and issued the following manifesto in the name of Sir A. Chowdhury, Sir P. C. Ray, Messrs Bepin Ch. Pal, J. Chowdhury, and 1,000 other prominent men.

The Moderates' Manifesto

"1. The latest development in the political situation in the country makes it impossible for any section of the community either to look on with equanimity or to stand aside from the struggle which is going on in their midst. It must be recognized that the non-co-operation movement is only a symptom of an almost universal desire for the immediate establishment of Swaraj to which it has been seeking to give an organized expression. Practically the country accepted the general principles of non-co-operation including such eminent leaders as the late Dr. Rash Behari Ghosh. It is recognized as a perfectly

constitutional method of political struggle under all civilized Government. It must be further recognized that this desire for Swaraj is most natural and legitimate in view of the fact that under the existing system of Government the nation is incapable of true progress or self-realisation or asserting its rightful place in the Commonwealth of Nations.

"2. Our object has always been and still is to secure the birth-right of our people, namely Swaraj, so far as may be, without destroying the continuity of the State in the country. We have always been, as we still are, opposed to the destruction of the instruments of State upon which the very existence of the State as State depends and without which universal anarchy must inevitably overcome the people.

"3. While admitting that the Government had a difficult situation to face, they cannot refuse reasonably to recognize their own share of the responsibility for it. The Government should have foreseen almost every thing that has happened during the last 12 months, and should have made a timely attempt towards the settlement of the issues before them. The responsible Ministers of the King and His Majesty's Government in this country missed a splendid opportunity to offer a solution of the problem when H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught came out to open the new legislative councils. A declaration that full responsible Government at an early date would be established automatically in India, joined to a recommendation for the extension immediately of full provincial responsibility, and a frank attempt towards finding reasonable redress of the Khilafat and Punjab wrongs, would have easily prevented the present anxious developments.

"4. His Excellency Lord Reading has not yet availed himself of his opportunities. He has come with an open mind and with full powers from the King and Cabinet to find a solution of the present difficulties. If His Excellency had accepted the proposal of a Round Table Conference last summer and had helped the formulation of an agreed scheme to secure the early establishment of full Swaraj, the situation might have been saved. Mahatma Gandhi called upon his followers to allow the new Viceroy reasonable time to think out a policy and to redress the grievances of the people. In failing to utilise that comparatively calm atmosphere His Excellency has, we fear, lost a most favourable opportunity.

"5. The latest activities of the Government have, instead of easing, very considerably increased the gravity of the situation. All classes of people have taken the present policy as one of relentless repression of the legitimate wishes and activities of the people to work out their political salvation by their own self-endeavours and self-sacrifices. The feeling in the country is that the action taken by the Government under the Criminal Law Amendment Act against Congress volunteers, and the misapplication of the Seditious Meetings Act to business meetings of the Provincial Congress Committees, mean an attack on the constitutional status and rights of the Congress without openly proclaiming it as an unlawful association. In view of this proclamation, the Congress had either to submit to be indirectly suppressed or refuse to obey an order which is without legal or political justification.

"6. It must be clearly recognised that the present struggle can not continue in its present form for very long. It is equally clear that this struggle can only end in one or other of the following ways :—

Firstly—that the present policy of the Government will completely demoralise the non-co-operation movement, or alternatively, the non-co-operation movement will demoralise the Government. It is our considered opinion that neither of these results is desirable in the interests of all concerned,—the former will drive the movement under-ground and the latter can only lead to absolute despotism.

"7. After giving our best consideration to the facts and circumstances of the present situation, we are deliberately of opinion that the Government should first cry an immediate truce and offer an opportunity to the people, both non-co-operators and others, to meet in a conference to consider the situation and find a reasonable settlement by their common consent. We ask His Excellency the Viceroy to call such a conference without any loss of time and to direct the release of all persons now detained in consequence of the application of recent measures. We feel absolutely convinced that in the event of the Government refusing or failing to allay this increasing unrest by any withdrawal of the present policy, all sections of the community will be driven into this struggle, putting aside for the time being all differences of political opinion. Wise and timely statesmanship may yet avert a crisis."

The Bengal Legislative Council

All these, however, were of little avail. Repression went on unabated to the huge merriment both of the Anglo-Indian junkies on one side and the swelling volume of volunteers on the other, and to the eternal disgust of all self-respecting persons. The "lap-dogs" of the bureaucracy, as the Civil guards were popularly called, afforded an unusual amount of fun. Donkeys, bulls, dogs, were found roaming in the streets with big paste-boards bearing the inscription "Civil guards" and miniature batons hanging from their necks. It was alleged that the pleaders of the Calcutta Police Courts were amused every day to find notorious cocaine smugglers, men under-going trial, and persons who hang about the Courts plying their trade of "professional witnesses", were recruited as Civil guards.

On December 19th the Bengal Council met to discuss the situation and His Excellency the Governor came down from Govt. House to personally address the Council. In a speech characterised by an unseemly exultant pomposity, unworthy of the occasion, His Lordship recounted with apparently unfeigned horror the so called intimidation and terrorism practised by the hartalists of which he had heard and read so much in the Anglo-Indian Press. But he could mention not a single concrete case of the alleged excesses committed by the non-co-operators, and failed to convince his listeners why, if his allegations were true, the ordinary law could not reach the wrong-doers. On the contrary, they heard from him an amazing justification of the actions of the Military, the Police, and the Civil-guards, for preserving law and order in the manner that they did. But, in the genuine spirit of the British *Banya*, His Excellency was willing to compromise, to call a truce, provided the Prince—their Prince—was given a free reception and the hartal of the 24th. called off. Said His Excellency :—

"If I was satisfied not only that there was a genuine desire to create an atmosphere favourable for a conference but that the non-co operators on their part were prepared to take definite action to bring about such an atmosphere, then I should be prepared to recommend to my Government that it too should take steps in consonance with the altered situation. The action which it is

open to the non-co-operators to take is quite plain to me. Nothing has so exacerbated feeling, nothing has been more responsible for the present tension, than the attitude which they have taken up towards the visit of H. R. H. the Prince of Wales. Nothing could be better calculated to relieve the present tension and so to contribute towards the atmosphere which it is desired to create than a change in that attitude. If, for example the organised attempt to boycott the visit were abandoned; if the proposed "hartal" were called off; if everything was done to re-assure the people by making it known to them that they were at complete liberty to accord His Royal Highness a royal welcome, then we should be faced with a different situation and I should be prepared to recommend to my Government that so far as was compatible with public safety they should stay their hand. We have no desire to make large numbers of arrests under the provisions of the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1908, and if the leaders of the non-co-operation movement were to issue orders to their supporters to cease going out into the streets to defy the law, the necessity for our doing so would obviously have disappeared. I would go further and say that if with a view to paving the way for a possible conference there was a determination on the part of the non-co-operation leaders to observe a truce in the fullest sense of the word, in other words to cease all hostile activity, I would be prepared to recommend to my Government that prosecutions which are pending under Part II of the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1908 should be suspended and those charged with offences under this Act should be released."

So at last the thin veneer of "Justice" and "law and order" so adroitly thrown over the whole affair by the ex-Lord Chief Justice of England, the Viceroy of India, was ruined a little, and people had a peep into the inner workings of the bureaucratic mind. It came to this:—call off the hartal, receive the Prince, and all repression will be withdrawn. But the principle on which the non-co-operators took their stand:—whether it was not within their right to abstain from official functions peacefully and by peaceful means to address themselves to the people—remained unanswered. The will of the Government was the Law—*Sic volo, Sic jubeo*.

Mr. S. N. Mallick who moved the adjournment of the House to consider the grave political situation voiced Indian sentiment in the Council and said in the course of his speech :—

The whole province is in a state of terrorism. Special laws of high potency in repressing people have been promulgated—the ordinary rights of citizens to hold meetings, to discuss public matters, have been suspended and other crude weapons of coercion have been put into use for the purpose of commanding the love and affection of the people to compel their co-operation. The methods of putting into execution these repressive measures have taken away the breath even from the most peaceful and law-abiding of citizens. Any body who knows anything about the administrative machinery and its parts in the country can have little doubt in his mind that the employment of these harsh and cruel measures and methods is the work of our sworn opponents viz. the bureaucracy and the civil service. Repression has taken such a cruel shape that, though I am not in the secrets of the Government, I have every reason to believe that the Indian element in the Government has not been consulted by the bureaucracy in such a vital matter, thus violating the spirit of the new Reforms. Otherwise it is inconceivable that such measures could have been resorted to.

"I must confess that our disapproval here cannot but take the shape of the utmost possible condemnation. Unprovoked assaults, unjustifiable insults, indiscriminate arrests are the outstanding features of this period of oppression which have produced results the opposite of which they are intended to create. Still more objectionable have been the trials in camera and in jail and the harsh sentences, out of all proportion to the gravity of the offences or the age of the offender. It is again deeply to be regretted that persons, even after their arrest, have been subjected to unnecessary harshness and cowardly assault. These things have unbinged the public mind, have aggravated the situation and have laid Government open to the charge of vindictiveness in their doings. Let the Government answer.

"On the top of these, the wantonly mischievous activities of the military and the intolerable aggressiveness of the police have put the severest strain upon the loyalty of the most

devoted Moderate and have made him look aghast. Whatever Government communiques may say, I have the evidence of my own eyes which I cannot disbelieve. I have seen the Military charging, insulting and assaulting innocent passers-by in the streets with an exuberance of animalism—characteristic of their profession, intensified by the hauteur of a supposed racial and a certain physical superiority. Even respectable persons, regarding whom there could be possibly no honest mistake, were not saved from humiliation and assault at the hands of the Police and the Military. And it is a great pity that all this has been done despite the grave warning uttered in this Council a few weeks back against giving an unbridled license to the police and the protector. And then to crown all, the Government with a regrettable lack of sense of propriety brought out machine guns and armoured cars in different parts of this city to reduce the people to a state of abject terror.

“The effect of these acts of repression and coercion has been the strengthening of the very movement which the Government was out to crush. They are bound to recoil back upon the administration with terrible force and has reacted on the whole situation most unfavourably. These harsh and arbitrary measures have unfortunately fostered the very spirit of defiance of constituted authority which they were designed to check and I am almost sure that Government has lost the moral support and the hearty good-will of the vast majority of the people—a loss which no amount of bureaucratic efficiency can balance or compensate. By its precipitate and indiscreet policy of drastic repression, the Government has not only lost the benefit of the reaction which had set in strongly in favour of law and order as a result of the deplorable outrages committed by the mob at Bombay on the 17th of November last, but has alienated a large amount of sympathy of the supporters of Government. It is a pity that the bureaucracy, in spite of all its vaunted ideas of efficiency and statecraft, has failed to utilise this psychological opportunity and has, on the contrary, created a spirit of resentment which would turn the hearts of many away even from His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

“To add insult to injury, the highest authority in this land in addressing the Mahajans, the other day, made certain ob-

servations which have gone deep into our hearts and have made our despair complete. There is not a word of sympathy or a ray of hope in them for the people at large. When Government unfurls the banner of oppression, they justify their conduct by stating that they have reliable informations which warrant their new course. It is said that the present policy was inaugurated largely owing to an outcry of a certain section of Indians. Well and good ;—there you believe the Indians as it furthers the initiation of your policy of repression. But when the Indian community as a whole raises a loud wail and a heart-rending outcry against the effects of that policy, in their utter helplessness and despair, the answer is: "I don't know the facts. I trust they are inaccurate." There you forget to believe the Indians. It is Justice indeed !—though somewhat different from what we up till now regarded British justice to be."

Moulvi Ekramul Huq, voicing Moslem sentiment in the council, said :—"I shall humbly, ask the Government, in the name of humanity to desist from the course it has taken, and in order to create an atmosphere of peace and goodwill, to release the political prisoners and to assure the heartiest welcome to the great and noble guest we have got amongst ourselves. Let there be no mistake about it, the position in India to day is more critical than at any time since 1857. The reverberations of the Amritsar massacre have shaken British rule to its foundations. In India, in Ireland, and in Egypt it is the same story. The military minded people have done everything possible to prevent any practical solution of any of these problems. They believe in force, and they have sought to apply force, but one of the vital facts which they have overlooked is that Great Britain does not command enough force to go round. If they had their way they might crush Ireland and Egypt and India, and that being so, their essays in militarism cannot but lead to disaster even from their own point of view."

Of the other speakers who were allowed to speak Sir H. Wheeler and Mr. Kerr on behalf Government followed in the wake of their chief, the Governor. The Maharajah of Burdwan while pursuing in a similar strain made a remark that the hartalists meant an insult to the Prince to which almost the whole house cried out in protest with a chorus

of "No." An "open charge" was made that the Indian Ministers were not consulted by the Government in their policy of repression which elicited no denial. Thus came the great debate to an end.

Meanwhile repression went on with unabated fury. Next day, the 20th December, all the members of the Viceroy's Executive Council came down to Calcutta. Telegraphic messages were exchanged between Gandhi and the Calcutta leaders. Gandhi was not opposed to a conference though he had not much faith in it, and the hartal of the 24th could not be called off. All eyes now turned on the deputation that was going to meet the Viceroy.

The Malaviya Deputation

The Malaviya Deputation was received by the Viceroy on the 21st December. It was composed of many eminent representative leaders including Sir M. Visvesvaraya, Mr. Seshagiri Iyer and Mrs. Besant from Madras, Messrs Lalji Narayanji and Jamnadas Dwarkadas from Bombay, Syed Hasan Imam from Behar, Raizada Bhagatram from the Punjab, Pundit H. N. Kunzru and Babu Iswari Saran from the U. P. and Sir P. C. Roy, Sir A. Chaudhury, Messrs Fazlul Huq, Abul Kassim, Ghanshyamdas Birla and a few others from Bengal. Pundit Malaviya, who headed the deputation, in opening the representation on the political situation of the country, said in the course of his address :—

"It is unnecessary for us to refer here at any length to the root causes of the present unrest. During the period of the war, and at the end of it, the attitude of the people of India was one of cordial co-operation with the Government. It is undeniable that happy state of affairs does not exist at present. The causes which have brought about this change are too well-known to require repetition.

"While gratefully acknowledging what the Government have done to redress what are known as the Punjab and "Khilafat" wrongs, we think it our duty to invite Your Excellency's attention to the fact that there is a widespread feeling that all that should have been done has not yet been done.

"As to the question of Reforms, Your Excellency is aware that while a large section of the people regard the measures which have been introduced as inadequate and unsatisfactory, and while another section have co-operated with the Government in working the Reforms, both are agreed in asking that "Swaraj," or full responsible Government, should be established as speedily as possible. Great has been the awakening among the masses during the last few years. They have begun to take an active

interest in these public questions. Statesmanship demands, if we may venture to say so, that a large-hearted effort should be made to understand clearly, and as far as possible to meet, the wishes of the people in respect of problems which are deeply agitating the public mind.

"In these circumstances we believe we are voicing the opinion of large sections of the population when we urge that Your Excellency should be pleased to invite the leading representatives of the people to a conference, under your leadership, to take counsel together and make practical suggestions and recommendations concerning the remedies which should be adopted. Should our prayer commend itself to Your Excellency, we doubt not that the Conference will be truly representative of all shades of opinion, and in particular of the masses of the population, whose well-being is intimately bound up with a permanent solution of the political, economic and other difficulties and disadvantages to which they are exposed at present. With mutual forbearance and good-will, we firmly believe it is possible to find such a solution, and to replace the present unrest by peace and harmony based on a guarantee of ordered, healthy national progress.

"In the meanwhile it seems imperative that the various notifications and proclamations issued under the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1908 and the Seditious Meeting Act, which have stirred up so much feeling and unrest in the country, should be withdrawn and all persons, imprisoned as a result of their operation, immediately released.

"Whatever our present difficulties may be, a considerable section of the public are anxious that His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales should be received with the respect due to his exalted position. We have every hope that the measures we recommend will help largely in allaying public irritation and in restoring confidence and good-will among all sections of the population.

"There is a very wide-spread feeling, among the thinking section of the people, that Government should avail themselves of this great opportunity for bringing about a satisfactory solution—in concert with the representatives of the people—of the principal difficulties which have arisen. A solution of the situation, which may be easy of accomplishment to-day, will become much more difficult should the present tension continue and increase, and as we fear, precipitate matters to a crisis. We earnestly hope that Your Excellency will be pleased to give your most careful consideration to the recommendations we have submitted, and that you will meet the situation in a generous spirit of broad-minded sympathy and conciliation."

H. E. The Viceroy's reply.

In reply His Excellency made a lengthy speech in the course of which he continuously reiterated his favourite platitudes on justice and law and order, and touching on the object of the deputation, said :—

"You recommend—indeed, your language is that it seems imperative—that the various notifications and proclamations

recently issued by the Government should be withdrawn and all persons imprisoned as the result of their operations immediately released. I can scarcely conceive that you have intended to present to me such recommendations without having in your minds, as a necessary corollary, the equally imperative necessity for the discontinuance of those activities which have led Government to adopt the measures now forming the subject of discussion. I do not propose to discuss those measures but I will assume that they form the subject, as I know, of acute controversy. They were adopted by Government with an object of giving protection to law-abiding citizens particularly here in Calcutta and any other parts of India. I have already said it was not a new policy; it was the application of the policy which lies at the very root of all civilised Government, i.e., the maintenance of law and the preservation of order. But it is impossible even to consider the convening of a Conference if agitation in open and avowed defiance of law is meanwhile to be continued. Unfortunately, I look in vain in your address for any indication that these activities will cease. I fully understand that none of you is in a position to give an assurance to this effect, for none of you have been authorised to make it. . . . I do not know from the address presented to me what view is taken by the leaders who are responsible for non-co-operation activities in the sense that I find no assurance from them that these activities will cease if a conference were to be convened. I am asked, without such an assurance, to withdraw Government measures called into operation by Government under an existing law for the protection of law-abiding citizens and to release all those arrested for defying law. I cannot believe that this was the intention of the deputation when originally suggested, for it would mean that throughout the country intimidation and unlawful oppression and other unlawful acts should be allowed to continue, whilst Government action to maintain order and protect the law-abiding citizens would be largely paralysed."

There was a touch of Nelsonian innocence in the attitude of the Viceroy, for he seemed deliberately to put the glass to the blind eye. His Excellency continued in the same strain to traverse the grounds put forward by Government of the numerous breaches of law and order. It did not occur to His Excellency that the breaches of law he was talk-

ing of were made so by the promulgation of what the non-co-operators called "lawless laws" against which their activities were directed. Once remove these lawless laws, and the so called breaches and unlawful actions become perfectly lawful and legitimate. As His Excellency went on it became more and more clear to the deputationists that they and His Excellency were working at cross purposes. The object of the deputation was to secure cessation of the mad orgy of repression in the name of law and order,—for what constituted law and order came from the sweet will of the Government officials,—if not to bring Government to reason in a round table conference; and the object of the officials without doubt was to secure a stoppage of the hartalist activities of the Calcutta non-co operators in order that the Prince may have a peaceful reception and the bureaucratic face saved from the scrutinising gaze of the world. And in refusing to act as the deputationists suggested His Excellency continued:—

"Had there been indications to this effect before me to-day in the representations which you have made in your address on the part of the leaders of non-co operation, had the offer been made to discontinue open breaches of law for the purpose of providing a calmer atmosphere for discussion of remedies suggested, my Government would never have been backward in response. I deeply regret that these are not the present conditions, and the discussion which I thought was to have proceeded on the high level of a patriotic desire by temporary mutual concession and forbearance to the finding of a solution of India's present problems, takes the form in its present aspect of a request to the Government to abandon its action without any guarantee that the action which has led, or, as we believe, forced the Government to take such action, would also cease. Therefore it is that a request conveyed to me even by so influential and authoritative a deputation as yourselves to call a Conference, coupled as it is with the two conditions of revocation of the law and release of all the prisoners, the answer I must make is that I cannot comply with the request.

The Present Situation

"I would ask you who represent various shades of opinion to consider the present situation. I have already told you

of my Government's dislike of arrests and imprisonment. I know that you yourselves have strong feelings upon the subject. You tell me in the address that we are proceeding to an acute crisis. It may be that we may have a more disturbed condition of affairs than at present. If the law is defied, whatever the reason, all the incidents that unfortunately accompany challenge of law and of which we have seen instances only during the recent year, may quickly follow. I appeal to you to observe the conditions to-day and in the future, and urge that we should all seek a high level above party or political advantage, otherwise we shall all be failing in our duty to India. I remind you that whatever reforms may be desired in the present constitutional system, they only come through the British Parliament. The only constitutional methods, the only peaceful solution, is by the British Parliament amending the Government of India Act. Therefore it is so important that a proper impression should be made upon the British Parliament and the British People who are represented by that Parliament. For the vast majority of the population in India are loyal to the Crown whatever their views may be about other political controversies.

Affront to the Prince.

"His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales will arrive in Calcutta within the next three days. He has nothing to do with the political controversies that are agitating us at the moment. Yet every attempt is being made to prevent the success of his visit. I shall not discuss or characterise attempts. But I must utter the warning that every man who lends himself to an affront to the Prince of Wales is doing incalculable injury to India and her fortunes in the future. We hold His Royal Highness in deep affection and admiration. Apart altogether from the personal aspect, an affront to the Heir-Apparent when he comes to India to make acquaintance with India is an affront to the British people, for the Crown with us is beloved by the people, and when I remind you that it is from those British people that any amendment must come to alter the constitutional system of India, I trust I shall have shown how necessary it is to cultivate good relations between the British Parliament and our legislatures here, between the British and the Indian peoples."

M. Gandhi's Reply

The hartal, however, was not called off, as it could not possibly be called off at that stage. An open line was kept up for direct messages between M. Gandhi at Ahmedabad and Pt. Malaviya at Calcutta and people waited expectantly to see if Gandhi would give way before the Viceregal threats. Pt. H. N. Kunzru and Mr. Jamnadas were trying to draw him into a conference. The Mahatma, however, was not going to move an inch from Ahmedabad in view of the coming Congress. To a press representative he expressed himself as follows in reply to the Viceroy's last speech :—

"I must confess that I have read the Viceregal utterance with deep pain. I was totally unprepared for what I must respectfully call his mischievous misrepresentation of the attitude of the Congress and Khilafat organisations in connection with the visit of His Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales. Every resolution passed by either organisation, and every speaker, has laid great stress upon the fact that there was no question of showing the slightest ill will against the Prince or exposing him to any affront. The boycott was purely a question of principle, and directed against what we have held to be the unscrupulous methods of the bureaucracy.

"I have always held, as I hold even now, that the Prince has been brought to India in order to strengthen the hold of the Civil Service Corporation which has brought India into a state of abject pauperism and political serfdom. If I am proved to be wrong in my supposition that the visit has the sinister meaning, I shall gladly apologise. It is equally unfortunate for the Viceroy to say that the boycott of the welcome means an affront to the British people. His Excellency does not realise what grievous wrong he is doing to his own people by confusing them with the British administrators in India. Does he wish India to infer that the British administrators here represent the British people, and that the agitation directed against their methods is an agitation against the British people? If such is the Viceregal contention, and if to conduct a vigorous and effective agitation against the methods of the bureaucracy and to describe them in their true colours is an affront to the British people, then I am afraid I must plead guilty.

"I have said . . . that we have not taken the offensive. We are not the aggressors. We have not got to stop any single activity. It is the Government that must stop its aggravatingly offensive activity, aimed not at violence but at lawful, disciplined, stern, but absolutely non-violent agitation. It is for the Government of India, and for it alone, to bring about a peaceful atmosphere if it so desires.

"The immediate issue now is the right of holding public meetings and the right of forming associations for peaceful purposes, and in vindicating this right we are fighting the battle not merely on behalf of non-co operators, but we are fighting the battle for all India, from the peasant to the Prince. I have only to point to the unprovoked assaults being committed, not in isolated cases, not in one place, but in Bengal, in the Punjab, in Delhi and in the United Provinces. I have no doubt that as repression goes on in its mad career the reign of terrorism will overtake the whole of this unhappy land, but whether the campaign is conducted on civilised or uncivilised lines, so far as I can see there is only one way open to non-co-operators—indeed, I contend, even to the people of India. On this question of the right of holding public meetings and forming associations there can be no yielding. We have burnt our boats and we must march onwards till that primary right of human beings is vindicated.

"Let me make my own position clear. I am most anxious for a settlement. I want a round table conference. I want our position to be clearly known by everybody who wants to understand it. I impose no conditions, but when conditions are imposed upon me prior to the holding of a conference, I must be allowed to examine those conditions, and if I find that they are suicidal, I must be excused if I don't accept them. The amount of tension that is created can be regulated solely by the Government of India for the offensive has been taken by that Government."

The Prince in Calcutta

Meanwhile arrangements were being pushed ahead for the reception of the Prince in Calcutta. On Dec. 22nd. the Prince reached Patna amidst a partial hartal in the town. Fortunately there was no disturbance, especially as only the day before the Govt. had issued a communique stating that in

view of the Round Table Conference to be held next month, the local Govt. had directed the release of all prisoners arrested or convicted under the Criminal Law Amendment Act on condition that they undertook, pending the results of the said conference, to refrain from participating in picketing, promoting hartals, recruiting volunteers, and fostering civil disobedience. And after attending the official functions the Prince arrived at Calcutta on the appointed day, the much advertised 24th of December 1921. All this while, ever since the arrest of Mrs. Das, the mad rush of volunteers and their equally mad and insensate arrests went on increasing. Every day, in Calcutta alone, hundreds of volunteers rushed from the Congress and Khilafat offices into the streets armed with short slips of *khadder* and crying 'hartal on the 24th'; and were forthwith arrested. No less than 2,500 went to jail during the last 10 days. On the 23rd, the day before the Prince's arrival, no less than 750 offered themselves for arrest and were arrested. Practically business of the city came to a standstill from that day afternoon. Next day the Prince came; the usual official receptions were held, the promised hartal was observed, and all the fuss made by the volunteers of a complete hartal and all the threats held forth from the Viceroy downwards, were of no avail. After all that had happened, no self-respecting Prince could go through the Indian quarter of the city, and no self-respecting Indian could venture forth to greet the Prince. In the European quarter of the city there was the triumphal State entry of the Royal party guarded by the Military and Police, and there was all the glorious display of pomp and power. The Europeans, the Anglo-Indians, the Jewish communities, were out in their thousands taking with them their Indian servants and entourage and formed a joyous crowd along the guarded route of the Prince. High dignitaries, British and Indian, official and non-official, military and civil, welcomed His Royal Highness at public receptions, and altogether European Calcutta wore a *galá* dress in honour of the Royal visitor.

The Indian quarter of the town, however, presented a dismal contrast. It was hartal all over. All shops were closed, the streets deserted. Houses had their blinds drawn. No tram, no taxis, no cabs and conveyances plied in the streets. The great mass of Indians, remembering what

Gurkhas and Military and the Police had an ineffable preference for their skins, and covering before the new-fangled arm of the law, the Anglo-Indian civil guards, now thoroughly roused into pompous activity by the vim of the Viceroy, and remembering the sweet attentions bestowed on Principal Maitra and a thousand other Indians during the last few days, thought it after all prudent to keep indoors and risk official displeasure rather than go out and tempt fate.

The appearance of the civil guards patrolling the streets created a sort of panic in the mind of the Indian residents, while it gave great assurance to the Europeans and Anglo-Indians against hooligans. Reprisals were hourly expected in the Indian section of the town, and stories ran from mouth to mouth of assaults by the civil guards. As on the 17th. November last, hartal was observed by Indians of all classes, though, owing to precautions taken by the authorities and the Anglo-Indians from before hand, the streets did not look quite deserted. From the morning of the 24th large numbers of the military and the police along with the civil guards were drafted along the route to be taken by the Prince, but the Indian crowd dared not approach. No sweeper swept the streets, no cart-man removed the refuse, and even the municipal lamp-lighters were on hartal. It was a dismal semi-dark, semi-deserted night that Indian Calcutta passed on that day of December 24th. In the European quarter arrangements had been made whereby the civil guards and the residents were to look after the street lamps, and the *Sahibs* running from post to post, with the bamboo ladder on their shoulder and lighting the lamps, afforded a merry spectacle.

Thus passed December 24th without any disturbance, and the Prince enjoyed his reception, perhaps the best that the Government could afford to offer in India at that period. Next day, December 25th. saw a wild outbreak of some civil guards and European sergeants in Entally. It began in a drunken brawl started by a few civil guards and ended in the muslim population of the neighbourhood being seriously assaulted. The offending civil guards were reinforced by their confreres and several European sergeants, who madly roamed about the street, revolver in hand, ready to shoot whoever interfered with their mad career. One man was killed outright and some 20 wounded. The same night the police raided

a mosque in Machuabazar and was alleged to have desecrated it. A constable was found shot at dead of night and a mysterious fear enveloped the whole affair. In this connection Mr. Gandhi wrote in his paper thus:—

"This spontaneous 'hartal' in spite of the herculean efforts to break it, and the preservation by the people of the peace despite provocation, enraged the 'civil' guards and the Europeans generally. The Viceroy is clearly to blame for it. He has brought the Prince when he should not have. Having brought him, he is trying to enforce public welcomes wherever the Prince is being taken and having failed in so doing, His Excellency has excited the passions of the British residents by calling the boycott an affront to the Prince and the British nation. The expected has happened. The police and the civil guard have construed the various declarations of the Government to be a licence to do as they please. They have looted shops. They have, if the reports in the "Servant" are true, walked into mosques with shoes on and even committed thefts. Innocent men have been injured. Some have even been killed. The people of Calcutta have borne this legalised lawlessness with great forbearance. They have done the right thing. In my opinion the shoes of scoffers have not desecrated the mosque in question. The amazing forbearance of the mosque-goers has made it more sacred and proved the religious nature of the struggle.

"The authorities have behaved no better in parts of Bihar. Here is what the Secretary of the Thana Congress Committee, Sonpur, writes:—

"On the 21st December 1921, at about 3 p.m. 10 volunteers with some workers were patrolling the road asking the shopkeepers to observe complete "hartal" on the 22nd instant, during the Prince's visit. When they reached the Sonpur Police Station, the S. P. Mr. Parkin, who has been posted here on account of H. R. H. the Prince's visit came out with about 100 constables and snatched away from the volunteers flags, badges and even "khadi" clothes which they had on them and tore everything to pieces."

"Immediately after this the S. P. marched up to the Congress Office followed by a band of constables in plain clothes and with lathis in their hands. On reaching the office the S. P. ordered the constables to plunder ('Maro aur looto' were the words he used); whereupon the constables broke open and entered the office room pushing the volunteers right and left and assaulting them. Mr. Parkin then thoroughly searched the office, and breaking open a box which contained cash and an almirah which contained records. He then removed all records, Khadi pieces, national calendars, pictures, badges, Khadi caps, and religious books, such as the Ramayan and the Gita which were there, and burnt them in front of the office. They have also taken away about Rs. 120 in cash which was sent here from the District Congress Committee for distribution among the flood-affected people and also as contribution to the National School."

"The following from Benares completes the dismal picture.

"During the last three days the volunteers did not parade the streets to court arrest. Altogether nearly 500 were arrested, most of them were released after 24 hours or fined Rs. 10. In default, the police stripped them of their blankets, coats, caps, shoes, watches etc."

"One hears of such things done by hooligans. In law the persons and property of citizens are held so sacred that they cannot be touched without processes of law. I have seen debtors in courts walk away in unconcern with gold chains dangling on their waistcoats in spite of orders of payment against them. I have seen accused charged with crime being fined and yet walking away with diamond rings on their fingers covering the amount of their fines. In all such cases, recovery has been made after warrants of public attachment and public sales. But the law that is being just now administered against non-co-operators is a law without restraint. The caprice of an official represents the whole law in India. I imagine that even under martial law some of the things that are reported to have happened could not be done with impunity. It is a pity that human beings can be found and used for playing a game so low as is being played by the Government of India."

Some of the graver allegations, however, were denied by Govt. In fact, the non co-operators made allegations which they cared not to prove in the law-courts, and Government also made allegations which they, too, did not prove in the law-courts. So this vicious circle went on whirling and threw off from time to time fine products of popular riots on one side and Govt. repressions on the other. Space does not permit to detail all such affairs of this most troublous period in India. Short notes on the daily happenings will be found in the Chronology (p p. 50-70) The Prince left Calcutta on 30th Dec. for Burma and spent ten days there. His reception in Burma was perhaps more cordial than in British India.

The Prince in Madras

From Rangoon the Prince then came to Madras where he landed on January 13th. 1922. And here the reception that was accorded to him was in every way a smaller edition of the notorious Bombay reception of the 17th. November. There was a grand reception and there was a great riot, though not so extensive and murderous as at Bombay. The chief festive-makers here, besides the Europeans and Anglo-Indians and big Rajahs and Zamindars, were the Adi-dravidians and non-Brahmans, people who, from the low social position assigned to them by the higher classes, have generally come to entertain a sort of hatred for the latter. On the day of the Prince's landing, the Adi-dravidians and non-Brahmans joyously joined the reception while the Hindus and Moslems observed a complete hartal. Street urchins hooted and hissed the loyalists. Stones were thrown at them. Sir P. Theagaraya Chetty, the great non-Brahman

leader of the city, was molested in the way and could not proceed to Govt. House. At the Pachiappa's College where the loyalist Adi-dravid scouts and volunteers were congregated, hooliganism prevailed, stones being thrown by both sides. Pedestrians were molested, motor cars were stoned, public streets were barricaded by filthy dust-bins, and many people were prevented from joining the welcome demonstration. Practically at the very gate of Govt. House the rioters demolished a band-stand and tore off the decorations, all the while shouting with the name of Mahatma Gandhi on their lips! The Elphinstone Cinema was next attacked, its bunting torn down, windows broken, store-room burst open and the films brought out and burnt. Electric lights and fittings were ruined beyond description and only the stout teak-doors of the Cinema Hall saved it from wreck. At Triplicane liquor shops were looted and burnt, and even Esplanade Road was burst into and its arches and decorations pulled down and set fire to. Military pickets soon came, and order was restored. The Govt. of Madras did not follow the examples of the other Governments in Upper India in declaring volunteer associations unlawful, and, as was justly said by the *Englishman* of Calcutta: "There was no repression in Bombay and Madras and riots followed. There was repression in Calcutta and there were no riots." The observations of two impartial British journalists on the Prince's tour in India are given in the following pages (pp. 345-52).

The Indian National Congress

Of far more public importance than all this child's play of royal tour and its attendant trail of sorrows and repression, was the session of the Indian National Congress in X'mas week 1921. The great Ahmedabad Congress is memorable for more than one reason. More than 20 thousand of its devoted workers from all over India were in jail—the President-elect was in jail, the General-Secretaries were in jail, and all the great stalwarts of the N.C.O were in jail. But Gandhi was free, and his name could raise even the dead. And from the dead mass of India up rose thousands of new recruits. Turn of events had clean swept the dead old past. Gone that anglicised institution, the western gibberish, the western dress, the western cast. A rejuvenated, nationalised, Indianised

Congress, clad in national dress, squatting on the floor in Indian style, talking the Indian language, sat in Indian fashion at the feet of its great leaders. Only two questions were at the fore : Gandhi's civil disobedience and Hasrat Mohani's independence resolution. The latter was defeated and Gandhi, as ever, prevailed. (For the full proceedings of the Congress and other national political institutions see the appendix).

Civil disobedience now loomed large. It was announced to be started from the 15th. January 1922. On Jan. 11th. an important ladies' meeting was held in the Congress office at Lucknow, even though the prohibition order under S. 144 remained there in force. At this meeting the daughters of Pt. Jagat Narain, the Minister of the U. P. Govt., and one a daughter-in-law of Pt. Motilal Nehru, then in jail, were taking leading part along with the president, Mrs. Abdul Quadir. Resolutions were passed urging ladies to wear Khadder and a committee was formed to do propaganda work. In Calcutta, too, Mrs. Das, and the ladies of her family, and Mrs. Majumdar took the leading part in organising meetings on the 15th and the following days. These meetings were broken up by the Calcutta police, and soon getting tired of arresting the endless number of volunteers, the police, under the lead of the European Deputy Commissioner, followed the novel plan of dispersing the meetings by baton charge, reminding one of similar methods adopted by the German police to disperse socialist gatherings in Berlin. But people still continued to attend with broken limbs and heads till some days later a lady was almost killed by a blow on the head.

At Poona the civil resisters resumed picketing the liquor shops. Mr. H. V. Tulpule, Municipal Chairman, along with 19 others was arrested for this and fined, and distress warrants were issued to realise the fine, this being here regarded better repression than locking up in jail. The picketing went along unabated. In the U. P., things were more warm. At several places there was a conflict between the police and the civil resisters, but a free use of the baton, as at Calcutta, settled them. At Jhajjar in the Punjab the civil resisters forcibly took possession of the Town Hall and picketed even the city gates. At Guntur a no-tax campaign was started. And things went on like this all over India for the space of a fortnight.

The Nation & the Athenaeum

On the Prince in India

"It is easy to be wise after the event, but in this case nearly everyone was wise before it also. With the exception of the contractors and the extremists, scarcely anyone in India wished the Prince of Wales' to come. The army did not want him, nor did the Civil Service outside Simla, nor did the responsible merchants in Bombay and elsewhere, nor did the Native Rulers, whose finances are scarcely recovering from the visit of his great-uncle, nor did the educated Indians, whether friendly or hostile to the Government, nor did the people. All agreed, whatever their politics or rank, that now is not the time for a solemn and delicate ceremonial, that the existence of the tie between England and India should not be emphasized at the moment it is under revision, that the ancient troubles and complicated sorrows of a continent cannot be soothed by sending a pleasant young man about in railway trains, all hand-shakes and jollity, and proclaiming in his graver moments that he is "anxious to learn." No doubt the Prince is anxious, and no doubt he will learn, but it will be at the expense of the other people. While the visit has intensified existing problems, it has also created problems of its own. His safety has to be secured, and the unfortunate Government, afflicted with Moplahs and the Diarchy and other genuine difficulties, has in addition to persuade hundreds of millions of people not to be rude. All this was foreseen, and, though apparently avoidable, has come to pass. Fate did not conceal what was written in her scroll.

"Imperial pride and the will of a Viceroy are the agents through which Fate has worked. It was unseemly to our weavers of Empire that a royal progress should be twice postponed; it would look as if they doubted India's enthusiasm, it would look what it was, in fact. Prestige can only be maintained by pretending it has not been questioned. And this high logic was confirmed by the considered conclusions of Lord Reading. Whom the Viceroy consulted it is difficult to say; I am told, on good authority, that in inviting the Prince he acted against the advice of his Provincial Governors, who reported public opinion as everywhere hostile, and in

accordance with the assurance of his Indian councillors, Pundit Malaviya and others, who promised adequate success. Which account, if true, shows how little eminent Indians can know about their own countrymen; but anyhow, it is easier to believe than another account which says that the Prince has come to India because he wanted to come. A few people argued that he came in order to announce some dramatic boon, such as was conferred by his father at Delhi—an acceptable settlement with Turkey, perhaps; but the Viceroy has pointed out that any such announcement would be unconstitutional and that we must expect nothing from this visit but the honour of it.

"It is in Calcutta that the new trouble started. The Bombay riots, terrible to the victims, did not harm the Government, because they provoked a reaction in the visitor's favour, and placed Mr. Gandhi in a difficult position. The reception at Bombay was not bad, and after it the Prince disappeared into the deserts of Rajputana, dining with the Maharaja of Rutlam, staying with the Maharana of Udaipur, who is descended from the Sun, etc., all of which is easy and safe. But when he reappeared in British India, at Allahabad, a changed atmosphere awaited him, because, during his tour in the Native States, the Government had taken to repression. The day of his landing (November 17th) had, in Calcutta, been observed as a Hartal and as a full dress rehearsal of the reception intended for him. Eye witnesses—awed Englishmen—bring amazing accounts. They say that the volunteer organization was perfect, with police and permits complete, and displayed a calm enthusiasm that was very impressive, and an efficiency that could only come from careful preparation. The discovery that Indians can run a great city without European assistance filled the Calcutta merchants with dismay, and they appealed to Lord Ronaldshay. The volunteer organizations were declared unlawful in British India.

"As a result of this firm policy the Prince, when he reached Allahabad, was greeted by five miles of deserted streets, and by scarcely any bunting. He is said to have resented the insult, and if so, it shows how completely he has been secluded from reality, for he ought to have known that such an insult was possible at any moment of the tour. The spirit of self-sacrifice in Indians is often spasmodic and

temporary, but while it lasts, it is supreme ; nothing can stand against it, and at the moment of writing most of the educated population is ready to go to jail. The Moderates are deserting the Government because their protest against the arrests have been ignored. Important Indian officials resign their posts, often under pressure from the *zanana*. The wife and daughters of a member of the U. P. Government go on hunger-strike, and his withdrawal from public life can only be a matter of hours. A man whose brother has been arrested condoles with the sister-in-law ; she, and his own sister, repulse him indignantly ; there is nothing to mourn here, they say, it is those who have not gone to jail who should feel sorrow and shame. Another lady, whose husband expects arrest, tries to learn how to carry on his Swaraj work in his absence, although unsympathetic to Swaraj, and prefers to remain unguarded when he leaves her, rather than return to the comfort of her family. These three instances (all with name attached) happened to come to my notice. There must be thousands more, proving that the women as well as the men are desperate. Heroism is common in no country, and few Indians could share, with Mr. Gandhi, a martyrdom deliberate, long-drawn, and obscure. But any Government can create heroism by foolish edicts, as Rome found when she directed the Early Christians to worship the Emperor, and the Government of India is finding in consequence of its semi-mystical parade of the Prince of Wales'.

"Fresh featured and smiling, the Prince has, of course, certain human assets and the students of Benares University are said to have been delighted with his appearance, and to have cheered when a turban was put on his head. But it is doubtful whether his jolly, democratic manner, so welcome to our colonies, will suit a land which was once the nursery, and is still the lumber-room, of kings. If royalty is to go down in India it must go down strong. The Prince's naïf hesitations, his diffidence, his friendly avowals of ignorance, do not produce the effect intended. Indians wish he was having a nicer time, and could have come privately for some sport ; but his royal aspect is not discussed, nor has he revealed it himself in any of his public utterances. What he does or is they do not discuss ; they are not interested, because he represents no traditions which they can recognise—not Alamgir's,

nor Sivaji's, nor even Queen Victoria's. He belongs to the chatty handy type of monarch which the West is producing rather against time, and of which the King of the Belgians is the leading example. It is a type that can have no future in India. If it is crowned another work, if the subordinate Englishman in the country had also been "naïf" and genial, if the subalterns and Tommies and European engineers and schoolmasters and policemen and magistrates had likewise taken their stand upon a common humanity, instead of the pedestal of race—then the foundation of a democratic Empire might have been well and truly laid. But the good-fellowship cannot begin at the top; there it will neither impress the old-fashioned Indian who thinks a Prince should not be a fellow, nor conciliate the Oxford educated Indian who is excluded from the local Club. It will be interpreted as a device of the Government to gain time, and as an evidence of fear. Until the unimportant Englishman here condescend to hold out their hands to "natives", it is waste of money to display the affabilities of the House of Windsor.

"By the time these remarks are printed the progress will be nearly over. Mr. Gandhi enjoins politeness, but his conception of politeness is not that held by Royalty who will scarcely be appeased by deserted thorough-fares and closed shops. Direct protests are unlikely, because the idea of abstention has entered deeply into the Indian mind. On the other hand, the methods of Non-co-operation pass inevitably into violence; the line between persuasion and compulsion is difficult to draw; and there will be endless obscure tussels between the shop-keepers who have closed and those who want to remain open, tussels in which the authorities gladly intervene: "To protect law-abiding citizens and to enforce order." The formula and the results are both familiar. It is sad that the pleasure of a young man should be spoilt, but it is sadder that hundreds of other young men should be in prison on account of his visit to their country. What one may call the general Indian trouble exists in any case, and is deeply and complexly rooted in the past. But this particular trouble seems the needless decision of a day, unless indeed, we suppose that Fate and not volition rules the Empire, and that a rapid darkening of our stage has been decreed.

The New Republic

On the Prince in India

"The visit of the Prince of Wales to India undertaken after much questioning was undoubtedly intended by the British Cabinet as a means of conciliation. As the King's speech at Belfast marked a change of policy in Ireland from repression to discussion, so from the Prince was to be expected an announcement which would bring the position of Great Britain in India, and of India within the Empire, within the bounds of negotiation. The British Cabinet could scarcely have been so lacking in knowledge of the situation in India as to send the Prince with nothing but fair words in his mouth. They made that mistake in the case of the Duke of Connaught. Undoubtedly it was assumed that the personality of the Prince and the general glamour of Royalty would make an immediate appeal to the ignorant masses; but it must further have been recognised that if there were no positive results from the Royal visit the effect of this appeal would soon be lost or turned against the British Rule with a violence proportionate to the disappointment. The Prince was either a vessel of reconciliation or an agent of provocation. On the two questions about which opposition to British rule in India centres, the Prince was in a peculiarly favourable position to act as mediator. The first of these is that of the Khilafat, the British subjection of the Muslim world culminating in the partition of Turkey. That this should be the result of a War which India aided the Empire to win is especially galling to the Mussalmans of India. The pledges and the promises which the Indian Government made to the subjects presumably in good faith are in direct conflict with the policy of the Departments of Foreign Affairs and the Colonies. Mr. Montagu, Secretary for India, is in opposition to Lord Curzon and Mr. Churchill. This is a situation to meet which the Crown has been reserved.

"The Prince could at least assure himself by personal investigation that Britain is paying in India for the Treaty of Sevres and its hostility to Angora.

"The second question which has advanced agitation against British Rule is that of the Punjab atrocities and the punishment of those responsible for them. In this matter the embarrassment of the British Government is equally acute. For the British have created an Ulster in India consisting first of British officials and soldiers who would find residence in India intolerable except on the theory of Divine Right of a superior race, and secondly, of those Indians who for reasons of position, business, or property, find their interest bound up with British Rule. It is this section of the public, like Ulster more loyal than the King himself, to which the British Governors and Generals are in the first instance responsible. As Ulster prepared an armed revolt in order to protect her allegiance, so this Indian Ulster is suspected of provoking the Punjab atrocities in order to render abortive the Home Rule plans of Mr. Montagu. When General Dyer's massacre was known in England, liberal journals pointed out that since protection of an infinitely small ruling class in the midst of a vast alien population was the first duty of the Indian soldier, he must in the last analysis, be ready to meet the alternative which Dyer met with such insane misjudgment at Amritsar. It was impossible to punish Dyer, O'Dwyer and their gang. To the Indian Ulster they had been faithful even unto the death of thousands of men, women and little children. It was impossible to prevent General Dyer's grateful compatriots from giving him twentyone thousand pounds in addition to his pension. It was only after every effort had been made and had failed to secure justice upon these miscreants that Gandhi declared that co-operation with such a Government was a moral degradation to India and a stain upon the honour of every Indian. To his protest all that the Duke of Connaught could reply was "Forgive and Forget". And it is to the Indian Ulster that Lord Reading's pathetically jocular speeches before Anglo-Indian clubs are directed—speeches delivered and received with a sinking of heart which the faithful punctuation "laughter and applause" cannot conceal. The greatest obstacles to the reconciliation between England and India is the Indian Ulster, and the only voice to which any Ulster will listen is that of the Crown. The Prince of Wales can tell the Indian Ulster in popular parlance "where it gets off".

"For, as the *Westminister Gazette* just now admitted, it is impossible to stay in India in opposition to the United demand of the Indian people and this demand is formulating itself with extreme rapidity. As in Ireland the British Raj seems to be moving always in the rear of popular unrest and, instead of intercepting it or heading it off by statesmanlike methods. The Amritsar massacre took place in April 1919. Not until December did the House of Commons consider the matter; and even with the Report of the Hunter Commission before it, it failed to do justice. In response to this failure Gandhi launched the first measures of non-co-operation to which came the Duke of Connaught's magnanimous but belated reply.

"The Montagu-Chelmsford grant of Legislative Councils for India composed of appointed and elected members was a step towards Home Rule; but the first meeting did not take place until 1921 when the Indian National Congress had already become the voice of the Indian people. The Khilafat Commission was allowed to go to London to plead the cause of Islam, but meanwhile the British were aiding Greece against Angora, and last October the Khilafat Committee replied threatening to declare independence unless such assistance ceased. The arrest of the Mohammedan leaders, the Ali Brothers and Dr. Kitchlew, and their sentence to two years' imprisonment on November 1st, was followed immediately by Gandhi's declaration of the final measures of non-co-operation, refusal of taxes and military service.

"The visit of the Prince of Wales was denounced by Gandhi as a further attempt to palliate the Punjab and Amritsar, and breach of faith with the Mussalmans. He declared that "India will refuse to welcome the representatives of a system which she is sick to death" and whose visit is "an insult added to injury". At the same time he pledged the non-co operators anew to their doctrine of non-violence as a measure for the personal safety of the Prince and for all Europeans. The arrival of the Prince at Bombay was the occasion both of demonstrations of loyalty and of counter-demonstrations which resulted in serious rioting in which the Parsees especially suffered. To this Gandhi's answer is given in terms of humiliation and contrition. He declares that he holds himself personally responsible for the spirit of revolt

laments that he cannot fully control and discipline that spirit, and confesses that in the light of this fact he has come to the conclusion that mass civil disobedience cannot be started at present. In other words, he admits a serious check to that revolutionary movement which by its peaceful methods has gained such dignity and prestige in the eyes of the world.

"Gandhi accepts responsibility for the outbreak but that responsibility belongs in far higher degree to the British. After all their rule must finally rest on the consent of the governed, and if that consent is largely withdrawn in consequence of their acts, the burden of proof is upon them. It is for them to define their position in India, by negotiation or by the sword. If the Indian Ulster has its way, it will be by the sword. Already the Government seems determined to press the advantage which it immediately gains by the outbreak of violence. On pretext of the necessity of providing for the safety of the Prince, the authorities are arresting Nationalist leaders in various cities in advance of his visit—Lajpat Rai in Lahore, Moti Lal Nehru in Allahabad—and by so doing are at once offering a challenge to the people and depriving them of a leadership that so far has been a restraining influence. The Khilafat movement has been outlawed. Everywhere the native Indian troops are being replaced by Gurkhas who are as much alien mercenaries in India as the Swiss in Medieval France. The presence of the Prince in India offers an occasion for the application of statesmanship, and we repeat our belief that the British Cabinet would not have sent him without planning to take advantage of it. That this intention is rapidly being defeated by the Indian Ulster is beyond doubt. Gandhi has made himself personally responsible for the safety of the Prince who under this protection could go into the meeting of the Indian National Congress and hear India herself on the subject of her wrongs. Instead, he lurks within the pale of Indian Ulster, enjoying the shameful prodigality of the Gaekwar of Baroda, exchanging toasts with Lord Reading, and uttering public platitudes like the Duke of Connaught while his Royal progress becomes a trail of blood. Once more the fair hopes and honest intentions of benevolent Imperialism have been defeated by the inevitable conditions of Imperial rule.

The Malaviya Conference

BOMBAY, JANUARY 14TH & 15TH, 1922

Early in January last a Round Table Conference of leaders of all shades of political opinion under the lead of Puudit Madan Mohan Malaviya was arranged to be held at Bombay. The following letter setting forth the reasons for such a conference was circulated to about 300 leading Indians, irrespective of political creed or party, inviting them to signify their willingness to join.—

"The Ahmedabad Congress, by rejecting the motion for independence and relaxing the mandatory character of the non-co-operation resolution has gone some way towards conciliating the large section of the public which is opposed to forced marches in politics. This section has not recently been very articulate, but its influence on that account is not the less decisive. While the position of the Congress has been thus strengthened on the one side, the countenance given by it to the early adoption of aggressive Civil Disobedience cannot but cause anxiety. It therefore behoves us all, both the Government and the people, to strain every nerve to see that Civil Disobedience is not resorted to until at least it is far more obvious than at present that the resources of reason and statesmanship have been exhausted. The great obstacle in the way of attempting this at present is the policy adopted by the Government within the last few weeks of extending and applying the Criminal Law Amendment Act and the Seditious Meetings Act, eventuating in wholesale arrests and imprisonments, including those of many men of high character and integrity. This policy is in our opinion both unjust and unwise, the more so as it comes on the top of the discontent created by the failure on the part of the Government to satisfy the demands of the people with reference to the questions relating to the Punjab, the Khilafat and Swaraj. As the Liberal Federation, which met the other day at Allahabad, has rightly pointed out, this policy has defeated its own object by alienating popular sympathy and aggravating the general unrest. A considerable body of opinion in the country is anxious to see a settlement effected which would make it possible to secure the redress of political grievances and the satisfaction of national aspirations in an atmosphere of peace and harmony. The Ahmedabad Congress, in rejecting the proposal for severing India's connection with the British Empire, has reflected the opinion still retained by the bulk of thoughtful people in the country that it is possible to achieve full national development within the orbit of the British Commonwealth. It is, therefore, necessary at this juncture for all those who realise the disastrous consequences bound to ensue on a continuance of the present deadlock to confer

together and devise means whereby it will be possible to open wide the door to an honourable settlement. It has been suggested that with this object in view a representative conference should be called to consider the situation in all its aspects and to decide upon a course leading to a satisfactory solution of the present difficulties. If you are in favour of such a Conference please let us know at your earliest convenience, preferably wire, whether you will be able to attend the Conference which is proposed to be held in Bombay on the 14th instant and oblige"—

This letter was signed by Pundit Malaviya and Messrs Jinnah, Jayakar, A. Sarabhai, K. Natarajan and G. M. Bhurgri—eminent Indian leaders not belonging to any of the party organisations. In response to this invitation some 300 eminent representative Indians from different parts of the country, representing all shades of political opinion, signified their assent and met on the 14th January 1922 in the Cowasjee Jehangir Hall, Bombay. Prominent Congress men were all by this time either in jail or undergoing trial, and those that were free mostly signified their approval and left themselves to be represented by Mahatma Gandhi who attended. The predominant part of the assembly was, however, composed of the leading Moderates and there were also such non-party men as Sir P. C. Roy and Sir M. Viswesvaraya. The National Liberal League, the Moslem League, the Khilafat Conference, the Christian Conference, the Anglo-Indian Conference, the Council of State and the Indian Legislatures were all fully and amply represented.

Never before had any Conference in India met under a graver situation or under happier auspices. The country was faced with a grave and a serious situation. The Government indulged in a widespread and systematic repression all over the country. And, on the other hand, the Congress, according to its declarations at Ahmedabad that they have only one answer to make to this policy viz., general civil disobedience, was about to start civil disobedience on a very large scale. It was therefore universally recognised by the Conference that the Government policy if continued could only ultimately lead to absolute despotism, and the Congress policy if continued, could only ultimately lead to a hopeless *impasse*. The Conference under the circumstances universally felt that the only solution lay in honourable and peaceful settlement between the Government and the representatives of the people. The proceedings began at 3 p. M.

Pandit Malaviya in opening the Conference spoke for an hour and a half explaining how the non-co-operation movement had developed step by step owing to the mistakes and blunders made by the Government and how utterly unjustifiable was the policy of wholesale repression adopted by the Government. He also dwelt upon the conditions under which a Round Table Conference could be brought about in order to reach an honourable settlement on the issues of the Punjab, Khilafat and Swaraj with the Government. He then proposed Sir Sankaran Nair to the chair.

Sir Sankaran then called upon Mr. Jinnah to explain what the conveners had in mind in convening the Conference.

Mr. Jinnah explained at length the object and read out a resolution which, he said, had been drafted after a long discussion amongst themselves and which strongly urged the desirability of a Round Table Conference under conditions acceptable to Mr. Gandhi and the Government, the idea being to put a stop to certain activities on both sides. The object of the Conference was to settle the terms of truce, but he added, that there could be no Conference until the Viceroy gave an assurance that he had the sanction of the British Government behind him for carrying into effect whatever decision might be reached by the suggested Conference.

Mahatma Gandhi who was next invited to speak thanked the conveners for bringing all parties together on a common platform, as it gave him an opportunity, for which he was pining, to lay bare his heart to his moderate friends. So far as he was personally concerned, he was quite willing to attend any Conference without making any conditions, but the position was quite different in so far as the Congress and non-co-operators were concerned. Among other conditions he insisted that all political prisoners, including those imprisoned under the Criminal Law Amendment and Seditious Meetings Acts must be released before the proposal for a Round Table Conference could be accepted. He was not there to ask for the humiliation of General Dyer or Sir M. O'Dwyer. He did not wish to see a single human being humiliated. What he was concerned to know was that the heart of the Government had changed and that it showed true repentance. He recounted a long tale of Government's sins of omission and commission, leading up to the present situation, which was worse than

that under martial law. As one illustration, he mentioned the case of Sitamari in Behar which had been saddled with the punitive police. He asked the Conference if they realised what the stationing of the punitive police meant, and maintained that so long as such things were happening in the country by the express sanction of the Government, the talk of a conference was absolutely futile. While expressing his regret for stray cases in which non-co-operators had been guilty of violence, he felt otherwise quite satisfied with the progress of the non-co-operation movement. As regards the sufferings on the part of his co-workers, which were quite voluntary, he pointed out that not one of them had ever complained on this ground.

Proceeding, Mr. Gandhi pointed out how in accepting the invitation to the Conference, the non-co-operators wanted to prove their sympathy with the conveners, but that beyond that they did not want to be a party to the passing of the resolutions by that Conference. But that did not mean that they did not want to associate themselves with the Conference to bring about an honourable settlement in a proper atmosphere. There was a war between non-co-operators and the other party, and it could not be broken without the former surrendering a total principle and the latter joining them. A Conference was not their goal but a proper declaration of penitence on the part of the Government, and there could be no favourable atmosphere until the Government retraced their steps.

Sir Hormusji Wadia, the great Moderate Leader of Bombay, made a remarkable speech which was only next in outspokenness to that of M. Gandhi. Referring to the Punjab wrongs, he said that it was very well to forgive and forget. The Government had an opportunity to redress these wrongs. He would leave aside the House of Lords which did not count, but the manner in which the Government of India, the Secretary of State and the House of Commons had dealt with these wrongs by characterising Gen. Dyer's action as an 'error of judgment' was really too much for the people to accept. How can we forget the Punjab wrongs, he said, when some of the authors of these wrongs are still before our eyes and continue to remind us daily of the Punjab wrongs by the position they still held in the service.

Referring to the next grievance of the people, *viz* the Khilafat wrongs, he asked : was it or was it not a fact that when the Government of England was in distress, the Prime Minister of England gave a pledge in January 1918 that Turkey's integrity would be preserved ? It is said that this was said in order to get more recruits in India, but if the Mahomedans of India had known that the pledge was never intended to be fulfilled, he ventured to assert that there would have been no response.

Then speaking on the Reforms, Sir Hormusji Wadia said : when the Reforms were introduced, we, Liberals, considered them to be satisfactory, and we proposed to make them successful, but the repression that is being carried on within the last two months has caused a great searching in our hearts and we began to consider whether after all these Reforms are worth much. Things have happened which were impossible to conceive in the old regime. We have three Indian Executive Councillors in the Government of India. What are they doing ? We have two or three Indian Ministers attached to each of the provincial Governments and an equal number of Executive Councillors with Englishmen. It may be said that law and order are outside the transferred subjects, but Ministers are equally responsible for the present state of things. If they are not consulted or are outvoted, why don't they resign ? Law and order are good in their places, but we, Liberals, cannot allow the wanton abuse of law in the name of law and order, as Bourbons, Hapsburgs and Romanoffs did under the same plea. We cannot allow our right of association and liberty of the Press curtailed, attacked or destroyed in the manner the Government has been doing. What is life worth if liberty is taken away ?

Proceeding, Sir Hormusji Wadia said that he had opposed non-co-operation because he honestly believed that it would produce chaos. He opposed mass civil disobedience because he honestly believed that it would lead to disorder. He wound up by making a fervent appeal to Mahatma Gandhi, to give up the idea of mass civil disobedience as well as individual, and said that if it was left only to the educated people who understood the significance of their actions, he would unhesitatingly say that he would be with Mahatma Gandhi.

Mahatma Gandhi replying to Sir Hormusji Wadia said that he was aware of the danger ahead in embarking upon mass civil-disobedience, and he would think fifty times before he launched it. He had, therefore, asked his friends and Congressmen not to do so. It has to be done in a scientific manner and he had some experience of it in South Africa. He had asked his followers to wait and see until he had done it himself.

General Discussion.

A general discussion followed in which Messrs S. R. Bomanji, J. A. Wadia, Jehangir Petit, S. Srinivasa Iyengar, Satyamurthi, besides others took part. In accordance with an understanding arrived at previously at Mahatma Gandhi's residence between himself and his co-workers, no other non-co-operator took any part in the proceedings.

Mahatma Gandhi in replying to the debate appealed to the Moderates and the Independents to form a link between the Government and non-co operators and not to place an undue strain on the latter who were willing to help them in their deliberations.

Other parties in their turn all appealed to Mahatma Gandhi, and it was suggested that the settlement really lay with Lord Reading on the one hand and M. Gandhi on the other. Before adjourning the Conference appointed a committee of 20 finally to settle the terms of the resolutions to be discussed next day, but the Mahatma again made it clear that he or his fellow non-co-operators will have nothing to do officially with the Committee, though he would assist the Committee in every way he could unofficially or personally and not as the representative of the Congress.

Next day, 15th January, the Committee of 20 appointed the previous day to draft the terms of the resolutions, had great difficulty in coming to a settlement. The Committee meeting was held under closed doors with Sir Sankaran in the chair. It began at 10 in the morning and continued to sit till late in the evening, Mahatma Gandhi alone of the Congress party assisting it but only as a non-member.

The following points lent themselves to a discussion of an acute character which threatened more than once to break up the conference; they are :—

(1) Whether the release of prisoners should be a condition precedent to the summoning of a Round Table Conference.

(2) Whether in addition to all the prisoners taken under the notifications, the political prisoners should not be released.

(3) Whether the Fatwa prisoners should not be released along with the rest.

(4) Whether picketing of a bonafide and peaceful character then going on should not be stopped.

(5) Whether the minimum demands should be stated in regard to the three fundamental questions to which the Round Table Conference must address itself.

At about 6 P.M. Sir Sankaran left the hall unable to agree with the resolutions which were framed, and the committee meeting having ended, the general meeting of the Conference was resumed. Sir M. Visvesvaraya, late Dewan of Mysore and one of the Viceregal Deputationists of the last December, was put into the chair which had been rendered vacant by Sir Sankaran Nair's sudden departure. At the outset Pundit Malaviya explained that the committee had adopted the resolutions without opposition and that Sir Sankaran could not wholly endorse the decision of the committee and had therefore left the committee and the Conference. He regretted that Sir Sankaran Nair felt obliged to take this step but he thanked him for having conducted the deliberations of the Conference and the committee.

Mr. Jinnah then placed the resolutions before the Conference which were passed, all non-co-operators abstaining from voting. Before the resolutions were discussed and voted upon, Mahatma Gandhi explained the position which he and the Congress party took with regard to the resolutions.

The following Resolutions were passed :—

[1] This Conference is strongly of opinion that the policy, adopted by the Government within the last few weeks, of extending and applying the Criminal Law Amendment Act and the Seditious Meetings Act to various parts of the country and of misusing the ordinary law in connection with political offences leading to wholesale arrests and imprisonments including those of some of the most respected leaders and citizens, constitutes an unwarranted encroachment upon the elementary rights of citizenship, of the freedom of the Press and liberty of speech and association, has defeated its own object by alienating popular sympathy and aggravating the general discontent, and ought to be reversed without delay.

[2] This Conference is further of opinion that until it is clear beyond any doubt that no other means will secure a redress of the country's grievances and the status of full responsible Government, the civil disobedience contemplated by the Ahmedabad Congress ought not to be resorted to.

[3] In response to the sentiment expressed by H. E. the Viceroy in his speech at Calcutta on the 21st December 1921 and in order to explore all methods of reaching a harmonious and honourable settlement of the important issues now before the country, namely, the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs and the demand for Swaraj or full responsible Government on the Dominion basis, the Conference supports the proposal for a Round Table Conference between the Government and popular representatives, and is of opinion that, in order to provide a favourable atmosphere for the dispassionate consideration of the points in controversy, all notifications issued and orders passed by Government under Act 14 of 1908 part two, and the Seditious Meetings Act, should be withdrawn, and all prisoners convicted or under arrest or prosecutions under the aforesaid notifications or orders should be released, as also the fatwa prisoners, and that in as much as persons have been convicted for non-violent activities and other activities of an innocent character under cover of the ordinary laws, a committee should be appointed by the Government consisting of two persons, one to be nominated by the Government and the other by the Committee of the Conference appointed by resolution No. 5 with power to them to appoint an umpire to investigate the cases of the persons hereinbefore referred to, and that such of them as might be recommended by the said Committee or umpire be released, and that pending the results of the said Conference all hartals, picketing and civil disobedience should cease.

[4] This Conference is likewise of opinion that having regard to the critical situation in the country and the desirability of effecting an early settlement, the Round Table Conference should be called as soon as possible and that His Majesty's Government should clothe His Excellency the Viceroy with the authority necessary for the purpose of arriving at a settlement.

Personnel of the Committee

(5) Without at present going into the particulars of the demands of the country with reference to the Punjab, Khilafat and Swarajya questions, this Conference hereby appoints a Committee of the following persons to carry on all communications with the Government on the one hand and the important political organisations in the country on the other with the view of arranging the composition, the dates and other details relating to the holding of the said Round Table Conference and for all purposes incidental to the carrying out of these resolutions including, when necessary, the convening of another representative conference, the Committee to consist of:—1. Sir M. Visvesvaraya, 2. Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya, 3. Mr. Seshagiri Iyer, 4. Sir P. C. Ray, 5. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, 6. Mr. M. R. Jayakar, 7. Sir Dinshaw. M. Petit, 8. Sir H. Wadia, 9. Mr. C. R. Reddy, 10. Mr. S. Satyamurthi, 11. Prof. S. C. Mukerjee, 12. Mr. Joseph Baptista,

13. Mr. Raizada Bhagatram, 14. Mr. G. M. Bhubgri, 15. Mr. B. Chakrabarti, 16. Dr. H. S. Gour, 17. Pundit H. Kunzru, 18. Mr. K. Natarajan, 19. Mr. Hasan Inam, 20. Pundit Gokarnath Misra with power to co-opt.

Mahatma Gandhi's Speech

The following is the text of the Mahatma's speech at the second day's sittings before the resolutions were passed.

Mr. Chairman and friends.--

"This Conference should remember that I do not propose to be a party to the resolutions of this Conference so far as I am concerned, and the non-co-operators also will not become parties. (Hear, hear.) They will not take part in the discussion either. I am humbly of opinion that it is the special prerogative and duty of those who are not non-co-operators to consider fully the bearings of these resolutions and to accept them or to reject them as they choose. I defined the functions of non-co-operators yesterday and I repeat every word of what I said yesterday and their function is this, namely, of advisers; but they do not identify themselves with these resolutions. That does not mean that they do not hold any opinion about these resolutions. They do certainly hold an opinion about these resolutions. There are certain things which the non-co-operators are called upon to do in the event of certain contingencies. Personally I may explain to you what the attitude of the non-co-operators will be with reference to the obligations that these resolutions seek to impose upon them. With reference to the first resolution I have absolutely nothing to say beyond what I said yesterday. I say it remains intact.

"The second resolution also remains intact. With reference to that I have to tell the Conference that I repeat the remark I made before the committee; that the resolution will be placed before the Working Committee of the National Congress if it is sent to it officially by this Conference and the Working Committee will consider that resolution, and I have assured the Conference Committee, and I repeat the assurance, that I shall advise the Working Committee to suspend general civil disobedience contemplated by the Ahmedabad Congress resolution pending the negotiations that the Committee to be appointed by this House will enter into correspondence with Government in the

hope that there will be a Round Table Conference granted. But beyond the 31st of this month it will not be possible for me to advise the country to suspend general civil disobedience. I must also tell you that I was pressed to extend that limit of time but I feel grieved that I could not do so. I want to tell the reason very briefly for my inability to do that. To me even 15 days matter. Another reason I placed before you yesterday in view of what was going on in the country to-day. As to the repressive acts in the country, in spite of the faults or the crimes that the non-co-operators may have committed, I hold these acts of repression to be absolutely indefensible and the only answer that the non-co-operators can return is general civil disobedience. But in order to buy the support of those countrymen of mine who are not non-co-operators, in order to enlist their sympathy on our side, I have reluctantly said that we shall postpone general civil disobedience for a fortnight. (Hear, hear.) I expect I shall be able to carry the Working Committee with me in this matter. We had an informal discussion on the subject last night amongst ourselves—the non-co-operators—and I was authorised by them to say that they had decided to wait for a fortnight in order to enable the Committee appointed by this Conference to enter into negotiations with the Viceroy. That will put us square with the Viceroy and show that we are reasonable people. We do not taboo a Round Table Conference if a Round Table Conference can be summoned with any prospect of success. And what is most important of all is that we want to place ourselves right with those of our countrymen who do not see eye to eye with us. Discharge of the Fatwa prisoners, discharge of political prisoners against whom convictions exist or prosecutions are pending under the ordinary law or under the Criminal Law Amendment Act and the Seditious Meetings Act this is what we asked for yesterday and these are the conditions which I have been urging. My non-co-operating friends will perhaps be angry that I have been yielding to the blandishments of my Moderate friends. If they charge me with that I am guilty (laughter). With reference to political prisoners convicted or under prosecution under the ordinary law, I told you yesterday that it would be before the Committee to be appointed by this Conference which would decide whether all such prisoners

could be covered by the recommendations of this Conference, but I was borne down by the logic of facts and the pressure of friends. Therefore I said, "If you want to appoint one nominee from yourselves and another from Government with power to appoint an umpire, I shall accept the proposal." I hope that my non-co-operator friends will not be angry with me for having accepted this proposal. As regards the persons who have been imprisoned in virtue of the normal law of the country which has been misused or misapplied, this small committee will consider their cases and recommend their discharge. I have no hesitation in feeling that in the hands of that committee the interests of our imprisoned countrymen will be quite safe. You will see that in yesterday's resolution there was a condition that activities of a hostile nature would cease to-day. I placed a phrase before the committee in this connection and I found that I had landed myself into difficulties (Laughter). You will be surprised to find that the keen intellect of Pundit Kunzru detected a flaw in it, and that flaw put me on the proper track, and I said 'no'. I do not want to use any phrase of a general character, not for one moment. Our struggle is of the purest character. We have nothing to conceal from the country or from the Viceroy. So far as I am concerned, they should all know exactly what is running in our minds. There is the question of activities of a general hostile character to be suspended pending this Round Table Conference. I can only bring myself to accept a definite thing, and therefore in order to enter into a compromise have sacrificed the interest of a number of women of Erode (Madras) and of Mr. Lavate of Poona. I have said that we shall suspend even the liquor shop picketing during the time the conference is going on. This sacrifice I have made in order that I can gain the other purpose, that neither the Viceroy nor any body else can charge us with breach of faith. Provided those conditions that are to be fulfilled by Government are accepted by Government, we shall suspend hartal, we shall suspend picketing, and we shall suspend civil disobedience. Of course, it grieves me to say that we shall have to suspend lawful, peaceful and bona-fide picketing of liquor shops, but I hope that my non-co-operator friends will not be angry on that score. The chief thing that I want to say is that no other non-co-operating activity is to be

suspended. Mr. Kunzru asked me whether if these prisoners are discharged and this notification is withdrawn, I would not stop enlisting volunteers. I say 'No' emphatically. I would not stop the enlistment of volunteers for a single moment. It is not what we can possibly undertake to do on the ground that it is a preparation for Civil Disobedience. The preparation will not be of an offensive character nor of a hostile character. It is in the interest of those who are now ready for embarking upon general civil disobedience. They will have to embark upon civil disobedience at a given moment, so that they should keep the atmospheres of preparation ready for themselves. I do not consider that there I am doing anything of a hostile character. But I want this Conference to understand what are the implications of the undertaking that I have proposed to give after consulting the Working Committee which will meet to-morrow after the deliberations of this Conference are over. I have finished the whole of my work. I said to the Subjects Committee also that these things are all right. The Government may or may not grant these things to-day. To me the chief thing is that the Viceroy should not be able to say that we have given away the Khilafat. There is no open mind about the Punjab. The irreducible minimum has been before the country for a long time. All that can be discussed is: how to give effect to the Khilafat terms that are demanded? I do want to appreciate all the difficulties that face the Government, but the vital principle of these demands is *Full Dominion Status*. How is that to be arrived at? At the Round Table Conference also my emphatic submission to the Viceroy will be for a scheme in accordance with the spirit of this demand, for full dominion status that will be evolved by duly elected representatives of the people of this country. I mean by the expression "duly-elected representatives", all those elected representatives—elected under the Congress constitution, that is to say, under the four-anna franchise. That is, those who pay four-annas each will be duly registered as voters and they will elect representatives. These representatives will evolve a scheme for full dominion status. I know this is a big question. I do not conceal that from you, from the country or from myself. I know also, I feel keenly, that this country is not really ready for making a demand

of that character. I have many misgivings about the Round Table Conference becoming successful. But I would have been false to my creed and to those friends whose association I have the privilege of enjoying and to the Viceroy. I do not want to be false to the Viceroy. I shall be false to myself if I withheld those things from you, or from the country. So far as my advice is accepted by the non-co-operators or by the country, I shall certainly press that they should not take a little less. Till we have all these things we shall not be free from the miseries that the country is oppressed with to-day. We gloat in our miseries, we take glory in them. We do not want the miseries to be sprung upon us as of surprise. As Lala Lajpat Rai said, this country is screwed up. I have less faith in the interests of my own countrymen because they have not suffered enough. Therefore, I have got my own misgivings. I feel that the committee that will be appointed will convey this humble message of mine in the name of non-co-operators to the Viceroy that if he wants to convene the Round Table Conference, he should summon that Conference expecting that 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 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. (Hear, hear)"

Post-Conference Work.

The resolutions of the Conference were at once wired to the Viceroy and the Secretaries opened negotiations with the Government. One member of the Committee, Pundit H. Kunzru, however, declined to serve as he resented the Mahatma's attitude and the minimum demands that the latter made. In pursuance of the compact the Working Committee of the Congress met on the 17th January under M. Gandhi and passed among others the following resolutions and postponed the campaign of civil disobedience till the end of the month :—

"The Working Committee places on record its thanks to Pandit Malaviya and his fellow conveners for convening the conference of persons belonging to various political parties in the country for the purpose of considering the existing tension, and having considered the resolutions of the Conference the Committee resolves that offensive Civil disobedience contemplated by the Ahmedabad Congress be not started till 31st day of January 1922 or pending the result of negotiations undertaken by the Committee of the Malaviya Conference for a Round Table Conference, whichever may be the first date.

"The Working Committee considers it necessary for the purpose of creating an atmosphere favourable for a successful Round Table Conference that (a) all notifications and notices declaring illegal and prohibiting formation of Volunteer Corps, Public Meetings, picketing and other normal activities of the Congress or the Khilafat Committee be withdrawn and prisoners undergoing prosecution or conviction in respect of such notices be discharged or released as the case may be; (b) all Fatwa prisoners including the Ali Brothers and their companions be released; (c) all other prisoners already convicted or under trial for non-violence or other innocent activities be dealt with and discharged in the manner appointed therefor in the third resolution of the Conference; and (d) that simultaneously with the performance of the foregoing acts by the Governments concerned and in the event of the Round Table Conference being called and pending such Conference, all hartals, picketing and civil disobedience should cease in order to avoid any misunderstanding about the Congress demands.

"The Working Committee desire to draw the attention of the Committee appointed by the Malaviya Conference to the Khilafat, Punjab and Swaraj claims as stated publicly from time to time from the Congress and Khilafat representatives will be bound to demand full settlement of these claims."

Sir Sankaran Nair's Letter

The peaceful atmosphere for which the 500 all-India representatives of the Malaviya Conference had been striving was, however, shattered as if by a bomb-shell by the sudden appearance of Sir Sankaran Nair's famous letter to the Press in which he roundly denounced M. Gandhi and his activities. The following is the full text of the letter :—

We were called to confer together and devise means to come to an honourable settlement. I have come to the conclusion along with many others that any further conference with Mr Gandhi and his followers is useless or that any settlement will be faithfully carried out.

It is only right that I should give my reasons. The signatories to the manifesto placed certain proposals before the Conference yesterday. Mr. Gandhi did not accept those resolutions. This morning the Committee appointed by the Conference, which at his own request, (reason will be apparent later), did not contain himself nor any of his followers framed, however, in consultation with him, resolutions to meet his wishes as far as possible. They also were not accepted by him,

In the two long speeches he delivered he defined his own position, so far as any conference with the Viceroy is concerned, as follows: penitence on the part of the Government must be shown in order to create a favourable atmosphere, Government must unconditionally retrace all the steps they have recently taken, only cancel notifications extending certain provisions of law, release all Congress and Khilafat Volunteers arrested and convicted, but all others convicted recently under what I shall call ordinary provisions of the Penal Code and Procedure Code. This latter demand was subsequently modified in one particular. This, Mr. Gandhi said, is not due to any sympathy with them but only to create a favourable atmosphere and to show penitence on the part of the Government. He also said that he was himself prepared to go to a conference with the Viceroy if invited by him without any conditions. This would be in his personal capacity and not in his representative character. He did not, however, believe that the time had come for a conference, as there had not been suffering enough for people to acquire control over themselves. On his own side he would cease picketing, boycott or hartal or civil disobedience till January 31st unconditionally, and later if the Government agree to hold a conference, though he must insist upon his freedom to make all active and intensive preparation during this period by the enrolment of additional volunteers and active propaganda to carry on his campaign of civil disobedience, picketing etc., in default of a satisfactory settlement. This cannot be accepted. He also put forward the minimum demands of the Congress Party so far as the Punjab, the Khilafat and Swaraj are concerned. He further expressed the opinion, referring no doubt to the Government—"You dare not declare Martial Law, however far we go."

Mr. Gandhi's followers, even those who expressed mild dissent in some respects, support him in his attitude, the most thorough-going of his supporters being Mr. S. Sreenivas Iyengar, some time Advocate-General of Madras, and Mr. S. R. Bomanji who went further than Gandhi in denouncing any conference with the Government.

These statements disclose a state of mind which would render any conference nugatory of any satisfactory results. They will not justify us in approaching the Government in association with Mr. Gandhi and his followers for holding any conference.

Mr. Gandhi does not want a conference or settlement except on his own impossible terms, and any stray observations made by him amid cloud of statements supporting any other view are only calculated to mislead. That Government should be "penitent" for their so-called misdeeds is, of course, an impossible condition and would never have been put forward by any one wishing for any amicable settlement.

In regard to the Punjab he emphasised the fact that the Congress party would be satisfied with nothing less than carrying out the proposals made in the Congress Sub-Committee's report. It includes not only the punishment of subordinate officials but the practically impossible condition of deprivation of pensions of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Dyer etc.

With reference to the Khilafat matter Mr. Gandhi said that the French must leave Syria, of course, an impossible condition. They want England to leave Egypt. On this it is not necessary to make any comment.

So far as Swarajya is concerned he wants at once in the Central and Provincial Governments full Dominion status as may be determined by duly elected representatives of the people. For the election of representatives, the Congress Constitution as to franchise etc should be accepted. He emphasised over and over again that these are the minimum demands which must be accepted by the Government. It seems to me there is no good of any Government conference with Mr. Gandhi and his party, and it would not be right to request for a Round Table Conference to discuss these terms which Government will not accept. Mr. Gandhi himself, therefore, was quite right in saying that the Congress is not keen on a Conference. The failure of the Reforms Scheme to carry out the purpose the Parliament had in view is demonstrated by experience already gained. Subsequent events have shown the necessity of widening the scope of the Reforms scheme in other directions. It is unnecessary here to say anything about the Khilafat agitation or the Punjab. In my opinion we can put forward a more effective method than any suggested method which is likely to meet general acceptance. I am, therefore, so anxious for a Round Table Conference with the Government about Swaraj, Mussalman feeling about the Treaty of Sevres and the Punjab, that I felt we should not allow, if possible, any impediment to stand in our way. No minimum demands should, therefore, be insisted upon.

With reference to the Punjab, Khilafat and other matters, the decision of these questions must be left to the Round Table Conference. The release of some of the convicted persons like volunteers, and the constitution of a tribunal to consider the case of others are made conditions precedent to holding the conference. I do not object to a tribunal for re-consideration, if the Government are willing to accept the suggestion, though all the Judges are not to be appointed by the Government. This observation does not apply to the cases of the Ali Brothers and others in their position whose (Fatwa prisoners') release is however demanded as an essential preliminary to any conference. The demand, however, that certain prisoners should be released before we can agree to such a conference must, in my opinion, be dropped if we want a conference. I agree that the Government should not interfere with Mr. Gandhi's movement as long as there is no apprehension of any violence. This essential preliminary requisite of non-violence stands in our way of demanding the unconditional release of all persons who have been recently convicted or making it a condition precedent to a Round Table Conference with the Government. The admission that any agitation should be strictly peaceful and of a non-violent character carries with it the admission that if violent the Government may suppress it by any legitimate and legal means and punish those who are responsible for the same. That right carries with it the responsibility of taking any steps necessary to prevent the commission of those acts, which would in all reasonable probability lead to violence, which must cause suffering. If, therefore, the associations in question were being formed for the commission of acts which in the opinion of the Government are bound to lead to violence, or the persons now arrested or convicted were following a course of conduct leading to the same result, the Govt. are, in my opinion, not only entitled but justified in taking the necessary steps to

prevent such a consummation. Whether the Government had such information before them, I am unable to say. Mr. Gandhi and certain other Members of the Conference are satisfied that such evidence could not have been forthcoming against the persons arrested and convicted and that, therefore, we must condemn the action taken by the Government and make their release a condition precedent to holding a Round Table Conference. It is possible and even probable that the authorities have made mistakes in many cases. But, in view of the recent occurrences and in particular of what is now going on in the Madras Presidency, * I am not willing unreservedly to accept that view, that the convictions are wrong in all cases. They are, moreover, the opinions of persons almost all of whom have minimised or disbelieved the horrid atrocities committed by the Khilafatists on those who have not joined them in their rebellion in Malabar, and thus shown their bias.

Apart from this aspect of the case, however, there is a lamentable feature of the situation which determines my attitude in this respect. Some of the persons arrested have put forward pleas which would not justify their unconditional release. I remember the statement of one of them, at any rate, that he considers himself in a state of war with the Government; of several of them that they do not recognise the jurisdiction of the Courts which, for practical purposes, means the same thing. No Government can be called upon to release them unconditionally or without conditions which can be easily surmised. We should not make their release, therefore, a condition precedent to the holding of a conference.

As regards Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali and others in that category, the Government's position is stranger. It is within the knowledge of Mr. Gandhi and many of us that they do not accept the principle of a non-violent agitation. In view of the promise of Mr. Gandhi that he would obtain Swaraj within a year, if his method of non-violent agitation was followed, they did not press for violence. That year has elapsed and the Mussalmans feel that the pact with Mr. Gandhi is over. The well-known Mahomedan character, the proceedings of the Khilafat Conference and of the Muslim League speech on this point by the President, who represents the views of the Ali Brothers and their friends leave no doubt in my mind that the Mussalmans are not under the restraint of the self-imposed obligations of Mr. Gandhi, and satisfy me that they will not hesitate to resort to violence not only against the Government but also against others who may not join them in their agitation. Recent occurrences also support this. All those circumstances point to the conclusion that they and their friends will continue the agitation on their release. I do not think it right, therefore, to insist on their unconditional release or make it a condition precedent for a conference with the Government. The only ground of differentiation, the superior obligation to follow religious injunctions even against the laws of the country, has only to be stated, in view of what is happening in Malabar, to be discarded. It is on the other hand a strong argument against their unconditional release which would leave them free to

* The Prince arrived at Madras on January 13th. 1922 when there was a mob outbreak and considerable rioting.

follow the line of conduct declared illegal by the Court and may be attended by disastrous consequences.

An additional reason is the fact that Mr. Gandhi and his friends and the accused themselves welcome arrests and convictions. I trust, therefore, that I shall not be deemed uncharitable if I state that the demand for release by them is for the humiliation of the Government or to preclude a Round Table Conference as suggested. It is possible that the refusal to release these persons might be used as a pretext for Civil Disobedience, the non-payment of taxes, etc. The movement will then stand naked in all its illegality and hideousness. It is a fitting consummation of the policy which had its origin in the false promise of the attainment of Swaraj within a year, a statement circulated 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 later stages, when its consequences became apparent, has led to bloodshed, butchery of thousands, untold misery for thousands of women and children, the 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 will drench the country in blood.

The movement of which Mr. Gandhi is the head has attained these proportions on account of the culpable weakness of Lord Chelmsford's Government whose policy was continued by the new Government. There can be no excuse now that the character and consequences of the movement have become apparent. **A foreign Government inimical to Indian progress would watch with indifference, if not satisfaction, the mutual slaughter that must follow disobedience.** Being of opinion that I cannot associate with Mr. Gandhi and his followers in asking for a conference or in any other respect for reasons, some of which are given above, and differing from the conference on these vital questions on which the conference agrees with Mr. Gandhi, I have felt bound to leave the conference of which I was the Speaker at the close of the Committee.

(Sd.) C. Sankaran Nair.

"P. S. Since writing the above I am informed that the resolutions passed after I left the conference leave the case of the Ali Brothers also to the proposed tribunal. If so the terms of the resolutions are calculated to mislead the ordinary reader. However, it does not affect the remarks made by me as their case is not one that should be referred to any tribunal."

This letter created a great of sensation at the time. It further strengthened the hands of the Government in their ruthless policy of reaction and repression, backed by the united voice of the Anglo-Indian community who, never too friendly with Sir Saikaran ever since his bold resignation in 1919 from the Government of India Council owing to its policy of

"whittling down the Reforms", now found in him a convenient handle to deery Gandhi, and still more, the moderate politicians who, like Paudit Malaviya, were trying to establish peace in the land. Indians as a class, however, felt scandalised, for Sir Sankaran Nair's attitude looked as a sort of betrayal of the Indian cause, and further it once more showed up how easily the Indian community could lend itself to the time-honoured policy of divide and rule of an irresponsible self-willed bureaucracy. For, at once the Government through its machinery of propaganda and through the Anglo-Indian Press gave the widest publicity to Sir Sankaran's views and tried to discredit the bona-fide intentions of the Mahatma. Sir Sankaran's personal animus of Gandhi and his views got the botter of his sence of public duty at a critical stage of the country's political growth where a solid volume of moderate opinion was sought to be created to hold in balance the extreme activities of the non-co-operators on one hand and the Government on the other. At the closing scene of the committee meeting on the 15th January, Sir Sankaran created a scene by shouting at Gandhi : "either you must get out of this house or I must go," to which the Mahatma smiled and replied : "neither of us need go ; I shall not desert you, nor should you desert me". Sir Sankaran, however, went out and with him went all hope of an honourable settlement.

As a counterblast, the Secretaries of the Committee, Messrs Jinnah, Jayakar and Natarajan, wrote to the Press in their individual capacity contradicting categorically some of the allegations made by Sir Sankaran. Mr. S. Srinivas Aiyangar, for sometime Advocate-General of Madras, Sir P. C. Roy and Messrs Bomanji, Baptista, Rajagopalachary, Dr. Syed Mahmood, the Secretary, of the Khilafat Committee and many others including the Mahatma himself also wrote to the Press contradicting much of the rash and angry statements made by Sir Sankaran, and the Secretaries of the Committee issued the following Press-note :—

We regret that we have to make this statement because the letter of Sir Sankaran Nair contains some statements with regard to what took place in the Committee meeting which are not strictly correct. We should have preferred to remain silent because the proceedings of a Committee meeting should not go before the public ; but as Sir Sankaran Nair has referred to them, we deem it necessary to publish this correction having regard to the gravity of the situation.

Sir Sankaran Nair's letter contains an expression of opinion on many important points relating to the present tension in the country. We are not concerned with them here nor with the explanations given by Sir Sankaran Nair.

The reasons why Sir Sankaran Nair withdrew from the Conference at the close of the proceedings of the Committee on the second day have been explicitly stated by him in his letter. They are :—

(1) That he could not associate himself with Mr. Gandhi and his followers in asking for a Conference or in any respect.

(2) That he differed from the members of the Committee on some of the vital questions, including the suggested terms precedent to the holding of a Round Table Conference.

With regard to the first reason, we have to state that Mr. Gandhi was invited to the meeting of the Committee to state in clear terms the views of his party as a protagonist. The main object of doing so was to elicit and record his views with the object (1) of placing them before the Government and the public, and (2) of exploring all possible avenues of arriving at a common basis with the views of the other political parties who took part in the Conference. In stating his views, therefore, Mr. Gandhi was necessarily representing the extreme position of his party; but we may mention that some of the Resolutions which were finally adopted by the Conference represent a working compromise on one or two important points arrived at between divergent views, including those of Mr. Gandhi.

As regards the second reason for Sir Sankaran Nair's withdrawal, we would observe that the Committee was mainly composed of Liberals and Independents, Non-co-operators having, by their own wish, been excluded from the Committee. We may add that the Committee was practically unanimous in the proposals embodied in the several Resolutions passed at the Conference.

Under these circumstances we are constrained to observe that Sir Sankaran Nair's proper attitude, as the Chairman of the Committee, was to see that the opinions of the members thereof, as disclosed in the course of the discussions, were correctly focussed in the several Resolutions. He could have even, if he chose, recorded his dissent from the Resolutions. Unfortunately, he went further than this. Towards the close of the discussion, he developed an independent line of thought and said he would "smash the Conference" and hold another from which Mr. Gandhi and his party would be excluded. The Committee thought that such a procedure was beyond Sir Sankaran Nair's rights as a Speaker of the Conference, and on other grounds also the Committee were not prepared to go to the lengths which their Chairman wished to take them.

Sir Sankaran Nair's letter contains one or two statements of facts which require to be contradicted. So far as we can recall, Mr. Gandhi never mentioned, at the meetings of the Committee, the evacuation of Egypt by the British. He only said that when Swaraj was obtained, India would not permit a single Indian soldier to leave the country in order to enable England to maintain her supremacy in Egypt against the wishes of the Egyptians.

With regard to the statement that Mr. Gandhi intended to pursue his "intensive preparations" for Civil Disobedience during the continuance of the truce, we may point out that Mr. Gandhi, while pursuing these preparations, agreed to take no offensive step calculated to destroy the peace and harmony to be maintained on both sides during the continuance of the truce.

After Sir Sankaran Nair had retired, the work of the Committee proceeded and Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya proposed a vote of thanks to Sir Sankaran Nair for the help he had given in conducting the proceedings up to that stage, and in that connection referred to his past services to the country in terms of the warmest appreciation.

Fate of the Round Table Conference

Effort was also made at Delhi to bring about the much-needed truce. The Independent Moderates, the so-called Democratic party of the Imperial Legislature, voiced the sentiments of the Bombay Conference. On January 18th, Munshi Iswari Saran moved a resolution in the Legislative Assembly urging immediate abandonment of the repressive policy of the Government, and simultaneously in the Council of State, the Hon. Mr. Pheroze Sethna moved for an informal joint-sitting of both Houses to settle on what lines a Round Table Conference of all party leaders should be held. It was understood on all sides that the Viceroy's Calcutta utterance of the 21st. December last showed white feather. Both resolutions were, however, defeated after a long and heated debate. Already the back of the Malaviya Conference was broken. It soon became apparent that neither the 300 all-India representative leaders at Bombay nor the most advanced party in the Legislature had weight enough to sway either the Government or the People's Congress one way or the other; that the words of the Viceroy upon which Pundit Malaviya's party had built so much were to be taken in the same way as the war-pledges of his chief, the Premier of England, given to the Mohammedans; that both were diplomatic utterances made under the greatest political exigency not to be taken on their face-value in live practical politics—the exigency of the Viceroy being to see the future Emperor of India, the Prince of Wales, then passing through the most galling reception from the people wherever he went, resulting from the criminal stupidity of his own Government, safely through Calcutta. As soon as the Prince left Calcutta, Government carried on what the people took as unmitigated coercion;

in the name of law and order things were done which the people felt to be the foretaste of a Russianised administration. And so, while Pundit Malaviya and his sympathisers were making attempts for a round table conference, the non-co operators saw through the game Government was playing, and never having their trust in the pronouncements of the Viceroy or of the Government, which from long and bitter experience they had come to regard as made to the ear only to be broken in the spirit, began earnestly to make preparations for a campaign of civil-disobedience. Meanwhile, the Secretaries of the Bombay Conference were corresponding with the Viceroy and the Government of India on the matter of the round table conference. On the 26th January the Private Secretary to Viceroy replying to the communications addressed said that 'the Viceroy regretted that the proposals put forward by the Conference should have been regarded as a response to the sentiments which the Viceroy had expressed at Calcutta,' and that 'His Excellency was unable to discover in them the basis for a profitable discussion in a round table conference and no useful purpose would be served by entering into any detailed examination of their terms.' On 30th January the Secretaries of the Conference again wired to the Viceroy requesting him to reconsider the matter and expressed their anxiety to meet his wishes by modifying the terms which were not acceptable to His Excellency. To which no reply was vouchsafed. Meantime M. Gandhi had been informed of what was going on and on the 30th January was requested by the Secretaries to postpone the resumption of his Bardoli campaign for three days more within which time they expected to hear from the Viceroy. This Gandhi did, and as no reply came from Delhi, he issued his famous letter to the Viceroy on February 4th 1922 preparatory to the launching of civil disobedience at Bardoli.

M. Gandhi's Letter to the Viceroy

In the course of this letter Mr. Gandhi said that it was originally intended to start "civil disobedience" in Bardoli in order to mark the national revolt against the Government's consistently criminal refusal to appreciate India's resolve regarding the Khilafat, the Punjab and Swaraj. Then the step was postponed owing to the Bombay riots. Meantime, virulent

repression had been started by the Government in many parts. The immediate task before the country therefore was to rescue from paralysis freedom of speech, freedom of association and freedom of the Press. He further said :—

“In the present mood of the Government of India and the present unprepared state of the country in respect of complete control of forces of violence, non-co-operators were unwilling to have anything to do with the Malaviya Conference the object of which was to induce Your Excellency to convene a Round Table Conference, but as I am anxious to avoid all avoidable suffering I had no hesitation in advising the Working Committee of the Congress to accept the recommendations of that Conference.”

He then said that although the terms were quite in keeping with the Viceroy's requirements as understood through his Calcutta speech, the Viceroy had summarily rejected the proposal. Therefore, there was nothing before the country but to adopt some non-violent method for the enforcement of its demands. In his opinion recent events were a clear departure from the civilised policy laid down by the Viceroy at the time of the Ali Brothers' unconditional apology 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. Had the Government's policy remained neutral and allowed public opinion to ripen, the adoption of aggressive “civil disobedience” could have been postponed till the Congress had acquired fuller control over the forces of violence in the country, and enforced greater discipline among the millions of its adherents. But lawless repression had made the immediate adoption of mass “civil disobedience” an imperative duty, and for the present it was to be confined to Bardoli, though he might, under the authority conferred on him, give his consent at once in respect of a group of hundred villages in the Guntur District, provided they strictly conformed to the necessary conditions.

He said further :—“But before the people of Bardoli actually commence mass civil disobedience I would respectfully urge you, as the head of the Government of India, finally to revise your policy and set free all non-co-operating prisoners who are convicted or under trial for non violent activity, and declare in clear terms the policy of absolute non-interference

with all non-violent activities in the country, whether they be regarding the redress of Khilafat or Punjab wrongs, or 'Swaraj,' or any other purpose, and even though they fall within the repressive section of the Penal Code or Criminal Procedure, or of other repressive laws, subject always to the condition of non-violence.

"I would further urge you to free the press from all administrative control and restore all fines and forfeitures recently imposed. In thus arguing I am asking Your Excellency to do what is to-day being done in every country which is deemed to be under a civilised Government. If you can see your way to make the necessary declaration within seven days of the date of the publication of this manifesto, I shall be prepared to advise the postponement of civil disobedience of an aggressive character till the imprisoned workers have, after their discharge, reviewed the whole situation and considered the position 'de novo.'

"If Government makes 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 unalterable demands. Aggressive civil disobedience in that case will be taken up only when Government departs from a policy of strictest neutrality, or refuses to yield to the clearly expressed opinion of the vast majority of the people of India."

The Government Reply.

In reply the Government of India issued the following Press communique on February 6th.

"The manifesto issued by Mr. Gandhi on Feb. 4th justifying his determination to resort to mass Civil Disobedience contains a series of mis-statements. Some of those are so important that the Government of India cannot allow them to pass unchallenged.

"(1) 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. "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 November 4th 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.

What led to Repression

"(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 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 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 in this period it became clear that many of the volunteer associations had then embarked on a systematic campaign of violence, intimidation and obstruction, to combat which proceedings under the Penal Code and Code of Criminal Procedure had proved ineffective. 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 communiques of different Local Governments and in the pronouncements of heads of Provinces. While resolute on 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 is to 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.

"(3). A further charge which has been brought by Mr. Gandhi is that the recent measures of the 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 May 30th. 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.'

"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 notifications 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, picqueting 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 preparation for civil disobedience. Further, Mr. Gandhi also made it apparent that the proposed Round Table Conference would be called merely to register 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 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 appears 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.

"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 limit the root of all civilised Governments. 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."

M. Gandhi's reply

Mhatma Gandhi issued the following rejoinder in reply to the Government of India's communique of the 6th February :—

"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 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 had 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 at 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, that it was not 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 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 arrest of Desbandhu Chittaranjan Das and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in Bengal, the arrest of Pandit Motilal Nebru 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 disobedience otherwise described as Passive Resistance. Even Sir Hormusjee Wadia 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 Govt. 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 associations and the Non co-operation press in many parts of India.

“Now for the statement that the Government ‘have embarked on a policy of law-less 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 Aligarh.

(5) The conclusive (in my opinion) findings of the Committee presided over by Dr. Gokul Chand Narang 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 tithe of what is happening all over the country, and I wish to state without fear of 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 except 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 if 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 beaten one in Benares jail, all of whom are as innocent as I claim to be myself. Their crime consists 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 Ehi 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 school-master 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 Pundit 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 this physical and brutal ill-treatment of humanity which has made many co-workers and myself impatient of life itself, and in the face of these things I do not wish to take public time by dealing in detail with what I mean to be abuse of the common law of the country, but I cannot help correcting the mis-impression 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 the Non-co operators, ably assisted by Independents and Co operators, who brought peace out of that 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 to-day 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 dis-

affection of a less violent character were not an offence against 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.

"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 imputing 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 large 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 expediency, but it is a confession of our 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 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 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 lie at the root of all civilised Governments." "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 whilst looting of property and assaulting of innocent men are going on all over the country in the name of law and order."

The Bardoli Preparation for Civil Disobedience.

Meanwhile Bardoli in the Bombay Presidency and Guntur in the Madras Presidency were making strenuous preparations to launch the No-Tax campaign. Similar preparations were made in Chittagong and some parts of Assam, in many districts of Southern India, in Behar and some parts of the Punjab and C. P. It is impossible here to describe in detail the mad orgies of repression that followed ; imprisonment, distraint, armed police, all the inexorable machinery of preserving 'law and order' were set in motion. But it helped only to stiffen the oppressed. Hundreds and thousands of khadder clad volunteers went smilingly to prison. Taxes were held up at many places, awaiting the word of command from Gandhi. On 26th. January M. Gandhi left his Satyagraha Asram for Bardoli where he settled down to lead the no-tax campaign in person. On January 30th. all the people of the taluk were called together in a big conference where the Mahatma made a long speech emphasising all the preliminary requisites for the coming struggle. All signified their unswerving assent. A resolution was passed that "the Bardoli Taluk, having fully grasped and satisfied Congress conditions of civil disobedience, the conference gave notice to the Working Committee of the Congress that if it did not pass a prohibitory resolution, and if the Round Table Conference did not come off, Bardoli Taluka would begin mass civil disobedience under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi and Vallabhai Patel." Regarding this conference Gandhi wrote in his paper 'Young India' :—

"Bardoli has come to a momentous decision. It has made its final and irrevocable choice. Vithalbhai Patel, the President, addressed a conference of the representatives of the Taluka in a speech impressive for its warning. He certainly did not mince matters. There was an audience of KHADDAR-clad re-presentatives numbering 4,000. There were five hundred women, a large majority of whom were also in KHADDAR. They were interested and interesting listeners. It was an audience of sober, responsible men and women with a stake.

I followed Vithalbhai and went through every one of the conditions of mass civil disobedience laid down by the Congress. I took the sense of the meeting on every one of the conditions, separately. They understood the implications of Hindu-Muslim-Parsi-Christian unity. They realised the significance and the truth of non violence. They saw what the removal of untouchability meant ; they were prepared, not merely to take into National Schools, but also to induce 'untouchable' children to join them ; they have had no objection to the 'untouchable' drawing water from the village wells. They knew that they were to nurse the "untouchable" sick as they would nurse their ailing neighbours. They knew that they could not exercise the privilege of non-payment of revenue and other forms of civil disobedience until they had purified themselves in the manner described by me. They knew, too, that they had to become industrious and spin their own yarn and weave their own KHADDAR. And lastly, they were ready to face forfeiture of their movables, their cattle and their land. They were ready to face imprisonment and even death, if necessary, and they would do all this without resentment.

There was an old dissentient voice on the question of untouchability. He said : what I said was right in theory, but it was difficult in practice to break down the custom all of a sudden. I drove the point home but the audience had made up its mind.

Before the larger meeting, I had met the real workers about fifty in number. Before that meeting Vithalbhai Patel, some workers and I conferred together and felt that we would pass a resolution postponing the decision for about a fortnight, to make the Swadeshi preparation more complete and removal of untouchability more certain, by actually having untouchable children in all the sixty National Schools. The brave and earnest workers of Bardoli will not listen to the postponement. They were certain that more than 50 per cent of the Hindu population were quite ready about untouchability and they were sure of being able to manufacture enough KHADDAR for their future wants. They were bent on trying conclusions with the Government. They bore down every objection raised by Vithalbhai Patel, and Abbas Tyabji with his hoary beard and ever-smiling face was there to utter the warning. But they would not budge an inch from their position and so the resolution which I give below was unanimously passed.

Who knows the issue ? Who knows whether the men and women of Bardoli will stand the repression that Government may resort to ? God only knows. In His name has the battle been undertaken. He must finish it.

The Government have acted hitherto in a most exemplary manner. They might have prohibited the Conference. They did not. They know the workers. They might have removed them long ago. They have not done so. They have not interfered with any of the activities of the people. They have permitted them to make all preparations. I have watched their conduct with wonder and admiration. Both sides have up to the time of writing behaved in a manner worthy of chivalrous warriors of old. In this battle of peace it ought not to be otherwise. If the battle continues in this fashion, it will end only in one way. Whoever has the ear of 85000 men and women of Bardoli will gain the day.

The Working Committee has to sit and pass its judgment upon Bardoli's decision. The Viceroy has still choice and will have yet another choice given to him. No charge of hurry, want of preparation, of thought, no charge of discourtesy, will it be possible to bring against the people of Bardoli.

Therefore—

Lead kindly Light, amid the encircling gloom,
Lead Thou me on ;
The night is dark, and I am far from home,
Lead Thou me.

Next day the Working Committee of the All-India Congress Committee held a meeting in Surat with the president Hakim Ajmal Khan in the chair and passed the following resolution—

“The Working Committee, having considered the resolution of the Bardoli Taluka Conference regarding mass civil disobedience, desires to congratulate the people of that Taluka 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 Taluka 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 country 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 citizens.

“The Working Committee advises the people throughout the provinces to pay up Government tax, whether directly or indirectly through Zamindars or Taluqdars, except in such cases of direct payment to Government where the previous consent has been obtained from Mahatma Gandhi for the suspension of payment, preparatory to mass civil disobedience.”

The Chauri Chaura Tragedy.

It was thus settled that the no-tax campaign was to be first started at Bardoli, and then other districts will follow if they can, after satisfying all the conditions of the Congress. The non-co-operation leaders of Guntur, however, pressed M. Gandhi to give them permission to start at once on the no-tax campaign. Already they had stopped payment of land revenue to Government, and in consequence an awful policy of repression was facing them. Gandhi hesitated to give his consent. He

wanted to see what his own Bardoli could do. Once more, however, Gandhi's hopes proved short-lived, and his action premature. When the whole of India was watching in awful suspense the impossible daring of the Mahatma and his small band of followers with their preparations at Bardoli for "the freedom's battle", news came like a thunder-clap of a ghastly mob-outrage at Chauri Chaura in U. P. On the 5th February the whole of India was shocked to hear that a mob of 3000 men headed by several hundreds of Congress volunteers had killed, maimed and burned to death all the police in the station of Chauri Chaura in the Gorakhpur District. Chauri Chaura is a police-station 15 miles from Gorakhpur. The Police buildings were within a hundred yards of the Railway station and the Post and Telegraph office. The whole of the police station was burnt to cinders along with its 22 policemen whose charred and mangled remains made a hideous sight. The story of the outrage is given below.—

The local Bazar, called Mandera bazar, had been for some time past the scene of vigorous picketing which was so far successful that foreign cloth was excluded and the drink-shops had no custom. This was resented and resisted by the local zamindar, the owner of the bazar. On February 1st, B. Gupteswar Singh, reputed to be a very zealous police-officer for which he was in bad odour in that district, with a police force visited the bazar, and is alleged to have beat some of the volunteers engaged in peaceful picketing. Amongst the picketers there he recognised one government pensioner whom he threatened with a warning that his pension would cease. These events led all the volunteers of the surrounding villages to assemble at Dumri, a neighbouring village, on Saturday the 4th February. They were believed to have numbered five or six hundred and accompanied by a very large crowd marched to the thana with evident intention of mischief. The strength of the mob is variously estimated at between three and five thousand. The procession halted in front of the thana. The volunteers, it is said, demanded to know why the Sub-Inspector beat them on the previous bazar day, expressed their determination to picket the bazar that day, and asked the police to prevent them from doing so if they dared. Some neutrals

acted as peacemakers and managed to pacify the volunteers who then moved on. When the major part of the mob had moved on to some distance a hue and cry was raised in the rear. It appears that the police roughly handled some of the stragglers in the rear. Upon this the mob returned and began to throw brick-bats.

The armed police, it is stated, at first fired a volley in the air but finding it produced no effect, they fired on the mob. How long the firing lasted is not known, but the dead bodies of only two rioters were found near the thana. More might have been taken away by the mob. In spite of the firing the police were overpowered by the mob.

The police men then seeing no loophole of escape made for their rooms and bolted the doors from the inside. The mob then set fire to the building. Some of the policemen perished in the flames and those who were driven out by the heat and smoke were brutally assaulted, besmirched in kerosine, and thrown back into the fire there to suffer further torture until life was extinct. It was altogether a ghastly crime scarcely less horrible than the mob outrage on Europeans at Amritsar in 1919.

There was another mob-outbreak at Bareilly which was, however, suppressed by armed police before any mischief was done. The tragedy at Gorakhpur and the incidents at Bareilly charged the atmosphere with a stifling sense of disgust of 'non-violent non-co-operation.' Some fifty prominent leaders of the U. P. at once issued a manifesto condemning the conduct of the volunteers. Mr. Devadas Gandhi, son of M. Gandhi, wired to his father to suspend his activities. Pundit Malaviya addressed the Mahatma and urged him to call an emergent meeting of the Working Committee. M. Gandhi was distressed beyond measure. He at once left Bardoli and came to Bombay on 9th February to see Pundit Malaviya, Messrs. Jayakar, Natarajan, Jinnah and other Independent politicians of Bombay who had been endeavouring to bring about the Round Table Conference. Suspension of Congress activities was strongly urged. Gandhi submitted. Pundit Malaviya and other members of the Conference Committee were thereupon invited to come to Bardoli. The two parties met. Pundit Malaviya and the Independents prevailed, and the result was the famous Bardoli resolution on suspension of civil disobedience.

The Bardoli Resolutions

The Working Committee of Congress met at Bardoli on the 11th and 12th February 1922 and passed the following resolutions :—

(1) The Working Committee deplores the inhuman conduct of the mob at Chauri Chaura in having brutally murdered constables and wantonly burned police thana, and tenders its sympathy to the families of the bereaved.

(2) In spite of the nation's repeated warnings, every time mass civil disobedience has been imminent, 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, therefore, resolves that mass civil disobedience, as 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, the payment of which 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 November 17th 1921, and January 13th last.

(4) In order to promote a peaceful atmosphere, the Working Committee advises, till further instructions, all Congress organisations to stop activities especially designed to court arrest and imprisonment, save the 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 is to be controlled by persons of known good character 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 meeting of the Congress and other Committees or public meetings which are required for the conduct of the normal activities of the Congress.

(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 rent 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 when the ryots have grievances, the Committee desires that redress

should be sought by mutual consultation and by the usual recourse to arbitration.

(8) Complaints having been brought to the notice of the Working Committee that in the formation of volunteer corps great laxity prevails in the selection, and that insistence is not laid on the full use of hand-spun and hand-woven khaddar, and on the full observance by the 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 word and deed in terms of the Congress Resolution, the Working Committee calls upon all 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 Congressmen 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 will call such a meeting as soon as possible after consultation with Hakim Kham, Ajmal Khan.

Work of Congress Organisation.

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 the 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 the vital part of Satyagraha, and whereas in the opinion of the Working Committee the delay in the attainment of the national aim is solely due to the weak and incomplete execution in practice of the constitution of the Congress with a view to perfecting the internal organisation, the Working Committee advises all Congress organisations to be engaged in the following activities :—

(1) To enlist at least one crore of members of the Congress.

Note :—(i) 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.

(ii) The workers should note that none 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 re-register their names.

(2) To popularise the spinning wheel and organise the manufacture of hand-spun and hand-woven khaddar.

Note :—To this end, all workers and office-bearers should be dressed in khaddar, and it is recommended that with a view to encouraging others they should themselves learn hand-spinning.

(3) To organise National Schools,

Note :—No picketing of the 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 the 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 untouchable 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 Panchayat's decisions.

[7] In order to promote and emphasise unity among all classes and races and mutual good-will 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 to his Creed, will deem it a privilege to render personal service in case of illness or accident to every person, whether English or Indian.

[8] To continue the Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund and to call upon every Congressman or Congress sympathiser to save 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, Jannalal Bajaj and V. J. Patel to draw up a scheme for consideration by the said Special Meeting of the All-India Congress Committee.

In the following article written in his paper "YOUNG INDIA" Mahatma Gandhi fully explained the new position of Congress-men created by the ghastly affair of Chauri Chaura,—

Mahatma Gandhi on Chauri Chaura

"God has been abundantly kind to me. He has warned me the third time that there is not as yet in India that truthful and non-violent atmosphere which and which alone can justify mass disobedience which can be at all described as civil, which means gentle, truthful, humble, knowing, wilful yet loving, never criminal and hateful.

"He warned me in 1919 when the Rowlatt Act agitation was started. Ahmedabad, Virangam and Kbeda erred, Amritsar and Kasur erred. I retraced my steps, called it a Himalayan miscalculation, humbled myself before God and man and stopped not merely mass Civil Disobedience but even my own which I knew was intended to be civil and non-violent. The next time it was through the events of Bombay that God gave a terrific warning. He made me eye-witness of the deeds of the Bombay mob on the 17th November. The mob acted in the interest of non-cooperation. I announced my intention to stop the mass Civil Disobedience which was to be immediately started in Bardoli. The humiliation was greater than in 1919. But it did me good. I am sure that the nation gained by the stopping. India stood for truth and non-violence by the suspension.

"But the bitterest humiliation was still to come. Madras did give the warning, but I heeded it not. But God spoke clearly through Chauri Chaura. I understand that the constables, who were so brutally hacked to death, had given much provocation. They had even gone back upon the word just given by the Inspector that the people would not be molested, that when the procession had passed the stragglers were interfered with and abused by the constables. The foreman cried out for help. The mob returned. The constables opened fire. The little ammunition they had was exhausted and they retired to the thana for safety. The mob, my informant tells me, therefore, set fire to the thana. The self-imprisoned constables had to come out for dear life, and as they did so they were hacked to pieces and the mangled remains were thrown into the raging flames.

"It is claimed that no Non-co-operation volunteers had a hand in the brutality and that the mob had not only the immediate provocation but they had also general knowledge of the high-handed tyranny of the Police in that district. No provocation can possible justify the brutal murder of men who

had been rendered defenceless and who had virtually thrown themselves on the mercy of the mob. And when India claims to be non-violent and hopes to mount the Throne of Liberty through non-violent means, mob-violence, even in answer to grave provocation, is a bad augury. Suppose the non-violent disobedience of Bardoli was permitted by God to succeed; the Government had abdicated in favour of the victors of Bardoli: who would control the unruly element that must be expected to perpetrate inhumanity upon due provocation? Non-violent attainment of self Government pre-supposes non-violent control over the violent elements in the country. Non-violent non-cooperators can only succeed when they have succeeded in attaining control over the hooligans of India, in other words, when the latter also have learnt patriotically or religiously to refrain from their violent activities at least while the campaign of non-co-operation is going on. The tragedy at Chauri Chaura, therefore, roused me thoroughly.

"But what about your manifesto to the Viceroy and your rejoinder to his reply?" spoke the voice of Satan. It was the bitterest cup of humiliation to drink. 'Surely it is cowardly to withdraw the next day after pompous threats to the Government and promises to the people of Bardoli.' Thus Satan's invitation was to deny Truth and therefore Religion, to deny God Himself. I put my doubts and troubles before the Working Committee and other associates whom I found near me. They did not all agree with me at first. Some of them probably do not even now agree with me. But never has a man been blessed perhaps with colleagues and associates so considerate and forgiving as I have. They understood my difficulty and patiently followed my argument. The result is before the public in the shape of the resolutions of the Working Committee. The drastic reversal of practically the whole of the aggressive programme may be politically unsound and unwise, but there is no doubt that it is religiously sound and I venture to assure the doubters that the country will have gained by my humiliation and confession of error.

"The only virtues I want to claim are Truth and non-violence. I lay no claims to super-human powers. I want none. I wear the same corruptible flesh that the weakest of my fellow-beings wear and am, therefore, as liable to err as any. My services have many limitations, but God has up to now

blessed them in spite of the imperfections. For, confession of error is like a broom that sweeps away dirt and leaves the surface cleaner than before. I feel stronger for my confession. And the cause must prosper for the retracing. Never has man reached his destination by persistence in deviation from the straight path.

"It has been urged that Chauri Chaura cannot affect Bardoli. There is danger, it is argued, only if Bardoli is weak enough to be swayed by Chauri Chaura and is betrayed into violence. I have no doubt whatsoever on that account. The people of Bardoli are in my opinion the most peaceful in India. But Bardoli is but a speck on the map of India. Its efforts cannot succeed unless there is perfect co-operation from the other parts. Bardoli's disobedience will be civil only when the other parts of India remain non-violent. Just as the addition of a grain of arsenic to a pot of milk renders it unfit as food, so will the civility of Bardoli prove unacceptable by the addition of the deadly poison from Chauri Chaura. The latter represents India as much as Bardoli.

"Chauri Chaura is after all an aggravated symptom. I have never imagined that there has been no violence, mental or physical, in the places where repression is going on. Only I have believed, and the pages of "Young India" amply prove, that the repression is out of all proportion to the insignificant popular violence in the areas of repression. The determined holding of meetings in prohibited areas I do not call violence. The violence I am referring to is the throwing of brick-bats, or intimidation and coercion practised in stray cases. As a matter of fact in civil disobedience there should be no excitement. Civil Disobedience is a preparation for mute suffering. Its effect is marvellous though un-perceived and gentle. But I regarded certain amount of excitement as inevitable, certain amount of un-intended violence even pardonable, i.e., I did not consider Civil Disobedience impossible in somewhat imperfect condition. Under perfect conditions disobedience when civil is hardly felt. But the present movement is admittedly a dangerous experiment under fairly adverse conditions.

"The tragedy of Chauri Chaura is really the index finger. It shows the way India may easily go if drastic precautions be not taken. If we are not to evolve violence out of non-violence,

it is quite clear that we must hastily retrace our steps and re-establish an atmosphere of peace, re-arrange our programme and not think of starting mass civil disobedience until we are sure of peace being retained in spite of much civil disobedience being started and in spite of Government provocation. We must be sure of unauthorised portions not starting mass civil disobedience.

"As it is, the Congress organisation is still imperfect and its instructions are still perfunctorily carried out. We have not established Congress Committees in every one of the villages. Where we have, they are not perfectly amenable to our instructions. We have not probably more than one crore of members on the roll. We are in the middle of February; not many have paid the four-anna subscription for the current year. Volunteers are indifferently enrolled; they do not conform to all the conditions of their pledge. They do not even wear hand-spun and hand-woven Khaddar! All the Hindu volunteers have not yet purged themselves of the sin of untouchability. All are not free from the taint of violence. Not by their imprisonment are we going to win "Swaraj", or serve the holy cause of the "Khilafat," or attain the ability to stop payments to faithless servants. Some of us err in spite of ourselves. But some others among us sin willfully. They join volunteer corps well-knowing that they are not, and do not intend to remain, non-violent. We are thus untruthful even as we hold the Government to be untruthful. We dare not enter the kingdom of liberty with mere lip homage to truth and non-violence.

"Suspension of mass Civil Disobedience and subsidence of excitement are necessary for further progress; indeed, indispensable to prevent further retrogression. I hope, therefore, that by suspension every Congress man or woman will not only not feel disappointed but he or she will feel relieved of the burden of unreality and of national sin.

"Let the opponent glory in our humiliation or so called defeat. It is better to be charged with cowardice and weakness than to be guilty of denial of our oath and sin against God. It is million times better to "appear" untrue before the world than to be untrue to ourselves.

"And so, for me the suspension of mass Civil Disobedience and other minor activities that were calculated to keep up

excitement is not enough penance for my having been the instrument, howsoever involuntary, of the brutal violence by the people at Chauri Chaura. I must undergo personal cleansing. I must become a fitter instrument able to register the slightest variation in the moral atmosphere about me. My prayers must have a much deeper truth and humility about them than they evidence. And for me there is nothing so helpful and cleansing as a fast accompanied by the necessary mental co-operation.

"I know that the mental attitude is everything. Just as a prayer may be merely a mechanical intonation as of a bird, so may a fast be a mere mechanical torture of the flesh. Such mechanical contrivances are valueless for the purpose intended. Again, just as a mechanical chant may result in the modulation of voice, a mechanical fast may result in purifying the body. Neither will touch the soul within.

"But a fast undertaken for fuller self-expression for the attainment of the spirit's supremacy over the flesh, is a most powerful factor in one's evolution. After deep consideration, therefore, I am imposing on myself a five days' continuous fast permitting myself water. It commenced on Sunday evening, it ends on Friday evening. This is the least I must do. I have taken into consideration the All-India Congress Committee meeting in front of me. I have in mind the anxious pain even the five days' fast will cost many friends but I can no longer postpone the penance nor lessen it.

"I urge co-workers not to copy my example. The motive in their case will be lacking. They are not the originators of Civil Disobedience. I am in the unhappy position of a surgeon proved skillless to deal with an admittedly dangerous case. I must either abdicate or acquire greater skill. Whilst the personal penance is not only necessary and obligatory on me, the exemplary self-restraint prescribed by the Working Committee is surely sufficient penance for every one else. It is no small penance, and if sincerely carried out, it can become infinitely more real and better than fasting. What can be richer and more fruitful than a greater fulfilment of the vow of non-violence in thought, word and deed or the spread of that spirit? It will be more than food for me during the week to observe that comrades are all silently and without idle discussion engaged in fulfilling the constructive

programme sketched by the Working Committee in enlisting Congress members, after making sure that they understand the Congress Creed of truth and non-violence for the attainment of Swaraj, in daily and religiously spinning for a fixed time, in introducing the wheel of prosperity and freedom in every home, in visiting "untouchable" homes and finding out their wants, in inducing national schools to receive "untouchable" children, in organising social service especially designed to find a common platform for every variety of man and woman, and in visiting the homes which the drink curse is desolating, in establishing real panchayats and in organising national Arbitration Courts. The workers will be better engaged in these activities than in fasting. I hope, therefore, that no one will join me in fasting either through false sympathy or in ignorant conception of the spiritual value of fasting.

"All fasting and all penance must, as far as possible, be secret. But my fasting is both a penance and a punishment, and a punishment has to be public. It is penance for me and punishment for those whom I try to serve—for whom I love to live and would equally love to die. They have unintentionally sinned against the laws of the Congress, though they were sympathisers, if not actually connected with it. Probably they backed the constables, their countrymen and fellow-beings, with my name on their lips. The only way love punishes is by suffering. I cannot even wish them to be arrested. But I would let them know that I would suffer for their breach of the Congress Creed. I would advise those who feel guilty and repentant to hand themselves voluntarily to the Government for punishment and make a clean confession. I hope that the workers in the Gorakhpur District will leave no stone unturned to find out the evil-doers and urge them to deliver themselves into custody. But whether the murderers accept my advice or not, I would like them to know that they have seriously interfered with Swaraj operations, that in being the cause of postponement of the movement in Bardoli they have injured the very cause they probably intended to serve. I would like them to know too that this movement is not a cloak or a preparation for violence. I would at any rate suffer every humiliation, every torture, absolute ostracism and death itself to prevent the movement from becoming violent or a precursor of violence.

"I make my penance public also because I am now denying myself the opportunity of sharing their lot with the prisoners. The immediate issue has again shifted. *We can no longer press for the withdrawal of notifications or discharge of prisoners. They and we must suffer for the crime of Chauri Chaura.* The incident proves, whether we wish it or not, the unity of life. All, including even the administrators, must suffer. Chauri Chaura must stiffen the Government, must still further corrupt the police and the reprisals that will follow must further demoralise the people. The suspension and the penance will take us back to the position we occupied before the tragedy. By strict discipline and purification we regain the moral confidence required for demanding the withdrawal of notifications and the discharge of prisoners.

"If we learn the full lesson of the tragedy, we can turn the curse into a blessing. By becoming truthful and non-violent, both in spirit and in deed, and by making the Swadeshi, that is the "Khaddar" programme complete, we can establish full "Swaraj" and redress the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs without a single person having to offer Civil Disobedience."

It remains now only to relate the tale of the complete discomfiture of the Mahatma. It is not proposed here to give in detail the current of political affairs in the country of this period as it will form the subject-matter of the next issue of this Register. Suffice it to say that Chauri Chaura broke down Gandhi and with him broke down all the religious enthusiasm which for a year had animated the thousands of self-less workers of the National Congress and the Khilafat league, and which had served to infuse a great spirit of self-abnegation and self-purification in the leaden soul of the Indian proletariat. Gradually the Guntur "No—Tax" campaign which was making head for a wholesale civil-disobedience was relaxed. Mass civil disobedience, courting arrests, volunteer processions, picketing—all the array of flamboyant non-co-operation, gradually lost their high spirit. And in high quarters responsible statesmen and politicians set

themselves to a cool and calculated deliberation as to how to circumvent and deal the final knock-out blow to the nationalist aspirations of the country.

The All-India Congress Committee

To enable the representatives of the people to consider and discuss the Bardoli resolution on suspension of civil disobedience a meeting of the All Indian Congress Committee was arranged to be held at Delhi on the 24th February last. A meeting of the Central Khilafat Committee was also arranged at the same place.

Accordingly a large number of the members of the All-India Congress Committee met at Hakim Ajmal Khan's house in Delhi on February 24th. The meeting was private, as, owing to the application of the Seditious Meetings Act in Delhi since November last, no public meetings could be held. Since the morning the members of the Working Committee held informal conferences with various Congress leaders who had arrived from the Provinces so as to enable it to come to a satisfactory decision as to the terms of the resolutions to be placed before the All-India Committee which had been called to pass its judgment on the decision of its executive. Although Gandhi's opinion still carried great weight among his followers, the extreme element was in revolt against him. The crux of the issues before the Committee was Civil Disobedience, both defensive and aggressive. There was even a small party for the total abandonment of non-co-operation. The real conflict lay between the immediate followers of Gandhi and the leaders from Bengal, Punjab and Maharashtra. The latter strongly condemned the suspension and urged immediate resumption of defensive Civil Disobedience and resort to Mass Civil Disobedience in near future as originally intended.

The All-India Congress Committee met next day, the 25th. February, and had a long sitting. The main resolution was moved by M. Gandhi and seconded by Mr. V. J. Patel. The resolution, while confirming the Bardoli decision suspending certain Congress activities, again sanctioned practically all the important activities with the exception of Mass Civil Disobedience as contemplated at Bardoli. A large number of amendments to the motion was made, the majority of

which tended to go a step further than ever contemplated in the main resolution which M. Gandhi moved on behalf of the Congress Working Committee. The text of the resolution as finally passed is :—

The Delhi Resolution.

“The All-India Congress Committee, having carefully considered the resolutions passed by the Working Committee at its meeting held at Bardoli on the 11th and 12th inst., confirms the said resolutions, and further resolves that individual Civil Disobedience, whether of a defensive or aggressive character, may be commenced in respect of particular places or particular laws at the instance of, and upon permission being granted therefor, by the respective Provincial Committees, provided that such Civil Disobedience shall not be permitted unless all the conditions laid down by the Congress or the All-India Congress Committee or the Working Committee are strictly fulfilled.

“Reports having been received from various quarters that picketing regarding foreign cloth is as necessary as liquor-picketing, the All-India Congress Committee authorises such picketing of a *bona-fide* character on the same terms as liquor-picketing mentioned in the Bardoli resolutions.

“The All-India Congress Committee wishes it to be understood that the resolutions of the Working Committee do not mean any abandonment of the original Congress programme of Non-co-operation or permanent abandonment of Mass Civil Disobedience, but considers that an atmosphere of necessary mass non-violence can be established by the workers concentrating upon the constructive programme framed by the Working Committee at Bardoli.

“The All-India Congress Committee is of opinion that the Congress has attained considerable success in every item of Non-co-operation, and that the spirit of Non-co-operation which pervades the atmosphere has strengthened the country, and full Non-co-operation alone will lead ultimately to real friendship and equality.

“The All-India Congress Committee hold Civil Disobedience to be the right and duty of the people to be exercised and performed whenever the State opposes the declared will of the people.

Explanation.

"NOTE.—Individual Civil Disobedience as defined in the resolution is disobedience of orders or laws by a single individual or an ascertained number or group of individuals. Therefore, a prohibited public meeting where admission is regulated by tickets and to which no unauthorised admission is allowed is an instance of individual Civil Disobedience, whereas a prohibited meeting to which the general public is admitted without any restriction is an instance of Mass Civil Disobedience. Such Civil Disobedience is defensive when a prohibited public meeting is held for conducting a normal activity, although it may result in arrests. It would be aggressive, if it is held, not for any normal activity, but merely for the purpose of courting arrest and imprisonment."

The debate revealed that the views put forward by Pundit Malaviya to merely confirm the Bardoli resolution and the opinion for abandonment of civil disobedience and non-co-operation found no support in any quarter of the house.

The main fight centred round two proposals: one of the Maharashtra and the other of the Bengal delegates. The former demanded a committee of enquiry into the working of the Non-co-operation programme with a view to overhaul it, if necessary. The Bengal members urged that Provincial Committees be authorised to sanction defensive civil disobedience if only they could be sure of the necessary atmosphere of non-violence and if the means adopted were peaceful, legitimate and moral. They pointed out that other restrictions regarding *khaddar*, untouchability, etc., though necessary, need not be made an indispensable condition for fitting them to launch upon a campaign of disobedience. Both the parties made strong and forceful representations of their views, which when put to the house found a large majority against them.

The resolution as finally drafted did not represent the Mahatma's personal views which were to stick to the Bardoli decision. But the outcry of the extreme section, specially in view of the utterance of the Home Member of the Govt. of India in the Assembly where only two days before he had exhibited a querulous and threatening disposition even against the Bardoli resolution, prevailed, and the Mahatma had

to yield. He was moved, further, to make the Delhi amendments by the appeal of the ten thousand and odd volunteers held in prison for whom provincial leaders made visibly agitated appeals. Before this Gandhi surrendered. But once away from the talk and noise of the big Committee where he had to face fathers, brothers, mothers and sisters of the sufferers, the Mahatma saw through the slip of weakness at Delhi and issued from the sanctum of his Asbram at Ahmedabad injunctions not to take civil disobedience seriously. His writings on the Delhi resolution is quoted in full below to show how he differed from the majority in the Congress.

M. Gandhi on the Delhi Resolution

"The session just past of the All India Congress Committee was in some respects more memorable than the Congress. There is so much under-current of violence, both conscious and unconscious, that I was actually and literally praying for a disastrous defeat. I have always been in a minority. The reader does not know that in South Africa I started with practical unanimity, reached a minority of sixty-four, and even sixteen, and went up again, to a huge majority. The best and the most solid work was done in the wilderness of minority.

"I know that the only thing that the Government dread is this huge majority I seem to command. They little know that I dread it even more than they. I have become literally sick of the adoration of the unthinking multitude. I would feel certain of my ground, if I was spat upon by them. Then there would be no need for confession of Himalayan and other miscalculations, no retracing, no re-arranging.

"But it was not to be.

"A friend warned me against exploiting my dictatorship. He little know that I had never once used it, if only because the legal occasion had not yet arisen for its use. The 'dictatorship' accrues to me only when the ordinary Congress machinery is rendered unworkable by the Government.

"Far from my consciously or unconsciously exploiting my 'dictatorship', I have begun to wonder if I am not unconsciously allowing myself to be 'exploited'. I confess that I have a dread of it such as I never had before. My only safety lies, in my shamelessness. I have warned my friends of the Committee that I am incorrigible. I shall continue to confess

blunders each time the people commit them. The only tyrant I accept in this world is the 'still small voice' within. And even though I have to face the prospect of a minority of one, I humbly believe I have the courage to be in such a hopeless minority. That to me is the only truthful position.

"But I am a sadder and, I hope, a wiser man to-day. I see that our non-violence is skin-deep. We are burning with indignation. The Government is feeding it by its insensate acts. It seems almost as if the Government wants to see this land covered with murder, arson and rapine, in order to be able once more to claim exclusive ability to put them down.

"This non-violence therefore seems to be due merely to our helplessness. It almost appears as if we are nursing in our bosoms the desire to take revenge the first time we get the opportunity.

"Can true voluntary non-violence come out of this seeming forced non-violence of the weak? Is it not a futile experiment I am conducting? What if, when the fury bursts, not a man, woman or child is safe and every man's hand is raised against his fellow being? Oh! of what avail is it then if I fast myself to death in the event of such a catastrophe coming to pass?

"What is the alternative? To lie and say that what I know to be evil is good? To say that true and voluntary co-operation will come out of forced co-operation is to say that light will result from darkness.

"Co-operation with the Government is as much a weakness and a sin as alliance with suspended violence.

"The difficulty is almost insurmountable. Hence, with the growing knowledge of the fact that this non-violence is merely superficial, I must continually make mistakes and retrace, even as a man wading his way through a tractless forest must continually stop, retrace, stumble, be hurt and even bleed.

"I was prepared for a certain amount of depression, disappointment and resentment, but I confess I was totally unprepared for the hurricane of opposition. It became clear to me that the workers were in no mood to do any serious work of construction. The constructive programme lent no enchantment. They were not a social reform association. They could not wrest power from the Government by such humdrum reform work. They wanted to deliver 'non-violent' blows! All this appeared so thoroughly unreal! They would not stop to think

that even if they could defeat the Government by a childish display of rage, they could not conduct the Government of the country for a single day without serious and laborious organization and construction.

"We must not go to gaol, as Mahomed Ali would say, in a false issue. It is not *any* imprisonment that will lead to Swaraj. It is not every disobedience that will fire us with the spirit of obedience and discipline. Jails are no gateway to liberty for the confirmed criminal. They are temples of liberty only for those who are innocence personified. The execution of Socrates made immortality a living reality for us,—not so the execution of countless murderers. There is no warrant for supposing that we can steal Swaraj by the imprisonment of thousands of nominally non-violent men with hatred, ill-will and violence raging in their breasts.

"It would be otherwise if we were fighting with arms, giving and receiving blow for blow. The imprisonment of those who may be caught intimidating, assaulting and murdering will certainly embarrass the Government, and when they are tried, they would as elsewhere yield. But such is not our fight today. Let us be truthful. If it is through 'show of force' that we wish to gain Swaraj, let us drop non-violence and offer such violence as we may. It would be a manly, honest and sober attitude, an attitude the world has been used to for ages past. No one can then accuse us of the terrible charge of hypocrisy.

"But the majority will not listen to me. In spite of all my warnings and passionate plea for rejecting my resolution if they did not believe in non-violence as indispensable for that attainment of our goal, they accepted it without a single material change. I would ask them therefore to realise their responsibility. They are now bound not to rush to civil disobedience but to settle down to the quiet work of construction. I would urge them to be indifferent to the clamour for immediate action. The immediate action is not courting imprisonment, nor even free speech and free association or free pen, but self-purification, introspection, quiet organisation. We have lost our foot-hold. If we do not take care, we are likely to be drowned in the waters whose depth we do not know.

"It is no use thinking of the prisoners. When I heard of Chauri Chaura, for the moment I sacrificed them as the first penitential act. They have gone to jail to be released only by the strength of the people; indeed the hope was that the Swaraj Parliament's first act would be to open the prison-gates. God hath decreed otherwise. We who are outside have tried and failed. The prisoners can now only gain by serving the full term of their imprisonment. If there are any who went under false pretences, or under any misapprehension or understanding of the movement, can come out by petitioning. The movement will be all the stronger for the purging. The stoutest hearts will rejoice in the opportunity of unexpectedly greater suffering. Though thousands of Russians have 'rotted' in the Russian prisons for years and years, that unhappy people are not yet free. Liberty is a jilt most difficult to woo and please. We have shown the power of suffering. But we have not suffered enough. If the people in general keep passively non-violent, and if only a few are actively, honestly and knowingly non violent in intent, word and deed, we can reach the goal in the quickest time with the least suffering. But we shall indefinitely postpone the attainment, if we send to prison men who harbour violence in their breasts.

"Therefore the duty of the majority in their respective provinces is to face taunts, insults, and, if need be, depletion in their ranks but determined to pursue their goal without swerving an inch. The authorities mistaking our suspension for weakness may resort to still greater oppression. We should submit to it. We should even abandon defensive civil disobedience and concentrate all our energy on the tasteless but health-giving economic and social reform. We should bend down on our knees and assure the moderates that they need fear no harm from us. We should assure the Zamindars that we have no ill-will against them.

"They average Englishman is haughty, he does not understand us, he considers himself to be a superior being. He thinks that he is born to rule us. He relies upon his forts or his gun to protect himself. He despises us. He wants to compel co-operation, *i. e.* slavery. Even him we have to conquer, not by bending the knee, but remaining aloof from him, but at the same time not hating him nor hurting him. It

is cowardly to molest him. If we simply refuse to regard ourselves as his slaves and to pay homage to him, we have done our duty. A mouse can only shun the cat. He cannot treat with her till she has filed the points of her claws and teeth. At the same time we must show every attention to those few Englishmen who are trying to cure themselves and fellow-Englishmen of the disease of race superiority.

"The minority has different ideals. It does not believe in the programme. Is it not right and patriotic for them to form a new party and a new organisation? They will then truly educate the country. Those who do not believe in the creed should surely retire from the Congress. Even a national organisation must have a creed. One, for instance, who does not believe in Swaraj, has no place in the Congress. I submit that even so has one who does not believe in 'peaceful and legitimate means' no place in the Congress. A Congressman may not believe in non-co-operation and still remain in it, but he cannot believe in violence and untruth and still be a Congressman. I was therefore deeply hurt when I found opposition to the note in the resolution about the creed, and still more when I found opposition to my paraphrase of the two adjectives 'peaceful' and 'legitimate' into 'non-violent' and 'truthful' respectively. I had reasons for the paraphrase. I was seriously told that the creed did not insist upon non-violence and truth as the indispensable means for the attainment of Swaraj. I agreed to remove the paraphrase in order to avoid a painful discussion but I felt that truth was stabbed.

"I am sure that those who raised this opposition are as patriotic as I claim to be, they are as eager for Swaraj as every other Congressman. But I do say that the patriotic spirit demands their loyal and strict adherence to non-violence and truth and that if they do not believe in them they should retire from the Congress organisation.

"Is it not national economy to let all the ideals be sharply defined and to work independently of one another? That then which is most popular will win the day. If we are going to evolve the real spirit of democracy, we shall not do so by obstruction but by abstention.

"The session of the All-India Congress Committee was a forcible demonstration of the fact that we are retarding the country's progress towards Swaraj and not the Government.

Every mistake of the Government helps. Every neglect of duty on our part hinders.

Advice to Provincial Committees.

"It is thus clear what I would like the Provincial organisations to do. They must not for the present disobey the Government orders so far as it is at all possible. They must not, before they have searched their hearts, take forward action but bring about an absolutely calm atmosphere. No imprisonment courted in anger has availed us anything. I agree with the Mussulman view which is also the Hindu view that there is no imprisonment for the sake of it. All imprisonment to be useful has to be courted for religion or country and that by men and women clad in *khaddar* and without anger or violence in their hearts. If the provinces have no such men and women, they should not embark on civil disobedience at all.

Constructive Programme.

"Hence is it that the constructive programme has been framed. It will steady and calm us. It will wake our organising spirit, it will make us industrious, it will render us fit for Swaraj, it will cool our blood. We shall be spat upon, laughed at, sworn at, may be even kicked and cursed. We must put up with it all in as much as we have harboured anger in our breasts even though we have been under the pledge of non-violence. I must frankly state that unless we can retrieve our steps deliberately, cultivate non-violence and manufacture *khaddar*, we cannot render effective help to the Khilafat, we cannot get redress of the Punjab wrong, nor can we attain Swaraj. My leadership is perfectly useless if I cannot convince co workers and the public of the absolute and immediate necessity of vigorously prosecuting the constructive programme.

"We must know whether we can get a crore of men and women in all India who believe in attainment of Swaraj by peaceful, i. e., non-violent and legitimate, i. e., truthful means.

"We must get money for the prosecution of Swadeshi and we will know how many people there are in India who are willing honestly to pay one rupee out of every hundred of their past year's income to the Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund. This

subscription the Committee expects from Congressmen and sympathisers.

"We must spend money like water in introducing the spinning-wheel in every home, in the manufacture and the distribution of *khaddar* wherever required.

"Surely we have long neglected the 'untouchable' brother. He has slaved for us too long. We must now serve him.

"Our liquor picketing has done some good but not substantial. Not till we pierce the home of the drunkard shall we make any real advance. We must know why he drinks ; what we can substitute for it. We must have a census of all the drunkards of India.

"Social service department has been looked at with the utmost contempt. If the non-co operation movement is not malicious, that department is a necessity. We want to render alike to friend and foe service in times of distress. We are thereby able to keep our relations sweet with all in spite of our political aloofness.

Laughing at it.

"Social service and temperance reform were laughed at as part of the struggle for Swaraj. It was a painful exhibition of ignorance of the essentials of Swaraj. I claim that human mind or human society is not divided into water-tight compartments called social, political and religious. All act and react upon one another. What is more, the vast majority of Hindus and Mussalmans have joined the struggle believing it to be religious. The masses have come in because they want to save the Khilafat and the cow. Deprive the Mussalman of the hope of helping the Khilafat and he will shun the Congress ; tell the Hindu he cannot save the cow if he joins the Congress, he will to a man leave it. To laugh at moral reform and social service is to laugh at Swaraj, the Khilafat and the Punjab.

"Even the organisation of schools was laughed at. Let us see what it means. We have demolished the prestige of Government schools. It was perhaps necessary in 1920 to do the picketing and certainly not to mind the boys being neglected, but it would be criminal any longer to picket Government schools or to neglect National institutions. We can now only draw more boys and girls by putting existing

National schools on a better footing. They have the advantage of being in institutions where they breathe free air and where they are not shadowed, But the advantage of scientific training in carding, hand-spinning and hand-weaving, and of having intellectual training in keeping with the requirements of the country must be added. We shall show by successful experiment the superiority of training in National schools and colleges.

"Even the *Panchayats* came in for ridicule. Little did the critics realise that the masses in many parts of India had ceased to resort to law courts. If we do not organise honest *Panchayats*, they will certainly go back to the existing law-courts.

Political Results.

"Nor is a single step devoid of vast political results. Adequate manufacture and universal use of *Khaddar* means a permanent boycott of foreign cloth and automatic distribution of sixty crores of rupees annually among the poor people. Permanent disappearance of the drink and the opium evils mean an annual saving of seventeen crores to the people and a diminution of that revenue for the Government. Constructive effort for the untouchables means the addition to the Congress ranks of six crores of men and women who will for ever be bound to the Congress. Social Service Department, if it becomes a live thing, will restore the strained relations that exist to day among co operators (whether Indian or English) and non-co-operators. To work the full constructive programme, therefore, is to achieve all we want. To fail in fulfilling the programme is to postpone all possibility of effective civil disobedience"

The Arrest of the Mahatma.

Already there was distinctly visible a split in the Congress Camp—though for the time being it was kept hidden under a camouflage of words. Swami Shraddhanand who wanted to drop non-co-operation altogether did not attend the Delhi meeting. Pt. Malaviya was not heeded. The Aligarh students passed a resolution condemning the suspension of civil disobedience. Other instances of revolt from Gandhi's leadership cropped up. And Govt. now saw its chance. There was about this time in India, especially in the United Provinces, a strong undercurrent of lawlessness. There was a very widespread strike over the East Indian Railway—and daily it was threatening to break out into lawlessness. The *Aika* movement, ostensibly to preserve the rights of the villagers against the oppressions of the Zamindars, started in the U. P. was the cause of a panic. The Bhils in Rajputana were in militant unrest. In Assam a tragedy happened in Kanarighat. Clearly Gandhi was unable to stem the tide of unrest. His great name failed to bring quiet and non-violence. On all sides in European quarters the cry was raised: "Arrest the Man". In England this was very insistent. On February 23rd. Sir William Vincent said in the Legislative Assembly that Govt. had not changed its attitude towards the Congress. On Feb. 28th. Sir Robert Watson Smith talked of hitting back, "bit back hard" (See appendix p. 154) in the Bengal Chamber. On Feb. 14 there was the great debate in Parliament when the M. P.s wanted the application of more force and repression in India. Mr. Montagu was the subject of intense vituperation. A vote of censure on him was moved. Mr. Churchill was almost openly against his cabinet-colleague, the Secretary of State for India. Even the Prime Minister gave warning to those who wanted further change in India. Matters now took a dramatic turn.

Mr. Montagu was thrown over by the Cabinet on March 9th. and Mahatma Gandhi was arrested on March 10th. From some days before there was persistent rumours of the coming arrest and the Mahatma wrote the following article in his paper "*Young India*".—

M. Gandhi on "If I am arrested"

"The rumour has been revived that my arrest is imminent. It is said to be regarded as a mistake by some officials that I was not arrested when I was to be, i. e., on the 11th or 12th of February and that the Bardoli decision ought not to have been allowed to affect the Government's programme. It is said, too, that it is now no longer possible for the Government to withstand the ever-rising agitation in London for my arrest and deportation. I myself cannot see how the Government can avoid arresting me if they want a permanent abandonment of civil disobedience, whether individual or mass.

"I advised the Working Committee to suspend mass civil disobedience at Bardoli. Because, that obedience would not have been civil, and if I am now advising all provincial workers to suspend even individual civil disobedience, it is because I know that any disobedience at the present stage will be not civil but criminal. A tranquil atmosphere is an indispensable condition of civil disobedience. It is humiliating for me to discover that there is a spirit of violence abroad and that the Government of the United Provinces has been obliged to enlist additional police for avoiding a repetition of Chauri Chaura. I do not say that all that is claimed to have happened has happened, but it is impossible to ignore all the testimony that is given in proof of the growing spirit of violence in some parts of those provinces. In spite of my political differences with Pundit Hridaya nath Kunzru, I regard him to be above willful perversion of truth. I consider him to be one of the most capable among public workers. He is not a man to be easily carried away. When, therefore, he gives an opinion upon anything, it immediately arrests my attention. Making due allowance for the colouring of his judgment by reason of his pro-Government attitude, I am unable to dismiss his report of the Chauri Chaura tragedy as unworthy of consideration. Nor it is possible to ignore letters received from Zemindars and others informing me of the violent temperament and ignorant lawlessness in the United Provinces. I have before me the Bareilly report signed by the Congress Secretary. Whilst the authorities forgot themselves, we are not, if that report is to be believed, without fault. The volunteer procession was not a civil

demonstration. It was insisted upon in spite of a sharp division of opinion in our own ranks. Though the crowds that gathered were not violent, the spirit of the demonstration was undoubtedly violent. It was an impotent show of force wholly unnecessary for our purpose and hardly a prelude to civil disobedience. That the authorities could have handled the procession in a better spirit, that they ought not to have interfered with the Swaraj flag, that they ought not to have objected to the use of the Town Hall which was town property as Congress officers in view of the fact that it had been so used for some months with the permission of the Town Council, is all very true. It is, therefore, as a penance that civil disobedience has been suspended. But if the atmosphere clears up, the people realise the full value of the adjective "civil" and become in reality non-violent both in spirit and in deed, and if I find that the Government still do not yield to the people's will, I shall certainly be the first person to advocate individual or mass civil disobedience as the case may be. There is no escape from that duty without the people wishing to surrender their birth-right.

"I doubt the sincerity of Englishmen, who are born fighters, when they declaim against civil disobedience as if it was a diabolical crime to be punished with exemplary severity. If they have glorified armed rebellions and resorted to them on due occasions, why are many of them up in arms against the very idea of civil resistance? I can understand their saying that the attainment of a non-violent atmosphere is a virtual impossibility in India. I do not believe it, but I can appreciate such a objection. What, however, is beyond my comprehension is the dead set made against the very theory of civil disobedience as if it was something immoral. To expect me to give up the preaching of civil disobedience is to ask me to give up preaching peace, which would be tantamount to asking me to commit suicide.

"I hope, however, that whether the Government arrest me or whether they stop, by direct or indirect means, the publication of the three journals "Young India", "Gujrati Nava Jiban", "Hindi Nava Jiban" the public will remain unmoved. It is a matter of no pride or pleasure to me but one of humiliation that the Government refrain from arresting me for fear of an out-break of universal violence and the awful slaughter

that any such outbreak must involve. It would be a sad commentary upon my preaching of, and upon the Congress and Khilafat pledge of, non-violence, if my incarceration was to be a signal for a storm all over the country. Surely, it would be a demonstration of India's unreadiness for a peaceful rebellion. It would be a triumph for the bureaucracy, and it would be almost a final proof of the correctness of the position taken up by the Moderate friends, viz., that India can never be prepared for non-violent disobedience. I hope, therefore, that the Congress and Khilafat workers will strain every nerve and show that all the fears entertained by the Government and their supporters were totally wrong. I promise that such act of self-restraint will take us many a mile towards our triple goal.

"There should, therefore, be no "bartals", no noisy demonstrations, no processions. I would regard the observance of perfect peace on my arrest as a mark of high honour paid to me by my countrymen. What I would love to see, however, is the constructive work of the Congress going on with clockwork regularity and the speed of the Punjab Express. I would love to see people, who have hitherto kept back, voluntarily discarding all their foreign cloth and making a bonfire of it. Let them fulfil the whole of the constructive programme framed at Bardoli, and they will not only release me and other prisoners, but they will also inaugurate Swaraj and secure redress of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs. Let them remember the four pillars of Swaraj: Non-violence, Hindu-Moslem-Sikh-Parsi-Christian-Jew unity, total removal of untouchability, and manufacture of hand-spun and hand-woven "khaddar" completely displacing foreign cloth.

"I do not know that my removal from their midst will not be a benefit to the people. In the first instance the superstition about the possession of supernatural powers by me will be demolished. Secondly, the belief that people had accepted the non-co operation programme only under my influence and that they had no independent faith in it will be disproved. Thirdly, our capacity for Swaraj will be proved by our ability to conduct our activities in spite of the withdrawal even of the originator of the current programme. Fourthly, and selfishly, it will give me a quiet and physical rest which perhaps I deserve."

The Story of the arrest

The following account of the arrest is given by Sj. Benarsi Das chaturvedi of the Satyagraha Ashram.

"The air in the Ashram had been thick for the last five days with the rumour about the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi. As usual we had our evening prayers together with Mahatma Gandhi. When the prayer was over he told us about the rumour of his arrest. He said that he was expecting it that very night. He advised us to go on working steadily with redoubled energy after his arrest. After the prayer time he went to his room, where some people had come from the city to enquire whether there was any truth in the rumour of Gandhiji's arrest. Notable among these were Shrimati Anusuya Bai—the popular worker for the mill labourers—and Shrijut Shankerlal Banker the printer of the "Young India". Mahatmaji laughed when he heard of Anusuya Bai's arrival and he said to her smilingly, "What brings you here at this hour?" She replied that the rumour about his arrest had brought her there. Mahatmaji then dictated the answers to some of the letters received by him. He was doing his work with his usual calmness. Some of the Ashram people asked him certain questions about his arrest which he answered. Then he gave instructions to his assistant Babu Krishna Das about the editing of his paper "Young India" after the arrest.

"It was nearly 10 o'clock and Mahatmaji said to all of us, "Now you must retire, I shall go to bed". Maulana Hasrat Mohani came just at that time and Mahatmaji was glad to see him.

"Anusuya Bai and Shankerlal Banker started in their motor car from the Ashram. They had not gone far when they met the Superintendent of Police on the way to the Ashram in his car. He informed Shrijut Shankerlal that he should consider himself under arrest. Shankerlaji then returned with the Superintendent to the Ashram. The Superintendent did not enter the Ashram himself but sent word to Mahatma Gandhi through Anusuya Bai about his arrest. The Superintendent requested Anusuya Bai to tell Mahatmaji that he could take as much time as he wanted. Mahatmaji was, of course, quite ready for his arrest. He took

some books with him. In the meanwhile the ladies and the girls of the Ashram came to his room. He gave his advice to all and had a word for each of them. Then he asked the ladies to sing the song, which he likes most. We translate it below :

"He is the real Vaishnava who has in his heart a love for others. Real love is manifested in relieving the distressed. He who looks to the bright side of man's nature and does not blame them, and keeps his mind tranquil in the minds of tumults, Mother Lakshmi favours him. The man who is a "Samadadarhin" who has conquered desire, who looks upon women as Mother, whose tongue never utters untruth, and whose hand never touches the property of another, who is not bound by attachments and affections, whose mind is dominated by "Bairagya", whose ears enjoy the music of the name of "Ram" who is above avarice and is free from duplicity, in whom desire and anger have been extinguished—such a man should be worshipped. The very sight of him will enable him to cross the limitless ocean of life's miseries."

"It is noteworthy that during the South African struggle when the first batch including Mrs. Gandhi went to jail from the Phoenix Ashram, this beautiful hymn of Narsih Mehta was sung by them at the time of their departure.

"Mahatmaji then went to the motor car of the Superintendent, which started under the shouts of "Siyavar Ram Chandra ki Jai" and "Bande Matram". Mrs. Gandhi and a few others accompanied Mahatmaji up to the Sabarmati Jail, which is only a mile from the Ashram."

Next day the Mahatma and S. J. Banker were placed before Mr. Brown, the assistant Magistrate of Ahmedabad charged with sheition for four articles in the *Young India*, viz :—

DISAFFECTION A VIRTUE
TAMPERING WITH LOYALTY
THE PUZZLE & ITS SOLUTION
SHAKING THE MANES

On questioned by the Magistrate M. Gandhi 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."

Charges were then framed and the accused were committed to the sessions on the 18th March 1922.

The Sessions Trial

The trial opened at twelve noon March 18th. 1922 before Mr. C. N. Broomfield, District and Sessions Judge, Ahmedabad. Long before the hour appointed for the commencement of the trial the hall was full with members of the public mostly clad in khaddar. Among those present inside the hall were Mr. V. J. Patel, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Mrs. Saraladevi Choudhurani, Pandit Jawabarlal Nehru, Mr. T. Prakasham, Ambalal Sarabhai, Bai Anasuya Ben and many others. The Police and military precautions were complete. While policemen were posted all round the compound of the court Indian Infantry were stationed inside the compound. About half a dozen European police officers were in attendance.

Mahatma Gandhi and S^r. Banker arrived at court at 11.40 accompanied by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. All those inside the court stood up when Mahatma 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 Mahatma Gandhi, sat Mr. Banker with Pandit Malaviya on the right, while to the left of Mahatma Gandhi sat his wife with Mrs. Naidu and Mrs. Sarala Devi next to her.

At 11.50 Sir Thomas Strangman, the Advocate General, entered the court and exchanged nods with Mahatma 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 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 of the same kind and committed within the space of a year, were charged and committed together.

The Advocate-General agreed with the Judge. The charges were then read out against both accused, after which the Judge explained at length the provisions of Section 124 (A) and said the word "Disaffection" included disloyalty or feelings of enmity, and the word as used in the Section had been interpreted by the High Court of Bombay as meaning political alienation or disrespect.

The Judge—Do you plead guilty or claim to be tried?

Mahatma Gandhi—I plead guilty on all the charges. I observe that the King's name has been omitted from the charges and, in my opinion, very properly.

Asked by the Judge Mr. Banker also pleaded guilty.

The Advocate General then pointed out that under Section 271 Cr. P. C. the Court might convict accused on their plea or proceed with the trial. He would ask the Judge to proceed with the case, firstly, because the charges were of a serious character, and secondly, because it was highly desirable in the public interest that those charges should be fully stated and publicly investigated, and a sentence could not be passed simply because accused had pleaded guilty. He (the Judge) could not deal with the matter unless all the facts of the case were laid before him.

The Judge—I do not agree. I have, under the law, full 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 that was recorded before the committing Magistrate. But as regards the question that the charges should be investigated as fully as possible, the evidence that was recorded before the committing Magistrate—and as far as I know nothing contrary has appeared—will be the evidence to show that Mr. Gandhi was responsible for these particular articles, and in the fact of this plea it seems to me it would be futile to record any more evidence on that point.

As regards the question of sentence, the Judge said that he would like to hear what Mr. Gandhi wished to say. He did not think that the mere recording of evidence and proceeding with the trial, as asked for, might make any difference one way or the other. He therefore proposed to accept the plea 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.

The Advocate-General pointed out that the articles from "Young India" before the committing Magistrate, and which formed the subject of the charges, formed merely part of a campaign to spread disaffection openly and systematically to render the Government impossible and to overthrow it. He then read out extracts from the articles to show that to create disaffection towards the Government was the creed of non-co-

operators and the Congress and the Khilafat Committees. He asserted they were not the writings of an uneducated or obscure man. The court should also consider to what the campaign had inevitably led. "You have had examples before you in the last few months," he said. "I refer to the occurrences in Bombay, Madras and Chauri Chaura, leading to rioting and murder and involving people in misery and distress. It is true that in these articles you find that non-violence is insisted upon as an item of the campaign and of the creed. But of what value is it, Sir, to insist on non-violence if incessantly you preach disaffection towards the Government and hold it up as a treacherous Government, and if you openly and deliberately seek to instigate others to overthrow it? Those are the circumstances which I would ask you to take into account in passing sentence.

"As regards Mr. Banker, his guilt is only of a lesser degree, in that he printed the articles, but I would ask the court to impose a fine in addition to such term of imprisonment as he deserves."

The Mahatma's Statement

Mahatma Gandhi then made an oral statement and followed it with a written one, after obtaining the permission of the court to remain seated (the Mahatma has heart-disease and always makes speeches while sitting). The Mahatma 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 statement 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. 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 things deeply and sleeping over them night after night and examining my heart, I have come to the conclusion that it is impossible for me to dissociate 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 know 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 this morning that I would have failed in my duty if I did not say so—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 the article of my faith. But I had to make my choice. I had either to submit to a system which I considered has done an irreparable harm to my country, or incur the risk of 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.” He then read out the following statement.

The Written Statement

From Loyalist to Non-co-operator

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 loyalist 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 the British authorities in that country was not of a happy character. I discovered that, as a man and an Indian, I had no rights. On the contrary, 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 fully where I felt it was faulty, but never wishing its destruction.

My Services to Government.

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 the several actions that took place for the relief of Lady-Smith. Similarly, in 1906, at the time of the Zulu Revolt, I raised a Stretcher Bearer party and served till the end of the rebellion. On both these occasions, I received medals and was even mentioned in the despatches. As for my work in South Africa, I was given by Lord Hardinge 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 1917 by Lord Chelmsford for recruits, I struggled, at the cost of my health, to raise a corps in India and the response was being made when the hostilities ceased and orders were received that no more recruits were wanted.

The Belief Behind it.

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 Jallian-walla Bag and culminating in crawling orders, public flogging and 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 of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, hoping that the Prime Minister would redeem his promise to the Indian Mussalmans, that the Punjab wrongs would be healed, and that the Reforms, inadequate and unsatisfactory though they were, marked a new era of hope in the life of India.

British Connection had made India Helpless.

But all that hope was shattered. The Khilafat promise was not to be redeemed. The Punjab crime was whitewashed 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 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 resistance in famine. 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. This 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 the skeletons in many villages present to the wayfarers' 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.

Law—Hand-maid of Exploitation

The law itself in this country has been used to serve the foreign exploiter. Punjab Martial Law cases has led me to believe that at least ninety-five per cent of the convictions were wholly bad; and 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 consisting 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.

Subtle System of Terrorism

The greatest misfortune is that Englishmen 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 English 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 and of self-defence on the other, have emasculated the people and induced in them the habit of simulation. This awful habit has aided 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 a thing, one should be free to give the fullest expression to his disaffection, so long as he does not contemplate to 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 it. 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 written in the various articles tendered in evidence against me.

Non-co-operation—the remedy

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 in 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, the withdrawal of support of evil requires complete abstention from violence. Non-violence implies voluntary submission to the penalty for Non-co-operation with evil.

Appeal to the Court

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 and the Assessors, is either to resign your posts and thus dissociate yourselves 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.

The Judgment

The Judge, addressing Mahatma Gandhi, said :—
 “Mr. Gandhi, you have made by task in one way easy by pleading guilty to the charge. Nevertheless what remains, viz, the determination of a just sentence, is perhaps as difficult a proposition as a judge can have in this country. 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 ever likely to have to try. Also, it

would be impossible to ignore the fact that in the eyes of millions of your countrymen you are a great leader, or that even those who differ from you in politics, look up to you as a man of high ideals and leading a noble and even a saintly life. I have to deal with you in one character only. It is my duty to judge you as a man subject to the law, who, according to his own admission, broke the law and committed what to an ordinary man must appear to be a great offence against the State. I do not forget that you have consistently preached against violence, or that you have on many occasions, I am willing to believe, done much to prevent violence. But having regard to the nature of your political teachings and the nature of many of those to whom they were addressed, how you can have continued to believe that violence would not be an inevitable consequence, 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 be necessary in the interests 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 Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak under the same section. The sentence that was passed upon him, as it 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—that is, 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 to reduce the period and release you, no one will be better pleased than I."

Turning to Mr. Bunker, the Judge said: 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, simple imprisonment for one year, and a fine of one thousand rupees or six months' simple imprisonment in default.

Mahatma Gandhi was sentenced to six years' Simple Imprisonment.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE Viceroy & the Sec. of State

The following correspondence between the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India was published as a White Paper :—

From the Viceroy, Home Department, to the Secretary of State for India, dated 9th February 1922.

The following is a general appreciation of the situation as regards non-co-operation. In order to explain the situation as it exists, it is necessary to trace the origin of the non-co-operation movement and its developments. It is impossible to give within the scope of a telegram an adequate appreciation of the whole situation, and the Government of India would have preferred, had time permitted, to send a considered despatch. As, however, the matter is one of great urgency we have done our best to give a connected account in the message that follows.

The first manifestation of non-co-operation with Government as a political force took place about the beginning of 1920. The spirit of nationalism in this country as elsewhere had been greatly stimulated and intensified by the war and the pronouncements made as to the principles for which the Allies stood. It was intended by the Reforms Act of 1919 to meet the legitimate aspirations of the Indian people, and moderate and reasonable opinion was to a certain extent satisfied thereby. An extreme section of Indian politicians rejected it as inadequate, but opposition to it might not have assumed formidable proportions had it not been for the operation of social causes, in particular, racial feeling which had been engendered by the Punjab disturbances in 1919, the economic distress which resulted from the general rise in prices, the bitter resentment on the part of Muhammadans over the delay in announcing the terms of peace with Turkey and their apprehensions lest these terms should prove unfavourable to Turkey. It was a result of these causes that the doctrine of non-co-operation which was a revival of Gandhi's Satyagraha movement of 1919, began to make rapid progress in 1920.

In March 1920 Gandhi established close relations with

Mahomed Ali, Shaukat Ali, and other leaders of the Khilafat movement, and he announced publicly that that movement had his sympathy and that he would lead the non-co-operation movement, directed against the Government, if the terms of peace with Turkey did not meet the sentiments of his Moslem fellow-subjects. He declared in this manifesto that the only remedy left open to him was non-co-operation based on non-violence. There was no very clear announcement at that time of the precise form which the movement would take, but Gandhi defined his programme later in the year after the Turkish peace terms had been published. There was to be a beginning of non-co-operation by—

- (1) the resignation of titles and honorary posts ;
- (2) the resignation of posts in the Civil Service of Government, the Police being excluded ;
- (3) the resignation of service in the Police and the Army ;
- (4) the refusal to pay taxes.

By resolutions passed at a special meeting of Congress held at Calcutta in September 1920 the following items were added to the programme.

- (1) withdrawal of children from educational institutions aided and controlled by Government and establishment in their places of National Schools and Colleges ;
- (2) boycott by lawyers and litigants of British Courts and establishment of private Arbitration Courts ;
- (3) refusal by military, clerical and labouring classes to volunteer for service in Mesopotamia ;
- (4) withdrawal of candidates for election on new Councils and abstention on the part of voters ;
- (5) gradual boycott of foreign goods.

All the foregoing steps were to be initiated before resignation of service in police and army and refusal to pay taxes, both of which were to be started only at the final stages of the campaign.

Little enthusiasm was roused at first by the movement ; all sections of moderate opinion were opposed to it, and even by Tilak and his followers it was regarded with some doubt and suspicion, while Hindu opinion naturally was averse from a close alliance with the more violent and fanatical aspects of the Khilafat movement. But the personality of the leader of the non-co-operation movement who was believed to be a self-

less ascetic, a character which has a peculiar attraction for Indians, the propaganda which he and his lieutenants assiduously carried on, the intense irritation which had been caused among Mahomedans by announcement of the Turkish peace terms, and in particular of the increasing economic pressure on large section of the population, drew a growing number of adherents gradually to the movement.

2. Certain disquieting symptoms commenced to show themselves in the movement towards the end of the year 1920. A tendency to imitate military methods was developed in some of the Volunteers Associations, which had been originally started, at any rate nominally, for philanthropic and social service, and the leaders of the agitation against Government were not slow to utilise for political purposes these organisations as a potent instrument of social boycott.

This volunteer movement has presented peculiar difficulties, partly owing to the fact that some of the associations were in the past founded in good faith, in pursuance of some form of social service and have, in fact, on occasions rendered valuable assistance in assisting strangers and facilitating the maintenance of order at great religious fairs and pilgrimages and partly owing to our disinclination to interfere with Associations whose activities were ostensibly directed to political objects which did not come within the criminal law. Violence is opposed to the professed objects for which members are drawn into these bodies; yet gradually the establishment of these Associations has put into the hands of the leaders powerful organisations, which can be, and have been, used for sinister purposes. Attempts to usurp functions of police, intimidation and use of violence to enforce hartals and social and commercial boycott, or under guise of 'swadeshi' or temperance movements in order to impair authority of Government and terrorise political opponents, have been prominent features of their recent activities. In some places only have military drill and evolutions been practised. The avoidance of violence has throughout been a part of their ostensible creed, and it was a matter of no small difficulty to decide at what point their suppression was essential in the interest of law and order, and would not be condemned by public opinion as undue interference with freedom of political association. The non-co operation movement presented other sinister features in the growing violence of

speeches made by the principal Khilafat leaders, and it endeavoured to enlist the sympathy of students and immature school-boys while cause for anxiety was given by the possible effects on the Indian Army and Police of a campaign of seditious propaganda. As early as April 1920 instructions were issued by Lord Chelmsford's Government that there should be prompt prosecution of all persons tampering with the loyalty of the Troops or the Police and a scheme for instituting counter-propaganda was formulated in July of the same year. In September instructions were issued to local Governments to take action vigorously to prosecute for all incitements to violence and their attention was drawn in October to the dangerous potentialities which lay in the volunteer movement. Lastly, in November 1920 a resolution was passed by Lord Chelmsford's Government defining their general attitude towards the non-co-operation campaign. It was explained that although the entire movement was unconstitutional they had refrained from instituting criminal proceedings against such of its promoters as had advocated simultaneously with non-co-operation abstention from violence, and they had given instructions to Local Governments that action should be taken against those persons only who, in order to further the movement, had advanced beyond the limits which its organizers had originally set up and had openly incited the public to violence by speech or writing, or endeavoured to tamper with the loyalty of the Army or the Police. The following considerations had influenced Government in adopting this policy :—

(1) Reluctance to interfere with the freedom of the Press and liberty of speech at a time when India was on the threshold of a great advance towards self-government.

(2) The knowledge that those against whom prosecution might be directed would be likely to find in it the opportunity of posing as martyrs, and that they might swell the number of adherents to their cause by evoking false sympathy.

(3) The belief that non-co-operation would be rejected by the country as a whole as a visionary and chimerical scheme, the result of which could only be widespread disorder, political chaos and the ruin of all such as possessed a real stake in the country itself, the appeal being made to the ignorant and prejudiced and its creed being devoid of any constructive genius.

3. At the Congress meeting which was held in December

1920 at Nagpur a new stage was reached. Little up to that time in the way of solid achievement could be pointed to by the leaders of the movement. Although the movement had undoubtedly engendered in certain parts of the country a general spirit of disloyalty and lawlessness, little success had been attained in giving effect to the specific items of the non-co-operation programme; there had been very few surrenders of titles, a handful only of lawyers had suspended their practice, and, though in the elections to the Reformed Councils the voting had been somewhat interfered with, the constitution of these Councils had not been seriously affected by it. Strong opposition had been provoked by the attack on educational institutions and the attack had no lasting effect. But Gandhi at Nagpur was successful in capturing the entire Congress organisation for his party. Indication of the growing strength in that body of the extremist element was given by the change in the first article of the Constitutions of the Congress which was effected by an overwhelming majority, the object of Congress being defined now as the attainment of Swaraj by all legitimate and peaceful means. There was an omission of the reference to British connexion. It became, moreover, clear by this time that the intention of the leader of the movement was to spare no efforts by which the mere ignorant masses might be permeated with their doctrine. An increasing activity with this object in view marked the early spring of 1921. There was great astuteness shown in promoting labour unrest and exploiting economic grievances, and promises of the wildest character were freely made (as now) to ignorant peasants—for example, rent-free lands, cheap clothes, cheap food and free railway passes. The first evidence of this policy was the widespread agitation among the tenantry of Oudh, from which in January 1921 serious disturbances resulted, and there was exploitation with some success about the same time by the non-co-operation leaders of the Akali movement among the Sikhs—a movement which in its inception seems to have been inspired by a genuine desire for religious reform—and success was attained to some extent by such leaders in giving to the movement a character which was definitely anti-Government. At the end of January the Local Governments received from Lord Chelmsford's Government fresh instructions in view of these developments. That Government, while they adhered to the general policy

which had been enunciated in November 1920, impressed on the Local Governments the necessity for instituting prosecutions with greater freedom in all cases of incitements to violence and endeavours to seduce police or Indian troops. Remedial legislation was urged where redress was demanded by genuine grievances. There were, too, to be steps taken for starting counter-propaganda whereby Government's policy would be justified, and, in general, for enforcing respect for the law. Government at the same time took every opportunity during the first session of the Reformed Legislature of convincing Indian opinion that the Reforms were real and great and that they had conferred on the representatives of the people wide powers and that there was a readiness to inquire into the cause of discontent or any specific grievances. It was, for example, agreed to refer to non-official Committees of the Legislature certain Acts which conferred extraordinary powers on the Executive, as well as the Acts regulating the conduct of the Press; the greatest consideration was shown in framing the Budget to the opinion of the Legislature.

As the result of the agitation which was carried on by the non-co-operation leaders, there took place in the early summer of 1920 a stampede from the Tea Gardens of Assam of coolies to the number of many thousands, and there was simultaneously a strike on the Assam-Bengal Railway. Another development was a strong campaign against the use of foreign cloth and the drink traffic, an operation in which a prominent part was played by intimidation. In spite of numerous prosecutions and restrictive orders a general weakening of the respect for law and order resulted from all these activities; frequent outbreaks of mob violence followed from this in various parts of the country and racial feeling directed against Europeans increased, whether they were engaged in commerce or in the service of Government. The leaders of the Khilafat party simultaneously employed language, which steadily increased in violence and many sections of the Mahomedan community, which had hitherto been untouched by it, were permeated by the agitation which aimed at the restoration of the Sultan of Turkey to his temporal power and pre-war religious ascendancy. A series of speeches was made by the Ali brothers in the winter and the spring at various towns, in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, and in these speeches Great Britain was

openly described as the arch-enemy of Islam, and they did all in their power to incite against the British the animosity of their co-religionists. They declared that a time would arrive, and it would be incumbent on all Mussalmans as a religious duty, to draw the sword in defence of their religion ; nor did they hesitate to put forward the view that if a Mohammedan Power were to invade India with the object of avenging the cause of Islam they would support it. While their prosecution for these speeches was under consideration, their friends induced them to sign a public apology and to undertake that in future they would refrain from speeches and writings which incited to violence or tended to the creation of an atmosphere of preparedness for violence. In a letter addressed in June 1921 to all Local Governments the situation was reviewed. The Government of India were still convinced, in spite of the disquieting symptoms to which reference has been made above, of the soundness of the general policy which had been pursued hitherto. They indicated at the same time that the attitude of Government should in no way be relaxed towards any advocacy of violence, including not only direct incitements but speeches calculated to give rise to feelings of disaffection, enmity or hatred such as were likely to lead to violence not as a remote or ultimate consequence but as a probable result in the near future.

5. A little time after this a more open form was assumed by the attempts to create disaffection in the ranks of the Police and the Army. There was widely published about midsummer on the alleged authority of 501 Ulemas (learned men) a *Fatwa*, that is, religious pronouncement, which purported to interpret the precepts of the Koran. All service under Government was declared in this to be forbidden by the Mussalman religion, and service in the Police and the Army was stigmatised as a specially heinous sin. A resolution was passed at Karachi in July at the meeting of the All India Khilafat Committee, Mohamed Ali presiding, to the effect that it was incumbent on all Mahommedans as a religious duty not to join the Indian Army or to continue to serve in it or to give assistance in recruiting for the Army, and that the duty of all Mahommedans was to bring to the notice of the Moslem soldiers this religious injunction. Mohamed Ali, with Saikat Ali his brother, and 4 other Khilafat

leaders, were afterwards prosecuted for this resolution and convicted, the conviction being under the ordinary law. In the month of July riots or minor disturbances took place, with serious loss of life in some instances, at the following places:—Dharwar, Madras, Aligarh, Calcutta, Chittagong, Matiari, Karachi. A fuller account of these events will be found in the Repressive Laws Committee Report of the Indian Legislature together with its appendices. In the month of August took place the outbreak of the Moplahs. This was an organised rebellion of a whole countryside which was populated by Moslem tribes of a peculiarly backward and ignorant character, whose fanaticism the Khilafat leaders had by their speeches and writings deliberately excited. Without doubt a considerable body of Hindu opinion was alienated from the Khilafat movement by this rebellion, in which many thousands of Hindus were plundered and many hundreds murdered, as it has become widely known that many Hindus were forcibly converted to Islam and Hindu temples desecrated. Attempts have been made to exploit to the discredit of the Government the lamentable railway train episode in which Moplah prisoners lost their life, but these have had little effect on Hindu opinion. Events in Malabar, however, brought about no modification in the attitude of Gandhi. At Delhi on November 4th every Province was authorised by the Congress Committee to start civil disobedience. This authorisation stipulated, however, that conditions, such as proficiency in the spinning wheel, should be fulfilled, the nature of which was so impracticable as to indicate that the immediate inception of this policy was not desired by the Congress. On the day of the landing in India of the Prince of Wales, viz., 17th November, a general hartal (cessation of business) took place in Northern India in most of the principal towns. An enthusiastic welcome was received by the Prince in Bombay itself, but an attack by non-co-operators on people returning from His Royal Highness's arrival developed into serious riots which lasted three days; in these several Europeans were murdered, and in all there was a casualty list of 53 killed and approximately 400 wounded. Widespread intimidation on the part of the volunteers marked the hartal in Calcutta; on a smaller scale the same thing occurred in other large towns.

6. A new and dangerous situation confronted Government after the events of the 17th November. An increasing disregard for lawful authority and the growth of a dangerous spirit of lawlessness had been engendered by the outbreaks of the last few months, and it had become evident that a systematic campaign of violence, intimidation and obstruction had been embarked on by many of the Volunteer Associations, to combat which it had proved ineffective to proceed under the ordinary criminal law. In many places these associations were at first recruited from educated classes, but as the campaign became more violent they began to draw adherents from unemployed labours, mill-hands and city rabble, many of whom were paid on their service. Government decided in these circumstances that measures of a more comprehensive and drastic character should be resorted to, and information was sent to the Local Government that sanction could be given to the application of the Seditious Meetings Act in any district where it was considered necessary to adopt that course. Instructions were also given to them that vigorous use should be made of the provisions of the Criminal Law Amendment Act Part II., for combating the Volunteer Associations' illegal activities, and that troops should be employed more freely, both in order to reinforce the police and to hearten and encourage all law-abiding citizens, and the measures to be taken in the event of civil disobedience being inaugurated were laid down. Provincial Governments were assured of the full support of the Government of India in checking disorder, while the formation of armed police battalions and the extensive enrolment of special constables was suggested. In particular, they were informed that they should not hesitate to prosecute any offenders against the ordinary law, however prominent their position, whose arrest and prosecution was, in their opinion, required for the maintenance of authority. Emphasis was laid on the importance of counteracting decisively the first active measures taken to give effect to civil disobedience. It was made clear that the full strength of Government's resources was to be employed, if necessary, for this purpose, and that the most prominent participators in the movement, not excluding Gandhi, should be arrested immediately and prosecuted. Action was promptly taken by practically all Local Governments in Northern India, in accordance

with these instructions. The Seditious Meetings Act was introduced in most of the seriously affected districts in the Punjab, Bihar, Bengal, Assam and Burma. In some Provinces the various Associations had been proclaimed as unlawful under the Criminal Law Amendment Act, a few days before the receipt of our instructions, and certain other Provinces have now issued similar proclamations. A large number of persons have also been arrested and convicted under that Act and other enactments for preservation of law and order. At the same time prosecutions were more freely instituted against newspapers, leaders and speakers who had incited to violence. Throughout the year proceedings had been taken against a number of persons who had directly or indirectly advocated violence. Although serious alarm had been caused among a substantial section of Moderate opinion by the turn events had taken in the middle of November, and it had demanded that sterner measures should be adopted by the Government, a disappointing revulsion of Moderate opinion in political and journalistic circles followed on the enforcement of the two Acts to which reference has been made above and the prosecution and conviction under them of a large number of persons.

An inclination was shown to represent the new policy as an interference with the freedom of association for political purposes and with the right of free speech, and there was a disposition on this ground to make common cause with the Extremists. It was urged by many of the leaders of Moderate opinion that a Round Table Conference should be held at which Government should be represented and all shades of political opinion, in order that some solution might be found of the situation through the means of some act of constructive statesmanship; there was advanced however no definite constructive suggestion. A deputation to His Excellency the Viceroy on the 21st December in Calcutta advanced the demand for a Conference. The speech of His Excellency explained to the deputation fully the reasons by which Government were induced to enforce special Acts. It emphasised the determination of Government to protect its law-abiding subjects, and a grave warning was in it conveyed as to the effect which affronts offered to the Throne were likely to produce on the public and on Parliament in the United Kingdom. Insistence

was also made by His Excellency on the imperative necessity of the discontinuance of the unlawful activities of the non-co-operation party as a fundamental condition which should precede the discussion of any question of a Conference. A steadying effect was brought about in Moderate opinion by his speech. During Christmas week the Congress held its annual meeting at Ahmedabad. Gandhi had been deeply impressed by the rioting at Bombay, as statements made by him at the time had indicated, and the rioting had brought home to him the dangers of mass civil disobedience; and the resolutions of the Congress gave evidence of this, since they not only rejected the proposals which the extreme wing of the Khilafat party had advanced for abandoning the policy of non-violence, but whilst organisation of civil disobedience when fulfilment of the Delhi conditions had taken place was urged in them, omitted any reference to the non-payment of taxes and were worded in such a way as to suggest that for the present civil disobedience would be restricted to defiance of the Seditious Meetings Act and the Criminal Law Amendment Act directed against unlawful associations. Gandhi was appointed to be the sole executive authority of the Congress Committee. An overwhelming majority in the Subjects Committee of the Congress rejected the resolution as to a Round Table Conference, and it was made clear by Gandhi that any such Conference must be a Conference which would meet to register his decrees. In January there was held at Bombay a Conference of politicians outside the Congress fold in order to formulate terms upon which it would be possible to have a Conference. The resolutions which purported to have been passed by this body were passed in reality by 20 only out of 200 persons. According to our information the attitude of Gandhi, who attended it and announced that he reserved the right to continue, during a conference, preparations for civil disobedience and the enrolment of volunteers, in return for the impossible conditions which Government were asked to accept, had the result that Sir Sanjivan Nair, the President, withdrew and that Moderate opinion was alienated and disgusted.

Communication of the resolutions was subsequently made to His Excellency the Viceroy who in reply stated that the basis for any profitable discussion as to a Conference was not contained in them. The presentation of what was practically

an ultimatum to the Viceroy by Mr. Gandhi followed on the 4th February. He declared in this document that the non-co-operation party had had a campaign of civil disobedience forced upon them, in order that they might secure the elementary rights of free speech, free association and free Press, which he maintained that Government had sought by its recent measures to repress, and he charged the Viceroy with having rejected summarily the proposal for a Conference although the terms which had been accepted by the Working Committee of Congress accorded with the requirement of His Excellency as his Calcutta speech had indicated them. An announcement was at the same time made by him that if Government agreed to release all prisoners convicted and under trial for non-violent activities and gave an undertaking absolutely to refrain from interfering with all non-violent activities on the part of the non-co-operation party, he would be prepared to postpone civil disobedience of an aggressive character, till the offenders now in prison had an opportunity of reviewing the whole situation, while continuing the illegal and seditious propaganda of the non-co-operation party. It was in reply to this manifesto that the Government of India issued the communique already published.

7. The following may be said to be the situation at the moment:—The lower classes in the towns have been seriously affected, although in the various items of its programme which have hitherto been attempted it has failed or secured but a partial success; and although the influence of the movement has been much smaller in the rural tracts generally, in certain areas the peasantry have been affected particularly in parts of the Assam Valley, United Provinces, Bihar and Orissa and Bengal. As regards the Punjab, the Akali agitation which the Extremists had fostered for their own ends has penetrated to the rural Sikhs. A large population of the Mahomedan population throughout the country are embittered and sullen as a result of the Khilafat agitation, the need for counteracting which through a modification of the Sevres Treaty has been incessantly and emphatically urged by the Government of India. We desire to take this opportunity of reiterating our convictions as to the imperative necessity of conciliating Mohomedan opinion by the modification of Turkish peace terms. We believe that in the appeasement of 70 millions

Mohammedans of India and consequent relief to a situation of real danger, tranquillity of India is of the utmost importance. Moderate opinion, on the other hand, has been alarmed and alienated by the recent declarations, the attitude of Gandhi and his failure so far to achieve any definite result has compelled him to resort to civil disobedience, which he proposes to start in Bardoli Taluka where he has a strong local following and to join issue on grounds that will secure to the Government the maximum support for the measures it will take. While this entails grave possibilities, the Government of India are satisfied that the Army and the great majority of the Police are staunch. There is no disaffection on the part of the majority of the population, and there are now more promising economic conditions with a bumper harvest in prospect. Religious and racial feeling at the same time is so bitter that the Government of India are prepared for disorder of a more formidable nature than has in the past occurred, and do not seek to minimise in any way the fact that great anxiety is caused by the situation.

8. The Government of India desire in conclusion to make clear the principle which throughout has underlain their policy in regard to the non-co operation movement. Of the risks inherent in this they have been fully conscious, and if the more drastic measures which have been demanded by some of their critics have not previously been adopted in dealing with it, this has not been owing to any distrust in their power to suppress any possible outbreaks nor because instructions from higher authority have tied their hands, but because their belief is that a statesmanlike policy must have in view the ultimate, more far reaching and more enduring consequences of any action taken rather than the immediate effects. It is with the co-operation of the people of India that British rule in India hitherto has been carried on, and it is essential for its continued success that there should be such co operation. It has therefore been regarded by the Government of India as of the utmost consequence that they should carry with them, so far as practicable in any measure that they took against the non-co operation movement, the approval and acquiescence of Indian opinion. Evidence is given by the recent debates in the Indian Legislature that in this they have been largely successful. Nevertheless,

though the impracticable nature of the demands of non-co-operation is realised by sober and sensible Indians, it has not been possible to ignore the fact that the non-co-operation movement has to a large extent been engendered and sustained by nationalist aspirations, and, so far as Mahomedans are concerned, by religious feelings which have a strong appeal to those also who have not adopted its programme; and the Government of India have thought, bearing this in mind, that the path of wisdom lay in exercising, in regard to men swayed by such motives, as much forbearance as in the their judgment was consistent with their responsibilities. It is their belief that this policy will be justified by its fruits in the long run.

From Viceroy, Home Department, to Secretary of State for India, dated 9th February, 1922.

Following telegrams received from Government of the United Provinces :—

1.—Following press communique being issued :—

“Commissioner of Gorkhpur wires as follows regarding Chauri Chaura affair already reported:—“Trouble arose as follows. On previous Wednesday an attempt to picket Muderwa Bazaar, and prevent sales of fish, drugs, and liquor, had been frustrated by police; also an Abir Government pensioner, who was a previous convict and had become a volunteer, was called up and threatened with loss of his position. The volunteers determined on Saturday, that is next bazaar day, to forcibly picket bazaar and overawe all opposition by numbers. Owner of bazaar is a loyal Zamindar. They proceeded to bazaar through police station grounds. They attacked police station with kunkar and bricks. Eventually police fired in the air. The attack was renewed in greater force; the mob rushed the police and they fled, some into fields and some into buildings. A few police must have fired on the mob in earnest, but whether it was before the rush or not, I cannot say. The buildings were set on fire, and all the force there, except one constable and one chaukidar who escaped, were brutally beaten to death and then burnt. Also a little boy servant of the sub-Inspector was murdered. Resistance to mob was, I fear, badly organised. Then the mob tore up two rails on the line, cut the telegraph

wire and scattered. In all 21 police and chaukidars killed and two rioters at least. The attack was deliberately organised by volunteers, but there was a big crowd with them. Number of crowd 1,500 to 2,000. I have just returned from Chauri Chaura. Impossible to give details at present. Military have arrived and police force of district has been strengthened. There is nervousness in other thanas, and requests for reinforcements have been received. No renewal of disorder yet. Investigation proceeding."

11—Commissioner's wire from Bareilly :—"Casualties yesterday's riots, one man killed on spot; two since died in hospital; five wounded now in hospital, including one woman; possibly five more wounded; number difficult to ascertain."

We have drawn attention of all local Governments by telegram to standing orders regarding firing in air, and directed them to impress these on district and subordinate officers.

From Vicerey, Home Department, to the Secretary of State for India, dated 14th February 1922.

Working Committee Congress passed following resolutions amongst others at Bardoli on 11th and 12th :—In view of fact that imminence of civil disobedience has always resulted in violent outbreaks of disorder, Working Committee resolves that mass civil disobedience, including non payment of taxes and rent at Bardoli and elsewhere, be suspended till non-repetition of outbreaks is assured by atmosphere of non-violence. Working Committee advises cessation of activities designed to court arrest, and stoppage of all picketing save for peaceful purposes in connection with liquor shops; further advises stoppage of all volunteer processions and public meetings in defiance of law. In view of complaints of laxity of selection of members of volunteer corps, Congress organisations are warned to revise lists and remove persons not conforming to standards already prescribed. Resolutions to have effect, pending meeting All-India Congress Committee. In the meantime Working Committee advises enlistment of crore of members of Congress to whom creed is to be carefully explained; efforts to be directed to promote use of khadar and spinning wheels; organisation of national schools; amelioration of depressed classes, organisation of temperance campaign and Panchayats' Social Service Department to be emphasised; and collections to

Tilak Swaraj Fund to be encouraged. Special committee to be appointed to find employment for those giving up Government service.

From Viceroy, Home Department, to Secretary of State for India, dated 28th February 1922.

In continuation of our telegram of 9th February —The massacre on the 4th February of 21 police by a mob of volunteers at Chauri Chaura in Gorakhpur, and in a lesser degree the serious rioting that took place on the following day at Bareilly shocked every shade of Moderate opinion throughout the country and led to a revulsion of feeling against the leaders of the non-co operation movement and the movement itself. The Working Committee of the Congress met at Bardoli on the 11th and 12th February, Gandhi presiding, and passed the resolutions which have already been communicated in my telegram to you of the 14th inst. As a consequence of this changed attitude on the part of the leaders, which we received on the 13th February, incomplete telegraphic information only, we decided that there should be a postponement for a short time of the institution of proceedings which had been proposed by the Government of Bombay against them and which had been approved by us, in order that we might ascertain whether it was really their intention to discontinue all illegal activities and whether their action would be endorsed by the Congress Committee. We reached this decision without consultation with the Government of Bombay in view of the urgency of the case; that Government were just about to make the arrest with our concurrence, and they had been urging for several weeks the prosecution of Gandhi. A public announcement has since been made by us in the Assembly that, so long as there was a continuance of any illegal activities on the part of the leaders, our policy towards the movement as a whole will undergo no change. The All-India Congress Committee is at the moment sitting at Delhi. The information we have received is to the effect that while confirming the resolutions passed at Bardoli, it has sanctioned individual civil disobedience and the picketing of liquor shops and foreign cloth subject to certain conditions; but any abandonment of aggressive measures may be opposed by the Khilafat Committee. So far as local develop-

ments are concerned the Mohammedan citizen population is quiet for the moment in the United Provinces, but very hostile and disorderly elements are very imperfectly, if at all, controlled by the non-co-operator leaders. In the Punjab the strength of the Akali movement is increasing and it is more and more tending towards the defiance of the Government. There has been a development of the movement on lines of its own and independently of the main movement of non-co-operation. Some anxiety is caused by a fairly general strike of the Indian staff of the East Indian Railway, a strike which without doubt has been engineered for political purposes, but the latest information we have is to the effect that the situation is improving, that traffic conditions are becoming easier and that men are beginning to return to work.

From Viceroy, Home Department, to Secretary of State for India, dated 1st March 1922.

'Received 1st March 1922.'

Following is text of resolutions as finally passed by All-India Congress Committee, night of 25th Feb. :—

"All-India Congress Committee, having carefully considered resolution passed by Working Committee at its meeting held at Bardoli on 11th and 12th inst., confirms the said resolution with modifications noted therein; and further resolves that individual civil disobedience, whether of defensive or aggressive character, may be commenced in respect of particular places or particular laws at the instance of and upon permission being granted therefor by the respective Provincial Committees, provided such civil disobedience shall not be permitted unless all the conditions laid down by Congress Committee or Working Committee are strictly fulfilled.

"Reports having been received from various quarters that picketing regarding foreign cloth is as necessary as liquor picketing, All-India Congress Committee authorises such picketing of a bona-fide character on same terms as liquor picketing mentioned in Bardoli resolutions.

"All-India Congress Committee wishes it to be understood that resolutions of the Working Committee do not mean any abandonment of original Congress programme of non-co-

operation, or permanent abandonment of mass civil disobedience, but considers that an atmosphere of necessary mass non-violence can be established by workers concentrating upon constructive programme framed by Working Committee at Bardoli.

"All-India Congress Committee holds civil disobedience to be right and duty of people to be exercised and performed whenever State opposes the declared will of the people. Individual civil disobedience is disobedience of order or laws by single individual or an ascertained number of group of individuals; therefore a prohibited public meeting where admission is regulated by tickets, and to which no unauthorised admission is allowed, is an instance of individual civil disobedience; whereas a prohibited meeting to which general public is admitted without any restrictions is an instance of mass civil disobedience. Such civil disobedience is defensive when prohibited public meeting is held for conducting normal activity, although it may result in arrests. It would be aggressive if it is held not for any normal activity, but merely for the purpose of courting arrests and imprisonment."

From Viceroy, Home Department, to Secretary of State for India, dated 1st March 1922.

In view of the resolutions passed by the All-India Congress Committee by which it is made clear that no fundamental change is to take place in the policy of the non-cooperation party, it has been decided by us that the Government of Bombay be informed that steps should now proceed for the arrest and prosecution of Gandhi, which in view of the facts stated in our telegram of the 14th February were postponed by us, and that action should be taken accordingly by the Government of Bombay.

From Viceroy, Home Department, to Secretary of State for India, dated 5th March 1922.

(Received 6th March 1922.)

Reference is requested to my telegram dated the 1st March. The Government of Bombay have telegraphed as follows :—

" It has been decided unanimously by the Governor of Bombay in Council that the prosecution of Gandhi should be proceeded with under the Indian Penal Code, Section 124A, in respect of four articles published in "Young India" as follows :—

- (1) 15th June 1921—"Disaffection—a Virtue."
- (2) 29th September 1921—"Tampering with Loyalty."
- (3) 15th December 1921—"A Puzzle and its Solution."
- (4) 23rd February 1922—"Shaking the Manes."

A decision was also arrived at to proceed at the same time on the same charge against S. G. Banker, the printer of "Young India."

- Arrests will take place probably on the evening of the 9th Thursday, at Bardoli."
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From Viceroy, Home Department, to Secretary of State for India, dated 11th March 1922.

(Received 11th March 1922.)

Bombay Government intimate that Gandhi was arrested evening of 10th.

Government Reports
1921-22

REPORT OF THE

Indian Press Act Committee

The following is the report of the Committee appointed by the Government of India to Examine the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, and the Indian Press Act, 1910, and the Newspapers (Incitement to offences) Act, 1908.

"These conclusions have, we may state, been reached after a careful survey of the political situation, an exhaustive examination of the witnesses who appeared before us, and a scrutiny of voluminous documentary evidence, including the valuable and weighty opinions of local Governments placed at our disposal by the Government of India, as well as of the memoranda submitted to us by various members of the public. Many of these memoranda were sent in response to a general invitation issued by the Government of India to those interested in the subject under discussion to communicate their views to Government for the information of the Committee. We have examined orally eighteen witnesses all connected with the Press and we also invited eight other prominent journalists to give evidence. To our great regret they were, however, either unable or in some cases unwilling to accept our invitation.

Press Act

Of the acts referred to us for examination, the Indian Press Act, 1910, is by far the most important and it will therefore be convenient if, in the first place, we record our conclusions in respect of that Act. This is the more desirable because our recommendations in respect of the other two Acts referred to us must be largely dependent on our findings regarding this measure. It is unnecessary to discuss in this report the reasons which induced the Government of India to place the Indian Press Act on the Statute Book. Those who are interested in the subject will find the facts fully explained in the reports of the discussions on the Bill in

Council. It is apparent, however, that the main object of the Act was to prevent the dissemination of incitements to violence and of sedition, although the scope of Section 4 of the Act is much wider. Since 1919, however, circumstances have changed very materially and we have to consider the necessity for the continuance of the law in the light of a political situation entirely different from that in which it was enacted.

The chief questions that have to be examined, in our opinion, are firstly whether the Act has been effective in preventing the evil against which it was directed, secondly whether legislation of this character is now necessary for the maintenance of law and order, and thirdly whether on a comparison of the advantages and disadvantages which the retention of the Act would involve its continuance is desirable in the public interest. We may say at the outset that on a careful consideration of these points we are of opinion that the Act should be repealed. As to the effectiveness of the Act, it is generally admitted that direct incitements to murder and violent crime which are specially referred to in Section 4 (1) (A) of the Act are rarely found in the Press to-day. This was not the case in 1910 so far as a certain section of the Press was concerned, and it is the view of at least one Local Government that the Press Act has contributed to the elimination of such public incitements. We are not, however, satisfied that the cessation of such incitements is due solely or even mainly to the Act or that in present conditions the ordinary law is not adequate to deal with such offences. Further, it must be admitted that in so far as the law was directed to preventing the more insidious dissemination of sedition, of general misrepresentations of the action of Government, of exaggerations of comparatively minor incidents, of institutions of injustice and of articles intended to exacerbate racial feeling, the Act has been of little practical value; for, we find that a section of the Press is at present just as hostile to Government as ever it was and that it preaches doctrines calculated to bring the Government, and also occasionally particular classes or sections of the community, into hatred and contempt as freely now as before the Act was passed. Moreover, we believe that the more direct and violent forms of sedition are now disseminated more from

the platform and through the agency of itinerant propagandists than by the Press and no Press law can be effective for the repression of such activities.

In our opinion, therefore, it must be admitted that the Act has not been wholly effective in securing the object which it was enacted to achieve. We observe that one witness before us went so far as to say that it had been both futile and irritating.

Turning to the question of the necessity for such legislation, we find that it was an emergency measure enacted at a time when revolutionary conspiracies, the object of which was directly promoted by certain organs of the Press, were so active as to endanger the administration. We believe that this revolutionary party is now quiescent, that the associations supporting it have been broken up, and that many members of the revolutionary party have realised that the object which they had in view can under present conditions be achieved by constitutional means. Further, the political situation has undergone great changes since 1910 and the necessity for the retention of the Act must be examined in the light of the new constitutional position created by the inauguration of the Reforms. Many of us feel that the retention of this law is, in these circumstances, not only unnecessary, but incompatible with the increasing association of the representatives of the people in the administration of the country. We believe also that the malignant influence of seditious organs of the press will in future be, and in fact is already beginning to be, counteracted by the growth of distinct parties in politics each supported by its own Press supplemented by the activities of a properly organised Bureau of Information the value of which was admitted by many witnesses. It is true that the scope of the Act is not limited to the prevention of sedition, but it is not necessary for us to discuss in detail the subsidiary provisions included in section 4 of the Act, as we believe that these provisions have seldom been used and that the evils against which they are directed can be checked by the ordinary law. We think, therefore, that under present conditions the retention of the Act for the purposes for which it was enacted is unnecessary.

Criticisms Examined.

On an examination of the third aspect of the case, viz., the comparative advantages and disadvantages of retaining the Act, we find that while many local Governments advocate its retention in the interests of the administration, on the other hand, the Act is regarded with bitter hostility by nearly all shades of Indian opinion. Most of the witnesses examined before us believe it to be indefensible in principle and unjust in its application. It has been said that the terms of Section 4 of the Act are so comprehensive that legitimate criticism of Government might well be brought within its scope, that the Act is very uncertain in its operation, that it has been applied with varying degrees of rigour at different times and by different local Governments and, in particular, that it has not been applied with equal severity to English-owned and Indian-owned papers. A general feeling was also apparent among the witnesses that the Act is irritating and humiliating to Indian journalism and that the resentment caused by the measure is the more bitter because of the great services rendered to Government by the Press in the war. Many witnesses, indeed, are of opinion that the Act is fatal to the growth of a healthy spirit of responsibility in the Press and that it deters persons of ability and independent character from joining the profession of journalism. Finally, it is maintained that the Act places in the hands of the Executive Government arbitrary powers, not subject to adequate control by any independent tribunal, which may be used to suppress legitimate criticism of Government and that such a law is entirely inconsistent with the spirit of the Reforms Scheme and the gradual evolution of Responsible Government.

There is, in our judgment, great force in many of these criticisms. We find, as already noted, that the Act has not proved effective in preventing the dissemination of sedition and that it is doubtful whether it is necessary to retain it for the purpose of preventing incitements to murder and similar violent crime. Further, in view of the cogent criticisms made as to the principles and operation of the Act, we have come to the conclusion that it would be in the interests of the administration that it should be repealed. In making this recommendation we have not overlooked the opinion expressed by various Local Governments that the retention of the Act is

desirable in the interest of law and order. We observe, however, that there is a considerable divergence of opinion among those Governments on this point, and while we realise that the views of those who are opposed to the repeal of the Act are entitled to great weight and, indeed, that these views have been accepted by the Government of India frequently in times past, we are satisfied that there is a genuine popular demand for its repeal, and we consider that in the altered circumstances created by the Reforms the advantages likely to be secured by the repeal of this measure outweigh the benefits which could be obtained by its retention on the Statute Book.

Indian Princes' Views.

"In our examination on the question of the repeal of the Press Act, we also considered the further question as to which, if any, of its provisions should be retained by incorporation in other laws. Various questions have been placed before us in this connection, some of greater and some of minor importance. Perhaps the most important of these is the question whether the disseminating of disaffection against Indian Princes through the Press of British India should be penalised in any way. We have been handicapped in our examination of this question by the very inadequate representation of the views of the Princes, many of whom were unwilling to allow their opinions to be placed before the Committee. We have, however, had the advantage of seeing some minutes submitted by them and of examining Sir John Wood, the Secretary of the Political Department. It has been argued that the Government of India is under an obligation to protect the Indian Princes from such attacks, that the Press Act alone affords them such protection and that if it is repealed it is unfair, having regard to the constitutional position of the Government of India vis-a-vis the Indian States that the Press in British India should be allowed to foment disaffection against the ruler of an Indian State. On the other hand, various witnesses have protested in the strongest terms against any such protection being afforded to the Princes. It is alleged that the effect of any such provision in the law would be to stifle all legitimate criticism and deprive the subjects of such States of any opportunity of ventilating their grievances and protesting against the administration or oppression. We understand that before the Press Act became law, it was not found neces-

sary to protect the Indian Princes from such attacks, and we note that the Act, so far as the evidence before us shows, has only been used on three occasions for this purpose. We do not in the circumstances think that we should be justified in recommending on general grounds any enactment in the Penal Code or elsewhere for the purpose of affording such protection in the absence of evidence to prove the practical necessity for such provision of the law. Our colleague Mr. Asad Ali desires to express no opinion on this question.

Confiscating a Press.

"We have also considered the question of vesting the courts of justice with power to confiscate a Press if the keeper is convicted for the second time of disseminating sedition. Although Section 517 of the Criminal Procedure Code affords some faint authority for the enactment of such a provision in the law we feel that it would operate inequitably, particularly in the case of large and valuable Presses used not only for the printing of a particular paper but also for other miscellaneous works. In the case of smaller Presses the forfeiting of the Press would probably not be an effective remedy, and on a careful consideration of the facts we doubt the necessity for inserting any such provision in the law.

"There is indeed only one provision of the Act which we think should be retained, namely, the power to seize and confiscate newspapers, books or other documents which offend against the provisions of Section 124 (A) of the Penal Code. If this power is retained the ancillary power of preventing the importation into British India or transmission through the post of such documents on the lines now provided for in Sections 13, 14 and 15 of the Indian Press Act is a necessary corollary if the law is to be effective. The confiscation of openly seditious documents in no way, we believe, constitutes an interference with the reasonable liberty of the Press, and the openly seditious character of some of the documents which are now circulated in India has convinced us of the necessity of regaining this power as a regular provision of the substantive law. The exact method by which this should be effected is, we think, a matter for the expert advisers of the Government of India to decide. We would, however, also provide for redress in cases in which the owner of a Press or any person

interested in the production of any such document, or in the possession of any particular copy of the document, considers himself aggrieved by allowing such persons to apply to the High Court and challenge the seizure and confiscation of the document. We would also provide that when such an application is made the onus of proving the seditious character of the document should be on the Government. We think that the powers conferred by Sections 13 and 15 of the Press Act might be conveniently incorporated in the Sea Customs Act and the Post Office Act so that the Customs and Postal Officers should be empowered to seize seditious literature within the meaning of Section 124 (A) of the Indian Penal Code, subject to review on the part of the Government and to challenge by any person interested in the Courts. We recommend that in this case and in the case of seditious leaflets seized under the conditions referred to in the earlier portions of this paragraph, the orders of the Government should be liable to be contested in the High Court.

“It follows almost of necessity from what we have said above that we recommend the total repeal of the Newspapers (Incitement to Offences) Act, 1908. We may observe that this Act has not been used for the last ten years.

“As to the Press and Registration of Books Act, we recommend that this Act should be retained with the following modifications :—

(1) That no person should be registered as a publisher or printer unless he is a major as defined by the Indian Majority Act.

(2) That, in the case of all newspapers, the name of the responsible editor should be clearly printed on the front sheet of the paper and that an editor should be subject to the same criminal and civil liability in respect of anything contained in the paper as the publisher and printer.

(3) That the term of imprisonment prescribed in Sections 12, 13, 14 and 15 should be reduced to six months.

(4) That the provisions of Section 16 of the Press Act should be reproduced in this Act.

We have also considered certain other matters of detail which are of a technical nature. We think they should be left to the expert department to deal with.

Summary of Conclusion

We append a summary of our conclusions :—

(1) The Press Act should be repealed.
(2) The Newspapers (Incitement to Offences) Act should be repealed.

(3) The Press and Registration Books Act, the Sea Customs and the Post Office Act should be amended where necessary to meet the conclusions noted below.

(A) The name of the editor should be inscribed on every issue of a newspaper and the editor should be subject to the same liabilities as the printer and the publisher as regards criminal and civil responsibility.

(B) Any person registering under the Press and Registration or Books Act should be a major as defined by the Indian Majority Act.

(C) Local Governments should retain the power of confiscating openly seditious leaflets subject to the owner of the Press or any other person aggrieved being able to protest before a Court and challenge the seizure of such document, in which case the Local Government ordering confiscation should be called upon to prove the seditious character of the document.

(D) The powers conferred by Sections 13 to 15 of the Press Act should be retained, customs and postal officers being empowered to seize seditious literature within the meaning of Section 124 (A) Indian Penal Code subject to review on the part of the Local Government and challenge by any persons interested in the proper courts.

(E) Any person challenging the orders of the Government should do so in the local High Court.

(F) The term of imprisonment prescribed in Sections 12, 13, 14 and 15 of the Press and Registration of Books Act should be reduced to six months.

(G) The provisions of Section 16 of the Press Act should be reproduced in the Press and Registration of Books Act.

REPORT OF THE Repressive Laws Committee

The Repressive Laws Committee was appointed in pursuance of Mr. Sastri's motion in the Council of State on 14th Feb. 1921 "to examine the repressive laws now on the statute book and report whether all or any of them should be repealed". The terms of reference included the examination of Regulations III of 1818, XI of 1857, & Acts XIV of 1908, X of 1911, IV of 1915 and the Rowlatt Act. The unanimous report of the Committee was issued on September 20th. 1921.

Summary of Recommendations

The Committee observes that their recommendation follows that made by the Government of Bihar and Orissa in the following terms—"Subject however to reservation temporarily made in favour of the Seditious Meetings Act and Part II of the Criminal Law Amendment Act which can not be abandoned until the present tension created by the Non-co-operation movement has been relieved by the action of its leading promoters, His Excellency in Council desired again to emphasise the importance of removing from the Statute Book as far as possible all special laws of this character so that the Government of India under the Reformed Constitution may proceed with a clean slate. At the same time, however, His Excellency in Council is conscious that in the future the need for special powers may again arise."

Thus the Committee has recommended the repeal of all the Statutes included in the terms of reference with a reservation that the Bengal Regulation of 1818 and corresponding regulations of the Madras and Bombay presidencies be so amended as to retain power over the movements of certain persons in order to protect the inflammable frontiers of India from internal commotion and for the due maintenance of alliances formed by the British Government with foreign powers, the preservation of tranquility in the territories of the Native Princes entitled to protection, and for the security of British Dominions from foreign hostility. But the Committee advises that the repeal of the prevention of Seditious Meetings Act and Part II of the Indian Criminal Law

Amendment Act of 1908 be deferred for the present ; their retention being necessary in view of recent occurrences and possible developments which cannot but be regarded with the gravest apprehension.

The Committee in its preliminary report remarks at length on the dangerous activities of the Khilafat and Non-co-operation workers who, while they failed to appeal to more thoughtful persons, had succeeded in arousing a deep and widespread feeling of hostility towards the Government, and were the greatest obstacle to the successful development of the Reforms recently introduced, and to all political and industrial progress. While, therefore, it was impossible to describe the state as normal, the Committee urged the immediate repeal of all the old acts as having been designed to meet the state of affairs which now no longer existed.

Defence of India and Rowlatt Acts

Turning to the more modern Acts, the Committee recommends the repeal of the Defence of India Act as it was only intended to cope with difficulties arising from the war, and also the repeal of the Rowlatt Act, whose retention was both unnecessary and inadvisable. While strong measures in future might be needed for the suppression of any organised attempt at widespread disorder, they preferred to leave this contingency to be dealt with when it arose, rather than retain a statute which is regarded as a stigma on the good name of India.

In the case of the Seditious Meetings Act and Samiti Act, while agreeing with certain objections to the retention of these two measures, the Committee recommends that they cannot urge their immediate repeal, as there are several indications to show that their application would still be necessary to prevent certain forms of seditious activities. The Committee recommends the introduction of a Bill on the lines of the English Disorderly Public Meetings Act of 1906, which makes a disturbance at a public meeting an offence, and provides a heavier penalty when this offence is committed during a Parliamentary election. Such a Bill should also include a provision making it incumbent on the promoters of any meeting to provide adequate facilities and security for Government reporters.

The Committee also urges that when the Seditious Meetings Act is repealed, the District Magistrate should be empowered by law with the consent of the Local Government to demand in any area of his district notified in this behalf, that notice be given to him of the intention to hold a public meeting to enable him to make proper arrangements for obtaining a report of the proceedings. The Committee draws attention to the fact that there is no legislation in India for the prohibition of drilling and military training without lawful authority on the lines of the English Statute.

The Committee in its recommendations accepts the principle: "Trust your Legislature. Confidence will beget confidence. If you need exceptional powers, prove your necessity, and the Legislature will grant them."

The Report

The following is the substantial portion of the Report:—

We may now, in the light of this appreciation of the present political position, examine the question of repealing or retaining the various Acts under consideration.

Dealing with the older Acts first, we notice that they relate generally to a state of affairs which no longer exists. We regard it as undesirable that they should be used for any purpose not contemplated by their authors. The objections to them are obvious. Some, as for example, Bengal Regulation 10 of 1804, or the Forfeiture Act of 1857, are inconsistent with modern ideas. Others are clothed in somewhat archaic language, and are applicable only to circumstances which are unlikely to recur. Many arm the Executive with special powers which are not subject to revision by any judicial tribunal, and their presence on the Statute Book is regarded as an offence by enlightened public opinion.

The arguments for their retention are as follows:—The use of the Bengal State Prisoners Regulation, 1818 (Regulations of 1818) in Bengal was necessitated by the revolutionary movement, which the ordinary law failed to check; the wholesale intimidation of witnesses rendered recourse to the ordinary courts ineffective. Though we have evidence of a change in the attitude of individual leaders of the

anarchical movement in Bengal, we are warned that similar symptoms of intimidation have been noticed and that, should there be a recrudescence of any revolutionary movement, it would in the absence of these old preventive regulations be impossible to cope with the situation and fresh emergency legislation would be necessary. Lastly, the plea is advanced that these old Acts may be regarded as measures intermediate between the ordinary law of the land and Martial Law. The ultimate result, in case of extreme disorder, of the abolition of these special laws, it is suggested, may mean earlier recourse to Martial Law than might otherwise be the case.

We recognise the force of these arguments, in particular, the difficulty of securing evidence or of preventing the intimidation of witnesses. We also appreciate the fact that the use of the ordinary law may in some cases advertise the very evil which the trial is designed to punish. But we consider that in the modern conditions of India that risk must be run. It is undesirable that any statutes should remain in force which are regarded with deep and genuine disapproval by a majority of the members of the Legislatures. The harm created by the retention of arbitrary powers of imprisonment by the Executive may, as history has shown, be greater even than the evil such powers are directed to remedy. The retention of these Acts could in any case only be defended if it was proved that they were in present circumstances essential to the maintenance of law and order. As it has not been found necessary to resort in the past to these measures, save in cases of grave emergency, we advocate their immediate repeal. In the event of a recurrence of any such emergency we think that the Government must rely on the Legislature to arm them with the weapons necessary to cope with the situation.

Our recommendation in regard to regulation 3 of 1818, and the analogous regulations in the Bombay and Madras presidencies is subject, however, to the following reservations:—It has been pointed out to us that for the protection of the frontiers of India and the fulfilment of the responsibilities of the Government of India in relation to Indian States, there must be some enactment to arm the Executive with powers to restrict the movements and activities of certain

persons who, though not coming within the scope of any criminal law, have to be put under some measure of restraint. Cases in point are :—exiles from foreign protected States who are liable to become the instigators or focus of intrigues against such States ; persons disturbing the tranquility of such States who cannot suitably be tried in the courts of the States concerned, and may not be amenable to the jurisdiction of British courts ; and persons tampering with the inflammable material on our frontiers. We are in fact satisfied of the continued necessity for providing for the original object of this regulation in so far as it was expressly declared to be the due maintenance of the alliances formed by the British Government with foreign Powers, the preservation of tranquility in the territories of Native Princes entitled to its protection, and the security of the British Dominions from foreign hostility and, only in so far as the inflammable frontier is concerned, from internal commotion.

We desire to make it clear that the restrictions which we contemplate in this connection are not of a penal or even irksome character. We are satisfied that they have not been so in cases of the kind referred to above in the past. Indeed in several instances they have been imposed as much in the interests of the persons concerned as in the interests of the State. The only desideratum is to remove such persons from places where they are potential sources of trouble. Within such limits as may be necessary to achieve this object they would ordinarily enjoy full personal liberty and a freedom from any kind of stigma such as would be associated with restrictions imposed by the criminal law. We, therefore, recommend the amendment of Regulation 3 of 1818 limiting its application to the objects outlined above. This resolution may also involve the retention in a modified form of the State Prisoners Acts of 1850 and 1858, but this is a matter for legal experts.

We have carefully considered the cases in which the Madras State Prisoners Regulation of 1819 has been used. The procedure adopted was certainly simpler and more effective but if the ordinary law is insufficient we think it is for the local Government to consider whether any amendment of the Moplah Outrages Act XX of 1859 is needed.

Turning now to the more modern Act we notice that the Defence of India (Criminal Law Amendment) Act 1915, will in the ordinary course of events shortly expire. It is, we understand, at present only used in order to give effect to the Government of India's policy in the matter of Colonial Emigration. Section 16-(B) of the Defence of India Consolidated Rules 1915 is at present employed to prevent the departure from India of unskilled labour which does not come within the definition of Emigration given in Act XVII of 1908. We understand that a Bill to meet the case of Indian emigrants has already been introduced. A special regulation may, we think, also be needed for the exclusion of persons whose presence may endanger the peace and safety of the North-West Frontier province. We recommend that the Defence of India Act be repealed at once as it was only intended to cope with difficulties arising from the war.

The Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act 1919 (popularly known as the Rowlatt Act) has never been used. Its enactment was extremely unpopular and it was to continue in force only for three years from the termination of the war. We consider that the retention of this Act is not necessary or advisable. The power to restrain personal liberty without trial conferred by this Act is not consistent with the policy inaugurated with the recent constitutional changes and we therefore recommend its immediate repeal.

It is however necessary to strike a note of warning. While we think that there has since 1918 been some improvement in the situation so far as the anarchical movement is concerned, we realise that strong measures may be needed for the suppression of any organised attempt at widespread disorder. We prefer, however, to leave this contingency to be dealt with when, and if, it arises rather than retain a statute which is regarded as a stigma on the good name of India.

Seditious Meetings.

There remain, then, two Acts—the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908, and the Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act, 1911. It is around those two Acts that controversy has centred and regarding which we have been careful to obtain a full expression of opinion. These Acts also differ from those to which we have already referred in

that while the Committee was sitting they were actually being used in the Punjab, Delhi, and the United Provinces.

The evidence of some of the witnesses goes to show that their effect was beneficial and that their application was necessary to maintain public tranquility. It is affirmed that local officers responsible for the maintenance of peace and order would, under existing conditions, if these Acts were repealed, find themselves in an impossible situation, faced, it might be, with disorder on a large scale which they could not prevent. The application of these Acts, moreover, is subject to safeguards which ensure that sanction to their introduction is only granted after careful scrutiny of the necessity for such action. The local Governments are unanimous in asking for the Seditious Meeting Act, and most of the local Governments similarly affirm the need for retaining Part 2 of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908. It is desirable, therefore, to examine most carefully the reasons for and against their repeal.

These Acts are first attacked as being unconstitutional, and, like the Act of 1919, inconsistent with the present policy of the Government. In support of this view our attention has been directed to the law that obtains in England with regard to public meetings. The following dictum of Professor Dicey is quoted :—“The Government has little or no power of preventing meetings which at all appearance are lawful, even though they may in fact turn out when actually convened to be unlawful because of the mode in which they are conducted.” We would point out that the learned professor is merely stating what are actually the principles underlying the law in England. He does not attempt to discuss their propriety, nor, we may add, their applicability to other countries. He does, however, allude to the policy or the impolicy of denying to the highest authority in the State the very widest power to take in their discretion precautionary measures against evils which may flow from the injudicious exercise of a legal right. The learned author also points out that the right of public meeting is certainly a singular instance of the way in which adherence to the principle that the proper function of the State is the punishment, not the prevention of crimes, deprives the Executive of discretionary authority apart from the great difference in

the class of audience which may be addressed). We recognise that while democracy and all the rights that it entails have been the result of gradual growth through the course of centuries in Great Britain, they are recent introduction into India.

Public Sentiment.

The next argument advanced for the repeal of these Acts is that they offend public sentiment and that their retention would be a direct incitement to further agitation. This argument is one to which we attach great weight even though we recognise that the repeal of these Acts would only appeal to a few. We realise that the wholesale repeal of these Acts would do much to strengthen those who are anxious to assist the Government, and would be useful for the purpose of counter-propaganda. We realise, also, that substantial support is necessary for the Government to meet the non-co operation movement, which is the greatest obstacle to the successful development of the Reforms recently introduced and to all political and industrial progress.

The real point, however, at issue is whether the ordinary law that would remain would provide sufficient means for coping with any existing or reasonably apprehended disorder. Evidence has been adduced to show that in certain places the ordinary law is inadequate, and this evidence we are not prepared to reject. This brings us to the third objection that the ordinary law alone should be applied to prevent the evil with which these two Acts are designed to cope.

Sec. 144 of the Cr. Pr. Code

We have had long discussions as to the manner in which Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code has been recently applied. It is no part of our duty to express an opinion on any individual case in which this section has been used, or to enter into any legal argument. In the opinion of those best qualified to judge this section cannot be used effectively when there is danger of widespread disorder. We also note the argument that Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code was not designed to prevent meetings over a large area, and that its use for such a purpose arouses probably as much resentment as the application of the Seditious

Meetings Act. It is the only preventive section in the ordinary law. Section 108 of the Criminal Procedure Code is only partially preventive ; Section 120 (a) and (b), 124 (a) and 153 (a) of the Indian Penal Code are punitive. Further, even if satisfactory evidence is available these sections can be used only against individuals and not to prevent seditious meetings or speeches. We consider it probable that if in those areas to which the Seditious Meetings Act has recently been applied, no preventive action other than that possible under Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code had been taken, the dangers of disorder would have been appreciably increased and the number of prosecutions under these punitive sections would have been larger which might have had the effect of exasperating public opinion. We would point out that in some cases referred to (in an Appendix) the riot was directly connected with such a prosecution.

A fourth argument is based on the recent findings of the Committee appointed to examine the Press Act. It is unnecessary for our purpose to discuss whether the written or the spoken word commands the greater circulation. We agree with that Committee that the more direct and violent forms of sedition are disseminated more from the platform and through the agency of itinerary propagandists than by the Press. The prosecution of a paper is moreover much simpler than the prosecution of a speaker, attended as the latter is by the difficulties of obtaining an accurate report of the speech delivered. We think that the instances we have given above are sufficient illustration of the danger of allowing violent and inflammable speeches. Though the speaker can be prosecuted the mischief may have been done. Of this there have been lamentable illustrations.

Fifthly, it is argued that the Seditious Meetings Act of 1911 not only stifles noxious speeches at public meetings but also deters people who might assist in counter-propaganda. Cases have been quoted of persons otherwise well-disposed to the Government who declined to ask for leave to hold a meeting or make a speech. We recognise that this is a necessary and undesirable result of the application of the Seditious Meetings Act. It is, however, a lesser evil than allowing speeches to be made which result in such disorder as would equally prevent

any exponent of opposite view from obtaining a hearing. Such intimidation is we learn by no means uncommon.

Disorderly Meetings.

In this connection, since we regard it as important that every opportunity should be given to the electorate of hearing both sides of a question, we recommend before the next general election the introduction of a Bill on the lines of the Disorderly Public Meetings Act of 1906 (8 Edward VII) which makes a disturbance at a public meeting an offence and provides a heavier penalty when this offence is committed during a Parliamentary election. We should also suggest that should such a Bill be presented it should include a clause making it incumbent on the promoters of any meeting to provide adequate facilities and security for such reporters as the District Magistrate may wish to depute. We recommend that when the Seditious Meetings Act is repealed the District Magistrate should be empowered by law, with the consent of the local Government, to demand in any area of his district notified in this behalf that notice be given to him of the intention to hold a public meeting so that he may be able to make proper arrangements for obtaining a report of the proceedings. This, we may observe, is entirely different from demanding that a person should obtain leave to hold a meeting.

Legislation by Ordinance.

Finally, it is pointed out that in the last resort should the ordinary prove insufficient, recourse can be had to legislation by Ordinance. We should deprecate any suggestion that the exercise of the extraordinary powers of the Governor-General should be regarded as an appropriate method of legislation save in abnormal circumstances. These powers should, we think, be reserved for exceptional or sudden emergencies. To regard them as in any way the normal method of legislation implies a distrust of the Legislative Assembly and Council of State to which we would be sorry to subscribe. In fact the most potent argument advanced in favour of the repeal of these two Acts is that such repeal would be an illuminating object lesson in the value of constitutional reforms. "Trust your Legislatures," we are told. "Confidence will beget confidence. If you need exceptional powers prove your necessity and the Legislatures will grant them." We

accept this principle. We have adopted it to the utmost limit consistent with safety in advising the repeal of the enactments to which reference has been made, but we feel that we should not under present conditions be justified in advising the immediate repeal of these two Acts.

We may also point out that their provisions are not of a drastic character. In this connection, we may quote from the speech of the late Hon. Mr. Gokhale on the Seditious Meetings Bill:—"I will freely admit that from the standpoint of the Government it could not have introduced a milder measure than this. The more objectionable features of the Act of 1907 have been removed, and if when the need arises the law is applied with reasonable care and caution it is not likely to produce any serious hardship. If the need of the Government is urgent and immediate, then, of course, all ordinary considerations must be put aside and every loyal citizen must range himself on the side of the Government in sanctioning and enforcing the measures that are thought to be indispensable. In a state of actual disturbance, in a state of dangerous activity on the part of elements hostile to the very existence of the Government, I can understand the Government calling on all loyal citizens to rally round it in this manner."

Though seldom applied, these two enactments have recently, in the present situation, been found necessary for the preservation of law and order. Further, an obvious objection to a more complete acceptance of this principle is that in allowing proof of the necessity for legislation to accumulate even stronger measures than those now under consideration might eventually be required for the suppression of disorder. By the time public opinion had become sufficiently alarmed to demand or approve legislative action the damage might be irretrievable.

Criminal Law Amendment Act.

As regards the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908 it has been suggested that sections of the Indian Penal Code are sufficient to cope with any situation that is now likely to arise. It is generally accepted that Part 1 of this Act has failed to achieve in Bengal the purpose for which it was designed. As regards Part 2 the conspiracy sections of the Indian Penal Code might meet the case if, but only if,

evidence were forthcoming. It was in no small measure the impossibility of obtaining evidence owing to the intimidation of witnesses that led to this enactment. As we have already seen there is definite evidence of certain organisations encouraging acts of violence or resorting to intimidation. Recently in Delhi it has been necessary to declare certain associations of volunteers unlawful under section 16 of this Act. We have carefully examined the circumstances which led to this action. The volunteer movement began with social service, but the adherents soon developed a definite tendency to interfere with the duties of the police and the liberty of the public. They then began to intimidate and terrorise the general body of the population and there was a tendency towards hooliganism. It has been proved that some of these associations resorted to violence, that their behaviour at railway stations and public meetings was objectionable and rowdy, that they obstructed the funeral of an honoured citizen and held a most undesirable demonstration at the house of another. They actively interfered with the elections by threats and picketing, and there was every reason to believe that their activities if left unchecked would lead to serious disorder. The conclusion we have arrived at is that some of these volunteer associations in Delhi were seditious organisations, formed for the purpose of intimidating loyal citizens and interfering illegally with the administration of the province. The result of the action taken by the Government has been, we were told, to destroy the worst features of volunteer activity in so far as it was synonymous with rowdyism in the city of Delhi. We have received information of a possible recrudescence of secret associations in another part of India. It has also been stated in evidence that Bolshevik emissaries have entered India and we cannot overlook the possibility of illegal associations promoted by them terrorising the population and engaging in a campaign of terrorism. Actually Part 1 of this act has been sparingly used. Its object is not only to break down existing unlawful associations but to deter young and comparatively guiltless persons from joining these bodies and to discourage the supply of pecuniary assistance. We regret that we cannot at this juncture recommend the immediate repeal of Part 2 of this Act. There are too evident indications that its application might be necessary to prevent the formation of

secret societies. It must be remembered that there is no legislation in India for the prohibition of drilling and military training without lawful authority on the lines of the English Statute (60 Geo.) Nor can we for the reasons already given advise the immediate repeal of the Seditious Meetings Act of 1911. We were informed that the result of the application of the Act in each case has been that sober-minded people approved the action taken by the Government and that the application of the Act was of the greatest value in preserving public tranquility.

Our recommendation following that made by the Bihar and Orissa Government, subject however to the reservations temporarily made in favour of the Seditious Meetings Act and Part 2 of the Criminal Law Amendment Act which cannot be abandoned until the present tension created by the non-co-operation movement has been relieved by the action of its leading promoters: "His Excellency in Council desires again to emphasise the importance of removing from the Statute Book as far as possible all special laws of this character so that Government of India under the Reform constitution may proceed with a clean slate. At the same time, however, His Excellency in Council is conscious that in the future the need for special powers may again arise in view of the grave situation which exists and which may become more serious."

We also think that it would be prudent to defer actual repeal of these Acts until such time as the situation improves. Many of us hope that it may be possible for the Government to undertake the necessary legislation during the Delhi session. We can make no definite recommendation on this point at present. We trust that the repeal of these Acts may be expedited by a healthy change in the political situation. The duration of the retention rests in other hands than ours.

A Test Case.

To this endeavour to adjust the conflicting claims of political considerations and administrative necessity we have applied the principles on which the constitutional reforms are based. The problem before us is we consider a test case of the co-operation received from those upon whom new opportunities of service will thus be conferred and the extent to

which it is found that confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility. We recognise our responsibility in the maintenance of peace and order. We are prepared to trust both the Provincial Councils and the Imperial Legislatures for such support as may be necessary. We believe that the executive will use any exceptional powers with the utmost caution and restraint. Their action may always be challenged in the local Legislatures.

Lastly, we desire also to take into account the difficulties which at the present time confront local officers. Evidence before us shows that the magistrates and the police have on many occasions been sorely tried and we wish to record our appreciation of their loyalty in very difficult positions.

Animated by these ideas we, therefore, recommend the repeal of all the Statutes included in the terms of reference to this Committee with a reservation as to Bengal Regulation 3 of 1818 and the corresponding regulations of the Madras and Bombay presidencies; but we advise that the repeal of the prevention of Seditious Meetings Act 1919 and Part 2 of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act 1908, should be deferred for the present. Their retention is necessary in view of recent occurrences and possible developments which we cannot but regard with the gravest apprehension.

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS OF The Indian Railway Committee

A.—Unanimous Recommendations

The Railway Committee 1920-21 appointed by the Secretary of State for India issued a bulky report early in October 1921. On the main question of Company VERSUS State management of Railways there was a strong divergence of opinion. The Chairman along with the non-railway men members were for State-management, thus upholding Indian Public opinion demanding the nationalisation of Railways. The other coup consisting of capitalist vested interests, the majority being agents of Company-management. The report of the Committee caused an immense flutter in financial circles in London and very great influence was brought to bear upon the authorities in order that English capital may continue to exploit the Indian Railways as ever.

1. We propose great changes in the constitution, status, and functions of the Railway Board. We recommend that at the head of the Railway Department there shall be a Member of Council in constant touch with railway affairs; and we suggest that with this object there shall be created a new Department of Communications responsible for railways, ports and inland navigation, road transport (so far as the Central Government deals with this subject) and posts and telegraphs. We think the Member in charge of Communications must be an experienced administrator and able to represent his Department both in the Legislature and with the public. We do not think he need be expected to be a technical expert.

2. We recommend that, on the one hand the re-constituted Railway Department should delegate considerably increased power of day-to-day management to the local Railway administration, and on the other hand should be relieved from control by the India Office and by the Government of India except on large questions of finance and general policy.

3. We recommend that the Finance Department should cease to control the internal finance of the railways; that the railways should have a separate budget of their own, be responsible for earning and expending their own income, and

for providing such net revenue as is required to meet the interest on the debt incurred or to be incurred by the Government for railway purposes; and that the railway budget should be presented to the Legislative Assembly, not by the Finance Member of Council, but by the Member in charge of Railways.

4. We recommend that, subject to independent audit by the Government of India, the Railway Department should employ its own accounting staff, and be responsible for its own accounts. We think that the present accounts and statistics should be thoroughly overhauled and remodelled with the assistance of experts familiar with recent practice in other countries.

5. We recommend that the title of Railway Board be replaced by the title Railway Commission; and that under the Member of Council for Communications, there shall be a technical staff consisting on the Railway side of a Chief Commissioner and four Commissioners; that of the four, one should be in charge of finance and the organisation and staff of the office, and that the three other Commissioners should be in charge of three respective geographical divisions, western, eastern and southern. The Divisional Commissioners, while normally engaged at headquarters, should devote a substantial portion of their time to personal visits to their divisions.

6. We recommend that the technical staff attached to the Commission shall be strengthened, especially on the traffic side. We think the staff should be divided into six sections, each under a Director, one of whom should be responsible, under the Commissioners, for Ports and Inland Navigation and Road Transport.

7. The changes and additions to the headquarters establishment which we have proposed may cost from £25,000 to £30,000 per annum. But we recommend this expenditure in the interest of true economy. And we point out that salaries in the highest posts of the Indian Railway Services are at present, inadequate, and that, in consequence, not only does the service fail to attract the right men, but it is actually losing to other employment those already in it.

8. We think that the present number of Circles, each with an Engineering Inspector, is unnecessarily great, and we recommend that the number of Engineering Inspectors

be reduced, and the money utilised for the appointments of new officers called Inspectors of Traffic.

9. We discuss the rights of management reserved to the guaranteed companies under their contracts, and we recommend that the new Member for Communications should by agreement, where necessary, with the companies, modify the present position ; on the one hand giving to the Railway Commission greater powers in reference to matters such as initiation and enforcement of reforms and some control over the appointment and retention of principal officers, and on the other hand, giving to the local executive officers greater freedom from interference in matters of every-day management.

10. We suggest that there should be a less rigid regard than hitherto to the claims of seniority.

11. We lay stress on the importance of giving to the Indian public an adequate voice in the management of their railways. And accordingly we recommend the establishment of Central and Local Railway Advisory Councils. We propose that the Central Advisory Council, under the Chairmanship of the Minister of Communications, should consist of not more than 25 members of whom three or four would represent the Departments of Government specially concerned ; eight or nine should be nominated, according to a scheme to be arranged, by the various associations representing trade and industry ; and a similar number, to represent agricultural interests and the travelling public, should be added by the nomination of one member by each of the Provincial Legislative Councils.

12. We recommend the establishment of Local Advisory Councils, similar in constitution to the Central Council and perhaps of half the size, either at the headquarters of each railway, in which case the Agent would act as Chairman ; or alternatively, at each important railway centre, in which case the Agents of all the railways concerned should be members, and one of them Chairman.

13. We recommend that these Councils be established as soon as possible, without waiting for the full introduction of the scheme which we put forward.

14. We recommend the establishment of a Rates Tribunal, consisting of an experienced lawyer as Chairman, and two members representing respectively, railway and com-

mercial interests; and that there be given to them jurisdiction over all the questions of the reasonableness of rates and of facilities; that they be instructed to investigate the conditions attached to "owners'" and "railways'" risk notes at the present time, and to frame new standard forms for use in future; and that there be, under certain circumstances, an appeal from the decisions of the Rates Tribunal to the Governor-General in Council.

15. We recommend that steps be taken to reduce the delay in settling claims for loss and damage, and that the utmost possible efforts should be devoted, not only by the local officials, but by the Railway Commission itself, to stamping out the very serious and widespread abuses in connection with allocations of railway wagons.

16. We discuss the hardships to which third-class passengers are subjected, especially on the occasion of the great "Melas" or pilgrimages; and we recommend various measures which, pending the radical improvement of the situation by the provision of adequate facilities, may do something to mitigate present conditions.

17. We recommend that there be reasonable general increase in Indian rates and fares, and that the sur-taxes at present levied on railway traffic be withdrawn.

18. We recommend that greater facilities should be provided for training Indians for the superior posts in railway service; and that the process of their employment in such posts should be accelerated.

19. We recommend that branch lines shall, as far as possible, be constructed and worked by the main lines to which they are tributary; and only if the State is unable or unwilling to provide the funds itself shall the formation of separate branch line companies be encouraged.

20. We recommend that, so soon as financial conditions make it possible for the Government to go forward again with the railway development, the Indian States should be called into Council and invited to take part in working out a common plan in the common interest.

21. We recommend an enquiry into the question of inland water-way communication as effected by alleged unfair railway competition.

22. We recommend a thorough investigation, by a Commission of the most competent experts whom the railway world can furnish, of the gauge question as it affects and is affected by the potential future development of the Indian system as a whole.

23. We recommend that the system of management by companies of English domicile should not be continued after the termination of their existing contracts, and that these companies should not be permitted further to increase their share capital.

24. We recommend that no steps should be taken towards establishing combined companies, both with English and with Indian domicile.

B.—Supplementary Recommendations.

By the Chairman and Indian Interest.

The Chairman ; The Hon. Mr. V. S. Sastri , Mr. E. H. Hilley ; Mr. Purushotamadas Thakurdas ; and Mr. J. Tuke.

25. We recommend that the undertakings of the guaranteed companies, as and when the contracts fall in, be entrusted to the direct management of the State, and that when the contract with the East Indian Railway terminates in 1924, the Oudh and Rohilkhand State Railway be absorbed into that undertaking.

26. We recommend that the whole of the capital for the future development of the Indian railways be raised directly by the State.

27. We recommend that the money required to put the existing railways into proper shape should be raised, even at to day's prices as fast as can be economically spent, but we do not recommend the immediate raising of capital for the extension of the existing system.

28. We recommend that Government issues for railway purposes should in England take the form of ordinary sterling loans, while in India rupee loans might perhaps be earmarked as for railway purposes.

29. We support the recommendation of the Mackay Committee that in periods of easy money, fund should be raised in excess of immediate requirements so that it may not

be necessary to have recourse to the market at a time of stringency.

30. We recommend the establishment of a systematic organisation to familiarise the population of India with the idea of subscribing to Government loans, and specially to reach through local Indian agencies the mass of the people to whom the idea of investment has hitherto been strange.

C.—Supplementary Recommendations.

By the European Capitalist Interest.

By Sir H. P. R. Burt ; Sir R. N. Mookerjee ; Sir R. Anderson ; G. C. Godfrey ; and Sir H. Ledgard.

25 A. We recommend that the system of both State and Company management should be continued, and that the Government should not be committed to a policy of State management only for all railways. We accordingly propose a scheme for creating Indian domiciled companies to manage the East Indian and, possibly, the Great Indian Peninsula Railways. The cases of other lines to be considered on their merits when the contracts become terminable.

We do not recommend that the provincial Governments should take any part in the work.

26 A. We agree that much capital must be raised direct by the State, and that this should be done by the Central Government. We also recommend, from 1924 onwards, that the fullest use be made of Indian domiciled companies, as proposed under our scheme, as a means of providing funds from independent sources. We also hold that as the total amount required is so large, no channel through which money can be obtained on reasonable terms should be neglected ; for instance, further debenture loans through existing companies might be negotiated.

27 A. We agree that money should be raised as fast as it can be economically spent, rather than that new development should be arrested. We recommend that the assistance of private enterprise should be enlisted to provide capital for new lines.

28 A. We recommend that Government borrowings for State and Guaranteed railways should be by direct Govern-

ment loans advertised, whether in England or India, as being for railway purposes.

29 A. We agree in supporting this recommendation of the Mackay Committee.

30 A. We recommend that the assistance of all Banks in India should be enlisted when money is required to be raised, and that independent offers of loans on special conditions should not be lightly set aside.

D.—Conclusion

We desire to express our sense of our exceptional indebtedness to our Secretary, Mr. T. Ryan. Not only has he performed all the ordinary duties of a Secretary with the utmost efficiency, but during the sittings in India he also bore, owing to our inability to obtain a verbatim report of the proceedings, the heavy burden of preparing each day for our use an accurate précis of the oral evidence received. Further, during the whole course of our proceedings, he placed at our disposal the resources of his exceptional memory in reference to the subjects that came before us.

To Mr. E. R. Pole, who came to India as Personal Secretary to the Chairman, and was almost immediately appointed Assistant Secretary to the Committee, we also owe our hearty thanks. No task was too heavy for him and he was always ready to work unsparingly to obtain any information that any member of the Committee desired to obtain.

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| W. M. ACWORTH (<i>Chairman.</i>) | H. P. BURT. |
| V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI. | R. N. MOOKERJEE. |
| PURUSHOTAMDAS THAKURDAS. | E. H. HILEY. |
| JAMES TUKE. | A. R. ANDERSON. |
| H. LEDGARD. | G. C. GODFREY. |

T. Ryan (*Secretary*).

London, 22nd August, 1921.

REPORT OF THE Indian Railway Committee

The following are important extracts :—

The Mackay Committee of 1907 considered that the Government should fix periodically a standard of annual capital expenditure which at that time they thought might be taken at £12,500,000 equal to Rs. 18.75 crores, and they laid stress on the desirability of Government adopting a steady annual rate of expenditure which they might reasonably hope to maintain even in times of difficulty. In practice the Government did not see their way either to attain the modest standard recommended by the Committee, or to adhere over a series of years to any uniform rate.

The effect of this policy of inadequate allotments, varying irregularly up and down from year to year, would have been bad enough in any case. But it is made worse when, as not infrequently happens, the allotment is suddenly cut down during the currency of the year to which it relates, and works in progress are suspended, staffs are disbanded at a moment's notice, and materials are left lying on the ground for an indefinite period. An almost equally bad effect is produced when later on the year, the general financial position having unexpectedly improved, the Finance Member with equal suddenness lifts his hand and thus encourages the railways to spend more freely. For then, in fear of the guillotine of "lapse" which must descend on 31st March, in eager haste the railway officials start to spend, with inadequate staff and hurriedly collected materials, the money unexpectedly thrust upon them.

We cannot but feel that the authorities ultimately responsible for Indian railway finance—how far that responsibility was located in Whitehall, and how far in India, we cannot say—have entirely failed to appreciate the position of the Indian railways as a commercial undertaking. The owner of a factory, with a record of success behind it, who found his entire output reduced and slowed down for lack of a certain new machine

costing, say, £10,000 and refused to buy this new machine, saying he could not raise more than £3,000 to pay for it except at a rate of interest to which he was unaccustomed, would ere long find himself in the Bankruptcy Court. And his fellow business men would say he had deserved his fate. This is in effect what has been happening in India from a date long before the war. With this difference: the manufacturer only brings down a single factory. The Indian case is that railway undertakings, in which a great capital has been invested all over the country have been held up for lack of the relatively small new investment in new machinery required year by year to make the whole of the plant efficient and economically productive. And there is another difference. If the single factory goes down, the customers can go elsewhere to fill their wants. The unfortunate customers of the Indian railways have nowhere else to go to. They merely suffer. They are ceasing to suffer in silence.

How much the economic development of India has suffered, not from hesitation to provide for the future—no attempt has been made to do this—but from the utter failure even to keep abreast of the day-to-day requirements of the traffic actually in sight and clamouring to be carried, it is impossible to say. Had the Government thought fit to borrow money even at a rate considerably higher than the rate of net return that the railways could earn on it, we believe its action would have been abundantly justified. But in fact the Indian Government never needed for many years previous to 1914 to face this position. A reference to the curve of net revenue given in the Administration Report on railways in India will show that, though in the earlier years the interest on railway capital had to be met partly out of taxation, for the last 45 years the net earnings of the capital invested in Indian railways has never sunk below 4 per cent. For the last 20 years it has only three times sunk below 5 per cent; and this result was attained, though a substantial sum had been charged against revenue for repayment of capital and in spite of the fact that a not inconsiderable part of the total mileage had been built not on commercial grounds but for strategic purposes. Now the average rate payable by the Government of India on this borrowed money is about 3-3¼ per cent. We are unable with these figures before us to find any justification

for the policy which has been persistently pursued of starving the development of Indian Railways.

We are aware that those responsible for Indian finance are impressed with the idea that borrowing must be restricted lest the rate of interest be advanced and the credit of the Government of India be thereby impaired. Speaking with all modesty on a matter on which the bulk of the Committee have no expert knowledge, we are unable to agree. So long as the solvency of the borrower remains unquestioned, all experience shows that the rate of interest the borrower has to pay depends not on the amount of his borrowing, but on the market value of money at the date of the issue. First-class English railway debentures are quoted to-day at, roughly, two-thirds of their pre-war price. The companies have not borrowed in the interval ; the security of the debentures remains unquestioned ; it is only the value of money which has changed.

India has a population of 300,000,000. It has an area of 1,800,000 square miles, and it is under the British Flag. Argentina has a population of 8,000,000, an area of 1,150,000 square miles, and it is not under the British Flag. At the time when the Mackay Committee reported that it might be possible to borrow up to £9,000,000 per annum in the London market for the extension of Indian railways, the Argentine railway companies were raising money in the same market at an average rate of about £11,000,000 per annum, solely on the security of the railway earnings ; and the credit of the Argentine railway companies was not impaired. We are not aware that there has been any suggestion that the Argentine railways were extended with undue haste. India has, as we have said, a population of 300,000,000. It has to-day 36,700 miles of railway. In railway mileage it stands intermediate between Canada with 39,000 miles for a population of 8,000,000, and Australasia with 29,000 miles for a population of 6,000,000. We cannot believe that India would have occupied so humble a position had the railway management not been fettered by a policy which has constantly restricted the raising of new capital for improvement and development.

Railway Supplies.

Till quite recently India produced hardly any of the supplies that her railways require. Locomotives, carriages,

wagons, or at least their component parts, rails, signalling work, bridge work—all were imported from Europe. Even now India produces only a very small part of what she needs. At an early stage of the war it became difficult to obtain from Europe the customary supplies. Later on it became practically impossible. The inevitable result was that maintenance and renewals fell seriously into arrears from 1914 to 1918.

Obviously, the expenditure was only postponed and had to be faced later on. An ordinary commercial concern would, as a matter of course, have carried the money so underspent to a reserve for renewals, to be spent when the materials were again available. The independent railway companies did this. Not so the State. The money was treated as part of the ordinary revenue of the Government in the year in which it was not spent, with the result that the net profits of the State railways are shown in the official returns as having risen steadily from 4.54 per cent. in 1914 to 7.07 per cent. in 1918-19. The apparent gain was not real. Had there been a separate railway budget the money underspent would have been earmarked in it as advanced to the Government for general purposes. It was indeed announced at one time that a reserve was being made, or would be made. The end of the war has come, and the money is not there: other liabilities had been too strong for the Government of India and so the reserve fund vanished. The railway machine is in urgent need of repair, and funds to put it right are not forthcoming. The position at present is this: maintenance is lamentably in arrears. The cost of materials of all kinds is far above pre-war level. Wages likewise have advanced steadily.

Indian railway rates and fares have always been among the lowest, if not actually the lowest, in the world. They have only been advanced in the last few years very slightly as compared with the rest of the world. A general and substantial increase is overdue. Witnesses from all parts of India have agreed in recognising that rates and fares should be increased, and saying that they will be ready to pay the increases, provided a reasonably efficient service is given in return. One of the most important railway companies applied many months ago to the Railway Board for permission to

increase its rates beyond the maximum hitherto authorised. It met with a refusal.

The Manner of Reform

We now proceed to discuss the manner in which reform should be carried out. At the outset we wish to disclaim any idea that the railway organisation should be independent, an *imperium in imperio*. This is quite out of the question. The Indian Government owns the railways; the Indian Government must control them. But that is no reason why the control should take the form which is found suitable in respect of other departments of the State. What we propose is in outline that the railways should have a separate budget of their own and assume the responsibilities for earning and expending their own income. The first charge on that income, after paying working expenses, is interest on the debt incurred by the State for railway purposes. The amount of this debt is known—we may call it roughly 252,000,000*l.* The annual liability of the Indian Government for the interest is 8,700,000*l.* Whether the railways should pay precisely this amount, or a larger amount, in consideration of the fact that in early years taxation had to be imposed to meet that portion of the interest which the railway receipts did not then cover, or a smaller amount in consideration of expenditure which the railways have since incurred for non-railway purposes, is a matter for argument. We have no wish to express a positive opinion, though we think there is much to be said for letting bygones be bygones and fixing the payment to the Government at the same sum that the Government has itself to find at the present time for interest on the railway debt. The point is that the Railway Department, subject to the general control of Government, once it has met its liability to its creditors, should itself regulate the disposal of the balance, and should be free to devote it to new capital purposes (whether directly or as security for new debt incurred) or to reserves, or to dissipate it in the form either of reduction of rates or improvement of services.

We have expressed our own view that the only payment by the railway to the general Exchequer should be the interest at a fixed rate on the capital advanced. But we desire to point out that this is not necessarily involved in the

separation of the railway budget. It would be possible, however undesirable, for the Government to impose a surtax on railway traffic such as is now in force, or even to call upon the railways for an emergency contribution to the necessities of the State. Neither method would involve interference by the Finance Department with the Railway Department's control of its own internal finance.

Naturally, the steps taken to raise new capital and in general the large questions of policy must continue to be controlled by the Government, i. e., by the Viceroy's Council and the Legislative Assembly, and in the last resort by the Secretary of State and the House of Commons. But there must be a Member in charge of railways, taking part in the Council deliberations, and able to discuss with his fellow Members railway questions equally where they concern finance as where they are management questions proper. Under the new constitution the Budget is to be voted by the Legislative Assembly. This right must, of course, be preserved. But there is no reason why the Railway Budget should not be submitted by the Railway Member as an annexe to the general Budget instead of by the Finance Member himself. Even in England, though departmental, estimates have to be approved by the Treasury, and the Treasury control over them is undoubted. The estimates for the War Department are submitted to Parliament, not by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but by the Secretary of State for War.

In India, with its vast population, normally sedentary, but at intervals—sometimes of months, sometimes of a year, sometimes of several years—flocking in enormous numbers to *melas* (fairs or fetes) or on pilgrimages to holy places, occasional overcrowding is inevitable. To construct and equip the railways so that on rare occasions they should be able to accommodate without inconvenience traffic out of all proportion to the normal is evidently impossible. And so long as the present shortage of funds persists serious hardship is unavoidable. But when it comes to overcrowding as a constant every-day affair, carried to the length that Members of the Committee have seen with their own eyes passengers by regular trains perched in the luggage racks and in suburban services hanging on outside or squatting on the steps of the

coaches, it is another matter. Serious measures must be taken to deal with it. It cannot be done away till funds are provided on a scale sufficient to allow of railways being brought up all round to a much higher standard of efficiency. But even with restricted facilities something more might be done by measures such as borrowing stock to the utmost possible extent from other lines to meet exceptional local pressure, and by strict supervision of matters such as enforcing cleanliness and the provision of drinking water. We consider that in such ways as these the utmost efforts should be made to minimise the inconveniences to which the lower class passengers are subjected.

Rates and Fares

Dealing with the Government's right to control rates and fares the Report states: We have no doubt whatever that further power to control rates ought to exist and be exercised by some appropriate public authority. We believe that the clause which exists in all contracts, and provides in effect that every company shall be liable to have its position modified by subsequent Act of general applicability, enables the Government to confer such power upon a competent authority,

We have discussed with very many witnesses, representing not only the Indian public but the railway companies, what the authority to control rates should be. We have found an unanimous readiness on both sides to accept the constitution of a new Tribunal, practically identical with that recommended for the same duties by the Rates Advisory Committee constituted under the English Ministry of Transport Act 1919, and accepted as satisfactory both by the railway companies and by representative organisations of the traders in England. We recommend the establishment of a Rates Tribunal consisting of an experienced lawyer as chairman and two lay members, one representing the railways and the other the commercial interests, with power, in any case deemed of sufficient importance, to add two additional members, one on each side. We do not think it necessary to go into the constitution and powers of the suggested Tribunal in any further detail. The proposals of the Rates Advisory Committee, which are the result of an exhaustive public discussion by all parties interested from all points of

view, are embodied in Part III of the Railways Act 1921, just passed by Parliament. The causes in Part III raise all the questions in issue and are available for reference when the time comes for practical action to be taken in the matter.

That the proposed Tribunal in England will not lack work is evident. It is not, however, possible at present to say how far this will be the case in India. We suggest that in the first instance the lay members of the Tribunal should be appointed, but only paid a retaining fee until it can be seen what the work is. We think, however, that the legal chairman should be appointed forthwith as a whole-time officer. The law of railway rates is not a simple matter. In addition to legal knowledge there is required a grasp of the economic principles involved and at least a general familiarity with geographical and business relations and the communities to which they are to be applied. Railway rates are not a subject in which, as far as we know, any lawyers in India have specialised at present moment. There are not a few lawyers who have so specialised in England. But to preside over an Indian Tribunal a chairman would need both to be a specialist in railway law and to be familiar with Indian conditions. It is evident that the Indian Railways Act, which dates from 1890, requires extensive revision. We consider that the lawyer appointed as chairman of the Rates Tribunal could not be better employed at the outset than in examination of the Act in the light of modern developments, both of circumstances in India and of legislation in other countries and preparing for the consideration of the competent authorities the draft of a new Railway Act.

The jurisdiction of the new Tribunal should, we think, embrace all questions of the reasonableness of rates even within the contractual maxima and minima, and of the conditions attached thereto, whether the question be the unreasonableness of a rate *per se* or its unreasonableness as compared with the rates charged to other persons or at other places in what are alleged to be comparable conditions. The same Tribunal might have jurisdiction in respect of the obligation to provide reasonable facilities, a matter which at present also has to be determined by a Railway Commission.

But both in respect of reasonable rates and reasonable facilities we think the Tribunal should be protected from being

flooded with applications. We think that by a procedure analogous to that under section 31 of the Railway and Canal Traffic Act, 1888 (commonly known as the Conciliation Clause), application should in the first instance be addressed to the Ministry of Communications. The Ministry should bring the two parties together, not necessarily having regard to the great distances in India, face to face, by the interchange of statements, and should then express its opinion on the merits of the dispute.

We do not think that applicants should be prevented from taking their case to the Tribunal by the fact that the opinion of the Ministry was adverse to their claim. But the question should be considered whether frivolous allegations should not be checked by requiring the deposit with the Tribunal of a certain sum—a figure of Rs. 100 has been suggested—to be dealt with at the discretion of the Tribunal.

We recommend that in cases of importance, either by reason of the amount of money involved or because they raise a question of general principle, there should be an appeal. We suggest that it should lie to the Governor-General in Council—this is in accordance with the Canadian precedent. Leave to appeal might be granted either by the Tribunal itself or by the Governor-General in Council.

Employment of Indians.

At the date of the last report there were employed on the railways of India about 710,000 persons; of these, roughly 700,000 were Indians and only 7,000 Europeans, a proportion of just 1 per cent. But the 7,000 were like a thin film of oil on the top of a glass of water, resting upon but hardly mixing with the 700,000 below. None of the highest posts were occupied by Indians; very few even of the higher. The position of a District Engineer, District Traffic Superintendent, or of an Assistant Auditor is, with one or two exceptions, the highest to which Indians have hitherto attained. The detailed figures in Appendix No. 2 show that, on the principal railways of the country, out of 1,749 posts classed as superior, 182, or rather more than 10 per cent., are filled by Indians. Of the 182 Indians, 158 occupy posts as assistant district officers in the various departments; 24 have reached the higher grade of district officers.

Case Against State Management.

The report on future management signed by Sir H. P. Burt, Sir R. N. Mookerjee, Sir A. R. Anderson, Sir G. C. Godfrey and Sir H. Ledgard states :—

This issue of State *versus* Company management is not such a clean-cut one as might appear at first sight, especially to those who advocate State management without any qualification ; for it is not a question whether from now onwards all railways in India should be managed by the State or whether all should be managed by the companies. On the one hand it is agreed that the position as regards at least one State railway, the North-Western, cannot for strategical considerations be altered ; and on the other hand there is the case of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway Company, between whom and the Secretary of State there is a contract which is not terminable for more than a quarter of a century hence, in 1950. The company system cannot therefore be extended to the former, and, as for the latter it appears to us that prudential considerations alone forbid the pronouncement of a permanent policy for meeting the circumstances which may exist at that advanced date. It is clear, therefore, and it must be recognised at the outset as fundamental to a proper consideration of the question, that for many years to come the dual system of both State and company operation must remain in force.

There is another fundamental fact of which the Indian public are perhaps not generally aware or sufficiently appreciative, but which has been brought prominently to the notice of the Committee through evidence ; and that is that owing to the effects of the war on Indian finance the Central Government will be unable for at least the next decade, and probably for much longer, to finance the railway system to the extent which the development of the country demands. It is admitted on all hands that the State in the past has been fitful and parsimonious in its contributions to railways ; it is this failure on the part of the State to provide for the crying needs of rail transport which is responsible more than anything else for the complaints made by the public against railways, and though a separate railway budget which has been suggested is administratively possible, and may conceivably give more stabilisation, this will not in itself produce more money.

The immediate problem which we have to consider resolves itself into the question what should be done in the case of the two guaranteed companies whose contracts are terminable in the near future, the East Indian Railway and the Great Indian Peninsula Railway, in 1924, and 1925 respectively. The next would be the Burma Railway in 1928, followed at intervals by other railways till 1950, when the contract with the Bengal-Nagpur Railway Company falls in. The importance of the question is greater than is suggested by the mention of the two railways whose contracts shortly expire, because their mileage is approximately one-third of the total mileage of all the guaranteed companies' lines in India, about 6,000 out of 19,000 miles, and they form the great arteries of the Indian system connecting the two largest cities, Bombay and Calcutta, with each other and with the capital at Delhi.

The problem raises two issues ; in the first place, whether the management of company railways by London Boards should continue, or whether the management should be located in India. This issue has been partially settled by the decision of the Secretary of State, that the management of the East Indian Railway should be moved to India after the expiry of the present contract in 1924. We need not discuss further the arguments for and against a continuance of the London Boards. The weight of evidence in India rejects the present system of management by companies domiciled in England, and for the reasons stated and notwithstanding the valuable services rendered by the companies in the past, we are in agreement that that system should be changed, according as the several contracts can be determined.

As regards the second issue, whether, if the complete control be in India, management should be by a company or by the State, it is desirable in the first instance to summarise briefly in the case for each policy, as set forth in the recorded evidence of the Committee. The opinions elicited are very divergent.

It has been suggested that in India there is no company management in the ordinary meaning of the words, and that the system which exists there at present has not worked and cannot be made to work satisfactorily. The system is that the State owns the lines and contracts with companies

to work them. There are certain faults in the way in which the system has been worked, but these are capable of elimination—they are not inherent in the system.

The difficulties referred to above which have so seriously hindered the railway administrations in India in meeting trade demands and providing better accommodation for passengers, particularly for the third class, afford no proof that the company system must be a failure and no argument in favour of complete nationalisation. In fact the latter might well result in perpetuating and even accentuating the timid financial policy to which we have referred, as it is on record that the companies repeatedly and strenuously pressed for greater liberality in expenditure. The working of the company system as evolved for India can only be judged in the light of the financial difficulties which have surrounded it at every turn. Freed from these difficulties, which are certainly not inseparable from the system, it has in our opinion great national advantages suitable for any country, in that it ensures the larger share of any profits which may be made from the railways going into the coffers of the State, while avoiding the extravagance and other serious disadvantages of State management through a vast and growing bureaucracy.

We desire to emphasise this aspect of the case as strongly as possible. Reliance on Government for providing the necessary funds for railway purposes has been tried for many years and found to be altogether wanting. We have during the current year the curious spectacle of Government in its Industries Department doing all it can to encourage trade development, and in its Finance Department failing to supply funds necessary for the development of its transport services on which industries depend. We can see no reason for thinking that Government will be in a position to provide year by year the large sums needed for railway purposes, and we have given our reasons for coming to that conclusion. The future holds out little hope that greater reliance can be placed on Government in this connection, and we are convinced that the position will never be remedied if Government loans are alone relied upon to secure the vast amounts required for railway purposes. The extreme importance therefore of finding new sources for the supply of capital is evident.

On a review of all these considerations, it appears to us that in the interests of India it is as necessary as it is desirable that its railways should be worked as far as possible by company rather than by State agency, and we believe there will be no difficulty in evolving a scheme of company management in India which will meet the legitimate aspirations and claims of all sections of the community, will satisfy both political and industrial interests, will relieve the financial situation and will at the same time, give an opportunity for the harmonious co-operation of both Indians and Europeans in the working of the great and vital industries of the country and thereby ensure the rapid development of the resources of India for the benefit of all. We do not think State management can be relied upon to secure the same results.

Two constructive schemes

We now put forward two constructive schemes for this end. Taking the line that, as between Government and a new (Indian) East Indian Railway Company, there is no reason to complicate matters by taking into account the question of direct obligations, which at the end of 1924 Government will be under, towards the late shareholders, annuitants, and debenture holders of the existing English company, it is easy to suggest the outlines of a contract which should give the new company a reasonable return for its capital and remuneration for its services as managing agency.

If the East Indian Railway's net earnings at the end of 1924 over a period of three years, have averaged about Rs. 8 crores per annum and if 6 per cent. be the then prevailing and estimated future value of money, then the capital value of the line will be about Rs. 134 crores, and this might be taken as a basis for negotiation. A new limited liability company might then be promoted with rupee capital, domiciled in India with its headquarters at Calcutta, the present headquarters of the system. The company would have a nominal capital of, say Rs. X plus 50 crores, of which Rs. X would represent the Government share capital, the balance of 50 crores being the authorised new share capital, of which about 25 crores might be called up in the first few years.

Interest at 1 per cent. less than the prevailing rate from time to time for Government loans, on the paid-up public share capital, should be a first charge against the net earnings. Government must guarantee this return in order to ensure public confidence and make the shares a trustee security, but in reality this rate of interest would unquestionably be met from the net earnings, and the guarantee would therefore be purely nominal. Interest at the same rate on the Government share capital (X) should next be charged, and the balance of net earnings should be regarded as surplus profits to be divided between the Government and the public shareholders in proportion to their respective holdings. The amount to be assumed for X must be determined on a reasonable basis.

Under the foregoing scheme the Government liabilities towards the old East Indian Railway Company are liabilities of the general revenues of India, and would be a matter for Government to deal with quite apart. But if preferred, an arrangement could be made which we call the second scheme, based on the booked capital outlay for the line, under which the interest on the outstanding liabilities would have to be specially provided for as first charges against earnings of the new company. In this case, the amount of such charges and liabilities, and the amount to be taken as Government capital in the company, would need detailed investigation, but if capital outlay be taken as the Government holding in the new company, it would be equitable that Government should receive a fixed proportion, say one-third of the surplus profits, before division, in recognition of its ownership and guarantee.

It should be noted that under both the foregoing schemes, the actual terms and fixation of capital must be settled in the light of the financial conditions prevailing at the time the contract is made.

General Provision.

Whichever of the foregoing alternatives be chosen, the following general provisions would apply ;—

(a) The company with the sanction of the majority of the shareholders, which in effect would mean Government,

should have the power of raising further capital when required.

(b) The Government of India should have the right to acquire the shares subscribed by the public at a stated period, by giving six or twelve months' notice, and at such reasonable premium as may be agreed at the inception of the company.

(c) The Board should consist of 10 Directors ; five to be elected by the outside shareholders and five to be nominated by Government. It is desirable that half the number of Directors should be Indians.

(d) Government should have the right to nominate a chairman from among the 10 members ; the chairman should have a casting vote.

(e) The management should rest with the Board of Directors as is usual in commercial concerns, except so far as legislation intervenes and except in such matters as control of rates, allocation of capital and revenue expenditure and service to be rendered to the State.

(f) Should there be any disagreement between the nominated and the elected Directors which necessitates the exercise of the chairman's casting vote, the matter should be referred to the Government of India, if the minority so desire.

Let us now consider the advantages of a scheme of this nature and the possible objections. The experiment of having an Indian domiciled company is certainly worthy of trial, while it would not form an irrevocable policy when existing contracts expire at later dates. As regards advantages, we consider that in the first place Indian public opinion will obtain full recognition without the bureaucratising of a commercial organisation. The Government of India, as now constituted under the Reform Scheme, will provide sufficient assurance that such opinion will not be disregarded ; and the remedy against complaints such as unduly favourable treatment of foreign trade, if it exists in competition with internal trade, will lie with the Tribunal which the Committee have unanimously recommended should be set up. Moreover, the members of the Legislative Assembly will be able to keep themselves fully acquainted with the internal working of the railway through their countrymen on the Board of Directors,

In the second place, we hold that the appointment of Indians to high administrative posts and the promotion of successful meritorious Indians from subordinate to higher grades will be better secured under this scheme than on State-managed railways. The proposal will afford to educated Indians the best possible opportunities and facilities for learning the management and control of large commercial and public undertakings, and give them an opportunity of becoming equally competent with trained Europeans in direction and management. This is one of the most important grounds which lead Indian opinion at present to desire State management; but we believe that by our proposal their object can be achieved in a more direct and definite way.

Whatever may have been the case in the past, India is now at the parting of the ways; and, simultaneously with political reform, reform in commercial and industrial development is essential. No country can prosper politically without industrial prosperity; and this cannot be secured merely by increasing the number of Government employes.

Financing the Railways.

A third advantage is to be found in this new method of financing Indian railways. According to our reference it is a primary duty to suggest means of raising sufficient funds for the development of Indian railways. The difficulties in regard to finance of the Government in India and of companies in England have already been indicated; and on political ground it is desirable to limit India's indebtedness to the non-resident investor. Now, the scheme which we suggest will, we are confident, achieve our object in finding a new market in India. By the Government guarantee of a fair rate of interest such trust money as requires investment will be attracted; and there is a great probability, nay, almost a certainty, that a large amount of money from insurance companies which have of late been rapidly growing in India, will become available. It will have the further advantage of tapping a new field of investors in India itself, to whom a guarantee with additions based on a share of the profits will naturally appeal; for there are many grades of possible investors in India ranging between the public trustee and the speculator.

The first loan of the new company will undoubtedly receive a great impetus from what may be described as patriotic motives—as was the case in connection with the issue of the loan for the Development Scheme in Bombay—and when the practice is established of investing in railways, it is likely to become permanent. Moreover, the amount required for the East India Railway will, we are informed, not be likely to exceed 4 crores a year for a reasonable period in the future ; and we are confident that with good security and the prospect of a satisfactory dividend, the amount will be forthcoming in India itself, if not entirely from Calcutta.

It may be argued by way of general criticism of our scheme that Government must in some way or another find the money for railway development, presumably by fresh borrowings or increased taxation, if it is asked to do so. But the facts should be faced ; increased taxation has already been applied to meet the deficit of the present year (1921-22) and there is a heavy burden of floating debt. If, as it is hoped, Government may at some later period be in a position to raise larger sums than at present for the requirements of railways in India, there will be ample scope for utilising that money, first, in bringing State-managed railways to greater efficiency ; secondly, in providing funds for the guaranteed company railways which will still remain under contracts ; and, thirdly, in constructing the many new lines which are so urgently required. Moreover, past history cannot be ignored. the Government have regularly and continuously failed, and even refused to attempt, to raise the funds so badly required for the railways of the country.

We consider we have evolved a practical scheme of management through an Indian domiciled company which will prove to be in the interests both of India and of her people ; and in putting it forward we desire to emphasise that company management of this kind has not yet been tried on railways in India, and that those who criticise company management for reason chiefly directed against the boards in London cannot be regarded as opponents of a system which has not yet existed. When our scheme is introduced, we are confident that the public, European and Indian alike, will find many advantages in it, and will appreciate that the country is in a fair way to escape the dangers of railway nationalisation.

THE REPORT OF THE Railway Finance Committee.

By the middle of December 1921 the report of the Railway Finance Committee appointed by the Legislative Assembly to consider matters arising out of the Ashworth Committee Report concerning the question of separation of railway from general finance and the requirements of railways in regard to capital expenditure during the next ten years was published. The Committee considered that both on point of principle and as a practicable proposition, railway finances could not be separated from the general budget, either just at present or in the immediate future, till the conditions became more normal and the financial equilibrium was re-established. Not only the separation would involve surrender by the Central Government of Railways as a source of revenue, which it would be, in the existing state of Indian finance, impracticable to replace, but it would materially disturb the financial equilibrium which was assumed when the Reforms were inaugurated. For instance, the Meston Committee assumed that the Central Government would derive a net revenue of no less than Rs. ten and three-fourth crores from Railway net gains. The point of practical importance, however, was whether the State should guarantee the Railway a definite supply of capital funds over a certain period of years, thus stopping the present practice, under which funds not used by the Railways in a particular year lapsed at the end of that year. The Committee thought that the case for the provision of a larger capital for the immediate rehabilitation and the betterment of the existing lines was amply proved, and also it would be uneconomical to refuse to the Railway Administration funds necessary to complete the works now under construction. In their opinion the above two requirements must take precedence over any new lines. They added that the guaranteed programme extending over a course of years was almost as important as the provision of larger funds. On full consideration, the Committee did not advise, both from the financial and

administrative point of view, to look as far ahead as ten years referred to in their terms of reference. They suggested that the programme should be prepared on a five years' basis, provision for each quinquennial period being considered about two years before the termination of the existing period. This system, they said, would necessarily imply that there should be no lapse of money voted in one year and not spent in that year. As to the extent of the programme, the Committee said that they had taken into account the actual needs of the open lines for the rehabilitation and improvement, any commitments of Government in regard to other capital liabilities, and the probable capacity of money markets to supply the necessary loan funds.

After weighing all the factors, they agreed to recommend that the minimum demand put by the Railway Board, namely, the expenditure of Rs. 150 crores, in the next five years should be provided. They recognised that the provision of funds of this amount might involve supplementing the Indian loans by outside borrowing, provided such borrowing were effected in the cheapest market.

The Committee did not fail to lay great emphasis on the improvement of the conditions of travel of Third Class passengers.

As to new lines, though the Committee contemplated the provision for new lines they felt that in order to improve the coal position certain feeder lines opening up new coal fields should be constructed by the State, failing which private enterprise should be encouraged in the construction of such lines on branch line terms under conditions *inter alia* demanding that a guarantee should be given only to the companies domiciled in India with a substantial Indian element in their directorate and raising only rupee capital, and that should such companies work their own lines, they should engage to apply the same rule as have been or may be laid down for the proportion of Indians to be employed in the higher ranks of the State Railway's establishment.

The report of the Committee was unanimous.

Resolutions on the Indian Public Services

DELHI, 27TH NOVEMBER 1921

The Government of India published at Delhi on 8 November 1921 the following two important resolutions, the first relating to the terms which will be granted to officers who wish to retire prematurely from service consequent on the changed conditions brought about by the Reforms Act, and the second dealing with the right of officers to retire under the ordinary regulations.

The first resolution runs as follows :—

In their report on Clause 36 of the Government of India Bill of 1919 the Joint Committee observed, "the Committee think that every precaution should be taken to secure to the public servants the career in life to which they looked forward when they were recruited, and they have introduced fresh provisions into this clause to that end. If friction occurs a readjustment of persons and places may often get over the difficulty and the Governor must always regard it as one of his most important duties to establish a complete understanding between his Ministers and the officers through whom they will have to work. But if there are members of the service whose doubts as to the changes to be made are so deeply rooted that they feel they cannot usefully endeavour to take part in them, then the Committee think it would only be fair to those officers that they should be offered an equivalent career elsewhere if it is in the power of His Majesty's Government to do so, or in the last resort that they should be allowed to retire on such pension as the Secretary of State in Council may consider suitable to their period of service."

The principle embodied in this recommendation, namely that public servants the conditions of whose employment have been altered by the constitutional changes introduced by the Act of 1919 could not under certain circumstances be fairly

required to continue in the service of the Crown in India, was accepted by the Secretary of State. The detailed orders necessary to give effect to it have since been the subject of prolonged consideration by the Government of India and the Secretary of State, and the Government of India are now in a position to announce the decision of the Secretary of State in Council regarding applications for permission to retire prematurely and the terms which will be granted to officers whose applications are accepted by the Secretary of State. In framing these terms the object aimed at has been to secure as just a mean as can be devised between an offer which is open to the criticism that few of those in whose interests it is made can afford to avail themselves of it and one so liberal as to seem unfair to those who are willing to remain and play their part in the new order; and while duly recognising the claims of loyal and meritorious service which might have continued both to the public advantage and to the increasing credit of the officer himself, to avoid any unjustifiable addition to the non-effective charges which have to be met from Indian revenues.

The Services.

The constitutional changes introduced by the Act of 1919 have affected the structure of the Central Government and that of the Provincial Governments unequally. The Central Government is still an official Government responsible to the Secretary of State and to Parliament and there has been no such alteration in the conditions of service of officers employed under it as would justify a relaxation of the rules governing retirement and pensions. For the present, therefore, and pending any further constitutional developments which may affect the character of the Central Government, applications for permission to retire prematurely in consequence of the Reforms will be considered only if received from officers who

(1) Are members of the following services :

- (a) The Indian Civil Service.
- (b) The Indian Police Service.
- (c) The Indian Forest Service.
- (d) The Indian Educational Service.
- (e) The Indian Agricultural Service.
- (f) The Indian Service of Engineers.

- (g) The Imperial branch of the civil Veterinary Department.
- (h) Officers of the Indian Medical Service in civil employ.
- (i) Military and other officers holding posts other than listed posts borne on the provincial cadres of any of the above mentioned services ;

(2) who are not permanently employed under the Government of India, that is officers who will not normally serve in future under a Provincial Government ;

(3) who have arrived in India for the first time after joining the service in question on a date antecedent to the 1st January 1920, the Act of 1919 having become law a few days before this date.

All applications must reach local Governments before the 31st March 1924, by which date officers will have had ample opportunity to appreciate the effects of the recent constitutional changes and to arrive at a considered decision. Officers of the services specified who do not apply before that date will not be eligible for a pension on premature retirement in consequence of any constitutional developments which may subsequently take place. In the case of Burma, where the Reformed Constitution is not yet in force, the period will be extended beyond the 31st March 1924 to a date which will be announced hereafter.

Every application must be accompanied by a certificate in the following form : "I consider that the conditions of my service have been radically changed by the introduction of the Reformed Constitution and in consequence thereof I feel unable to serve the Government of India with advantage to the State. I, therefore, desire to be released from the obligations which I undertook in different circumstances."

Applications when received by Local Governments will be forwarded with their recommendations to the Governor-General-in-Council and will be transmitted by him to the Secretary of State whose orders will be required before any officer is finally adjudged entitled to the new concessions. The Secretary of State in Council reserves to himself the right to postpone the acceptance of the resignations of officers until suitable arrangements can be made for their replacement. Officers who are not allowed for this reason to retire immediately will be permitted to retire as soon as the exigencies of the service to which they belong permit.

The compensation normally to be awarded to an officer who is allowed to retire prematurely will be such pension as is appropriate to the conditions and the period of his service. It would be improper, however, to burden Indian revenues with the payment of a pension to any officer who has not completed five years' total service and is, in view of age, in a position probably to take up a new career in life. But in all services alike such officers will be eligible for a gratuity equal to the number of completed years of total service—multiplied by their monthly pay at the date of their retirement. This gratuity will be converted into sterling at the rate of 1s. 9d. per rupee, the ordinary rate for the conversion into sterling of Indian pensions expressed in rupees. The pension to be allowed to officers who have completed more than five years' total service will in all cases be based upon the number of completed years of active service and not of total service. Active service will for this purpose be interpreted in the same way as active service for the purposes of pension in Article 8 of the Civil Service Regulations, war leave being treated for this purpose as privilege leave. The pensions calculated on this basis which will be admissible to officers in the various services are indicated below :

The letter "n" = number of completed years of active service.

(A) Indian Civil Service—The maximum pension of £1,000 is obtainable after 21 years active service. The pension admissible will be £n divided by 21, multiplied by 1,000, subject to a maximum of £1,000 a year.

(B) OFFICERS TO WHOM THE ORDINARY PENSION RULES IN PART FOUR OF THE CIVIL SERVICE REGULATION APPLY—

(1) A maximum ordinary pension of Rs. 6,000 a year is obtainable after 30 years service of which four years may be spent on leave out of India, *i. e.*, the pension of Rs. 6,000 obtainable after 26 years' active service. In addition these officers may obtain additional pensions under Article 475A of the Civil Service Regulations and for the purpose of the present scheme it is assumed that they will qualify for the maximum lower additional pension of Rs. 1,500 per annum making a total of Rs. 7,500 per annum after 26 years active service. The pension admissible will therefore be Rs.n divided by 26 and multiplied by 7,500 a year, subject to a maximum of Rs. 6,000 a year.

(2) Under the provisions of Articles 403 to 404A of the Civil Service Regulations members of certain services are permitted to additional years to their actual qualifying service for superannuation pension but not for any other class of pension. Such officers will, however, be allowed to deduct the number of additional years which they may be entitled to reckon under the articles cited from the divisor 26.

(3) The pension will be converted into sterling at the rate of 1s. 9d. per rupee, the ordinary rate for the conversion into sterling of Indian pensions expressed in Rupees.

(C) **Officers of the Indian Army in civil employ**—Under the provisions of Paragraph 305 of the Army Regulations, India, Volume 2, an Indian Army Officer remains on the effective list of the Army and is eligible for reversion to military employment until he is placed on the supernumerary list on the expiration of ten years from the date of his original transfer to civil employment. An officer not so placed but who desires to take advantage of the concessions set out in this resolution will first be given an opportunity of returning to military employment and he will not be eligible for any of them unless the Army is unable or unwilling to absorb him.

The ordinary maximum pension obtainable by an Indian Army officer in civil employment is £800 a year. This pension is obtainable after approximately 30 years' total service and for the present purpose it may be assumed that of this period about five years might have been spent on furlough. The pension admissible to these officers will therefore be $£25 \div 25 \times 800$ subject to a maximum of £800 a year.

(D) **Officers of the Indian Medical Service IN CIVIL EMPLOY.**—An officer of the Indian Medical Service who desires to take advantage of these rules will similarly be given first an opportunity of returning to military employment and he will not be allowed any concession under this resolution unless the Army is unable or unwilling to absorb him.

Under the ordinary rules pensions are admissible to officers of the Indian Medical Service after 17 years' total service. Special provision is therefore required only for officers of less than 17 years' total service. The pension after 17 years total service is £400 a year of which three years may be assumed to have been spent on furlough and the pension admissible to

those officers will, therefore, be £ *n* divided by 14 multiplied by 400 subject to a maximum of £400 a year.

In addition to the gratuity or pension admissible to an officer under Paragraph 4 a gratuity equal to the actual cost of first class fares and passages from his last place of employment in India to his new home for the officer himself and for his wife and children if in India, or in the case of passages, free passages of the same number and class will be granted to an officer in India at the time when he retires or goes on leave preparatory to retirement under the terms of this resolution provided that he actually proceeds to some other part of the British Empire. No officer will be entitled to receive any gratuity under this if he is entitled to the maximum pension specified for his service in (4). The gratuity will be payable under the orders of the Local Government under whom the officer is serving when he actually retires or proceeds on leave preparatory to retirement and after the Secretary of State has approved of his admission in due course to the benefits of this resolution.

An officer who desires to retire under the terms set out in this resolution will ordinarily be allowed to take the full amount of leave admissible to him under the regulations for the time being in force subject to the condition that it shall expire in the 31st March, 1924. After that date officers will normally only be allowed to take the privilege leave admissible to them. It will, however, be within the competence of the Local Government to grant leave which will extend after that date to an officer who has given notice of his intention to retire under these rules before that date if he has enjoyed no leave after the date of this resolution and has after the date of this resolution formally applied to Government for it and been refused leave.

Indian Civil Service Family Pension.—In order to secure suitable provision for the widows and orphans of members of the Indian Civil Service, contributions are compulsorily deducted from their salaries during their period of service. A *pro forma* account is maintained of the receipts and payments, and the contributions levied are so adjusted that the pensions provided by the regulations shall not bring any charge on Indian Revenue in excess of the amount specially sanctioned in aid of the pensions and for the cost of management. Members of this Service, who desire to retire

under the terms of this resolution, will naturally desire to be informed of the family pension terms, which will be admissible to them. These will be as follows, according to the three permissible alternatives for which the officer elects :—

(A). He may cease to make any contributions and payments under the regulations, and he will retain only the right to a proportion of the contingent benefits under the regulations for his wife and children existing on the date of retirement and for any children subsequently born to that wife. This proportion shall be equal to the number of his completed years of total service divided by 25, and the calculations shall be based upon the pension admissible to the widow of an officer of the class to which he belongs at the time of his retirement.

(B). He may continue up to his 55th birthday (the age up to which an officer, who resigns the service before becoming entitled to a pension under the ordinary rules, is required to continue to subscribe) if permitted to do so at all, to make contributions under the regulations at the rates payable by him at the date of retirement, and he will then retain the right to the full contingent benefits admissible under the regulations according to his class on the date of his retirement for his wife existing at the date of retirement and for any children by her, whether born before or after retirement. Under this alternative, subscriptions will be payable under the ordinary regulations for each child, whether born before or after retirement. Further, the widow's pension under the regulations varies with the class of an officer at his death, and in this case the right to the contingent widow's benefit retained will be limited to the scale applicable to her if her husband had died at the time of retirement.

(C) He may continue up to his 54th birthday to make contributions and payments under the regulations at the rates which would have been payable by him from time to time had he remained in the service. In this case he will retain the full benefits admissible under the regulations as if he had remained in the service until death or retirement with an ordinary pension. The Secretary of State in Council will make good to the Indian Civil Service Family Pension Fund, under a suitable procedure, any loss which those concessions may be estimated to throw upon it.

A few minor points remain for settlement, e. g., the family pension terms which will be admissible to Indian Army Officers and the conditions upon which the commutation of pensions admissible under Paragraph 4 will be allowed. The decisions on these points will be announced later.

The second resolution mentioned above runs as follows :—

The Governor-General in Council has separately announced the special terms sanctioned by the Secretary of State in Council for officers retiring prematurely in consequence of the introduction of Constitutional Reforms. It is considered desirable to announce at the same time, the undermentioned general decisions of the Secretary of State in Council as to the right of officers to retire under the ordinary regulations. Note S. under Article 465-A of the Civil Service Regulations, which was introduced with the new pension rules announced on November 15, 1919, reserved to Government an absolute right to decline to permit an officer to retire before reaching the age of superannuation, should it be necessary in the public interests to retain his services. This note has, it is understood, led members of the Services to fear that it may, in the future, be difficult to secure permission to retire before the age of superannuation. Indeed, certain officers, it is believed, have, on this account, refused to accept the new pension rules. In order to allay this apprehension, it has been decided—

(a) In the case of officers in service on November 15, 1919, to substitute for the rule in Note 2, under Article 565-A of the Civil Service Regulations a rule giving the right to retire, subject to six months notice, and

(b) In the case of officers who have joined, or who may join the service after that date, to substitute for the rule in Note 2 a new rule corresponding to the rule in the Article 561 of the Civil Service Regulations (which has always been applicable to members of the Indian Civil Service) and permitting them to retire on pension under the ordinary rules when their resignations have been accepted. Any officer who may have declined to elect to come under the provisions of the new pension rules, because of his objection to this Note, may now elect in writing before March 31, 1922, to do so. This option applies also to any person who may have retired already after the announcement of the new pension terms in November 1919.

APPENDICES

Proceedings of
The Indian National Congress
& other Conferences
1921-22

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APPENDIX II

On Gandhi & Gandhism

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A PEN PICTURE OF The Ahmedabad Congress

BY M. K. GANDHI

THE Congress week was a week of joy and celebration. None thought that Swaraj was not attained. Every one seemed to be conscious of the growing national strength. There was confidence and hope written in every face. The Reception Committee had provided for admitting one hundred thousand visitors to the Congress pandal. But the lowest calculation puts down the figure at *two lacs*. The rush was so great that it became impossible to issue either season tickets or the entrance tickets. And this phenomenal attendance would have been still larger if all kinds of false rumours had not been started to scare away people. The imprisonment of leaders and workers and their courage has filled the people with a new hope and a new joy. There was a feeling in the air that the people had found in suffering the surest remedy for the attainment of freedom and breaking down the mightiest force that might be pitted against it.

The Constitution has worked for a year, and in my humble opinion, it has proved a thorough success. There was a serious business air about the Subjects Committee which had ample time for deliberation. It was a committee not chosen hap-hazard, but deliberately by electors who knew what they were doing. The Congress itself was an impressive spectacle. Hakimji made an ideal and patient President in the place of Deshabandhu Chitta Ranjan Das. The delegates insisted upon their doubts being solved before they voted. They insisted on understanding everything that was going on.

Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel, Chairman of the Reception Committee, took no more than fifteen minutes to read his address in Hindi. There were no speeches to induct the President. The whole of the function was performed by the All-India Congress Committee. That saved at least two hours of the twelve thousand delegates and visitors. The President's

address took no more than twenty minutes. Every speech was to the point and not a minute was allowed to be wasted in idle talk.

In the nature of things, too, it could not well be otherwise. The resolutions were addressed to the nation. They presented a programme of earnest work that had got to be done if the nation was to find her place in the world.

Extraordinary care was therefore taken both in the Subjects Committee and the Congress to see that the resolutions were properly understood before they were voted upon.

So much for the business side.

The Exhibition.

The spectacular was no less impressive. The pandal itself was a majestic structure covered with Khadi all over. The arches also of Khadi, the Subjects Committee pandal of Khadi. A beautiful fountain surrounded by green lawns ornamented the front of the pandal. At the back was a large pandal for overflow meetings where all that had gone in the Congress pandal was explained to the thousands of spectators, men and women, who could not gain entrance for love or money.

The whole ground was a blaze of light at night, and being on the river bank and just at the end of Ellis Bridge, presented for full eight days for thousands of admiring spectators on the other side a gorgeous appearance.

The Exhibition ground was quite near. It attracted huge crowds. It was a complete success. The attendance was beyond all expectation, no less than forty thousand visited the Exhibition daily. It was a unique demonstration of what India can produce. The chief attraction was the party from Chikacole who demonstrated all the processes of cotton leading to the drawing out of yarn up to 100 counts. No machinery could possibly make the snow-like silvers that the delicate hands of the women of Andhra produced with their simple bones. No machine could draw the exquisite thread that the delicate fingers of the Andhra women drew. The music of the spindle, as it performed its gentle revolution, is incapable of being reproduced. The evolution that Khadi has undergone during the year could also be studied in a room where every variety of Khadi was collected. The

paintings from Shantiniketan and elsewhere, and the beautiful carvings, afforded instruction to the close student as well as the ordinary spectator. The musical concerts in which musicians from all parts of India took part was an irresistible attraction for thousands of spectators. It ended in the convening by Vishnu Digamber Shastri of the first All-India Musical Conference whose object is to popularise music in national assemblies and organise Bhajan Mandalis.

Khadi in Evidence.

The Khadi Nagar, the adjoining Muslim Nagar, and the Kbilafat pandal next to it, were a triumphant demonstration of Hindu-Muslim unity and an ocular demonstration of the hold that Khadi has on the public. The Reception Committee used only Khadi manufactured in Gujrat and worth three hundred and fifty thousand rupees. The Committee paid Rs. 60,000 for the use of the Khadi. All the tents including a big kitchen and store-house were covered with Khadi. Nearly two thousand volunteers, both Hindu and Mussalman, and including a few Parsis and Christians, looked after all the arrangements for the guests in both Khadi Nagar and Muslim Nagar.

The sanitary arrangements were a special feature. Trenches were dug for the purpose. Perfect privacy was secured by Khadi partitions. And the excreta were covered over with clean earth after every time the trench was used. It was therefore found to be in a clean condition. The work of attending to the trenches was done not by paid Bhagis but by unpaid volunteers belonging to all castes and religions. Those only were taken who had no repugnance to this necessary work. The reader may not know that the process is so clean and so expeditious that the cleaner does not have to touch either the excreta or the earth. He has but to take a few shovelfuls of the cleanest earth, and with it carefully cover up the dirt. The result of this simple attention was that the camp was clean, sweet and free from the plague of this. All the camps were lighted by electricity.

Women's Conference.

I must not omit to mention the Women's Conference presided over by Bi Amma, the brave mother of the Ali Brothers. It was a soul-stirring spectacle. The whole of the spacious

pandal was filled by no less than fifteen thousand women. I do not say that they all understood what was going on. But I do say that they knew instinctively what it was. They knew that their assembly advanced India's cause and that they were expected to play their part side by side with men.

In the midst of all this rush there was, so far as I am aware, no accident. The police, be it said to their credit, never interfered with anything or any body. On the Congress side of the bridge all arrangements were left to the Congress and the Khilafat volunteers.

The Dark Side.

So far I have given the bright side of the picture. But like every picture the Congress picture too has its shades. Though there was the greatest enthusiasm, there was at times unruliness on the part of the visitors. When they grew impatient they made a rush for the pandal and forced entrance once or twice. It was all good-humoured but it could also prove disastrous. We must be able to regulate such functions in perfect order and that is possible only when the mass of people instinctively and voluntarily obey instructions from their own men. Self-restraint is the key to Swaraj, self-government. Even the delegates were not all punctilious in obeying instructions. Some of them would not even occupy the blocks reserved for them. They did not hesitate even to suggest that they were out for civil disobedience and would therefore sit where they liked. Even some members of the All India Congress Committee were not above such uncivil criminal disobedience. Some delegates would not pay for their board and lodging. And I am sorry to say that there was even impersonation by at least one Gujarati who used a friend's ticket as visitor although he knew that the ticket bore his friend's name and that it was non-transferable. What adds to the grief is that he is a well-known member of the Provincial Congress Committee.

And After.

When, therefore, I think of the darker side of the picture, my heart sinks within me. I know why there is delay in our realising our ideal. But when I think of the brighter side, the picture is too attractive to enable the shades materially to mar

its beauty. At the same time it would not do for us to be forgetful and relax our vigilance. The movement depends for its success only upon developing our moral strength. Even as one false note spoils a whole musical piece, so does a single individual suffice to crush a great movement like ours. Let us remember that we have staked our all upon Truth and Non-violence. Whatever others may be able to do being free from any such pledge, bound by our own pledge we are sure to fall to pieces, if we break our own deliberate pledge. As, therefore, I have often said in these pages, the thorough working of the Congress Constitution leads automatically to the establishment of Swaraj. Let us see.

Financial.

Though the All-India Congress Committee has a fair balance still at hand, the provinces undoubtedly will have used up the monies left with them. They have an automatic source of income. Every Congress member is able to pay four annas per year to enable him to retain his or her vote. If, therefore, each province has its quota of members, it must be able to collect at least Rs. 50,000, counting two lacs to be the least number on the roll of membership. I have been told that this is merely a mirage, that it costs more to collect the amount than it is worth. A government that spends more than it earns is a despotic or a corrupt government. The Congress is claimed to be a voluntary organisation. And if we are unable to collect our subscriptions at a nominal cost, we have no right to exist. Under Swaraj we shall expect to get our revenue at no more than 2-1/2 per cent cost, and then not by force but by the free will of the people. The least therefore that we are entitled to expect is that every province must now be able to finance itself. It ought not to be difficult again to get at least one crore members, *i. e.* twenty five lacs of rupees throughout all India for membership. Indeed if we are a growingly popular organisation, say government, we should be able to double our membership. We should be able to have enough number of unpaid honest volunteers to do just this one work of collection and no more. If we have not them we must declare our bankruptcy. If we represent a healthy and natural growth, we must be able to collect this nominal personal annual tax without any effort

whatsoever. And as with the Congress organisations, so with its many institutions, colleges, schools, weaving factories, etc. No institution is worth keeping that does not command local support by reason of its own moral strength. Only that institution is a necessity in a district which is supported by its inhabitants. The biggest missionary institutions financed from America or England are a superimposition and have nowhere been assimilated by the people. If the missionaries had from the very commencement relied purely upon the goodwill and support of the people, they would have rendered infinitely greater service to India. Even so, if Congress organisations and institutions are supported from the central body, they are likely to become foreign growths and hardly beneficial to the people. It may be laid down as a general rule that no local institution should exist which is not locally supported. Self-reliance is the surest test of capacity for self-government. It is possible that there are places or provinces which have not yet become self-conscious. They will need to be developed and helped in the initial stages. They cannot to-day be counted in any scheme of battle we may devise. In this swift struggle we must rely only upon those places that have developed political consciousness. It must therefore be in the rarest cases that the central body may be expected to finance local effort.

Untouchability

Similarly, we must make a herculean effort to deal with the question of untouchability. Not until the 'untouchables' certify to the reformation in Hinduism, may we claim to have done anything in the matter. To my dismay, I have found much misunderstanding on this question even in one of the most advanced and best awakened provinces, namely Andhra. The removal of untouchability means the abolition of the fifth caste. There should therefore be no objection to a *Panchama* boy drawing water from the common well of a village and to his attending its common school. He should freely exercise all the rights of a non-Brahmin. In the name of religion we Hindus have made a fetish of outward observances, and have degraded religion by making it simply a question of eating and drinking. Brahmanism owes its unrivalled position to its self-abnegation, its inward purity, its

severe austerity,—all these illumined by knowledge. Hindus are doomed if they attach undue importance to the spiritual effects of foods and human contacts. Placed as we are in the midst of trials and temptations from within, and touched and polluted as we are by all the most untouchable and the vilest thought currents, let us not, in our arrogance, exaggerate the influence of contact with people whom we often ignorantly and more often arrogantly consider to be our inferiors. Before the Throne of the Almighty we shall be judged, not by what we have eaten, nor by whom we have been touched, but by whom we have been served and how. In as much as we serve a single human being in distress, we shall find favour in the sight of God. Bad and stimulating or dirty foods we must avoid as we must avoid bad contact. But let us not give these observances a place out of all proportion to their importance. We dare not use abstinence from certain foods as a cover for fraud, hypocrisy, and worse vices. We dare not refuse to serve a fallen or dirty brother lest his contact should injure our spiritual growth.

Hindu-Muslim Unity.

There is still much left to be desired as to Hindu-Muslim unity. The combination is still suspected to be a menace to the free existence and growth of the small communities. Let us not repeat the mistakes of the past regarding our attitude towards the Moderates or the Independents. They must not feel unsafe in our company but by our toleration we must disarm their suspicion and opposition except as to our deeds.

Civil Disobedience.

We dare not pin our faith solely to civil disobedience. 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. The use of civil disobedience will be healthy, necessary and effective only if we otherwise conform to the laws of growth. We must therefore give its full, and therefore greater, value to the adjective 'civil' than to 'disobedience'. Disobedience without civility, discipline, discrimination, non-violence, is certain destruction. Disobedience combined with love is the living

water of life. Civil disobedience is a beautiful variant to signify growth, it is not discordance which spells death.

THE CONGRESS IN SESSION.

The momentous annual session of the Thirty-sixth Indian National Congress opened its session at Ahmedabad on December, 27th 1921 under a specially erected pandal on the bank of the river Sabarmati.

The pandal itself, a majestic structure admirably planned and covered all over with pure white *khadi* (hand-spun and hand-woven), presented an imposing appearance. The exterior resembled that of an ancient Indian Fort with three gates. The main *Swaraj gate* bearing the motto "Swaraj is my birth-right", inscribed just above the central arch with a *charka* immediately beneath, fixed in bold relief stood as the noble gateway to India's freedom.

With the change of India's political atmosphere the Congress also had changed its methods. Every thing had business-like appearance and was devoid of superfluities. The decorations inside the pandal though simple were yet attractive. Changes in sitting arrangements were one of its features. The dais was slightly raised from the ground sloping towards the centre.

Quite in oriental fashion the whole audience squatted on the ground, the sand floor covered with Khadi serving the purpose of cushion. Only the acting President and Mahatma Gandhi were provided with stools to write on and the press representatives were supplied with desks.

The audience was composed of the three thousand members of the Reception Committee, five thousand delegates from the several provinces of India and four thousand visitors. Mahatma Gandhi wrote in his *Young India* :—

An Instructive Table.

By the courtesy of the Secretary of the Reception Committee I am able to give the following table showing the number of delegates who attended the Congress and their composition :—

Number of Delegates

| Name of Provinces. | No. of delegates under the Constitution. | Actual Arrivals. |
|---------------------|--|------------------|
| Andhra | 360 | 383 |
| Kerala | 160 | 33 |
| Maharashtra | 292 | 263 |
| Karnataka | 320 | 304 |
| Gujarat | 185 | 185 |
| Bombay | 18 | 17 |
| Burma | 100 | 56 |
| Punjab & N. W. F. | 540 | 518 |
| Sindh | 71 | 63 |
| Delhi | 100 | 92 |
| Rajputana | 400 | 399 |
| Utkal | 300 | 108 |
| C. P. (Marathi) | 50 | 44 |
| Assam | 63 | 17 |
| Berar | 61 | 58 |
| Madras | 410 | 162 |
| Bengal | 986 | 373 |
| United Provinces | 960 | 888 |
| C. P. (Hindusthani) | 209 | 205 |
| Bihar | 588 | 559 |
| TOTAL | 6,173 | 4,726 |

Analysis of the Attendance.

| Ladies | Musal. | Parsis | Sikhs | Antyazas | The rest. |
|--------|--------|--------|-------|----------|-----------|
| 8 | 10 | | | | 365 |
| | 1 | | | | 32 |
| 1 | 9 | | | | 253 |
| 9 | 29 | | | | 266 |
| 11 | 22 | 5 | | 2 | 145 |
| 3 | 2 | | | | 15 |
| | 2 | | | | 51 |
| 17 | 67 | | 55 | | 380 |
| 1 | 11 | | | | 51 |
| 7 | 13 | | 4 | | 68 |
| 11 | 13 | | | | 375 |
| | 3 | | | | 105 |
| 1 | 5 | | | | 38 |
| | 2 | | | | 15 |
| 2 | 5 | | | | 5 |
| 2 | 13 | | | | 147 |
| 10 | 36 | | 4 | | 323 |
| 10 | 114 | | 3 | | 761 |
| 6 | 29 | | | | 170 |
| 7 | 83 | | | | 468 |
| 106 | 469 | 5 | 65 | 2 | 4,079 |

It will be noticed that out of the total permissible (6,173, as many as 4,726 attended the Congress. Hitherto the number has been swelled by local delegates who could under the old constitution become delegates for the asking by simply paying Ra. 10. This time not even Pandit Malaviyaji could be regarded as a delegate because he was not elected. The actual attendance of 4,726 was therefore a fine record. That

the United Provinces and Bengal, in spite of so many arrests, could have sent 888 and 373 respectively, and the far off Assam should have sent 17 and Utkal 108, shows the keen interest that is being taken in the National Assembly. No less remarkable is the attendance of 106 lady delegates representing almost all the provinces. The attendance of 65 Sikh delegates must also be regarded as altogether remarkable. Hardly a few Sikhs attended two years ago. But now that community is everywhere pushing itself forward in all national movements. The number of 469 Musalman delegates is a good number, but we must not be satisfied till we have got the full quota which must be more than 1,200. I am sure that there were more than 2 'untouchable' delegates. I cannot imagine the Punjab and the Andhra provinces not sending any such delegates. The presence of 5 Parsi delegates is of course beyond their numerical proportion which is 2. The Parsis, as I have so often remarked, have in proportion to their numbers occupied the foremost place whether in point of sacrifice, attendance, ability or generosity. I know as a matter of fact that there were at least two Christians. And, of course, if Messrs. Stokes and George Joseph had been free, they would have attended. But it is up to the Hindus and the Musalmans to go out of their way to induce a more general interest in the movement on the part of the Christian community.

Visitors

If the attendance of delegates was most satisfactory that of visitors was not less so. The troubled state of the country scared away the richest men, and so not a single ticket for Rs. 5,000 each was taken up; 21 however paid Rs. 1,000 each, 20 paid Rs. 500 each, 162 Rs. 100 each, 81 Rs. 50 each and 1,686 Rs. 25 each, making a total of Rs. 93,400 in receipts. The Reception Committee contributed more than its quota. The total strength was filled up, the receipts being Rs. 78,625. 11,261 Season Tickets of Rs. 3 each were issued permitting attendance everywhere but the Congress Sessions. 64,469 Four Anna Tickets were issued. As I have already remarked the issue of Season and Entrance Tickets had to be stopped owing to the great rush. Altogether Rs. 2,49,527 were received by the Reception Committee in various fees.

Members Present.

Prominent among those present on the dais were Hakim Ajmal Khan, the Acting President, Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel, Chairman, Reception Committee, Mr. C. Vijayaraghavachari, Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar, Dr. Ansari, Mr. Kastouri Ranga Iyengar, Pandit Rambhuj Dutt Chowdhury, Hon. Mr. Bhurgri, Mother of the Ali Brothers, Mrs. Mahomed Ali, Mrs. Motilal Nehru, Mrs. Gandhi, Sreemoti Sarala Devi Choudhurani, Mrs. Sorojini Naidu, Mr. Andrews, Mr. Abbas Tyabjee, Mr. Vithalbhaji J. Patel, Mr. Satyamurti, Mr. Abhyankar, Mr. T. Prakasam, and Dr. T. S. Rajam.

The pandal, all in white, broken only by an artistic display of wreaths of flowers, with twelve thousand audience—dressed in white khadi, the majority having Gandhi caps on—presented a scene which can never be forgotten. Mahatma Gandhi, bare-bodied and bare-footed, having only a loin cloth round his waist, was the centre of attraction and admiration of all.

Address Delivered By
Sj. Vallabhbai Patel
Chairman, Reception Committee
AT THE THIRTY-SIXTH SESSION OF THE
INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
AHMEDABAD, 27TH DECEMBER 1921

In welcoming the Delegates, Mr. Patel, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, addressed the Congress in Hindi. The following is an English translation of his speech.—

Hakimji Sahab, Brother Delegates, Ladies & Gentlemen.—

Never before has the Congress met under auspices such as God has provided for us this year. We seem to be pulsating with joy when we might have been grieving over the separation of our loved and revered workers. I shall not call them leaders; for the year that is about to close on us has taught us that true leadership consists in service. And if we recognise that great and learned Musalmans and Hindus are now having their well-earned rest in the Government jails, we do so because they have served and suffered for us and earned the reward coveted by us and reserved by a Government which pretends to be based on principles of law and order but which is really based on force as is becoming clear day by day.

We had hoped that we would meet to celebrate the establishment of Swaraj and therefore endeavoured to arrange a reception befitting such an occasion. But though we do not meet to celebrate that happy event, God in His abundant mercy has sent us suffering to try us and make us worthy of so precious a gift. And therefore, viewing the imprisonments, assaults, forcible searches, breaking open of our offices and

schools, as a certain sign of the approaching Swaraj, as a balm for the wounds inflicted upon our Musalman brothers and the Punjabees, we have not in any way altered or toned down our decorations, musical programme or other events, betokening joy and arranged for your reception.

But we do not ask you to judge our fitness for the honour of having you in our midst by the adequacy of our arrangements for your comforts and entertainment. I am fully conscious of our defects and the Reception Committee relies upon your generously overlooking them.

The Test.

But the test you imposed upon us and we gladly accepted was our response to the creative programme of Non-Co-operation with its life-giving and central fact of non-violence. Our dissociation from the institutions of a Government which seeks its safety by organising violence in the place of organising free public opinion and giving effect to it, meant our abstention under every circumstance from violence. I can truthfully claim that we have endeavoured to be non-violent in thought, word and deed. We have made a serious, definite effort to purify ourselves by conquering the weak flesh in us.

Hindu-Muslim Unity is its most visible symbol. Whereas hitherto we have distrusted and considered ourselves as natural enemies, we have begun to love each other and live in perfect friendliness. I am proud to be able to inform you that the relations between us have been and are not merely negatively friendly but we have been actively working together for the advancement of the national cause. Similarly we have cultivated sweet relations with our Parsi, Christian and other countrymen. Whilst we have vigorously prosecuted our programme we have endeavoured to retain friendly relations with those who have differed from us. We have recognised that toleration is the essence of non-violence.

As to the renunciation of titles and practice by lawyers we can, I am sorry to say, show nothing of which we can feel proud. The boycott of Councils was certainly extensive so far as voters were concerned. We have a creditable record about education. Some of the best schools and high schools have given up their connection with the Government and are none the worse for it. Attendance in most of the big national

schools is on the increase. We have a National College and a National University to which institutions are affiliated. In the affiliated and other national schools there are 31,000 boys and girls receiving instruction.

Whereas two years ago there was hardly a spinning-wheel working in our Province, to-day there are at least 1,10,000 spinning wheels at work. The output of *Khaddar* during the period under review is no less than two lacs of pounds. We have spent about 5 lacs in organising Swadeshi. The use of *Khaddar* in construction of the various pandals and Khadi Nagar is in my opinion a striking ocular demonstration of our work in the direction of Swadeshi.

In *Temperance* we have resorted to picketting on an extensive scale with encouraging results. We have been most careful in the choice of picketers. They have done their work under trying circumstances and some of them have received injuries at the hands of enraged drinkers and sellers.

We have perhaps made the greatest advance in the matter of *Untouchability*. Our suppressed countrymen freely attend our meetings. The national schools are open to them in theory for which the Senate had to fight a tough battle. In practice, however, there is not yet the insistent canvass to bring the children of these countrymen to our schools and make them feel that they are in no way inferior to our own. Though, therefore, our goal is not to multiply separate schools for such children, we shall be compelled to maintain such schools for such children for some time to come. But the removal of the curse is not to be gauged by the number of schools opened for them or even by their attendance in ordinary national schools. Untouchability is an attitude, and I am glad to be able to note that whilst we have yet much work to do in this direction, it has undergone a most noticeable change.

But I know that we have not passed through the fire of suffering that Bengal, the Punjab, the United Provinces and other Provinces are passing through. I am hoping that our non-violence, to which I have proudly referred, is not non-violence due to helplessness, but that is due to self-imposed restraint. The Government has provided for us an opportunity by taking forcible possession of national schools from the Municipalities of Surat and Nadiad. Ahmedabad has the same problem to solve. And it can only be solved by Civil Disobedience in the

last resort. The *Tehsils* Bardoli and Anand are making elaborate preparations for mass Civil Disobedience. I bespeak the prayers of this great Assembly that God may give us the strength to go through the ordeal of suffering and enable us to stand shoulder to shoulder with other sister Provinces. At the same time I wish to assure you that we shall do nothing reckless, nothing that we as peaceful and peace-loving human beings may not do for the preservation of National self-respect or safe-guarding of National rights.

I now ask Hakim Ajmal Khan Saheb to take the chair as Acting President. Though Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das is not in our midst in the body, his pure, patriotic and self-sacrificing spirit is with us. He has sent his inspiring address full of religious fervour.

In the circumstances created for us by the Bengal Government, the All-India Congress Committee has followed the example of our brethren of the Muslim League when in the absence of Maulana Mahomed Ali, their President, they had to elect an Acting President. I know that in Hakim Ajmal Khan Saheb whom the All-India Congress Committee has elected to act in Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das's place, we have one of the greatest and noblest of our countrymen. For Hakimji is an embodiment of Hindu-Muslim Unity. He commands the confidence and the affection of Hindus and others equally with our Musalman brothers.

Presidential Address

Delivered By

Hakim Ajmal Khan Saheb

AT THE THIRTY-SIXTH SESSION OF THE

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

AHMEDABAD, 27TH DECEMBER 1921.

[Hakim Ajmal Khan, the Acting President, spoke in Urdu. The following is an English translation of his address :—

Brother and sister delegates, ladies and gentlemen :—
For the first time in the history of the Indian National Congress we are assembling under circumstances when, as a result of the latest repressive measures of the British Government in India, our duly elected President is not amongst us. It is a matter of deepest regret to all of us that Mr. C. R. Das is not with us to guide our deliberations to-day. It is superfluous for me to enumerate the numerous national services of that great patriot from Bengal or refer to the prominent place he occupies in the political and social life of our country, when the nation has itself unequivocally said in what esteem it holds him by conferring on him the greatest honour in its giving. But while we regret his absence on that account it should be a matter of deepest satisfaction to us all, both because the man whom the nation had chosen as its chief representative has, by his undaunted courage, splendid self-sacrifice, and spirit of cheerful suffering, proved himself worthy of the great honour conferred on him, and because his arrest brings us a stage nearer to our success. Mr. C. R. Das has done greater service to his country by his arrest than he would probably have done by presiding over our deliberations to-day. His arrest has infused greater spirit and determination into the hearts of national workers and galvanised the entire country to greater activities and sacrifices.

I, however, realised my own inability to fill the place of Mr. C. R. Das and while thanking you for the great trust you have reposed in me by electing me to act for him, I hope and trust that I will prove myself worthy of the great honour you have conferred on me, not only in this pandal, but when the time comes for me to make for my country and my God the sacrifice that it has been the good fortune of many of our noble brethren to make.

Progress of Non-co-operation.

It will take a long time to enter upon a detailed survey of the progress of Non-co-operation movement since the last session of the Indian National Congress. I will only briefly touch on the advance the country has made since the inauguration of non-violent Non-co-operation. The spirit of Non-co-operation pervades throughout the country and there is no true Indian heart even in the remotest corner of this great country which is not filled with the spirit of cheerful suffering and sacrifice to attain Swaraj and see the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs redressed. It has received the highest tribute that a nation could pay to another from our sister nation across the Indian Ocean. Our Egyptian brethren have adopted it to fight their own political battle.* It should be a matter of pride to all of us that India is showing the way to other sister countries. Non-violent Non-co-operation has ceased to be an Indian movement. It is fast becoming an Asiatic movement and the day is not distant when the conscience of the world will adopt non-violent Non-co-operation as a world weapon against universal injustice and untruth. Who can deny the success of the spirit of Non-co-operation movement in India after witnessing the cheerful spirit with which our workers have made and are making willing sacrifices for the cause of their country and are going to gaol in ever increasing numbers with a smile on their lips? What is still more, not even this intense repression has provoked violence. It has only redoubled the national determination. Every successive fit of repression on the part of the Government, whether it was in connection with the confiscation of the

* In their struggle for freedom the Egyptian people, failed in every attempt of armed resistance to the British, at last adopted non-co-operation, though not strictly non-violent, by the end of 1921.

Fatwa of Jama'iat-ul-Ulama, the famous Karachi trial, or the wholesale application of the Seditious Meeting Act, the Criminal Lal Amendment Act, or Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code, by means of which the right of association and the peaceful activities of the Volunteer Organisation together with the other elementary rights of Citizenship were suppressed, have had but one effect, viz. the determination on the part of the people to continue their national activities and to persist in their demand. A ceaseless pilgrimage to the goal is kept up in vindication of the primary rights of citizenship in all the Northern Provinces of India as also in Maharashtra and Andhra. The nation to-day realises the grimness and the gravity of the great struggle it is engaged in and is behaving with the cool determination worthy of heroes fighting for a noble cause.

Nor is the time at which we are waging this noble struggle inopportune. Not only is the conscience of Asia and Africa awake and active but there are signs, feeble no doubt yet full of hope and promise, that the conscience of Europe too is at last rousing itself from its long slumber.

Prince's visit.

I must add one word about the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. We have no quarrel with His Royal Highness. But we do not want a bankrupt Government to re-establish its fallen political credit by making a capital out of his Royal Highness's visit. Nor is the country in a mood to accord the Prince a cordial welcome so long as the two sores of the Khilafat and the Punjab are still running and Swaraj is still unattained. We, therefore, resolved simply to refrain from taking part in the welcome to His Royal Highness. And if there have been any regrettable incidents with consequent bitterness of spirit, the responsibility for it lies entirely at the door of the Government that betrayed such lamentable lack of sense and judgment and acted in a manner utterly unjustifiable.

Success of Non-co-operation.

Our critics say that the Non-co-operation movement has failed and in support of their statement point to the Government Educational Institutions, the ranks of the Title-holders, the members of the new Legislative Councils and the

Bar of the various High Courts. My answer to that, if answer be still needed after what I have just said, is that so far as the Government Educational Institutions are concerned, I would invite the attention of our critics to what the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University had to say on the effect of the Non-co-operation movement. That result was achieved in spite of the fact that we had not made provisions for a sufficient number of National Colleges and National Schools for the students who left their institutions. As to the Title holders and Members of the New Legislative Councils, the classes which would naturally not be the first to respond to such an appeal, what is their position? Where is their prestige to-day? It has fallen lower than the Czarist rouble.* The Government may still manufacture and place them in the market but the public simply does not care for them. And after all it is the public opinion that gives them value and currency. As to the lawyers, it is true that with some noble exceptions, they have not, as a class, responded to our appeal as they ought to have done. But as we develop our Panchayat system, a work to which we have not been able to devote much of our time and energy, the legal practitioners would soon fall in with the public opinion. The question of the Government servants is slightly different and comparing the number of resignations offered last month with the average for previous months we have no reason to feel dissatisfied with the progress non-co-operation is making in that direction, specially as the increased number of resignations is unquestionably the result of the policy of intensive repression adopted by the Government.

The Moderates and N. C. O.

True, there are some of our Moderate brothers, with genuine love of our common country in their hearts, who for want of true appreciation of the real nature of the struggle we are engaged in and the issues that it involves, have not yet taken their proper place in the national ranks. But I feel sure that if the fire of patriotism is still alive in their hearts, and I feel confident that it will not die, they will soon realise their mistake and will be found taking the

* Under the new Soviet Govt. of Russia the old Czarist rouble-notes are of no value.

place of their brothers whose names figure on the national Roll of Honour.*

Tragic Events in Malabar.

I cannot close without referring to the tragic events that are daily taking place in Malabar and the prolonged agonies of our unfortunate Moolah brethren. And here I must make it quite clear that this question has two aspects; one with reference to the Government in the country and the other with reference to the treatment by the Moplahs of their Hindu brethren. As to the first, judging from the evidence before the public, one cannot help coming to the conclusion that the responsibility of provoking these disturbances rests entirely on the shoulders of the Government. While as to the method adopted in suppressing these, there will be no thinking person in the country who will not condemn them. All of us who have had the experience of Amritsar know the horrible nature of this "pacification." It was only accidentally that the terrible train-tragedy was revealed to the public the other day! But how many other tragedies there are that have not come to light?

As to our Hindu brethren who have been forcibly converted or have otherwise suffered at the hands of some of the Moplahs, I fully sympathise with them and there will be no Muslim worthy of the name who will not condemn this entirely un-Islamic act in the strongest possible terms. I feel sure that these stray incidents are the acts of a few misguided individuals and that the rest of the Moplahs are as ready and strong in condemning them as any of us here. Still I should not like the fair name of Islam to be tarnished in the slightest degree and I sincerely regret these deplorable incidents.

Reaching the Goal.

Ladies and gentlemen, our country is experiencing terrible convulsions, but it requires no prophet to foretell that these are the birth-pang of Young India that will revive the glorious traditions of this our ancient country and take its proud place by the nations of the world.

* By the time the Congress was held at Ahmedabad almost all the prominent nationalist leaders in India were clapped in Govt. Jails.

The Undelivered Presidential Address of Sj. C. R. Das

[The following is the undelivered Presidential address of Mr. C. R. Das, the President elect of the Ahmedabad Congress, which was written just on the eve of his arrest by the Bengal Govt., and sent in fragments to Mahatma Gandhi with instructions to revise it and put it to shape.]

Mr. Chairman of the Reception Committee and Delegates of the Indian National Congress :—

We have arrived at a critical stage in our struggle with the Bureaucracy ; and it behoves us, every one of us, to search our hearts and to ask ourselves the question, "Do I stand for India in her present struggle ?" It is because I stand for India that I have responded to your unanimous call to-day. I thank you for your confidence in me ; but I warn you that I have no worldly wisdom to offer you. I come from a city which has felt the full force of the wrath of the Government. Measures for stifling political life have been taken, as I believe, in order to coerce the people to receive His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales ; but it is the imprisoned soul of Calcutta that will greet His Royal Highness on the 24th December. I come from the struggle which has just begun in Calcutta, chastened and purified ; and, if I have no worldly wisdom to give, I at least bring before you unbounded enthusiasm, and a resolute determination to see this struggle through.

What is our aim ?—Freedom !

I think that at the very outset we ought to define our attitude in relation to the present struggle. What is our aim ? Whither are we going ? I think that most people will agree

that we are out to secure freedom, freedom from foreign subjection, freedom from foreign interference. It is as well, however, that we should have a clear grasp of what is meant by the word "Freedom." In the first place it does not imply absence of all restraint. When I am forbidden to steal my neighbour's purse or to trespass on my neighbour's land, there is necessarily a restraint on my action; but there is no opposition between freedom and such restraint as has the sanction of the people behind it. In the second place, freedom does not necessarily imply absence of the idea of dependence. Dependence there must be so long as we live in society, and need the protection of society; and there is no necessary opposition between freedom and such dependence as is willingly suffered by the people. But though there is no necessary opposition between freedom and restraint, and freedom and dependence, it must be remembered that restraint that does not deny freedom can only be such restraint as has the sanction of the people behind it; and dependence consistent with freedom can only be such dependence as is willingly suffered by the people for its own protection.

What then is freedom? It is impossible to define the term; but one may describe it as that state, that condition, which makes it possible for a nation to realize its own individuality and to evolve its own destiny. The history of mankind is full of stirring stories as to how nations have struck for freedom in order to keep their nationalism and their individuality inviolate and untarnished. To take only modern instances, one may refer to Finland and Poland, Ireland, Egypt and India. Each of these nations has offered a determined resistance to the imposition of a foreign culture upon it. The history of these nations has run on parallel lines. First, there is the protest against cultural conquest; secondly, there is the desire for national education; and lastly, there is the demand for its recognition as a separate organism with the power to work out its own destiny without any hindrance from any foreign power.

Western culture & Indian Nationalism.

We stand then for freedom, because we claim the right to develop our own individuality and evolve our own destiny along our own lines, unembarrassed by what Western civilization has to teach us and unhampered by the institutions

which the West has imposed on us. But here a voice interrupts me, the voice of Rabindranath, the poet of India. He says, "The Western culture is standing at our door; must we be so inhospitable as to turn it away or ought we not to acknowledge that in the union of the cultures of the East and the West is the salvation of the world?"* I admit that if Indian nationalism has to live, it cannot afford to isolate itself from other nations. But I have two observations to make to the criticism of Rabindranath:—first, we must have a house of our own before we can receive a guest; and secondly, Indian culture must discover itself before it can be ready to assimilate Western culture. In my opinion, there can be no true assimilation before freedom comes, although there may be, as there has been, a slavish imitation. The cultural conquest of India is all but complete; it was the inevitable result of her political conquest. India must resist it. She must vibrate with national life; and then we may talk of the union of the two civilizations.

I must dispose of another objection, this time of my Moderate friends. "You concede," I hear them say, "that freedom is not an end in itself, but a means to an end, the end being self-realisation, self-dependence, self-control; why not work out your destiny within the British Empire?" My answer is that so long as India occupies the position of a dependent in the British Empire, so long the task cannot be undertaken. Go into the villages, the heart of India, and see the life that is lived by the average Indian. They are sturdy men and fearless men; they are men of whom any country would be proud; but the degradation that must inevitably follow subjection is writ large on their brow, and their lot is made up of caste troubles, petty squabbles, and endless pursuit of litigation for litigation's sake. Where are now the institutions that made them self-dependent and self-contained? Where is the life that enabled them to earn their livelihood and yet left them free to worship the God of their fathers? I assert that once a nation passes into subjection, degeneration

* At this period the attitude of the great Poet towards M. Gandhi's movement was this—he was against non-co-operation, against even nationalism, which according to him was a narrow and barren creed. In his world-tour just preceding this period the poet had persistently preached for a super-national humanism.

must inevitably set in attacking the very life-blood of that nation. Its effect is to be seen not in this sphere or that sphere but in every sphere of the nation's activity. Economically, the British rule has had a disastrous effect on our national well-being. Mr. R. C. Dutt and after him Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya* have shown how deliberately the destruction of our national industry, the spinning and weaving industry, was planned. Who can contemplate with equanimity that every year many crores of rupees go out of India without corresponding advantage? Morally, we are becoming a nation of slaves, and have acquired most vices of the slave. We speak the language of the master, and ape his manners; and we rush with alacrity to adopt his institutions while our own institutions lie languishing in the villages. Intellectually, we have become willing victims to the imposition of a foreign culture on us; and the humiliation is complete when we are deliberately breaking away from the past, recognising no virtue in its continuity. "But then," say my Moderate friends, "How can you hope to win freedom until you have elevated the people?" If I am right in my diagnosis that the present condition of India, material, moral and intellectual, is the direct result of the foreign rule in India, then it must follow that so long as our subjection continues, so long there is no hope of recovery. You may, of course, tackle side problems, as we are trying to do. You may infuse such enthusiasm amongst the people as may be of great assistance to you in your political campaigns. But believe me, it is the disease that you must fight, and not the outward symptoms of the disease.

I object then to the perpetuation of British domination as in my opinion it is impossible to find the fulfilment of our nationality, our individuality, our personality so long as that domination continues. In arriving at this conclusion I have entirely ignored the character of the British rule in India. That rule may be good or bad, it may be conceded that it is partly good and partly bad, but my conclusion is based on the view that there is inherent in subjection something which injures national life and hampers its growth and self-fulfilment. Whether within the Empire or outside it, India

*See Malaviya's Minute of Dissent to the Industrial Commission Report 1919 in the Indian Annual Register 1919.

must have freedom so that she may realize her individuality and evolve her destiny without help or hindrance from the British people.

What are the methods ?

I now come to the question. What are the methods which we ought to adopt in our fight with the Bureaucracy ? There are three, and only three methods, that I know of :— (1) armed resistance, (2) co-operation with the Bureaucracy in the councils that have been established under the Government of India Act, and (3) non-violent non-co-operation. The first I must dismiss as beyond the range of practical politics. Even if it were not so, on principle I am opposed to violence. We must then choose between co-operation and non-co operation.

I confess that in considering the question of co-operation, I am not a little troubled by the fact that some of our leaders who assisted at the birth of political life in India are ranged against us on the question. I therefore propose to consider some of the arguments that are advanced against us by these supporters of the Government of India Act ; and in doing so I shall consider, first, whether the freedom of the Indian nation, that is to say, its right to develop its own individuality and evolve its own destiny, has been recognised in the Act ; secondly, whether the Act either expressly or by necessary implication gives even the beginnings of responsible Government to the Indian people ; and lastly, whether the legislature has any control, effective or otherwise, over the purse.

Government of India Act* criticised.

Now the Preamble of the Act is the key to the situation. "Whereas it is the declared policy of Parliament": so the Preamble runs. What is the declared policy of Parliament ? To recognise the inherent right of the Indians to responsible government ? Not at all. To recognise the inherent right of India to be treated as a free and equal partner of the commonwealth of nations known as the British Empire ? Not at all. But, mark the timid concession to the rights of India, "To provide for the increasing association of Indians in every branch of Indian administration, and for the gradual

* The text of the Act will be found in the Annual Register 1921.

development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in British India as an integral part of the Empire." I do not think a more halting concession could ever be made to the rights of a people. Now, is there anything in the Preamble to compel the British Parliament to recognise India, at any time, as a free and equal partner of the British Empire? I think not. "Progressive realization of responsible government in British India"! These are vague words, and they will not, at any time, tax the ingenuity of a British statesman. Omitting the second paragraph and coming to the third, we find "that the time and manner of each advance can be determined only by Parliament, upon whom responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples." Mark the word "peoples", not "people", an assertion by the Parliament that India is not one, but many. I, for one, am not prepared to submit to the insult offered to India in the third paragraph of the Preamble, and I feel bound to protest against it. We are quite prepared to undertake the responsibility for the welfare and advancement of the Indian people (not peoples), and I altogether deny that a foreign Parliament can possibly discharge its responsibilities in relation to a subject nation. I resent the doctrine that the Parliament is to determine the time and manner of each advance, and I say that the whole object of the legislation, as disclosed in the third paragraph of the Preamble, is to perpetuate the domination of the British Parliament, which I cannot for a moment accept. The fourth paragraph holds out a distinct threat: "And whereas the action of Parliament", so it says, "in such matters must be guided by the co-operation received from those on whom new opportunities of service will be conferred, and by the extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility".—In other words, if we are good boys, and if we satisfy the British Parliament that we have a sense of responsibility, then the British Parliament will consider whether we ought not to have a further instalment of reforms. In other words we are perpetual infants, and the British Parliament is our sole guardian.

Freedom is my birthright.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have very great respect for the opinion of my political opponents, but I cannot accept the

fundamental principle on which the Reform Act is based. I think that we should preserve our self-esteem, whatever the stage of our progress may be. I think that we should solemnly declare in open Congress, that freedom is inherent in every nation and that India has and possesses the right to develop her own individuality and to evolve her own destiny unhampered by what the British Parliament has decided or may decide for us. I think we should recognize that any power that in any way hampers or embarrasses the self-realization and self-fulfilment of the Indian nation is an enemy of India and must as such be resisted. I am willing to co-operate with England, but on one condition only, that she recognises this inherent right of India.* That recognition you will not find anywhere* in the Government of India Act, and I for one will not be a party to the perpetuation of British domination in India. But my moderate friends tell me, that though the freedom of the Indian people, in the sense in which I understand the term, has not been recognised in the Act of Parliament, still, if we work the reforms, it will not be in the power of Parliament to withhold that freedom. I do not doubt the wisdom of my friends nor deny their patriotism; but the question, in my opinion, is entirely irrelevant. My position is this, that however willing I may be to enter into a compromise with the English Government in matters of detail, and I am willing to make great sacrifices, I will not enter into any compromise on the question which I hold to be fundamental. Freedom is my birthright, and I demand a recognition of that right, not by instalments nor in compartments, but whole and entire. I do not doubt that victory will be on our side; but supposing we fail, we would at least have preserved inviolate our national self-respect and dignity, we would at any rate have repudiated the insult on which the Government of India Act is based. The difference between the Indian National Congress and the Ministers who are working the Reforms Act seems to me to be fundamental, in that the former has its eye fixed on the ultimate and would reject as essentially false anything that does not recognise the freedom of the Indian people; whereas the latter have their

* This is a post-war evolution of nationalistic consciousness common to all the enslaved countries: Ireland, Egypt and India. So, too, said DeValera of Ireland.

eyes fixed on the departments of which they are in charge, and hope to attain freedom through the successful working of those departments.

The Position of the Indian Ministers.

I will now consider whether the Act gives even the beginnings of responsible government to India, and whether the Legislature has any control over the purse. The two questions must be considered together. It is the view of the Moderates in Bengal that out of seven members of the Bengal Government, five are Indians. The view is entirely erroneous. I think I am right in saying that provinces are governed, in relation to reserved subjects, by the Governor-in-Council, and in relation to transferred subjects, by the Governor acting with Ministers. The statute makes no provision whatever for the joint deliberation by the Governor and his Council and his Ministers sitting together, except in regard to proposals for taxation and borrowing, and the framing of proposals for expenditure of public money. In regard to the reserved subjects, and these are subjects which are of vital importance to us as a nation in our struggle for political liberty, the Ministers have no voice whatever. I think I am right in saying that they are the dumb spectators of the fight that is now going on between us and the Government. They are not part of the Government to consider whether, in relation to the non-co-operation movement, a repressive policy should or should not be initiated in the country. Their advice will not be sought when the local Government has to consider the question whether Mahatma Gandhi ought or ought not to be arrested. If I am right in my view as to the position of the Ministers in relation to the reserved subjects, then I suggest to my moderate friends that they are under an entire misapprehension when they say that a majority of the members of the Government are Indians. The truth is that in relation to the reserved subjects the Indian element is in a minority and cannot affect the policy of the Government in the slightest degree, provided the Governor and the English members of the Council combine against it.

I have now to consider the position of the Ministers and the relation between the Ministers and the Legislature in regard to the transferred subjects. My first point is, that it is a mistake to suppose that any "subject" has been

transferred to the Ministers. I concede that certain departments have been transferred, but I maintain that they have been transferred subject to the encumbrances created by a century of bureaucratic rule, and the Ministers have no power whatever to discharge those encumbrances. I will at once make my meaning clear. Now Medical administration is an important department of the State; and so is Public Health. These departments, I understand, have been transferred to the Ministers, and the Minister, provided he has complete control of the "subject," is in a position to confer a lasting benefit on the community. But what is the position? The Minister has no effective control over the officers who run the departments, and no voice whatever in the selection of his own officers. It is a peculiar circumstance in the history of the bureaucratic rule in India that whenever the people have cried for something essential to their existence, the Government has given them expensive administration, expensive offices and expensive buildings instead. The test whether the "subject" has been transferred to the Minister is this: Is the Minister for Health under the law in a position to take up this attitude, "I will recast the whole system under which these departments have hitherto been administered. I will abolish the Indian Medical Service, and employ local agencies who would know how to disinfect a well and what steps to take in the case of an epidemic. I will then have more money to spend on the needs of the people"? But, no! This attitude the Act denies to him, and yet it is said that the subject has been transferred to him. One of the Ministers in India described his position in bitter terms in the course of a Council debate. He complained that if he applied to the Medical department or the Sanitary department for doctors to meet an emergency, they said to him in reply, "We have no doctors." If he took the responsibility of sending doctors to the affected area, the Medical department said to him: "We do not recognise your doctors, and you must pay them out of your own pocket". When I point out to you that the Minister in question is the Minister in charge of the Medical department and Sanitary department, you will grasp the full significance of the "transfer of subjects" that has taken place under the Act. Well might a Minister exclaim, as one actually did, "Silver and gold have I none,

but of such as I have I give unto thee", that is, sympathy. He added that he could only give sympathy, because the purse was held by somebody else, that is to say, the Finance Member.

The Control over the Purse

This brings me to a question of great importance, and that is whether the Legislature has any control over the purse. The Moderates maintain the affirmative of the proposition; I maintain the negative. I shall presently refer to the provisions of the Act to support my position; but I have a witness of undoubted position and respectability in my favour, whose evidence I should like to place before you. In the course of the general discussion on the Budget in one of the Councils, a Minister said as follows: "The two poor men who have been put down here as Ministers are presumed to be clothed with all the powers of Ministers in the House of Commons, and therefore they are called upon to account for everything for which perhaps a Minister in the House of Commons is responsible.....The Minister here begins his life by getting a dole of money that is given by those who are in charge of the whole administration." The question is whether the Moderates are right or the Minister in question is right. Both may be wrong; but both cannot be right.

Under the rules framed under the Government of India Act, the framing of proposals for expenditure in regard to Transferred and Reserved Subjects is a matter of agreement between the Members of the Executive Council and the Ministers; but if they do not agree as to the apportionment of funds between Reserved and Transferred departments respectively, the Governor has the power to allocate the revenues and balances of the province between Reserved and Transferred Subjects by specifying the fractional proportions of the revenues and balances which shall be assigned to each class of subject. What, then, is the position? The moderates proudly assert that the majority of Members of the Government are Indians. If that were so, one would expect the question of apportionment to be decided in accordance with the view of the majority; but that is not done, because the entire scheme is based on the distrust of the Ministers. We have, therefore, this result that if the Members and the Ministers are unable to come to an agreement, the matter is

decided by the Governor who may act either in accordance with his own discretion or in accordance with the report of an authority to be appointed by the Governor-General in this behalf on the application of the Governor.

This is the impossible position in which the Minister is placed by the scheme framed under the Act; but what is the position of the Council? Has it any power to say, "We require the funds to be apportioned in the way we suggest and not according to the proposal made by the Government"? Can it say, "We require you to spend so much to fight malaria or so much for primary education"? The Act undoubtedly gives power to the council to refuse its assent to a demand or to reduce the amount therein referred to either by a reduction of the whole grant by the omission or reduction of any of the items of expenditure of which the grant is composed, but this is subject to an important proviso, viz. that the local Government shall have power, in relation to any such demand, to act as if it had been assented to, notwithstanding the withholding of such assent or the reduction of the amount therein referred to, if the demand relates to a reserved subject, and the Governor certifies that the expenditure provided for by the demand is essential to the discharge of his responsibility for the subject. This, according to the Moderates, is the effective control which the Legislature has over the purse. It has no power whatever to say in what proportion the revenue of the country should be allocated between Reserved and Transferred departments respectively; it has no control whatever over the revenue allocated to the Reserved Subjects. All that it can do is to say to the Ministers, "We refuse our assent to your demand", or, "We reduce the amount referred to in your demand either by a reduction of the whole grant or by the omission or reduction of any of the items of expenditure of which the grant is composed." It is ridiculous to describe the limited control exercisable by the Council in relation to the Transferred Subjects as "an effective control over the purse".

In administrative matters, the position of the Minister is no better. The Act provides that in relation to transferred subjects, the Governor shall be guided by the advice of his Ministers, unless he sees sufficient cause to dissent from their opinion, in which case he may require action to be taken

otherwise than in accordance with that advice. In a dispute between the Minister in charge of the Department of Health and his officer on a question of policy, it is possible for the Governor to support the officer against the Minister. In matters of legislation in relation to the Transferred Subjects there is in theory some power in the legislature, but in practice the finance department, controlled by a member of the Executive Council, would have the last word on the subject ; for I can conceive of no legislation which does not involve expenditure of money, and it is the duty of the finance department (of which, be it remembered, the Minister is not a Member) to examine and advise on the scheme of the new expenditure for which it is proposed to make provision in the estimates.

In regard to the whole scheme, it is legitimate to ask, "Does it secure even the elementary rights which every citizen under any civilised Government possesses? Is repressive legislation impossible under the Act, except with the consent of the people? Does it give to the people the right to repeal the repressive legislation which disgraces the Statute book of India? Has a repetition of the Punjab atrocities been made impossible?" I think I am right in saying, that in regard to all these matters the position is exactly the same as it was before the Reform Act.

No Peace with Dishonour.

This, then, is the scheme which is being worked by the Ministers, and we have been solemnly assured by the Moderates that the beginning of Swaraj is to be found in the scheme. Much as I would like to end all unnecessary conflict, I cannot recommend to you the acceptance of the Act as a basis for co-operation with the Government. I will not purchase peace with dishonour, and so long as the Preamble to the Government of India Act stands and our right, our inherent right to regulate our own affairs, develop our own individuality and evolve our own destiny, is not recognised, I must decline to consider any terms of peace.

The only method, therefore, of warfare open to us is non-co-operation, and that is the programme which we adopted at two successive Congresses. We are devoted to the doctrine of non-co-operation, and you will not expect me to discuss its ethics. But there are friendly critics whose

doubts we ought to dispel, if it is in our power to do so. They say that the doctrine of non-co-operation is a doctrine of negation, a doctrine of despair; they stand aghast at the narrowness, the exclusiveness which such a doctrine implies; and they draw our attention to the trend of political events in the world, and they ask us whether there is any hope for a nation that is determined to live a life of isolation.

What is Non-co-operation.

I feel bound to answer the questions which have been raised by these critics, and, in doing so, I must ask myself the question, "What is Non-co operation?" I find it easier to answer the question by considering for a moment what is not non-co-operation. Non-co-operation is not a refusal to co-operate with the English people because they are English people. Non-co operation does not advocate a policy of separation, a policy of isolation. Indeed in our conflict with the forces of injustice and unrighteousness, we are not forgetting Him, to quote the words of Ravindranath, "Who is without distinction of class or colour, and Who with his varied *Shakti* makes true provision for the inherent need of each and every class." But before we can join the forces of the world in the missionary enterprise to uplift humanity, it is at least necessary that we should find fulfilment in self-realization and self-development; for it is only as a nation that has realised itself that we can hope to be of any service to humanity. Let us consider the matter for a moment. Our philosophy recognises that there is an essential unity behind all diversities, and that these diversities, "*Vaichitrya*" if I may use that expression, constitute the "*Lila*" of the Supreme Reality. The whole object of human endeavour, as I understand it, is to reconcile these endless diversities so as to affirm the Supreme Reality. God's *Lila* requires that every manifestation must have an unhampered growth. Every nation on the face of the earth represents such a manifestation. Like the various flowers in a garden the nations must follow their own laws and work out their own destiny, so that in the end they might each and all contribute to the life and culture of humanity. In order that humanity may be served, the ultimate Unity realized, that essential something which distinguishes

one nation from another, which I may describe as the individuality of the nation, must have unfettered growth. This is the essence of the doctrine of nationalism for which men have been ready to lay down their lives. Nationalism is not an aggressive assertion of its individuality, distinct and separate from the other nations, but it is a yearning for self-fulfilment, self-determination and self-realization as a part of the scheme of the universal humanity by which alone humanity can fulfil itself, determine itself and realize itself. Non-co-operation therefore, though it does not refuse co-operation with the English because they are English, will refuse to co-operate with any power or institution which embarrasses in any way the growth of the individuality of the Indian nation or hampers its self-fulfilment. Non-co-operation again does not reject western culture because it is western. But it recognises that there must be rejection in order that there may be whole-hearted acceptance. The cry for national education is not a protest against foreign education. But it is a protest against the imposition of foreign culture on India. Subjection is hard to bear, whether it be political or cultural; and indeed, as history shows, cultural subjection must inevitably follow in the wake of political subjection. Our desire for national education is only an endeavour to establish a continuity with the past and to enthrone our culture in our hearts. The doctrine that we preach does not exclude any light that may come from outside; but we say to those who care to listen to us, "First light the lamp that lies neglected in your home; look into the past and realise your present position in the light of the past; and then face the world with courage and receive whatever light that may come from outside."

Doctrine of Non-co-operation.

What then is Non-co-operation? I cannot do better than quote the eloquent words of Mr. Stokes;* "It is the refusal to be a party to a preventable evil; it is the refusal to accept or have any part in injustice; it is the refusal to acquiesce in wrongs than can be righted, or to submit to a state of affairs

* An American Missionary in India who fell under the spell of Mr. Gandhi's philosophy, became his follower and a strong non-co-operator, working amongst the poor labourers of India for their uplift, and was subsequently sent to jail by the Govt. on a charge of sedition.

which is manifestly inconsistent with the dictates of righteousness. And, as a consequence, it is the refusal to work with those who on grounds of interest or expediency insist upon committing or perpetuating wrong."

But it is argued that the whole doctrine is a doctrine of negation, a doctrine of despair. I agree that in form the doctrine is one of negation, but I maintain that in substance it is one of affirmation. We break in order to build; we destroy in order to construct; we reject in order to accept. This is the whole history of human endeavour. If subjection be an evil, then we are bound to non-co-operate with every agency that seeks to perpetuate our subjection. That is a negation; but it affirms our determination to be free, to win our liberty at any cost. Nor do I agree that the doctrine is one of despair. It is a doctrine of hope and of confidence and of unbounded faith in its efficacy. One has only to look at the faces of the sufferers as they are led to prison to realise that victory is already ours. It is not for nothing that Shaukat Ali and Mahomed Ali, courageous and resourceful, have lived and suffered. It is not for nothing that Lajpat Rai, one of the bravest of spirits that ever faced the sun, flung the order of the Bureaucracy in its face, and marched boldly into the prison that awaited him. It is not for nothing that Motilal Nehru, that prince amongst men, spurned the riches that were his, and defied the order that would enslave him, refusing no pain that the malice of power could invent. Time will not permit me to read to you all the names that are inscribed on the roll of honour; but I must not forget to mention the students who are at once the hope and the glory of the Motherland. I, who have been privileged to watch the current of political life in its very centre, can testify to the wonderful courage and unflinching devotion displayed by the students. Theirs is the inspiration behind the movement, theirs the victory. They are the torch-bearers of the time; they are the pilgrims on the road. If suffering has been their lot, victory is their due.

This, then, is the philosophy on which the non-co-operation movement is based: to defy with absolute constancy the hostile powers that would hamper in any way our growth and self-fulfilment as a nation, to keep its evil always in view,

not hating the power, but recognising its evil as an evil and refusing no suffering that the malice of that power can invent. I admit, gentlemen, that the ideal is very high, but I maintain that it is the only method which we can adopt for the early establishment of Swaraj. It requires no wisdom to see that if every one of us withdraws our helping hand from the machine that is relentlessly working to prevent our growth and self-realization as a nation, the machine must of necessity stop its work. We are told, however, that once the machine of government stops its work, we shall be swept away by the forces of disorder and reaction. There is a simple answer to this argument. The non-co-operation movement can never hope to succeed, unless our forces are properly organised, and the ethics of the movement properly understood by the nation. If they are not understood, the question will not arise, for we cannot then hope to carry the struggle to a successful termination; but if they are understood, then the inherent strength of the movement will prevent anarchy and bloodshed. But I cannot disguise from myself the fact that there have been disturbances in Bombay in the course of our propaganda. We must accept responsibility for such disturbances and frankly admit that, to the extent to which there has been violence, intimidation and coercion, we may be said to have failed. But what is the remedy? Surely not to abjure our faith, but to see that the faith is properly understood. Bloodshed and disorder have been associated with every great movement that has taken place--the spread of Christianity for instance. But is it to be argued, that because in the spread of a New Idea there is danger of disorder and disturbance as it comes into conflict with old ideals and the old view of life, the missionaries must of necessity stay their hand and decline to carry the Light they feel? Such an argument is not worth a moment's consideration. You may argue, if you like, that our doctrine has not yet been understood by the people. You may argue, if you choose, that our programme ought to be revised in the light of the disturbances which have taken place in Bombay. But the fact that disturbances have in fact taken place in a single small area is no argument against the essential truth of our movement. We must meet the situation with courage and devise means to prevent the recurrence of those disturbances; but I cannot and I will not advise you to stay your hand from the non-co-operation

movement. The fact that India has remained calm in spite of the recent arrests shows that the Bombay lesson has gone home. The recent manifestation of courage, endurance and remarkable self-control* has in my opinion demonstrated the efficacy and the necessity of non-violent non-co operation. And nothing can stop our onward march if the same spirit is still further developed and retained to the end.

A question to Lord Reading

Ladies and gentlemen, the success of our movement has made a deep impression on the Bureaucracy, if we may judge by the repressive policy which it has initiated and is carrying into effect. I observe that His Excellency the Viceroy† objects to the policy being described as "repressive," but I have yet to know that the Seditious Meetings Act and the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act are part of the ordinary Criminal law of the land. Indeed, if I am not mistaken, these were two of the Acts that were considered by the Committee‡ appointed to examine repressive legislations. It is true that the Committee consisting of an Indian Chairman and six Indian Members out of eight were unable to recommend the repeal of these two Acts. They have only shown what confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility. But the fact remains that the Acts were treated as repressive laws and discussed as such. Lord Reading is obviously in error in suggesting, as he has done, that the arrests now being made in Calcutta and in other parts of India are under the ordinary criminal law of the land. His Excellency asserts that there are organised attempts to challenge the law, and he does not understand what purpose is served by flagrant

* The Official and Anglo-Indian view was that calmness was due to the police repression.

† Vide Lord Reading's Calcutta speeches in reply to the Moderates and the Malaviya Deputations of December 1921, just on the eve of the Prince of Wales' Calcutta visit when Mr. Das and almost all the prominent Congress leaders, including several Bengali ladies, were arrested and put into jail. SEE A. R. 1922, PART I—INDIA IN 1921-22.

‡ A Committee of the Imperial Legislative Assembly, presided over by Dr Sapru of the Govt. of India, recommended the repeal of the infamous Press Act, the Rowlatt Act and other repressive Acts but not these also. The Committee consisted of ultra-moderate Indians only who were very much against M. Gandhi and the humanitarian mass movement he was leading.

breaches of the law for the purpose of challenging the Government and in order to compel arrest. I would, with all respect, put one question to His Excellency. If Japan planted her national flag on Australia and gave Australia such freedom and such constitution as we enjoy under Great Britain, neither more nor less, what would His Excellency's advice be to the Australians, if they were determined to win freedom at all costs? And if Japan promulgated repressive laws without the sanction of the Australians, prohibiting meetings and declaring as unlawful all voluntary associations through which alone the Australians could have to work for national regeneration, what would His Excellency's advice be to the Australians, supposing they solemnly agreed to defy such laws and disregard the orders issued under such laws? I venture to think that His Excellency does not understand* the situation which has arisen in India; therefore he is puzzled and perplexed. Rightly or wrongly, the Congress has adopted the policy of non-co-operation as the only legitimate political weapon available for its use. That is not breaking the law. Rightly or wrongly, the Congress has decided to boycott foreign goods, and especially foreign cloth. That is not breaking the law. Rightly or wrongly, the Congress has decided to boycott the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. That is not breaking the law. Now, in what way is the Congress to carry on its work except through the voluntary organisations which you have proclaimed under the Indian Criminal law Amendment Act? In striking at these voluntary organisations, you strike at the Congress propaganda which, you are bound to admit, is not unlawful. Why should it puzzle Your Excellency, assuming you credit us with the same amount of patriotism which you have, that we have solemnly resolved to disobey your orders and court imprisonment? I assert that it is you who have broken the law and not we. You have transgressed the law which secures to every subject freedom of speech and action, so long as the speech and the action do not offend against the ordinary criminal law of the land. You have

* His Excellency, and the long train of British officials, however, maintained that Mr Das and his party did not understand the dangerous situation towards which India was drifting—and that the British were here to save India & Indians!

transgressed the law which secures to the subject the unrestricted right to hold meetings, so long as these meetings do not degenerate into unlawful assemblies. These are the common law rights of the subject which you have transgressed, and I would remind Your Excellency that it is on the due observance of these elementary rights that the allegiance of the subject depends.

But then, it is said that these associations interfere with the administrations of the law and with the maintenance of law and order. If they do, then the ordinary criminal law is there, and it ought to be sufficient. I have heard of no instance of violence in Calcutta* certainly none was reported to the police. Charges of violence can be investigated, and therefore they were not made. But charges of threat and intimidation are easy to make, because they cannot be investigated. I would ask the authorities one question: Was any case of threat or intimidation reported to the police? Has the local Government found, on enquiry, that quite apart from general allegations† which can easily be made, there were specific cases of threat or intimidation practised by the non-co-operators on the "loyalists" of Calcutta? An English Journalist, signing himself as "Nominis Umbra," gave as his opinion to an English paper in Calcutta that the *hartal* was willingly acquiesced in by the people. We read in "A Ditcher's diary" in *Capital* of the 24th November last: "The people surrendered at discretion, but it was impossible for a careful observer not to see that not only were they for the most part willing victims of new zoolum, but also that they exulted in the discomfiture of the Sirkar." If that be so, then what case is there for the declaration under Sec. 16 of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act? Was the position in Calcutta on the 17th November last worse than the position in England when a big strike is in progress? And is it suggested that there resides any power in the Cabinet

* This refers to the remarkable HARTAL in Calcutta on 17th Nov. 1921 on the day of the Prince of Wales' landing in Bombay.

† These were made by the Anglo-Indians and European Merchants and some of the titled Indians basking in official sun-shine who felt greatly irritated at the success of the peaceful HARTAL of 17th November so marvellously organised by the non-co-operators and Khilafatists of Calcutta. See INDIA IN 1921-22.

of England to put down a strike and prevent picketing? No, gentlemen, the real object of the application of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act is not to protect society against the threats and intimidation of the non-co-operators, but to crush the Congress and the non-co-operation movement. It is to such threat that you have to return an answer.

There is another object which the Government has in view: it is to make by threat, intimidation and coercion, the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to Calcutta a success. On your behalf I would respectfully lay before His Royal Highness our wishes of good-will to him personally. There is no quarrel between us and the Royal House of England; but he comes here as the ambassador of a Power with whom we have decided not to co-operate; as such we cannot receive him. Also we are in no mood to take part in any rejoicing. We are fighting for our national existence, for the recognition of our elementary rights freely to live our own life and evolve our own destiny according to our lights. It would be sheer hypocrisy on our part to extend a national welcome to the ambassador of the power that would deny us our elementary rights. There is, in the refusal to extend a national welcome to His Royal Highness, no disrespect either to him or to the Royal House of England. There is only a determination not to co-operate with the Bureaucracy.

Mr. Das's Presidential Address was read out to the Congress by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. Having finished reading Mrs. Naidu said:—

This is the message that comes to us from the Great Hero of Bengal who instead of adorning the "Musnad" of the President to-day has bartered his individual liberty for national freedom, and this is the message of his wife:

Mrs. Das's Message to the Congress.

"Let every man and women in India ask himself or herself to-day this one supreme question, and this question only: *Do I stand for India in her present struggle?*

"Let us search our hearts and directly answer it now or never. We must decide and the responsibility for the deci-

sion is ours. The country demands strong and resolute action. If we feel in our heart of hearts that we stand for India in her struggle for freedom then we must act, act, act. We ask for no more. We expect no less. Let therefore every delegate of the Congress be sworn in as a Congress volunteer. Let every man and woman in India to-day offer himself or herself as a Congress volunteer. Let the whole country be mobilised for Congress work. Let all our noble activities be suspended till the struggle in its present form be finished. Men and women of India, act, act, act directly act while time is yet.

This also is a clarion call because in the service of the nation the voice of men and the voice of women may not be divided, neither may their action, neither may their aspiration, neither may their lives, neither may their destiny, nor their liberty. (Applause).

THIS BROUGHT THE FIRST DAY'S PROCEEDINGS TO A CLOSE. THE PRESIDENT ADJOURNED THE CONGRESS TILL THE NEXT DAY.

THE THIRTY SIXTH

Indian National Congress

SECOND DAY—28TH DECEMBER 1921.

The Congress resumed its sitting for the second day on the 28th December at 2 p.m.

After Dr. Ansari had finished reading the telegraphic messages of sympathy, the President requested Mahatma Gandhi to place the Resolution standing in his name before the House. He allotted two hours for its discussion—half an hour to Mahatma Gandhi the mover, 10 minutes to the seconder and 5 minutes to each supporter.

Mahatma Gandhi then climbed the rostrum and moved the following Resolution :—

The Resolution.

"Whereas since the holding of the last National Congress the people of India have found from actual experience that by reason of the adoption of non-violent non-co-operation the country has made great advance in fearlessness, self-sacrifice and self-respect.

"And whereas the movement has greatly damaged the prestige of the Government.

"And whereas on the whole the country is rapidly progressing towards Swaraj :—

"This Congress confirms the resolution adopted at the special session of the Congress at Calcutta and re-affirmed at Nagpur and places on record the fixed determination of the Congress to continue the programme of non-violent non-co-operation with greater vigour than hitherto in such manner as each province may determine till the Punjab and the Khilafat wrongs are redressed and Swaraj is established and the control of the Government of India passes into the hands of the people from that of an irresponsible corporation.

"And whereas by reason of the threat uttered by His Excellency the Viceroy in his recent speeches and the consequent repression started by the Governments of India and of the various Provinces by way of disbandment of Volunteer Corps and forcible prohibition of public and even Committee meetings in an illegal and high-handed manner and by the arrest of many Congress workers in several provinces

"And whereas this repression is manifestly intended to stifle all Congress and Khilafat activities and deprive the public of their assistance :—

"This Congress resolves that all activities of the Congress be suspended as far as necessary and appeals to all, quietly and without any demonstration, to offer themselves for arrest by belonging to the Volunteer Organisations to be formed throughout the country in terms of the Resolution of the Working Committee arrived at in Bombay on the 23rd day of November last,

"Provided that no one shall be accepted as volunteer who does not sign the following pledge :—

The Pledge

"With God as witness I solemnly declare that—

(1) I wish to be a Member of the National Volunteer Corps.

(2) So long as I remain a member of the Corps I shall remain non-violent in word and deed and shall earnestly endeavour to be non-violent in intent since I believe that as India is circumstanced non-violence alone can help the Khilafat and the Punjab and result in the attainment of Swaraj and consolidation of unity among all the races and communities of India whether Hindu, Mussalman, Sikh, Parsi, Christian or Jew.

(3) I believe in and shall endeavour always to promote such unity.

(4) I believe in Swadeshi as essential for India's economic, political and moral salvation, and shall use hand-spun and hand-woven khaddar to the exclusion of every other cloth.

(5) As a Hindu I believe in the justice and necessity of removing the evil of untouchability and shall, on all possible occasions, seek personal contact with an endeavour to render service to the submerged classes.

(6) I shall carry out the instructions of my superior officers, and all the regulations not inconsistent with the spirit of this pledge prescribed by the Volunteer Board or the Working Committee or any other agency established by the Congress.

(7) I am prepared to suffer *IMPRISONMENT*, *ASSAULT*, or even *DEATH* for the sake of my religion and my Country without resentment.

(8) In the event of my imprisonment I shall not claim from the Congress any support for my family or dependants.

Call to the Country

"This Congress trusts that every person of the age of 18 and over will immediately join the volunteer organisations.

"Notwithstanding the proclamations prohibiting public meetings, and, in as much as even Committee meetings have been attempted to be construed as public meetings, this Congress advises the holding of Committee meetings, and of public meetings, the latter in enclosed places and by tickets, and by previous announcements at which as far as possible only speakers previously announced shall deliver written speeches, care being taken in every case to avoid risk of provocation and possible violence by the public in consequence.

ON CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

"This Congress is further of opinion that *civil disobedience* is the only civilized and effective substitute for an armed rebellion whenever every other remedy for preventing arbitrary, tyrannical and emasculating use of authority by individuals or corporations has been tried, and therefore advises all Congress workers and others, who believe in peaceful methods and are convinced that there is no remedy save some kind of sacrifice to dislodge the existing government from its position of perfect irresponsibility to the people of India, to organise individual civil disobedience and mass civil disobedience, when the mass of people have been sufficiently trained in the methods of non-violence, and otherwise in terms of the resolution thereon of the last meeting of the All India Congress Committee held at Delhi.

"This Congress is of opinion that in order to concentrate attention upon civil disobedience, whether mass or individual, whether of an offensive or defensive character, instructions are to be issued under proper safeguards from time to time by the Working Committee or the Provincial Congress Committee concerned ; all other Congress activities should be suspended whenever and wherever and to the extent to which it may be found necessary.

Call to Students

"This Congress calls upon all students of the age of 18 and over, particularly those studying in the national institutions, and the staff thereof immediately to sign the foregoing pledge and become members of National Volunteer Corps.

Mahatma Gandhi invested with full powers

"In view of the impending arrest of a large number of Congress workers, this Congress, whilst requiring the ordinary machinery to remain intact and to be utilised in the ordinary manner whenever feasible, hereby appoints, until further instructions, Mahatma Gandhi as the sole executive authority of the Congress and invests him with full powers of the All India Congress Committee including the power to convene a special session of the Congress or of the All India Congress Committee or the Working Committee, such powers to be exercised between any two sessions of the All India Congress Committee, also with the power to appoint a successor in emergency.

"This Congress hereby confers upon the said successor and all subsequent successors appointed in turn by their predecessors, all his aforesaid powers.

"Provided that, nothing in this resolution shall be deemed to authorise Mahatma Gandhi or any of the aforesaid successors to conclude any terms of peace with the Government of India or the British Government without the previous sanction of the All India Congress Committee to be finally ratified by the Congress specially convened for the purpose, and provided also that the present creed of the Congress shall in no case be altered by Mahatma Gandhi or his successors except with the leave of the Congress first obtained.

Congratulations

"This Congress congratulates all those patriots who are now undergoing imprisonment for the sake of their conscience or country, and realises that their sacrifice has considerably hastened the advent of Swaraj."

MAHATMA GANDHI'S SPEECH

After reading the resolution and explaining it in the vernacular Mahatma Gandhi said :—

Hakim Sahib, brothers and sisters,—It has taken me exactly 35 minutes to read the resolution in English and in Hindustani. I shall hope, if I can at all avoid it, not to take even the 30 minutes that Hakimji Sahib has allotted to me. And I do not propose, if I can help it, to take all that time because I feel that the resolution explains itself. If, at the end of fifteen months' incessant activity, you, the delegates assembled in this Congress, do not know your own minds, I am positive that I cannot possibly carry conviction to you even in a two hours' speech; and what is more, if I could carry conviction to you to-day because of my speech, I am afraid I would lose all faith in my countrymen, because it would demonstrate their incapacity to observe things and events—it would demonstrate their incapacity to think coherently; because, I submit, there is absolutely nothing new in this resolution that we have not been doing all this time—that we have not been thinking all this time; there is absolutely nothing new in this resolution which is at all startling. Those of you who have followed the proceedings from month to month of the Working Committee, of the All India Congress Committee every three months, and have studied their resolutions, can but come to one conclusion, that this resolution is absolutely the natural result of the national activities during the past fifteen months; and if you have at all followed the course, the downward course that the repressive policy of the Government has been taking, you can only come to the conclusion that the Subjects Committee has rightly come to this resolution; and that the only answer that a self-respecting nation can return to the Viceregal pronouncements and to the repression that is overtaking this land, is the course mapped out in this resolution.

The bearing of the Resolution

I am not going to take the time of English-knowing friends over the religious subtleties of the pledge that the

volunteers have to take. I wish to confine my remarks in Hindustani to that subject. But I want this assembly to understand the bearing of this resolution. This resolution means that we have outgrown the stage of helplessness and dependence upon anybody; this resolution means that the nation through its representatives is determined to have its own way without the assistance of any single human being on earth and with the help of only God above.

This resolution, whilst it shows the indomitable courage and the determination of the nation to vindicate its rights and to be able to stare the world in the face, also says in all humility to the Government: 'No matter what you do, no matter how you repress us, we shall one day wring reluctant repentance from you; and we ask you to think betimes, and take care what you are doing, and see that you do not make 300 millions of India your eternal enemies.'

Door open for Government

This resolution, if the Government sincerely wants an open door, leaves the door wide open for it. If the Moderate friends wish to rally round the standard of the Khilafat, and round the standard of the liberties of the Punjab and therefore of India, then this resolution leaves the door wide open for them too. If this Government is sincerely anxious to do justice, if Lord Reading has really come to India to do justice and nothing less,—and we want nothing more,—then I inform him from this platform, with God as my witness, with all the earnestness that I can command, that he has got an open door in this resolution if he means well, but the door is closed in his face if he means ill, no matter how many people go to their graves, no matter what wild career this repression is to go through.

A real Conference of equals

There is every chance for him to hold a Round Table conference, but it must be a real conference. If he wants a conference at a table, where only equals are to sit and where there is not to be a single beggar, then there is an open door and that door will always remain open. There is nothing in this resolution which any one who has modesty and humility need be ashamed of,

Challenge to authority.

This resolution is not an arrogant challenge to anybody but it is a challenge to the authority that is enthroned on arrogance. It is a challenge to the authority which disregards the considered opinion of millions of thinking human beings. It is a humble and an irrevocable challenge to authority which in order to save itself wants to crush freedom of opinion and freedom of association—the two lungs that are absolutely necessary for a man to breathe the oxygen of liberty; and if there is any authority in this country that wants to curb the freedom of speech and freedom of association, I want to be able to say in your name, from this platform, that that authority will perish, unless it repents before an India that is steelled with high courage, noble purpose and determination, even if every one of the men and women who choose to call themselves Indians is blotted out of the earth.

No peace at any price.

God only knows, if I could possibly have advised you before to go to the Round Table conference, if I could possibly have advised you not to undertake this resolution of Civil Disobedience, I would have done so.

I am a man of peace. I believe in peace. But I do not want peace at any price. I do not want the peace that you find in stone; I do not want the peace that you find in the grave; but I do want that peace which you find embedded in the human breast, which is exposed to the arrows of a whole world but which is protected from all harm by the Power of the Almighty God.

I do not want to take any more time of you, delegates. I do not want to insult your intelligence by saying a word more in connection with this resolution (Cheers).

Mr. V. J. Patel in seconding the resolution said that not only did he fully support the resolution, but he agreed with every word that had fallen from the lips of the Mahatma. Never was there such a crisis in the destiny of India under the British as now. Thirty crores of Indians had fallen under British slavery. Lord Reading, who had come to India to give her pure justice, had told them that Swaraj could only

be obtained in two ways ; one, by means of the sword and the other, by way of gift or '*bakshish*.' If India wanted Swaraj they were told that they must win it by sword or from the British people as a gift. There was no other way. The resolution only asked for what they had demanded both at Nagpur and Calcutta. He would tell the Government that there was a third way to Swaraj and that was Civil Disobedience and the time had come for them to put it into force. He hoped every Indian heart would be glad to know that it was so. Every one of them, man and woman, must either go to jail or die, or get Swaraj. If they had not the courage to go to jail or die, he asked them to vote against the resolution. If they thought that without Civil Disobedience, without going to jail, without making themselves ready for death, they could get Swaraj, then they must vote against the resolution. When they voted for the resolution they either consented to go to jail or die. If they were unable to win Swaraj it was better they should disappear from the face of the earth. If they agreed with these things, then let them vote for the resolution.

Warning to Government.

He wanted to address a word to the Government. Let the Government tell them what they wished to do in this connection.

Indians wanted liberty and full liberty as was mentioned in the proclamations. The only difference between the people and Government was this that Government never kept their promise. Therefore, the Indians would no longer place their faith in any such promise. If the Government meant well, then let them grant Swaraj to the Indians—now and immediately. He warned the Government against wanton repression. If they suppressed the Congress movement which worked in open daylight there would spring up secret societies as in Bengal. Therefore he warned the Government against repression.

He appealed to the moderates not to non-co-operate with the Congress but to non-co-operate with a Government which wanted to take away the elementary rights of citizens.

Maulana Abdul Majid in supporting the resolution said that the Congress wanted action not words. Let them

stand firmly by the resolution until they had reached their goal. Civil Disobedience was their only weapon and they must make the fullest use of it.

Maulana Suleman Nadir in rising to support the resolution said that this non-violent non-co-operation was not only for India but for the whole world. If they did not make their endeavours in a non-violent manner there would be not only bloodshed but factions between the various communities. Their goal was clear. Whatever provocation might be given them they would never resort to violence.

Srimati Mangala Devi said India was a land proud of her spiritual culture and she believed that the new force that was created in India would not only benefit her sons but the whole of humanity. She gave her whole-hearted support to the resolution.

Swami Sri Bharati Krishna Teertha Jagadguru Shankaracharya of Shri Sharada Peeth then seconded the resolution and addressed the Congress in English.--

Sisters and Brothers,—It is now one year since we resolved to begin the programme of Non-co-operation in the normal session of the Congress at Nagour; and the preamble to that resolution stated that because the Government refused to redress the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs and because we were determined to achieve Swaraj within the year, therefore we had no option but to declare non-co-operation with the Government. One year has passed now and it behoves us to think of our duty at the present day and to prolong our fight. It is under these circumstances that we meet to-day. We find that far from redressing the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs and devising a satisfactory scheme of Swaraj the Government has gone to the extent of declaring unlawful even the activities of the Khilafat and Congress Volunteer Associations. Under these circumstances we have to think of the next step that we should adopt in order to achieve our purpose.

We find, in the second place, that the highest representative in the judicial line of His Majesty the King of England in India has declared openly or virtually that the whims and orders of petty officials of Government are superior to God's

Law—superior to the Imperial Proclamations of three successive Sovereigns of England and also to their own regular laws. On the other hand, we find that every ethical and religious code insists that God's law is superior to man's. What should we do under these circumstances? We cannot go back upon our policy of non-co-operation. That is absolutely unthinkable. We began non-co-operation because we wanted the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs to be redressed and the Swaraj to be achieved. None of these three things have taken place, and therefore, if we are to be faithful to our pledge taken at Nagpur last year, we should have no justification for going back an inch from the policy of non-co-operation. On the other hand, the repression and injustice having progressed in the opposite direction, it is our duty to think of further steps and not of retracing what we have taken.

And therefore, specially because God's law has been throttled down and man's law prevails, it is our duty to declare, unwillingly though, civil disobedience towards all unrighteous orders. Civil disobedience is an elementary spiritual duty in the face of all unrighteous orders. We, in India, have the example of *Prahlad* who disobeyed the unrighteous orders of his father, the King *Hiranyakashipu*. In the scripture of the Christians—we have in the Old Testament the example of *Daniel* which is also on a par with that of *Prahlad*. It is in all the scriptures of the world, the elementary principle that a man shall not, for any worldly cause whatsoever, whether out of fear or for favour, disobey the law of God—the law which he regards as divine. It is just because of this elementary principle that the Ali brothers and others at Karachi have their loyalty put to the test. It is because of this elementary principle that they cheerfully went to jail. Their whole defence was that the Islamic Law which they regarded as the divine law gave them no alternative but to take their stand upon it and which they did. If we believe, if any person here believes that God's law is superior to man's—that the individual conscience is the final arbiter in matters pertaining to religion and morality, he has no option but to stick to the principle of Civil Disobedience with regard to all unrighteous orders. Therefore it is that the programme of Civil Disobedience has become the duty of the country to adopt.

While I say this with utmost gladness, I am unfortunately in such a position that I cannot honestly say that I see eye to eye with the mover and other speakers on the programme laid before you. Because I believe that Non-co-operation and Civil Disobedience, in order to be effective, looking at it merely from an worldly point of view, depend upon the united co-operation of all the people in the country. If all of us will co-operate amongst ourselves and non-co-operate with the Government, every department, nay, every office of the Government must come, not to a comma—not to a semi-colon or a colon but to a fullstop (Laughter). If we give room for unnecessary controversy inside ourselves our progress will to that extent be weakened. We already have divisions in the camp owing to the Moderates, or co-operators as they are called, holding aloof from us. I may tell you, with reference to the Karachi Case, that if the Moderates had stood side by side with the Nationalists there was no chance of that conviction of the six of the accused there.

Under these circumstances I feel that it is the duty of the Congress not to force upon others, who disagree from us, the view which we earnestly take. I refer to one clause—the first part of the pledge which the programme requires every volunteer to take, that is, with regard to the question of untouchability. I spoke last year at Nagpur on the resolution when this question was taken up and you will remember that that resolution called upon the religious people of India to take vigorous steps for the elevation of the depressed classes. Therefore you will acquit me of any intention to go back or to take a reactionary attitude in the matter. But my position is this: Just as we demand the liberty of our conscience for ourselves so we shall give the others the same. And from this point of view too God's law should be placed above man's and this principle should be applied to all equally. I do not say that we have any right to force others to take the same view. So too we should give to others the same liberty. If we have a large number of people who satisfy our requirements in every other respect but do not see eye to eye with us, we have no justification, from this general point of view of principle or of expediency, to coerce them to accept our view on pain of being shut out from all possibility of participation in this national work,

That is why I say that there ought to be a separate resolution in the nature of a recommendation on this subject and it should not be made a restriction.

Similarly we find that the resolution speaks of the wearing of Khadi only to the exclusion of every other kind of cloth. And the Delhi resolution, with regard to Civil Disobedience, requires every civil resister to know how to spin and weave. I have no objection to that. But I do not feel justified in insisting that a person who fulfils all the other recommendations including the one about untouchability but is unable to weave or spin for himself should be debarred from becoming a worker, because he cannot wear Khadi. Shall he therefore unhesitatingly kill a cow if called upon to do so by official order? Shall he obey such order or disobey it? Evidently, according to the programme, he will not be allowed to disobey it, at any rate under the auspices of the Congress.

These and some other elementary matters regarding liberty of conscience excepting, I am fully with the resolution. I am for a complete policy of Non-co-operation and for Civil Disobedience to all orders of an unrighteous character—the unrighteousness being determined by the individual conscience under the dictates of ethical and religious codes to which we are pledged by our religion.

With these words, I would desire that the various parts of the Resolution may be put to the vote, clause by clause, and not put before the audience as one substantive proposition, which should either be accepted or rejected. I am unfortunately in the position that I do not support it entirely nor do I oppose it entirely.

With these words I would ask you to consider the question carefully and come to a decision as to the redress of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs and the establishment of real Swaraj (Cheers).

Mr. R. K. Sidhwa said that the Parsi community fully supported the resolution. It was Dadabhai Naoroji who had first unfurled the banner of Swaraj at Calcutta, and it was impossible that the Parsis could lag behind in this struggle for Swaraj.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the great Bengalee Poetess, in further supporting the resolution said; "Citizens of the

India of which we dream to-day but which we shall achieve to-morrow, you have heard representatives of all the great religions of India to-day. You have heard the Moslem, the Hindu and the Sikh. You have heard the men and the women speak. I speak not as representing any religion, any province, any sex to-day, but arrogant as it might seem, in all humility I say, I speak as the Spirit of Free India (Hear, hear). Therefore. I stand up to offer my support to this great resolution which has been placed before you, not in the manner of resolutions of 36 years' experience, of resolutions from the platform of the National Congress, but which has been thundered out to you with the voice of a prophet from the mountain top of vision and of hope. (Cheers). I am not one who cares for Governments or authorities. I care only for principles and ideals. I am not one who panders to expedencies. I acknowledge and follow only the wisdom of the ever-living Truth. Therefore, if I stand before you to speak, it is because I am the voice of your own heart, the very innermost secret surging voice of your own conscience, your own aspirations, your own hopes, your own certainty.

A Challenge.

What does this resolution say? What does it mean? What challenge does it throw? What does it affirm? What does it deny? It denies the right of a most powerful Government on earth to trample on the heart and soul of a living nation. What does it affirm? It affirms, in the words of Lokmanya, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, that "Liberty is our Birth-right", and we shall have Liberty to-day. What is the challenge thrown to the Government? It says, as Mahatma Gandhi so wonderfully put it, that the door is open. March with us to that destined goal that we see before us to-day, when you and your children, O Rulers of Britain, might eclipse side by side with us in friendship and comradeship! But unless you realise that it is not by the might of the sword but by the invincible, slender, fragile, silken cord of Love that nations can be bound together, you have no place in our midst.

And what is the answer to repression? The answer is that those dozens of delicately nurtured women who having sent their sons, husbands, and fathers to prison, have come to-

day to take their place to carry on the torches, in the words of Deshbandhu Chitta Ranjan Das, to be the pilgrims on the road and to build up the edifice of your freedom with their corpse if death be necessary. As soon might you tell the Sun not to rise at dawn as to say to India, "don't move towards your destined freedom"—as soon might you say to the Ganges, "cease to flow"—as to say to the sacred spirit of Indian womanhood, "don't flow towards the sea of "Liberty." You might as well say to the Earth, "cease to flower in the spring," and to the Stars in the sky at midnight, "don't shine," as to say to the young ones amongst us, "don't join the volunteer corps." Do I not know what the younger generation can endure, what it can achieve? During those dreadful few days in Bombay* when it seemed that the whole of our work was to be cast in ruins—who was it that saved the situation? Who? Not only the fast of the Saint† within his cell but the endurance, the courage, the sacrifice of my young Volunteers—who stood, night and day, fearlessly, bloodshed around them, death about them, disaster around them, but true to their post, the symbol of the Indian Victory. Therefore, I do not share the fear of Shree Shankaracharya nor of any one else who thinks that India will give her divided support to this proposition. There is no division in India to-day, no caste, no tradition of caste.—No tyranny of caste can keep the untouchables from being the comrade and the equals of the twice-born Brahmin in their march to Freedom. (hear, hear). Therefore, in the name of the youngmen of India, the young women of India, the old men and the oldwomen of India, the oldest men and oldest women of India, I pledge the lives, the souls and all of every Indian to this great cause and say: "In this great land, may there be peace because we win only through peace. (Continued applause.)"

After Khawja Abdul Rahaman Ghazi and an Akali Sikh delegate had further supported the resolution, it was put to the meeting and was passed with acclamation, there being only ten dissentients of which one was doubtful.

* The mob out-break on 17th November, the day of the Prince of Wales' landing in Bombay.

† Mahatma Gandhi who went on 3 days fast as a penance for the mob outrage.

Changes in the Constitution

Mr. V. J. Patel then read, on behalf of the President, the following minor changes in the working of the constitution. They were carried unanimously.

In Article 4, instead of the age of 21 read the age of 18. At the end of Article 7, add "provided that no person shall become a member of two parallel Congress organizations."

At the end of Article 8, add "members of the All-India Congress Committee shall become ex-officio delegates to the Congress, the Provincial Congress Committees deducting the number of the elected and the ex-officio members of the All-India Congress Committee in their province from the number of the delegates they are entitled to return."

In Clause 5 of Article 8, remove the brackets after "single transferable vote" and add "or by any other method."

In Clause 2 of Article 10 after "past, present of the Congress" add "if they sign the Congress Creed and are members of any Congress Association." In the same clause after "shall" add "elected President." In Article 25 after "the general Secretaries" add "and 2 Treasurers."

Other Resolutions

Among the other resolutions put from the Chair was one proposing minor changes in the constitution so as to make it incumbent on ex-Presidents to sign the Congress Creed and treating the All-India Congress Committee Members ex-officio delegates of the Congress as under the old constitution.

Another resolution which was put to the vote from the chair was also unanimously carried. It reads as follows:—

"This Congress re-appoints Pandit Motilal Nehru, Doctor Ansari and Srijut C. Rajagopalachari as the General Secretaries of this Congress for the year 1922, and as Pandit Motilal Nehru and Mr. C. Rajagopalachari are now in jail, appoints Sjt. Vithalbhaj J. Patel and Dr. Rajan respectively to act for them, the former to be the Working Secretary.

"This Congress re-appoints Seth Jamanlal Bajaj and Sheth Chotani as the treasurers of the Congress, the former to be the Working Treasurer,"

The following further Resolutions were moved from the Chair.

Congratulation to the Sikhs

"This Congress heartily congratulates Shreeman Bawa Gurudit Singhji, the great organiser of Sri Guru Nanak steamer, who willingly surrendered himself, after seven years' fruitless search by the Government, as a sacrifice for the nation, and also congratulates other Sikh leaders who have preferred imprisonment to the restriction of their religious rights, and congratulates the Sikh community on their non-violent spirit at the time of the Babaji's arrest and on other occasions in spite of great provocation by the Police and the Military.

An Appeal

"This Congress appeals to all those who do not believe in full non-co-operation or in the principle of non-co-operation, but who consider it essential for the sake of national self-respect to demand and insist upon the redress of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs and for the sake of full national self-expression, to insist upon the immediate establishment of Swaraj, to render full assistance to the nation in the promotion of unity between different religious communities, to popularise carding, hand-spinning and hand-weaving from its economical aspect and as a cottage industry necessary in order to supplement the resources of millions of agriculturists who are living on the brink of starvation, and to that end preach and practise the use of hand-spun and hand-woven garments, to help the cause of total prohibition, and if Hindus, to bring about the removal of untouchability and to help the improvement of the condition of the submerged classes.

The Moplah disturbance

"This Congress expresses its firm conviction that the Moplah disturbance was not due to the Non-co-operation or the Khilafat movement, especially as the non-co-operators and the Khilafat preachers were denied access to the affected parts by the District Authorities for six months before the disturbance, but is due to causes wholly unconnected with the two movements and that the outbreak would

not have occurred had the message of non-violence been allowed to reach them. Nevertheless this Congress deplores the acts done by certain Moplahs by way of forcible conversions and destruction of life and property and is of opinion that the prolongation of the disturbance in Malabar could have been prevented by the Government of Madras accepting the proffered assistance of Maulana Yakub Hassan and other non-co-operators and allowing Mahatma Gandhi to proceed to Malabar, and is further of opinion that the treatment of Moplah prisoners as evidenced by the asphyxiation incident* was an act of inhumanity unheard of in modern times and unworthy of a Government that calls itself civilised.

Turks Congratulated

"This Congress congratulates Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha† and the Turks upon their successes and assures the Turkish nation of India's sympathy and support in its struggle to retain its status and independence.

A Condemnation

"This Congress deplores the occurrences that took place in Bombay on the 17th November last and after, and assures all parties and communities that it has been and is the desire and determination of the Congress to guard their rights to the fullest extent."

* Reference is to the Moplah train tragedy in which more than a hundred Moplah prisoners were packed in a closed railway van in consequence of which they died during transit. See *INDIAN IN 1921-22*.

† Kemal Pasha, Nationalist leader of Turkey and Head of the Angora Government, fought against the Greeks backed by England and beat them securing Turkish Nationalist victory which led to the revision of the Treaty of Sevres.

The Independence Resolution

The President next announced that Moulana Hasrat Mohani would move a resolution pressing for the change of the Creed of the Congress.

Moulana Hasrat Mohani in proposing his resolution on complete Independence made a long and impassioned speech in Urdu. He said, although they had been promised Swaraj last year the redress of the Khilafat and Punjab wrongs within a year, they had so far achieved nothing of the sort. Therefore it was no use sticking to the programme. If remaining within the British Empire or the British Commonwealth they could not have freedom, he felt that, if necessary, they should not hesitate to go out of it. In the words of Lok. Tilak "liberty was their birthright," and any Government which denied this elementary right of freedom of speech and freedom of action did not deserve allegiance from the people. Home Rule or Dominion lines or Colonial Self-Government could not be a substitute to them for their in-born liberty. A Government which could clap into jail such distinguished leaders of the people as Mr. Chitta Ranjan Das, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Lala Lajpat Rai and others, had forfeited all claim to respect from the people. And since the end of the year did not bring them Swaraj nothing should prevent them from taking the only course left open to them now, that of winning their freedom free from all foreign control. The resolution reads as follows :—

"The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment of Swaraj or complete independence free from all foreign control by the People of India by all legitimate and peaceful means."

Mr. R. Venkataram of the *Bombay Chronicle* in seconding the resolution said : I stand before you to-day and second the Resolution that has been moved by Maulana Hasrat Mohani. I know that the Resolution is quite explicit and it does not require many words from me and I do not want to inflict a speech at this stage. I only hope that you will appreciate the need for explicitness and frankness and heartily vote for this Resolution,

Swami Kumarnath (a Bengali Sanyasi) in supporting the resolution said that nothing could satisfy the people at such a time short of complete independence. It was impossible to be under a Government which had adopted such a wholesale repressive policy restricting the actions and liberties of the people and sending to jail such great patriots as Lala Lajpat Rai, Das and others. The grant of the Dominion Home Rule could not appease their hunger for complete independence.

Mr. Yakub Ali Khan of U. P. in supporting the resolution said : All that we want is to keep it as an ideal. If we are not in a position to declare our independence at this moment, at least you will allow to have it as an ideal and fulfil it in no time. I should say we would do our level best to achieve it at the shortest possible time. With these few words I support the resolution.

Mr. U. P. Alwar of Andhra in supporting the resolution said that even the lowest animal of creation wanted freedom. Wherever there are men they wanted to be free and when this is so, he said, is it wrong for the Indians to aim to be free and not to be anything else. The British Government in the Proclamation of Queen Victoria declared that their only mission was to help India. And that the English had come, as they declare, simply to help us to be independent, and as such what harm is there to declare and to say that our aim is to be free—separate from the British Empire ?

Mahatma Gandhi's Speech in Opposition.

Mahatma Gandhi in opposing the resolution said (after having addressed the delegates in Hindi) : Friends, I have said only a few words in Hindi in connection with the proposition of Mr. Hasrat Mohani. All I want to say to you in English is that the levity with which that proposition has been taken by some of you has grieved me. It has grieved me because it shows lack of responsibility. As responsible men and women we should go back to the days of Nagpur and Calcutta and we should remember what we did only an hour ago. An hour ago we passed a resolution which actually contemplates a final settlement of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs and transference of the power from the hands of the bureaucracy into the hands of the people by certain definite

means. Are you going to rub the whole of that position from your mind by raising a false issue and by throwing a bomb-shell in the midst of the Indian atmosphere? I hope that those of you who have voted for the previous resolution will think fifty times before taking up this resolution and voting for it. We shall be charged by the thinking portion of the world that we do not know really where we are. Let us understand too our limitations. Let Hindus and Musalmans have absolute, indissoluble unity. Who is here who can say to-day with confidence; "Yes, Hindu-Muslim Unity has become an indissoluble factor of Indian Nationalism?" Who is here who can tell me that the Parsis and the Sikhs and the Christians and the Jews and the untouchables about whom you heard this afternoon—who will tell me that those very people will not rise against any such idea? Think therefore fifty times before you take a step which will redound not to your credit, not to your advantage, but which may cause you irreparable injury. Let us first of all gather up our strength; let us first of all sound our own depths. Let us not go into waters whose depths we do not know, and this proposition of Mr. Hasrat Mohani lands you into depths unfathomable. I ask you in all confidence to reject that proposition, if you believe in the proposition that you passed only an hour ago. The proposition now before you rubs off the whole of the effect of the proposition that you passed only a moment ago. Are creeds such simple things like clothes which a man can change at will? For creeds people die, and for creeds people live from age to age. Are you going to change the creed which with all deliberation, and after great debate in Nagpur, you accepted? There was no limitation of one year when you accepted that creed. It is an extensive creed; it takes in all, the weakest and the strongest, and you will deny yourselves the privilege of clothing the weakest amongst yourselves with protection if you accept this limited creed of Maulana Hasrat Mohani which does not admit the weakest of your brethren. I therefore ask you in all confidence to reject his proposition.

Maulana Mohani's Reply.

Moulana Hasrat Mohani in replying to the debate said that what he wanted to say was that they should keep indepen-

dence before themselves as their idea. He did not mean to say that if anything less were given, they should reject it. One year had gone by and their wrongs were not yet redressed, and what guarantee was there that they would ever have the power to do so? He wanted the Congress to have the ideal of complete independence. Lo!.. Tilak had said that "Swaraj was their bright", and he did not see any harm in putting down complete independence as their ideal.

The President in putting the resolution to vote said it was contended that Swaraj which was their ideal had two meanings and Maulana Hasrat Mohani wanted Swaraj to mean complete independence.

The resolution was put to vote and was found lost by a majority, a substantial minority having voted for it.

The Session closed.

This finished the resolutions before the Congress.

The President said he wanted to congratulate the Congress on passing the resolution moved by Mahatma Gandhi. They must understand that in passing the resolution they had shouldered a very great responsibility and he hoped they would not be found wanting in their day of trial. He thanked the Reception Committee and volunteers for all they had done to make the Congress the great success it was.

Thanks to the President.

Mr. C. V. Vijayaraghavachariar then moved a vote of thanks to the President who, he said, had managed the business so very well. Hakimji, he added, was the greatest believer in the Hindu-Muslim unity.

Swami Shradhanandji said he had been working with the Hakimji for the last three years in Delhi and they should consider themselves fortunate in having such a gentleman as their President. They both loved each other as dear brothers. The resolution was passed.

A vote of thanks was then proposed to the Reception Committee and was passed.

After a very inspiring song by a choir of ladies, the President declared the session closed.

Presidential Address
Delivered by
Moulana Hasrat Mohani

AT THE FOURTEENTH SESSION OF THE
ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

AHMEDABAD, 30th DECEMBER 1921

The Fourteenth Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League opened at Ahmedabad on December 30th, 1921 under the Presidency of Moulana Hasrat Mohani under a specially erected pandal. The attendance was large. Among those present were Mahatma Gandhi, Mr. Vijairaghavachariar, Mr. Patel, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Hon. Mr. Raja Ali, Dr. Ansari and others. Mr. Abbas Tayabji, Chairman of the Reception Committee, in welcoming the delegates traced the history of the Muslim League and concluded that after the great help of the Hindus on the Khilafat question and after finding that the League and the Congress had the same objects in view, he thought that the League should cease to be a separate and distinct body and that it should merge itself into the Congress.

The President, Moulana Hasrat Mohani then delivered his address. It was from beginning to end a plea for declaration, on the first January 1922, of an Indian Republic called the United States of India. He said :—

“Gentlemen, while thanking you for electing me to preside over this session of the All-India Moslem League, I wish to say in all sincerity that the importance of this session of the League in which the fate of Hindustan is to be decided required the choice of a person abler than myself, such as Moulana Mahammad Ali, Dr. Kitchlew or Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, to preside over its deliberations. But unfortunately the Government has forcibly taken away the first two

gentlemen from amongst us while Moulana Azad * expressed his inability to accept the responsibility. Consequently, as the proverb goes, "if you do not accept it willingly it will be forced on thee," this great duty was placed on my shoulder. I will try to discharge it to the best of my ability, but success is in the hand of God.

The present condition of the League appears to be very weak indeed ; but this does not in the least derogate from its real importance, for, it was the All-India Moslem League which actually realised the first and the most essential condition of Indian independence, the Hindu-Muslim unity. And now that it has been achieved it is for the League to maintain it also. Besides it is on the platform of the League that all sections of political opinion amongst the Musalmans, extremists or moderates, have so far been and in future will probably be brought together.

Before going into the causes of the weakness of the League it will be better to enumerate its aims and objects. These are.—(1) The attainment of Swaraj by the people of India by all peaceful and legitimate means ; (2) to protect and advance the political, religious and other rights and interest of the Indian Musalmans ; (3) to promote friendship and union between the Musalmans and other communities of India ; (4) to maintain and strengthen the brotherly relations between the Mussalmans of India and those of other countries.

India's Ideal.

The first of these is also known to be the creed of the "Congress." Therefore, so long as the word Swaraj is not defined in consonance with the Muslim desire and the means for its attainment are not amplified, it is only natural that the Muslim interests in the League should be meagre. The third object, which is Hindu-Muslim unity, is the common object both of the League and the Congress. The fourth object, the unity of the Muslim World, which, along with other questions connected with the Khilafat, has been specially taken up by the Khilafat Committee. There remains only the second object, that is, the protection of the special interest of the Musalmans. As to this, so long as a much

* Note :—Maulana Azad has since been arrested and sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment under sec. 121A, I. P. C.

greater and more important object, that is the attainment of Swaraj, still remains unachieved, people should better direct their united efforts against the common enemy than look after their special interests. They will be attended to when time comes for it.

As if these causes were not sufficient in themselves to decrease the Muslim influence in the League, its rules and regulations were unfortunately so framed that while public opinion has developed at a rapid pace, most members of the League have not moved an inch from their first position. As a result, the League remains nothing more than an old calendar. It is very necessary to remove the causes of the weakness of the League and to remove them immediately ; for, in proportion as we approach nearer and nearer to the goal of Swaraj the need of the League will be more, because the questions of special Muslim rights will rise again with greater importance when India is free. Our first duty, therefore, should be to reduce the fee for the membership of the League and thus increase its members who will choose their representatives on the League every year. The members of the Council of the Provincial and the All-India Muslim Leagues should be chosen, as is the case with the Congress, every year.

Plea for a Change.

But the most pressing necessity of all is a change in the first object of the League to suit the changed Muslim condition. Every one of us knows that the word Swaraj has been definitely left vague and undefined. The creed of the Congress, the object of it, has been that if the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs are settled on the lines of our demands then Swaraj within the British Empire will be considered sufficient. Otherwise, efforts will be directed towards the attainment of complete independence. But gentlemen, from the Muslim point of view, it is not enough that we should stand for complete independence alone. It is necessary to decide upon the form that it should take, and in my opinion it can only be an Indian Republic on the lines of the United States of America. Besides this, the term "peaceful" which defines and restricts the scope of the legitimate means for the attainment of Swaraj in the Congress creed is opposed to the natural and religious aspirations of the Musalmans ; therefore in the

creed of the League the words "possible" and "proper" should be substituted for the words "legitimate and peaceful." I will explain the matter in detail. The Mussalmans should understand it clearly that they will derive a two-fold advantage from the establishment of an Indian Republic. Firstly, the general benefit which they will undoubtedly share along with their Indian brethren as citizens of a common state ; secondly, the special advantage which the Mussalmans will derive from it is that with every decline in the prestige and power of the British Empire which to-day is the worst enemy of the Muslim countries, the Muslim world will get breathing time and opportunity to improve its conditions.

Hindu-Muslim Unity.

Gentlemen, in spite of the present Hindu-Muslim unity there still exists many serious misunderstandings and suspicion between these two great communities of Hindustan, and it is of primary importance that we should grasp the true nature of these misunderstandings. The Hindus have a lurking suspicion that given an opportunity of Mahomedan invasion of India the Mussalmans will at least help their co-religionists in case they invaded to plunder and devastate Hindustan ; and these misunderstandings are so deep-rooted, and widespread that so far as my knowledge goes no Indian statesman has escaped it except the late Lokmanya Tilak. On the other hand, the Mussalmans suspect that on the achievement of self-government the Hindus will acquire greater political powers and will use their numerical superiority to crush the Mussalmans. Gentlemen, it is quite clear that these misunderstandings can only be won over by compromise, discussion and mutual understanding that the third party should not come between them. The generality of Mussalmans with a few exceptions are afraid of the numerical superiority of the Hindus and are absolutely opposed to an ordinary Reform Scheme as a substitute for complete independence. The primary reason for this is that in a merely reformed, as contrasted with an independent Government, they will be under a double suspicion. First, a subjection to the Government of India which will be common to Hindus and Mussalmans ; secondly, a subjection to the Hindu majority which they will have to face in every department of the Government. On the other hand, if the danger of the English

power is removed the Mussalmans will only have the Hindu majority to fear and fortunately this fear is such as will be automatically removed with the establishment of the Indian Republic ; for, while the Mussalmans as a whole are in a minority in India yet nature has provided a compensation ; the Mussalmans are not in a minority in all the provinces. In some provinces such as Kashmere, the Punjab, Sind, Bengal and Assam (?) the Mussalmans are more numerous than the Hindus. In the United States of India the Hindu majority in Madras, Bombay, and the United Provinces will not be allowed to overstep the limits of moderation against the Mussalmans. Similarly, so long as a completely liberated India does not come in the hands of the Hindus and Mussalmans themselves, the Hindus will be always suspicious that in case of a foreign invasion the Mussalmans will aid their co-religionist invaders. But, on the establishment of the Indian Republic which will be shared in common, Mussalmans will not desire that the power of even a Muslim foreigner should be established over his country. Gentlemen, I have just stated it as a necessary condition of the Hindu-Muslim compromise and that the third party, the English, should not be allowed to step in between us. Otherwise all our affairs will fall into disorder.

The Moplah Incident.

Its best example is before you in the shape of the Moplah incident. You are probably aware that Hindu India has an open and direct complaint against the Moplahs and an indirect complaint against all of us that the Moplahs are plundering and spoiling their innocent Hindu neighbours. But probably you are not aware that the Moplahs justify their action on the ground, that at such a critical juncture, when they are engaged in a war against the English, their neighbours not only do not help them and observe neutrality but aid and assist the English in every possible way. They can no doubt contend that while they are fighting a defensive war for the sake of their religion and have left their houses, property and belongings and taken refuge in hills and jungles, it is unfair to characterise as plunder their commandeering of the money, provision and other necessities for their troops, from the English and their supporters. Gentlemen, both are right in their complain, but so far as my investigation goes the cause of this mutual recrimination can be

traced to the interference of the third party. It happens thus ; whenever any English detachment suddenly appear in their locality and kill the Moplah inhabitants of the place, rumour somehow spreads in the neighbourhood that the Hindu inhabitants of the place had invited the English army for their protection, with the result that after the departure of the English troops Moplahs or their neighbours do not hesitate to retaliate and consider the money and other belongings of the Hindus as lawful spoils of war taken from those who have aided and abetted the enemy. Where no such events have occurred the Moplahs and the Hindus even now live side by side ; the Moplahs do not commit any excesses against the Hindus, while the Hindus do not hesitate in helping the Moplahs to the best of their ability.

The Two Means To Win Swaraj

I have wandered from my purpose. I meant to emphasise that in the first clause dealing with the aims and objects of the League the word Swaraj should be defined as complete independence in the cause of an Indian Republic. Otherwise, there is a danger that in the presence of a third party self-government within the British instead of being beneficial might actually prove injurious. The second amendment necessary is that the methods for the attainment of Swaraj should be amplified. In place of only "peaceful and legitimate means," "possible and proper" ones should be substituted. Thus, on the one hand, opportunity of joining the League will be given to those who do not honestly believe in non-co-operation alone as the sole path of salvation and recognising the possibility of other methods adopt them. Also, on the other hand, the amendment will remove the complaint of those who believe that non co-operation can, under no circumstances, remain peaceful to the last ; and while subscribing to the creed of the Congress and the first clause of the section dealing with the object of the League as a matter of policy and expediency refuse to admit it as a faith for all times and circumstances or to remain non-violent even in intention.

Gentlemen, there are two possible means of replacing one government by another. One, the destruction of the Government by sword and the establishment of another in its place—a method which has been followed in the world thus far. The

second alternative is to sever all connection with the present Government and to set up a better organised Government parallel to it, and improve and develop it till the old order is dissolved and the new takes its place. Friends,—to achieve this object we must immediately set up on a separate and permanent foundation our own courts, schools, arts, industries, army, police and a national Parliament. Non-violent non-co-operation can only help to start the parallel Government but cannot maintain it. The question now is, can such a parallel Government be established through non-violent non-co-operation, of course, provided the rival Government does not interfere with its establishment,—a condition which is obviously impossible, because the rival Government will certainly interfere. We might contend that we will proceed on with our work silently and quietly in spite of Government interference as is being done at present.

When Non-violence will be Impossible.

A stage will however be reached ultimately when action on peaceful lines will absolutely become impossible, and then we will be forced to admit that a parallel Govt. can be started but not continue to last through peaceful means. Examples of Governmental repression are before your eyes. First, it attempted through the Karachi trials to prevent the Mussalmans from openly proclaiming the articles of their faith. When the people, undaunted by this decision of the Government, preached throughout the length and breadth of India that it was unlawful to serve in the army, the Govt. slowly overlooked these activities fearing lest mere repetition of the Karachi resolution might lead to disaffection in the army. And, in order to divert the attention of the people from these activities, it suddenly but deliberately declared enrolment of 'volunteers' as unlawful, so that it might get an opportunity of striking at the non-cooperators. Like moths that gather to sacrifice their lives round a lighted candle, the advocates of Civil Disobedience swarmed to break this declaration of Lord Reading and cheerfully went in their thousands to goal. This is undoubtedly an example of self-sacrifice and self-effacement which well might move Mahatma Gandhi to ecstasy.

But we detect another truth hidden in this demonstration of happiness and joy. It reveals to our eyes the last stage of

both the repression of the Govt. and patience of the people. People are no doubt prepared to bear and suffer gladly the hardship of a few days' imprisonment. But, on the declaration of Martial Law, non-violent non co-operation movement will prove totally insufficient and useless. Amongst the Mussalmans at least, there will hardly be found a man who can have any but one of the two feelings in his heart when faced by the barrel of a gun, either to seek refuge in flight or to take advantage of the law of self-preservation and despatch his adversary to hell. The third alternative, that of cheerfully yielding up one's life to the enemy and considering it to be one real success, will remain confined to Mahatma Gandhi and some of his adherents and fellow-thinkers. I, on my part, fear that in general the reply to Martial Law will be, what is commonly called, Guerilla Warfare, or in the words of the Koran "kill them wherever you find them." The responsibility for all this bloodshed will rest on the shoulders of the Govt.

Consequently, as representatives of the Mussalmans, the members of the All-India Muslim League should consider it their duty either to refrain from adopting non-co-operation as their creed or free it from the limitation of keeping it either violent or non-violent. For, it is not in our power to keep non co-operation peaceful or otherwise. So long as Government confines itself to the use of chains and fetters, non co-operation can remain peaceful as it is to-day. But if things go further and Government has recourse to gallows or machine guns, it will be impossible.

Why Muslims go one step further.

At this stage, people would like to ask how it is that while the Hindus are content to adopt non-violent non co-operation as the means for attaining independence, the Mussalmans are anxious to go a step further. The answer is that the liberation of Hindusthan is as much a political duty of Mussalmans as that of a Hindu. Owing to the question of Khilafat it has become a Mussalman's religious duty also.

In this connection I should like to say just one word. The glories of Ghazi Mustapha Kemal Pasha and the conclusion of the recent Franco-Turkish treaty might credit an idea in some people's minds that the evacuation of Smyrna

by the Greeks is a certainty and the restoration of Thrace to the Turks, if not certain, is within the bounds of possibility. Consequently, they might entertain the hope that the struggle in the Near East is coming to a close. I want to warn all such people that the claims of the Mussalmans of India are founded more on religious than on political principles. So long as the Jazirat-ul-Arab (including Palestine and Mesopotamia) is not absolutely freed from Non-Muslim influence and so long as the political and military power of the Khilafat-Ul-Mussalman is not fully restored, the Mussalmans of India cannot suspend their activities and efforts.

The Khilafat Demands.

The Muslim demands as regards the Khilafat are these : (1) that in pursuance of the promise of Mr. Lloyd George, Thrace and Smyrna along with the city of Smyrna should remain purely under Turkish control so that the political prestige of the Khilafat-Ul-Mussalman which is essential for the Khilafat should suffer no diminution. (2) All non-Turkish control should be removed from Constantinople, the shores of Marmora and the Dardanelles, in order that the Khilafat-al Constantinople may not be under non-Muslim control which is essential for the Khilafat. (3) All naval and military restrictions imposed on the Khilafat should be removed as otherwise he would have no power to enforce the orders of the Khilafat. (4) The Jazirat-Ul-Arab, including Hedjaz, Palestine and Mesopotamia should be free from all Non-Muslim influence and not be under the British mandate as it was the death-bed injunction of the Prophet. It should be noted that in the fourth demand we wish the English to give up their mandate of Mespot. and Palestine and remove their influence from the Hedjaz. As to the question, whether the Arabs will acknowledge the Sherif of Mecca or the Sultan of Turkey as their Khilafat or whether the Arab Govt. of Hedjaz, Mespot. and Palestine will be independent or under the suzerainty of the Khalifa, they will be decided by the Mussalmans. We do not want Non-Muslim advice or assistance.

League-Congress Compact.

In my opinion, gentleman, the most pressing necessity of Hindusthan is the immediate conclusion of a definite compact

between the Congress and the League. The Congress should not enter into any negotiations with the Government concerning Swaraj (1) until the minimum Muslim demands with regard to the Khilafat are satisfied, (2) on the other hand, the Muslims should definitely bind themselves that even when their demands with regard to the Khilafat are satisfied, the Mussalmans of India will stand to the last by the side of their Hindu brethren for the attainment and reservation of Indian independence.

Such a compact is all the more necessary because there are signs that the enemies of Indian Independence—and we have to confess with regret that a number of deceitful Indians are working with the foreigners—are concentrating all their efforts to wreck the Hindu-Moslem Unity and create distrust and misunderstanding between the communities. On the one hand, the Mussalmans are being enticed by false hopes with regard to Khilafat question. On the other, some showy toys of political concessions are being prepared as a gift for the Hindus even before the stipulated period of ten years. It is intended that in their simplicity the Mussalmans should consider the return of Smyrna etc. as the satisfaction of their Khilafat demands and slacken their efforts for the attainment of Swaraj, while the Hindus should be misled into believing a further instalment of reforms as the Swaraj itself or at least its precursor and begin to consider the Khilafat as an irrelevant question.

There can be only one solution for all these problems. Hindus and Mussalmans, after mutual consultation, should have Indian Independence declared by Mahatma Gandhi, so that in future neither the English might have an opportunity of deceiving nor India of being deceived. After the Declaration of Independence the Congress and the League will have only one object left, that is, the preservation of Swaraj. 1922 is the best date for the purpose, because we would thus have fulfilled the promise that we made to attain Swaraj within this year, and the people of India will have achieved success in the eyes of God and man. (Cheers)

All India Muslim League

SECOND DAY—31ST DECEMBER 1921

The Moslem League met at 9 P. M on 31st. Dec. 1921. After it had passed some non-contentious resolutions the President Haerat Mohani made an announcement amidst applause that he proposed that the decision of the Subjects Committee rejecting his resolution regarding the attainment of independence and destruction of British Imperialism would be held as final and representing the opinion of the majority in the League, but that in view of the great importance of the subject he would allow a discussion on that resolution without taking any vote.

Mr. Azad Sobhani who had moved the resolution in the Subjects Committee, also moved it in the League. He said he believed in Hindu-Moslem unity as absolutely essential, in non-violent non-co-operation as the only way to fight their battle and Mr. Gandhi was fully deserving the dictatorship which had been invested on him by the Congress, but that he also believed that British Imperialism was the greatest danger to India and the Moslem world and must be destroyed by placing before them an ideal of independence.

Mr. Azad Sobhani was followed by several speakers who supported him in the same vein.

The Hon'ble Mr. Raza Ali announced that the reason for the ruling of the President was that the League did not want to take a step which the Congress had not taken. He warned them against saying big things without understanding them and reminded the audience that India was at present ready for maintaining liberty even if it was attained.

He asked, who would, for instance, be their Commander-in-Chief if the British left to-morrow. (A voice, "Enver Pasha.")

The speaker emphatically declared that he would not tolerate any foreigner. He wanted an Indian Commander-in-Chief.

Among the other resolutions passed by the League was one about the Moplahs, which condemned the Government's excesses and the reported conversion by Moplahs.

The President then closed the Session after a short speech.

Presidential Address
Delivered by
Mrs. Sorojini Naidu
AT THE SECOND SESSION OF THE
ALL INDIA
STUDENTS' CONFERENCE

AHMEDABAD—29TH DECEMBER 1921

The Second Session of the All India Students' Conference met at Ahmedabad on the 29th of December 1921, under the Presidency of Srimati Sorojini Naidu.

The audience numbered about three thousand. Representative students of all the Provinces were present.

The following is the full text of Mrs. Sorojini Naidu's Presidential address at the All-India Students' Conference at Ahmedabad :—

My young comrades,—If some fairy God-mother of Destiny were to say to me "Yet in time now or in the future what is the one supreme wish of your heart, what is the one supreme honour you covet, what would be the crowning glory of all your achievement?—choose." Do you know what I would choose without hesitation, without doubt in my mind? For my opportunity I would choose to mould the mind of the young generation. For the supremest honour of my life, I should ask for the love of the young generation. For the crowning glory and the achievement of my life I should like it written on my epitaph—"She loved the young generation; she trusted the young generation; she worked with the young generation; she won freedom side by side with the young generation of Indians for India." That is the secret desire of my heart. So, you can understand that if I stand before you to-day your chosen President, it seems to me as if the fairy God-mother were already, without my asking it, for almost without my knowing it, conferring upon me the boon of

boons. Ever since I could speak articulately, not the language as one finds in the dictionaries of the world, but the language of the heart of youth in which the imagination of youth speaks, no matter in what tongue and in what country, my one thought has been always for the freedom of India; my earliest services in that direction were the companionship of students always. My first entry into public life was as a speaker in the colleges as the chosen guest of the students of the cities of India. To speak from larger platforms to larger audiences came much later, but it never brought to me the thrill that I still remember of those little audiences in attentively listening to me with avid faces and those burning eyes looking into future and demanding an answer from the Time Spirit. To-day I stand amongst you once more as representative of the Spirit of India. You have come from North and South, East and West and the central heart of India,—you who represent many races to-day, many creeds to-day, many sects to-day, all times of civilization, all kinds of traditions, all kinds of conflicts, and yet united by the one burning desire to serve your country, to sever her from bondage, to enthrone her among the states,—you have come together at the call of the nation,—you who have made a response to the voice that have trumpeted forth saying, "Stand forth, you, young generation, and break the shackles of your Mother." What is the message that I can deliver to you? What is the strength that can be mine that will guide you a-right to day on the difficult pilgrimage towards freedom? Those of you who were here the other day must be remembering with a thrill the words that I read from Desbandhu Chitta Ranjan Das's message in which he speaks of the students. There he says in words that are written in fire:—"Let me not forget the students. They are the inspiration of the movement. They are the torch-bearers on the path to freedom. They are the pilgrims on the road to liberty. If theirs has been the sacrifice, then victory is their due." This is the message which the chosen President of the National Congress wrote for the students in whom he has faith, in whom his generation has faith. And I, representing his generation, deliver to you the message of his generation and mine, asking that you will fulfil the pledges that we have made to the world, because you, and you alone, are not only the heroes of all our greatness but the fulfillers, the completers of all our imper-

fections, all our shortcomings, all our weaknesses. You are to wipe out the stains upon our generation. You are to blot out with your prayers, with your sacrifices all the stains, the scourges, the follies, the backslidings, the sins of our generation. This is the message that I bring you to-day.

You want to know what India demands of you. Turn over the pages of history of the nations that have found freedom, and you will find in page after page of glory, not the record only of battles fought and won on the open fields and under the stars; no, the most inspiring pages are not there. But the inspiring pages come where name after name of youngmen in their serried ranks fill up the gaps as the soldiers fall, the young serried ranks that surge into their trenches and with the cry of victory win the liberties of nations. You are in that position to-day. Greece, in her glorious days, could show no more radiant page of achievement. Rome, with all her Imperial purple, has not a passage more glowing than you can show to-day to the world. Nay, the history of your country, the history of such supreme sacrifice, such glorious achievement can show no page more lovely with sacrifice, more burning with the fire of prophetic zeal than you to-day in whose hands the writing and the illuminating of the history of Empires lie. The call to students came last year, but the call came with a rather hesitating voice because still the nation was not aware of its own peril. Nor was it so imminently and urgently aware of its need, its power, its great unity, its strength to sacrifice, its power to endure, its capacity to hurl back to an imperious bureaucracy the challenge of an invincible hope and an invincible resolve. To-day the call is not of an answering voice, the call is rising not from the mountain tops, but from the secret valleys of your own hearts and souls. If the voice of Mahatma Gandhi speaks to you, he is but the flute-call of your own hearts. He is not the Shree Krishna. He is the flute of Shree Krishna that is within your own hearts and souls. So, my young comrades, your duty to-day is clear before you. Sacrifice! Sacrifice!! Sacrifice!!!

One year ago I did not believe in the wisdom of young men turning their backs upon their colleges, shutting the pages of their text-books, denying to themselves the inviolable right and privilege of knowledge and culture. But

to-day after the agony of nearly one year's experience of the bitter need of India, the bitter perils of India, I stand up to say, though it hurts me still so to feel, that the young generation must turn its back upon the colleges, must deny to itself its own inalienable heritage of the right to learn, the right to know, the right that enriches the mind and the spirit with the garnered treasures of ages. I, none the less, say that freedom is worthy of even so valuable a sacrifice. Why shall men barter all their wealth to buy one pearl of great price? Shall men sell their land and kingdoms to satisfy one passionate whim of theirs, and yet the youth of the nation not offer itself up in a glared and flaming sacrifice for the sake of the freedom of India? In 1914, when the great battle-cloud broke over Europe, when the sky of August was stained blood-red with the menace of war, when the boom of the thundering cannon roared in the great cities of Europe, did I not see youngmen, men after men, in their hundreds of thousands pouring out of their colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, from the London colleges and the Welsh colleges and the Scottish colleges and the Manchester colleges and marching to the music of their own brave youth to victory or to doom? Is to-day so different from that day that needed the sacrifice of the youth of Europe for the sake of European peace? Is not our plight more tragic. Is not our need more terrible? Is not our case more vitally urgent? Is not our peril the peril not merely of lands that may be lost, of lives that may be lost, but of the nation's soul, the nation's honour, the nation's right to live among the living nations of the world? Therefore, I ask you, my young friends, you who are to-day the representatives of hundreds and thousands of young men and women all over India, pour forth in your uncounted numbers, pour forth to battle,—not to the battle of those that wade across seas of blood towards victory, but the battle of those who wade only across the blood of their own hearts—not the blood of their enemies' hearts. The difference between our warfare and the warfare of Europe, the warfare of the West, the accepted warfare of the world, is this, that whilst nations of another land win their victory slaying their enemies, we win our victory by slaying only our sins. It is the great battle of self-purification. It is the great battle of self-sacrifice. It is the great battle of self-devotion. If

in the years to come when the Swaraj flag flies over our national assemblies, in the summing up of the achievement of the great battle for liberty, we count up the gains and the losses, and among the losses, irreparable, incalculable though they may be, we find that the youth of India has preferred to remain ignorant, bereft of the knowledge, of that wide culture, that noble learning that is the inheritance of the young generations of the world, shall we have time to bemoan that ignorance? Shall we have time to lament that loss? Or shall we not say, 'So against this loss—this loss irreparable, incalculable though it is—it is the one thing which is worth while having, the one thing for which the generations have not sacrificed their all for nothing. There is, on the one hand, a few years of sacrifice, on the other, the imperishable legacy of freedom to a land set free for ever by the sacrifice of the young generations.'

The Meaning of the Pledge.

I want you all to realize that to-day you are the recruits in the great army of freedom. You are the new soldiers in the army of peace. I want you to understand the implications of the remark, I want you to realize in all its manifold bearing, in all the terrible responsibilities, the meaning of the word. What does it mean to be a volunteer? What does it mean to be a non co-operating student? What does it mean to-day to sign that pledge which you have proclaimed yesterday in tones, solemn and moving, from the lip of the Apostle of Freedom? It means this, my young friends—not merely that you will learn to parade and drill and fall into lines and salute your superiors and have ranks in the army and march singing national songs—these are the details, the outer trappings, the true symbols that count for nothing—but to be a soldier in the army that Mahatma Gandhi leads is to be reborn, pure and flawless, in the flame of sacrifice. It means the cleansing out of every secret sin from the secret recesses of your hearts. It means the purging of every fibre of yours from every evil thought, passion and desire that still might be lurking unsuspected in the crevices of your beings. It means that you pledge yourselves not only to the world that can see the outer things and judge you, but it means that you pledge yourselves to your Self, to the Being

seated in the midst of you that you will abstain in thought and word, desire and deed, from every low, evil, vicious, cancerous, leprous sin. That is what I want to impress upon you. That is what I want you to realize. It means the discipline of perfection, the discipline of the mind, the heart, the senses, the desire; not merely the obeying of the captain's orders, but the obeying of the orders of the Captain that is in every man's heart and is called Conscience by many tongues. It means that you will learn so to conquer yourself, your selfish desires, your selfish needs, your selfish pride, that you will endure, without retaliation, without resentment, all the indignity, humiliation, suffering, losses, penalties—if necessary flogging and torturing and death—for the sake of the cause to which you are pledged to-day.

That is really the message I have for you. If you have understood what the pledge stands for, if you have understood why the hand spun and hand-made outer symbol that is your garment, is the true symbol of your inward regeneration, if you have understood that you cannot ask for freedom for yourself, if within one single heart amongst you there still remains that shrinking from your neighbour because he is not born like yourselves within the mantle of the four-fold caste—if you have understood all these things, you have understood the meaning and the purpose of Swaraj. But if you have still within you the feeling that there are barriers between Hindu and Hindu within his own caste, between Hindu and Mussalman, between Mussalman and Parsee, between Parsee and Christian, if you will still divide ourselves in terms of sects and provinces and castes and divisions, there is no Swaraj for us; there is no Swaraj for the young generation. Therefore my purpose to-day is to make clear to you the meaning of that great pledge. But the young generation does not need my interpretation of the Gospel of Freedom. I want you, therefore, I know you will, therefore, join in your hundreds and thousands, and become yourselves the young Apostles of your own deliverance. There should be no peril that is too great for you to face, no difficulty so difficult for you to master, no destiny too exalted for you to achieve.

Last Appeal.

But my young friends, my young comrades, oh, pil-

grims on the road to freedom, as said the other pilgrim who is in the half-way house to freedom in the prison of Bengal, I charge you ; "Remember the sacred duty that will bow those young shoulders, the terrible burden that will bow those young heads. But, though your backs be broken and your heads be bowed, I charge you, let your hearts be never bowed or burdened. For, no matter how heavy the burden, let your own courage be the torch in your hand ; no matter how deep the path, let your own hope be in the pilgrim's staff in your hand ; no matter how far the goal, let your young strength give you wings to reach the goal. When the goal is reached and you stand high up on the peaks and look back across the difficult way you have come, comrades, remember ; let there be nothing that you see on the road you left behind save your own follies and weaknesses and sins and nothing of value, nothing of abiding worth or beauty ; take it all with you for the enriching of the temple, that is the temple of liberty. March with me to the Temple of Liberty. I carry the standard in my hands, Comrades, march with me till we reach the goal."

Resolution.

After Mrs. Naidu's address the Students' Conference adjourned for a couple of hours during which the Subjects Committee met and carried several resolutions. When the Conference re-assembled, those present included Hakim Ajmal Khan, Swami Shradhanand and Dr. Ansari. The following resolutions were passed :—

(1) Hoping that in obedience to the mandate of the Congress the students of and above the age of 18 would suspend their educational activities and enrol as volunteers ;

(2) protesting against the age limit of 16 set by the Congress for those who wanted to be volunteers, and urging that all College students, irrespective of the age limit, be allowed to become volunteers, (this resolution was moved and supported by those college students who were under age of 18) ;

(3) asking all students to learn handspinning and hand-weaving and to wear only Khadi-made cloth ;

(4) congratulating Lala Lajpat Rai, the first President of their conference and their fellow students for going to jail in spirit of self-sacrifice ;

(5) changing the name of the Conference from the All-India College Students to the Hind Vidyarthi Mahashabha, and amending the constitution so as to create a Working Committee of 21 members who would act as the executive of the big committee of the Conference.

The next resolution of the Students Conference wanted the attainment of complete independence as their creed. After a great deal of heated discussion the resolution was lost by a majority of eleven only.

Mrs. Naidu's Second Speech

After votes of thanks were given to the President, the delegates, the volunteers, and the Reception Committee, Mrs. Naidu made another speech. She said: "My young comrades, you are all very tired at the end of a long day's work, but I do not think that any of us here will grudge the hours we have spent together on clearing our own minds as to our own thoughts, intentions and aspirations. The outstanding feelings in my mind to-day, as I spend the hours in contact with the young minds that represent India, is that I am proud to be alive to see this material moulded into heroes for the salvation of India. I have spent most of my life amongst students, but never before have I felt so thrilled to realise that the young generation has the independence to think for itself unfrightened by even the presence of Mahatma Gandhi (Cheers). That is really the symbol for which I have been looking. We are not going to get freedom by the worship of personalities, however great or divine. It is only when they represent the principles for which we live and for which we would die that they can command our worship or our admirations or our following. If to-day the country holds Mahatma Gandhi as semi-divine, if not divine, it is not for any other reason than this that he embodies within that frail yet indomitable body an invincible soul of liberty. That is why we are content to follow him to-day because in following him we are following the spirit of liberty. There might be some little doubt left in the minds of some of the delegates to-day about the ultimate destiny of India. It is true that yesterday in the Congress, Hasrat Mohani, the great poet, brought a resolution which was defeated by Mahatma

Gandhi, the great Saint. Both were right. Neither was wrong,—Hasrat Mohani asking for the independence of India, Mahatma Gandhi saying 'wait a little and take your laggard friends with you before you ask for that ultimate independence.' Both are animated by the same desire, the same zeal. Both behold the same vision. Let no man in this Conference feel that because my young friends from Aligarh could not carry their point to-day,* it is not the desire of young India to have that ultimate liberty which alone is worth having. I would not let the young generation do such bitter injustice to itself. But I know that those, who did not to-day stand for that resolution, were animated only by the same spirit that made Mahatma Gandhi, in his infinite compassion for the weak, pause and say: "Let us take in the laggard and the lame with us." What is freedom unless it means freedom, and whether the Congress accepted it as a creed or not, it is the invincible, inevitable destiny of every nation to be free in that largest and deepest sense of the word. But freedom does not mean isolation from other nations. It means equal comradeship with the free nations of the world, and that is a great ideal for which we must all work.

* The Independence Resolution was brought and backed by the Aligarh Delegates.

Presidential Address
Delivered by
Mr. L. A. Govindaraghava Iyer
AT THE FOURTH SESSION OF THE
NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION
ALLAHABAD, 29TH DECEMBER 1921

The following are extracts from the long Presidential address delivered by Mr. L. A. Govindaraghava Iyer of Madras at the National Liberal Federation held at Allaha-bad on the 29th December, 1921.

The Political Situation.

"It is perhaps a truism to say that the country is now passing through a crisis. Events are moving with bewildering rapidity. The general tension is such as to necessitate a close examination of the position that one has to take up whatever the school of thought may be to which one belongs. In these circumstances, I need make no apology if, in addressing you, I mainly direct my attention to the present situation and to the question whether the party that is opposed to us has fulfilled or is likely to fulfil the legitimate expectations and requirements of the people and the country.

"We are all aware of the difficulties to which the members of the party under the distinguished leadership of Mahatma Gandhi are now subjected. It is, therefore, perhaps an ungracious task to examine the principles and the programme of that party. But the highest interest of the country imperatively demands that the present situation should be closely examined with a view to see how far it would be met and improved by further persistence in the policy with which Mr. Gandhi has identified himself. The distinctive features of that movement are the attainment of Swaraj and the righting of the Khilafat

and the Punjab wrongs by the paralysis of the Government by means of non violent non-co-operation.

Mr. Gandhi's Influence.

Mr. Iyer, after dealing with the Non-co-operation movement in its different aspects and trying to show its impracticability, continued :—

“In the recent history of our country no single individual had a greater control over any movement than Mr. Gandhi has over the Non-co operation movement. He is virtually the dictator of the movement. I use the expression in no offensive sense. My point is that the distinguished author of the movement has been himself unable to definitely settle the programme ; and in order to make it acceptable to the people in general,—and I lay special emphasis on this aspect,—he had to incorporate into it items which could not be said to be distinctive of the Non-co-operation movement and which have public sympathy and support independently of that movement, such as, for instance, the problem of untouchability, the drink evil and the Swadeshi movement. It is claimed for the movement that it has a spiritual side and tends to the development of the soul force. It is a problem, however, whether Non-co-operation is the only or the best means of bringing about the development of soul force such as the Mahatma wishes to see effected.

Mr. Gandhi's Sad Experience.

“Now the chief merit that is claimed for the movement is that the objects in view are to be attained by absolute non-violence and this contention deserves close examination. We can admit that the movement of Passive Resistance attained remarkable success and led to striking results in South Africa, but it has to be noted that the conditions there were very different from those obtaining here. Given a personality like Mahatma Gandhi and a comparatively small and compact body of persons such as were the Indian settlers in South Africa, with sufficient opportunities for the Mahatma to come into frequent and intimate contact with the persons asked to adopt Passive Resistance, it is obvious that the movement is deprived of its dangers. But when the principle is asked to be adopted by over 300 millions belonging to different strata of society

and of different grades of culture and refinement and living in a vast area and subject to varying influences and beyond the possibility of the personal attention of the Mahatma and his devoted followers, the conditions presented are not such as to inspire confidence that similar results would ensue. As a matter of fact, when the movement was put to the test on anything like a large scale, it has been found again and again to belie the expectations of the author and the promoters of the movement.

What We Should Strive For

"I claim that, as a question of practical politics, full Dominion status is what we should strive for. That was what was expressly postulated by the Congress creed before the Nagpur Congress altered it. I shall not, however, lay any great stress on that fact, as it may be said that, however matters might have stood under the old-world conditions, new forces are now asserting themselves justifying or even necessitating a new objective. Full Dominion status provides for the responsibility of the Legislature to the people and of the Cabinet to the Legislature. It postulates the membership of the British Commonwealth of Nations as an equal partner. The prerogative of the King remains untouched. He is the symbol of the Empire. No doubt, in theory the status of a Dominion is of the subject character, but actual practice has outgrown the theory. The resolution passed at the Imperial War Conference of 1917 is suggestive in this connection. After pointing out that the adjustment of the constitutional relations of the Empire is too important to be dealt with during the war, the resolution goes on to state; 'They deem it their duty, however, to place on record their view that any such readjustment, while thoroughly preserving all existing powers of self-government and complete control of domestic affairs, should be based upon a full recognition of the Dominions as autonomous nations of an Imperial Commonwealth and of India as an important portion of the same, should recognise the right of the Dominions and India to an adequate voice in foreign policy and in foreign relations, and should provide effective arrangements for continuous consultation in all important matters of common Imperial concern, and for such necessary concerted action founded on consultation as the several Governments may determine'.

“Speaking on this resolution, General Smuts said ; ‘The status of the Dominions as equal Nations of the Empire will have to be recognised to a very large extent. The Governments of the Dominions as equal Government of the King in the British Commonwealth will have to be considered far more fully than what is done to-day, at any rate, in the theory of the Constitution, if not in practice. That is the most important principle laid down in the second part of this resolution, that there should be a full recognition of the Dominions as autonomous nations. And, to strengthen the point, the resolution goes on to affirm that the existing powers of self-government should not be interfered with. Of course, there is a good deal of feeling or natural and justifiable jealousy in the Dominions as to the rights which they have acquired and which they do not like to be tampered with, and naturally, I think it is very wise to add this to the resolution, that their existing powers of self-government should not be tampered with.

“It will also be remembered that General Smuts objected to South Africa taking part in the Washington Conference, unless she went, as he said, ‘on her own legs’, and not merely on the strength of the invitation to the British Government ; and he points out in a recent speech how this protest has been taken up by the British Government with the result that the Delegates from the Dominions,—and India has her own Delegate,—attend the Conference not as British Empire Delegates but as Representatives of their Dominions.

Significance Of The Dominion Status.

“Perhaps no better light can be thrown on the full significance of the Dominion Status than what is provided by the recent negotiations of the British Government with Ireland. As you are aware, the agreement, in the nature of a treaty made by the Prime Minister and his co-adjutors as representing the British Government with the Irish Plenipotentiaries, provides that Ireland shall have the constitutional status of a Dominion, and Mr. Lloyd George on expounding the agreement before the House of Commons emphasised the difficulty and danger of defining the Dominion status and crystallising its import. As pointed out that if any attempt were made to encroach upon the rights of Ireland which by the agreement was to have the same status as the Dominions, the Dominions

would feel that their own position was thereby jeopardised, and in this lay the guarantee for the security and full freedom of Ireland. Thus Dominion Status allows of as complete independence and Self-development as is compatible with non-secession from the Empire.

"It may, therefore, be claimed that the attainment of full Dominion status will allow of our full self-expansion, self-realisation and self-assertion as a nation. I need not dwell on the need or wisdom of maintaining the British connection, if, by so doing, we are not in any way retarding the national growth and development. It may be also said that even the most ardent advocates of an Indian republic in the present circumstances of the country do not insist on it as an end in itself, but want it as they feel hopeless that otherwise the wrongs they wish to see remedied will not be set right by the Empire.

India and The League of Nations.

"India, too, is coming into her own in the Councils of the Empire. She has become a member of the League of Nations. In the Assembly of the League she has the same vote as the British Empire and she can give an independent vote to be exercised in her interests and by her choice. In the last Imperial Conference held in London, her part was on an equal footing with the self-governing Dominions. On questions of Imperial policy requiring common understanding and united action, her voice was given the same weight and consideration as the other parts of the Empire, and the memorable resolution was secured—

'The Conference, while reaffirming the resolution of the Imperial War Conference of 1918 that each community of the British Commonwealth should enjoy complete control of the composition of its own population by means of restriction on immigration from any of the other communities, recognises that there is an incongruity between the position of India as an equal member of the British Empire and the existence of disabilities upon British Indians lawfully domiciled in some other parts of the Empire. The Conference, accordingly, is of the opinion that in the interest of the solidarity of the British Commonwealth it is desirable that the right of such Indians to citizenship should be recognised.'

"It was to the lasting discredit of South Africa that her representatives would not join in this resolution, but it serves to emphasise the view that the interests of India will receive due consideration at the hands of the self-governing Dominions as a whole, and as she gains in status and attains a footing of equality with the other Dominions she will be able to completely hold her own. India is also represented at the Washington Conference. It is true that her representative does not stand in the same relation to her than the representatives from the other Dominions did, and that it is not by the vote of the people that he was sent as her representative. But that defect does not take away from, but only accentuates, the full import of the Dominion status. With His Highness the Maharao of Cutch, the Right Hon'ble Mr. Sreenivasa Sastri has pressed the case for India with tact and firmness whenever he had the opportunity to do so. He has enhanced the reputation of India amongst the nations of the world and he is entitled to the gratitude of the country.

Councils and Growth of Conventions

"At this stage I do not propose discussing the measure of responsible government that the country has had under the Reformed Councils. It is pertinent, however, to draw attention to the fact that by the growth of conventions a large measure of responsibility could be secured. Conventions are in consonance with the genius and traditions of the British Constitution, they allow full advantage being taken of the experience gathered from the actual working of institutions. They admit of the easy rectifying of any errors that may have been committed and they do not need the elaborate procedure necessary for having statutory alterations. Already, as you are aware, they are beginning to be established in our Reformed Legislature. The refusal of the Secretary of State for India to interfere with the resolution of the Legislative Assembly on Lord Lytton's Indian Students' Committee is a noteworthy case as bearing on this question of conventions.

The Real Fascination of Mr. Gandhi's Movement

"I shall not be justified in merely referring to the weaknesses of the Non-co operation movement. There can be no doubt that the movement has great fascination for the masses and even the classes, The movement has come to stay. The

appeal to soul-force that has been made, the high moral pedestal that has been held out, the confidence—I had almost said the cock-sureness—with which the goal is promised to be reached, the lightning rapidity with which, it is said, Swaraj is to be attained, the great personality of Mahatma Gandhi, his saintly life, his transparent selflessness and the ready and unquestioning submission that he is able to command at the hands of most, if not all, of his followers, all had no doubt their material share in the spread of the movement and contributed largely to deepen its hold on the popular imagination. But when all is said that can be said, it must be admitted that the enthusiasm for it now so much in evidence is not altogether fictitious and it will be found to possess a residuum undoubtedly genuine which will not disappear with the mere march of time or change of leadership. It behoves us, therefore to refer to the causes that led to the movement.

The Khilafat.

“The Khilafat question ushered in the movement. You are familiar with the history of the question. It is evident that our Mussalman brethren have great cause for dissatisfaction with the manner in which the British Government have dealt with it. The Government of India are satisfied that the Indian Mussalmans have a just grievance. His Highness the Aga Khan and the Right Hon’ble Syed Amir Ali, to mention only two honoured names, are at one with the rest of the Muslim opinion. Unprejudiced Europeans who possess intimate knowledge of Muhammadan problems and history and who command the detachment necessary for forming correct judgments, like Sir Theodore Morrison, support it. Anglo-Indian opinion, too, is in its favour and the Hindu section of the population of all shades of opinion has consistently supported it. There is no difference amongst the Mussalmans themselves. The Shias and the Sunnis are in agreement. It is not the body known as the Khilafatist alone that feels the wrong. Recently, there was a deputation of the Muslim community that waited on H. E. the Viceroy. It was not composed of political agitators. I will quote one sentence in the address. They say: ‘We deem it our paramount duty that the mere knowledge of such representation (the representations to

the British Government by the Government of India on the Mussalman feeling) is not and cannot be a source of comfort to the Indian Mussalmans in their religious sorrows." It shows that the iron has entered into the soul of even those whose loyalty is unquestionable. The French Government has arrived at a settlement with the Angora Government which appears to be generally acceptable to the Muhammadan world. There is a strong and widespread impression in the country, and appearances justify it, that the chief obstacle to a settlement of this question, satisfactory to the Indian Mussalmans, is the British Government. It will not do for the Government of India to merely say that they have done their best by making necessary representations to the British Cabinet. The Government of India is an organic unity with the British Government. The fact that they recognise the justice of Mussalman opinion ought to be a reason for enhancing their responsibility in seeing that the Mussalman claims are vindicated. It is difficult to resist the impression that the British Cabinet, or at any rate, Mr. Lloyd George and those who support him, are under the idea that with sufficient pressure brought to bear on the Indian Mussalmans their agitation for the redress of the Khilafat wrong will wane and finally disappear. If that be so they are undoubtedly in error. The sore has already been allowed to foster long and any further delay in healing it will lead to most serious consequences.

The Punjab Wrongs

"The next wrong that led to the movement is the Punjab tragedy. Sir William Vincent has called it an unbappy episode in the history of British India. An indelible stain has been left on the fair fame of Britain, and it will take years, if not decades, before the memory of that tragedy is wiped out from the Indian mind. I share the view that the punishment inflicted on the delinquents was not adequate. The developments would have been altogether different and the situation would have been considerably eased if at the initial stages the Government had the statesmanship to acknowledge the wrong that has been committed, in the same way, as the representatives of the

people on their part regretted the mob excesses that led to the Government reprisals. His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught has appealed to the people of India to forget and forgive and the Legislative Assembly has already adopted a resolution after a full discussion of the question. It is time that we cease to cherish and harp on the grievance. Now, that the enormity of the wrongs done has been admitted and grief has been expressed therefore in unqualified terms, we would do well to look forward and not backward. With the lapse of time the difficulty of punishing the offenders responsible for the tragedy is increased. It is still possible of course, as indeed has been promised, that the compensation payable to the Indians who suffered should be calculated on a liberal basis. It is also possible for the cases being reconsidered of those who were the recipients of special marks of Government appreciation and favour with a view to decide in the light of the full facts now available how far such recognition was deserved. In the final determination of the above matters consideration of prestige ought not to be allowed to interfere.

Podanur Tragedy

Our care must be to see that it is made impossible that such occurrences should occur. We may now feel certain that this object has been secured. In this connection, reference is made to the Podanur tragedy. A serious blunder has been committed, almost criminal, in the negligence and thoughtlessness that it reveals. Those responsible for the blunder deserve severe punishment and it is expected they will get it. The Committee appointed to report on the matter has not yet submitted its report and it will be premature to further enlarge on the subject. Thanks to local causes, the angle of vision, said to have changed in several other parts of India and particularly in the Government of India, has not perceptibly changed in my province; the bureaucracy has not been visibly weakened in power, nor has *prestige* lost its grip on the administration. But a true regard for facts will not, in any way, justify the placing of the Podanur tragedy on a par with the Punjab tragedy, or the assumption that it reveals the same mentality on the part of the administrators as the Punjab tragedy did.

Liberal Party and Reform Scheme

As you are aware, the support by the Liberal Party of the Reform Scheme under the new Government of India Act was not due to their acceptance of the view that Indians were unfit for responsible Government in their present condition. They recognised the measure of responsible Government that the Scheme contained, and were prepared that conscientious efforts should be made to work it for all it was worth, so as to dispel the fear of those that were honestly inclined to doubt our fitness for self-Government. Co-operation wherever possible and opposition whenever needed has been our motto.

The opinion is general that the Reformed Legislatures have satisfactorily justified the expectations formed of them. Most of the Provincial Governments, if not all, associate the Ministers with the Executive Councillors in their deliberations on the Reserved Subjects, so that the unitary system is in practical operation on a large scale. No less an authority than the President of the Legislative Assembly has viewed most favourably the work of the Legislative Assembly. The ease of the Legislative Assembly is specially important as it has to deal with matters affecting All-India Administration, and the Central Government does not possess even the modicum of constitutionally responsible element that the Provincial Governments possess. According to Mr. Whyte the Assembly has been an almost unqualified success and the body has shown a corporate sense of responsibility which is its most reassuring feature. According to him, the problem presented by the conjunction of an irremovable executive with a large constitutionally responsible majority would become ripe for treatment long before the ten years prescribed by the Government of India Act for the appointment of a commission to enquire into the working of the system of Government of India are over. You know the resolution ultimately adopted by the Legislative Assembly on this question. I would only refer to a few points. The willingness of the Liberal Party to work the Reformed Councils should not be taken to mean that they were satisfied with the measure of responsible Government that was granted, nor that they do not desire advance.

The experience of the working of the Provincial and Central Legislatures shows that full powers if entrusted to them will only heighten their sense of responsibility except in cases where local and temporary causes may serve as deflecting factors. Now that Dominion status is recognised as the goal, there is no reason why approximation to it should be delayed when once the capacity of the people is proved equal to it. Mr. Montagu seems to have pointed out that the working of the electorate is an important consideration. No doubt it is. There can be no question, however, that the political consciousness of the people as a whole has been deeply awakened and that an intelligent and discriminating interest is taken by the masses on the doings of the Government and the working of popular institutions. India to-day is not the India of even a decade ago. Where the masses are likely to go wrong is when some great injustice is done and the Government, for reasons of its own, is unwilling to acknowledge and repair the wrong. I shall not hazard any remarks of my own as to the directions in which alterations should be made which doubtless will receive your full consideration. Full financial control should be secured to the popular representatives in the Provincial and Central Legislatures, and the question has to be seriously considered whether as regards the Central Government it is necessary to go through the process that the Provinces are now passing through viz., dyarchy, with a view to full responsible government, especially as it will take time to procure the alteration of the statute by the British Parliament.

Temperance Movement Legitimate

The temperance movement is taking the form of total abstinence. It is a great mistake, however, to make it a political movement. The efforts of the Non-co-operators in this direction have met with a large measure of success. It is because the movement itself is popular. Prohibition is bound to come whether with or without local option as a half-way resting-house. The excise revenue can not be long counted upon. The financial statement for 1921-22 shows that for the whole of the country it is close upon 20 crores. In my province, according to the latest figures, an estimated revenue of 556 lakhs has

already shrunk by about 80 lakhs, and I have no doubt that the other provinces are undergoing similar experiences. The Indian Exchequer has lost nearly six crores of rupees a year on account of the anxiety of the Government to reclaim the Chinese from the opium habit, though the object appears to be doubtful of attainment. With this example before them it is not strange that the Indian people should insist that, far from meeting with disapproval, any effort of theirs should have the practical sympathy of the Government.

The loss of revenue is no doubt inevitable and it has to be met, and this question requires very serious consideration where even after retrenchment in expenditure a deficit remains, by relying on the general prosperity of the people who will be benefited by prohibition. There is nothing in the movement taken to put down drink that is specially the function of the Non-co-operator. Picketting is no doubt practised. It is remarkable, I am speaking of such experience as I have in my own province, that it is attended with so little violence; it is a testimony to the preparedness of the people for the movement. There is no doubt of the intimate connection of picketting with the diminution of the excise revenue; those who practise it are objects of persecution by the officers of the Government, and the unpopularity of the administration is of course the consequence. The best course to be adopted is not to identify the movement with the Non-co-operator; not to attach any special importance to the efforts of the Non-co-operator when devoted against drink.

Use of Sections 108 and 144 Unjustified.

The powers under section 108 and section 144 of the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code have been freely availed of for the purpose of crippling the activities of the Non-co-operators. The use of the provisions of section 144 for political purposes is a new policy. From such experience as I possess in my province it may be stated that such use is generally uncalled for. In by far the largest number of cases, the persons to whom the order is directed either to abstain from taking part in a meeting or to cease from picketting or to show cause why he should not find security for keeping the peace, disobey it with the result that the con-

sequential provisions are applied. In most of such cases no defence is entered and the accused prefer the prison to the payment of fine where fine is imposed. There is, I fear, a far too great readiness on the part of the executive officers to take advantage of those provisions of law, a readiness which is encouraged by the determined attitude of those to whom they are sought to be applied not to make a defence. I venture to think that, in many of these cases, if the prosecution witnesses were duly cross-examined and the accused entered upon their defence or availed themselves of the other facilities open to them under the law, the results of the trials would have been different. But it suits the non-co-operators to act as they are doing, in fact, it is the very thing that they want. Though I admit that it is very difficult for the executive officers, and particularly the police, to keep a cool head in these trying circumstances, the highest interests of the country and the Government demand that great discrimination should be exercised in the issue of orders under sections 108 and 114 of the Criminal Procedure Code in the launching of proceedings so as to reduce them to a minimum.

Our duty in these circumstances is to help the Government in all their legitimate efforts to uphold peace and order and press upon them the need for great tact and discrimination in the exercise of their ordinary powers under the law. When the Non-co-operator finds that he does not excite attention, the movement will undoubtedly receive a set-back.

I may point out also that no one need be an object of special attention, especially on the part of police officers, simply because he preaches or helps the use of spinning wheel or wears what is called the Gandhi or Swaraj cap or uses Khadder. The spinning wheel as such has no political complexion about it and the Government would easily divorce it from politics by ceasing to have for it the excessive dread that it has at present.

Hartal & H. R. H The Prince's Visit.

Before I close, I have to say a few words on the grave turn that events have taken. I am sure that everyone in the country, not obsessed by the glamour of Non-co-operation, will admit that the proposal to proclaim a Hartal on the days of the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales is not one

conceived in the best interests of the country. Let us admit that His Royal Highness' visit has been planned notwithstanding objections to it in certain quarters. It is inconsistent with the traditions of oriental hospitality that an organised attempt should be made to withhold welcome to His Royal Highness for the purpose of evincing the Nation's displeasure towards the Government that has planned the visit. The smallest that could have been expected from any party in such circumstances is to leave each one to follow his own wishes and judgment without putting any pressure on him. Mr. Gandhi fails to recognise that, short of wringing out any reforms at the point of the bayonet in the present circumstances, the statutory declaration needed for the attainment of complete Swaraj has to come from the British Parliament, and the sword that he would propose is the sword of self-sacrifice. To one of his clear thinking it must be obvious that in proclaiming a hartal on the occasion of the Prince's visit he is touching the most susceptible part in the Englishmen. No wonder therefore that a difficult situation has been thus created. The difficulty has been enhanced by the refusal of Mr. Gandhi to call a truce even if the Government on its part is prepared to call one. The proclaimed objects of Non-co operation were the righting of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs and the attainment of Swaraj. Mr. Gandhi himself recognises in his recent statement on Lord Ronaldshay's speech that "the only conference that can at all avail at this stage is a conference called to deal with the causes of the present discontent, namely the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs and Swaraj." If, therefore, a conference is necessary, it is impossible to expect that the results of the conference will be satisfactory unless in a calm atmosphere which obviously is out of the question,—if, on the one hand, there is the hartal, and on the other, the unrestricted exercise of the extraordinary powers that the executive possesses under the special laws. It has to be remembered that the Round Table Conference proposed met with the acceptance of all classes of opinion save that of Mr. Gandhi. The nation is entitled to consideration at his hands especially in view of the admittedly great suffering which it is called upon to undergo. It is therefore most unfortunate that Mr. Gandhi should have made the resolve he did with the result that the proposed conference had to be given up.

The question arises what has now to be done? I venture to think that this latest move on the part Mr. Gandhi will go a great way towards alienating the sympathies of those not already committed to Non-co-operation and the duty will be more largely recognised and acted upon, on the part of the people to uphold peace and order. It may be that the duties of the Government in the situation with which they are faced are difficult to discharge; but if a conflagration is to be avoided it behoves them to observe all the restraint that is possible consistently with the maintenance of order. Care has to be taken that such measures as are enforced are not the outcome of panic and do not degenerate to terrorism or revenge. It has to be recognised that Mr. Gandhi and his lieutenants are perfectly sincere in their professions of non-violence. Their endeavours have met with a considerable amount of success. The force cannot be ignored of the challenge that Mr. Gandhi makes, "why have no attempts been made to prove a single case of intimidation?", referring to the event in Calcutta during the last ten days. The course taken by the Government has this element of weakness in it that it offers a premium to persons anxious to be in the lime-light. When some are arrested, more come in. The goal is considered a place of freedom. No heroic measure can be suggested on either side. The arrest of men of great respectability and of unimpeachable character, like Lala Lajpat Rai, Mr. C. R. Das, Pandit Matilal Nehru and Babu Bhagawan Das, cannot be contemplated without feelings of the very deepest regret. The extension of the Seditious Meetings Act and the Criminal Law Amendment Act to several parts of the country has been protested against. The facts so far known do not negative the suggestion that reliance could have been placed on the ordinary law of the land and that the executive need not have called to its aid the extraordinary powers it possesses under the special laws. Speaking of my own province, His Excellency Lord Willingdon acknowledged that the extension of the Criminal Law Amendment act to the Presidency of Madras was as a precautionary measure. It was not suggested that any proved necessity existed justifying its extension. It is questionable whether a hearty welcome could be secured to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales by the policy that is now being pursued when it has the effect of filling the goals with large

numbers of persons, thus precipitating the very state of affairs that Mr. Gandhi and his followers declared they wished to exist and were eagerly looking forward to. It must be distressing in the extreme to His Royal Highness that on the occasion of his visit a number of persons should be thrown into goal. In the above circumstance, the best course to be adopted would appear to be to trust to the ordinary law of the land and not to invoke the extraordinary powers that may be taken under the law.

I have done.—May it be vouchsafed to us and the country to think correctly and act rightly.

NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION

ALLAHABAD, 29TH DECEMBER 1921

The First Resolution—on Reforms.

Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyer moved the first resolution :—

In view of the experience obtained of the working of the Reform Act, the rapid growth of national consciousness and the strong and growing demand among all sections of the people for a fuller control over their destinies, this Federation strongly urges that :—

- (1) Full autonomy should be introduced in the Provincial Governments at the end of the first term of the various Legislatures, and
- (2) As regards the Central Government, all subjects, except defence, foreign affairs, relations with Indian States and ecclesiastical affairs, should be transferred to popular control in the Central Government at the end of the first term of the Legislative Assembly, subject to such safeguards as may be suitable and necessary for the protection of all vested interests.

In doing so he said :—The Reform Act, which may be said to have introduced the new constitutional era, was passed at the end of 1919. A year was taken to elaborate the rules and procedure under the Reform Act, and the year that is now coming to a close will complete one year of the existence of the various legislatures. It may be said that the one year that is about to expire is too short a period for making a further de-

mand, and that the onus was largely upon those who made that further demand to make out a very strong case for further steps so shortly after the reform has been in operation. But in the first place, the reform that was introduced under the Reform Act fell short of the demand of the people, and in making this claim we are not putting forward something which was not put forward originally, but we are simply reiterating the demand that was originally made (Here, here). It has been said, it is bound to be said, that our experience is not adequate. It may be said that the first period of one year that has gone by is too short, but one thing may be fairly said : that is, that during that period it has not been proved that the working of the reforms has been a failure. I do not wish to contend that it has been proved to be an undoubted success. This much at least must be conceded without any fear of want of modesty that the working has not been proved to be a failure.

Growth of National Consciousness

There is another reason for making this further demand. There has been a rapid growth of national consciousness ; there has been a strong and growing demand among all sections of people for full control over their own destinies. That is an undoubted fact which cannot possibly be disputed, but the mere growth of national consciousness or the mere strength of the demand may not by itself be sufficient to support the case for further concession. We therefore add a further reason that in view of the experience obtained of the working of the Reform Act, we are entitled to ask further concessions.

What is the nature of that experience ? The experience may be either with regard to our capacity for successfully working this reform or with regard to the defects in the machinery or in the constitution which may be revealed in the course of actual working. As regards our capacity for working, I have pointed out that it has not been found that we have been found wanting.

Defects in Existing Machinery

As regards the question of defect which have been revealed, I would refer to those defects in the working which are likely to best appear to the Government themselves. So far as practical experience goes, and I can speak only for the

Legislative Assembly in which I have been taking part, there has been no lack of desire on the part of the Government to accede to the wishes of the Assembly or to mould the policy according to the wishes of the Legislature. Undoubtedly we exercise a large influence and an influence growing day by day, and that is a fact to be fully recognised and welcomed. On the other hand, there are certain defects which might have struck any impartial observer of the Assembly. How exactly might matters stand with regard to local legislative councils, I am not in a position to say, but it is quite probable that the same defects as have been brought to light in the Central Legislature may have been brought to light in the working of the Provincial Councils.

Want of Organisation

One thing that is noticeable above all others in the working of the Central Legislatures is the want of co-ordination and want of organisation among members of the legislature and the waste of time and energy and of effort that are consequent upon that state of things. Resolutions are often proposed, wise and unwise, interpellations are plied with ruthless severity, and the time of the legislature is taken up in all sorts of questions, important or unimportant. So far as the Government is concerned, and so far as the non-official members are concerned, it is not possible for them to regulate the procedure and economise time and direct the energies of the legislature in the most fruitful channels and with maximum of gain and advantage to the community. That can only be achieved by the formation of a political organisation. I know members of Government have often complained that it is not possible for them to say what amount of support they can rely upon in the Assembly or Council of State. Whenever they have to introduce a legislative measure or fiscal measure they have no ideas as to what support they can command. The Government, as you are aware, is now in a minority in the legislature. The official members who are there and the nominated members who are there, all put together do not give them anything like a majority at all. The elected members are in a majority, and in the present state of things, when there is want of cohesion among various elected members, the Government

do not know precisely where they stand and what amount of support they can get. That necessarily interferes with the framing of proposals or with the reaching of definite conclusions with any definite prospect of backing in the Assembly. I need not expatiate on the question as to how far this interferes with the successful working of the legislatures.

Need for Party Organisations

It may perhaps be said that the success of party organisations ought to precede and not succeed the grant of responsible Government. I am not altogether sure of the soundness of that position. It may be quite possible to form party organisations, and I think it our duty to have such organisations so that the members of the legislature may acquire the habit of acting in concert and in consultation with each other and acquire the habit of co-operation, of discipline, and of concerted action. On the other hand, it may be and is said that in the peculiar circumstances of this country, in the absence of any very sharp differences of principles, when the whole of the institution, the assembly or the legislature, may be said to be in a state of evolution, the introduction of Responsible Government may help them to be crystallised out of fluid conditions. I think that the grant of Responsible Government may have this effect of precipitating the formation of definite parties which cannot but help the Government to determine its programme, to frame its policy, and to go forth to the Assembly confident in the expectation of support. Whether we shall succeed in forming parties on the lines of the parties in England, or whether our line of development may be towards the formation of groups, or both, it is too remote to forecast. But whatever may be the particular lines of advance, I have no doubt that the introduction of Responsible Government and the principle of responsibility will have the effect of promoting better organisation.

Legislature Fully Representative

Then again, it may be said that the legislatures are not sufficiently representative of the people, and that therefore Responsible Government cannot be granted. Of all the criticisms that have been levelled against the present constitution this seems to me to be the unkindest cut of all,

proceeding especially from the Government and the officials who have been responsible for the framing of this measure. When the Home Member, on the last occasion of the debate in the Assembly, put the question whether the legislature was really representative, I was disposed to say *Et tu Brute!* It has been the Government who have been responsible for the franchise and for the rules of working. I am afraid that in judging this matter Government are as impatient as the ardent spirits among us. The latter are eager to copy the latest fads in the political world which have been adopted within the last few years or perhaps within the last few months. The Government is equally impatient to see an electorate as advanced, as educated, and as responsible as the one which exists in the United Kingdom at the present day. Forgetting that when Responsible Government was introduced in the United Kingdom the electorate there bore a very small proportion to the whole population, forgetting that in the initial stages only a small proportion of the electorate goes to the poll, forgetting their own history they level these criticisms against us and are saying that we are not sufficiently advanced. I emphatically repudiate the charge that our legislatures are not representative. (Hear, hear). I venture to claim that they are as representative as possible in the present position of affairs.

Sense of Responsibility.

Then, again, it is said that the sense of responsibility is one which has to be acquired by training, by experience, and by opportunities, that the necessary opportunities have now been provided, and that these opportunities must be utilised to the fullest measure before we can count upon fresh opportunities for further development of this sense of responsibility. Here, again, let me say that I am not among those over-sanguine and over-ardent spirits who say that the sense of responsibility is a thing which we all possess at birth or acquire as a natural endowment. I am one of those who think that the art of Government requires at least as much practical experience, at least as much training, as any other technical education. We all commit serious mistakes in supposing that while all other occupations require training, the art of administration, the art of Government, are things which require no experience. At

the same time I do think that the responsibility is cultivated by the furnishing of opportunities for its exercise. The existing constitution has no doubt furnished us with opportunities for the cultivation of the sense of responsibility, but I think the more opportunities they furnish the greater will be the development of the sense of responsibility ; at any rate, I think the experiment may well be made of making further concessions.

Full Provincial Autonomy

Now we ask for two things. First, take full autonomy in the provinces at the end of the first term. The most important subject among those which are now reserved in the Provincial Governments are the subjects of *law and justice*. Naturally, our Government are afraid that subjects of law and justice being vital to the maintenance of law and order and of society, they cannot afford to run the risk of failure in that respect, but I have all along felt that the departments of law and justice may well be entrusted to popular control for this reason that if those departments are not administered with a due sense of responsibility, it will recoil upon us far more than any other section of the community. We shall be quick to realise that we are in a position to suffer from miscarriage of justice or failure of law. Nothing will better bring home to us the sense of responsibility with regard to these departments, and I venture to claim that we are as deeply interested in the preservation of peace and order as any officials or any particular section of the community.

Then, again, the other subject is *finance*. There is no doubt that there will be strong inducement on the part of representatives of the people not to face the unpopularity or the odium of fiscal measures which throw a burden on the people. But that is a thing which is bound to pass away soon when the people settle down to the working of the constitution and begin to realise that in this world they cannot have anything for nothing and that if they are to secure the blessings of a civilised administration they must pay for it. They will begin to realise that by some means or other they are bound to find the necessary money for the expenditure. I venture to hope that the representatives of the people will

not be so dead to a sense of responsibility as to sacrifice considerations of efficiency of administration. For these reasons, Sir, I advocate the grant of full autonomy in the provincial Governments at the end of the first term of the Provincial Councils.

Responsibility in Central Government.

As regards the Central Government, what we ask for is that except the special subject of defence—that is the army and the navy, though the navy is non-existent just now—foreign affairs, relations with Indian States, and ecclesiastical affairs, all other subjects should be transferred to the control of the legislature. We are aware that there are important interests to be safeguarded and for the purpose of protecting all vested interests we ask that such safeguards as may be suitable and necessary for the protection of all existing vested interests may be provided, and that subject to such safeguards the rest of the subjects may be transferred to popular control. The reasons which I have urged for the introduction of responsibility in Provincial Governments apply with as much force to the case of the Central Government. In fact, it is more of that Government that I have been speaking with anything like personal experience than of local Governments. So far as the Provincial Governments are concerned, it has been claimed by some of the heads of administrations that in accordance with the expectations of the Joint Select Committee, notwithstanding the theoretical division of Government into two halves, the one in charge of reserved subjects and the other in charge of transferred subjects, they have been working the two halves as a unitary Government. If the two halves of the Government have worked together as a unitary Government, then this resolution asks that that procedure should be continued and formally recognised and legalised. If, on the other hand, they have not worked as a unitary Government, then we urge that they should work as a unitary Government in theory and in practice. These are the reasons briefly why we put forward this demand for a further advance in both the provincial and central Governments. I have no doubt that other reasons will be brought forward by the speakers who will follow me.

Resolution on Civil Disobedience

Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer in proposing the resolution said : The resolution which has been entrusted to me reads as follows :—

This Federation is strongly of opinion that the campaign of civil disobedience, resolved upon by the Congress, is fraught with the gravest danger to the real interests of the country and is bound to cause untold suffering and misery to the people and earnestly appeals to the country not to follow a course which imperils peace, order and personal liberty, and is bound to produce a mentality inimical not merely to the present Government, but to any form of Government

Mrs. Besant rose and said :—With the permission of the Chairman and with the consent of the speaker, I ask that the following words be added :—

“And so far from achieving Swaraj, which Indians of all political schools desire, is bound to lead to a deplorable set-back in the progress of the country.”

Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer :—I have no objection to accept the addition which has been proposed by *Mrs. Besant*. The second part of the proposition will then read as follows :—

“The Federation earnestly appeals to the country not to follow a course which imperils peace, order and personal liberty and is bound to produce a mentality inimical not merely to the present Government, but to any form of Government, and, so far from achieving Swaraj which Indians of all political schools desire, is bound to lead to a deplorable set-back in the progress of the country.

Gentlemen, from the moment that the Non-Co-operation programme was put forward by Mr. Gandhi, civil disobedience has always been at the back of his mind as a part and parcel of his programme to be resorted to as soon as, in his opinion, the people are ready to follow that part of the programme. The Congress has now resolved to adopt this item—civil disobedience—as part of its programme. Mahatma Gandhi has declared openly that civil disobedience is merely a substitute for armed rebellion. There is no question as to the object of this item in the programme. It is for the purpose of declaring war against Government, of rebelling against Government, that civil disobedience has been proposed. As regards the method, though no doubt it has been said to be peaceful and though Mr. Gandhi has again and again

insisted upon adherence to the policy of non-violence, there can be no doubt that civil disobedience involves the breaking of the law and authority (Hear hear). So far as Non-Co-operation is concerned, it need not necessarily involve the breaking of law and authority, but the moment you resolve upon civil disobedience, you are bound to come into collision with the law, and there can be only one result when you provoke a conflict between authority and yourself. The necessary result of this policy will be to defy the Government, to paralyse the Government. All that must necessarily result in great suffering and misery to the people. If you deliberately break the law, the Government cannot keep quiet if it is to deserve the name of a Government. It must enforce law and order, if it is at all to be worthy of the name of Government. And if the Government has to maintain law and order, if it has to maintain its authority, it must necessarily punish those who have been guilty of breach of the law. The result will be that you will be inducing hundreds, if not more, to bring upon themselves the punishment which is the inevitable consequence of a collision with law and authority. Also you will be producing a state of excitement in the country which will not possibly allow them to continue to adhere to the policy of non-violence. It is all very well for Mahatma Gandhi to insist on a policy of non-violence. I have no doubt that so far as he himself is concerned, and so far as many of his leading followers are concerned, they may be able to practise the necessary self-restraint, they may be able to carry out the policy of non-violence. But is it possible for thousands of ordinary people to whom this programme is addressed to adhere to the policy of non-violence in carrying out this programme? I am afraid it will be nothing short of the miraculous to expect the people to adhere strictly to this policy. Whenever there has been an occasion for the people to place themselves in conflict with the authorities, we have found that they have not adhered to the policy of non-violence; they have been guilty of acts of violence. We have had illustrations of it recently in Bombay and elsewhere, and it is not necessary for me to dwell upon the minor illustrations of it that occurred in other places previous to the Bombay riots.

Respect for Law and Authority

Now the great mistake Mahatma Gandhi commits lies in supposing that all people are saints like himself or can be turned into saints like himself. It is something which we cannot expect of ordinary human nature. You cannot turn a whole humanity into saints. You cannot expect ordinary people to conform to the policy of non-violence in the face of punishment which they themselves have endeavoured their best to deserve or to court. These collisions with authority will produce all the consequences which necessarily follow a breach of the law, but there are also other deplorable consequences which will ensue on collision with Government. One feature which has made itself manifest during the last few months is the utter contempt for law and authority and the change in the mentality of the people which has been brought about. You go anywhere you like, and you will find that the people have lost all respect for law and order. It is all very well for you to say that they have lost respect for the present Government, but that they have all respect for law and order. That is a frame of mind which cannot possibly be sedulously cultivated without its being subversive of all law and order. Already we find many unpleasant manifestations of this change of mentality. We find that there is an extreme intolerance of difference of opinion on the part of others. We find that there is great unwillingness to listen to persons who hold a view different from theirs. And we find in various other ways a great disposition among a section of the people, possibly the more vocal section, to terrorise over a much larger section. These are the symptoms which have already manifested themselves. The spirit of obedience to law is one which has not been acquired in a day or two, but has been the result of centuries of experience, centuries of civilisation. It is extremely difficult to build up the law-abiding habit, but it is extremely easy to destroy the law-abiding instinct in them. We have only to turn to the case of Russia where the people have been accustomed for long to obedience to authority. And what has been the result there? We find that instead of proceeding upon constitutional lines the people have been plunged in the horrors of Bolshevism and anarchy, and that is the state of affairs which we

wish to be spared from. We want to attain our goal by peaceful evolution and not by means of a revolution which will cause bloodshed and endless misery. We wish to spare our countrymen all the horrors of anarchy. And for what purpose is all this suffering to be endured or undergone? It is said for the purpose of attaining Swaraj. Now, if there were no prospects of attaining Swaraj by peaceful means, you may perhaps conceive the possibility of considering other methods. But on the other hand, I have no doubt that if you only proceed along constitutional lines, if you avail yourselves of the opportunities that have now been placed within our reach, we shall reach the goal of responsible Government in a much shorter time than the day when you might expect to reach such responsible Government by the adoption of violent means.

How to Get Swaraj

Now, it has been said that it is not for the British Government to give us responsible Government, but it is for us to take it, and that it is not necessary that there should be any concession in the shape of reform by any outsider, but it is open to us to take it at once. That, I think, is absolutely impossible. There are only two courses left to us by which we could get it—either through Parliament and the British people as His Excellency the Viceroy puts it, or by recourse to revolutionary methods. Now, there has been undoubtedly a change in the angle of vision of the British Government and the British people and of the Government here in India. There is no use in pointing to stray episodes in the administration and say that here is a blot in the administration or there is a blot. I do not hold any brief for the Government, nor am I prepared to take upon myself the task of defending all their measures, whether they are right or wrong. But I do submit this to you :—Has there been any Government which has been free from imperfections, which has been free from blunders? And taking the history of our own country and the doings of the Governments of the past, I ask :—Has there been any Government which has been free from blunders or imperfections or even defects? Now, it surely betrays a lack of common sense and a regard for accuracy to say that this is a 'satanic' Government and that the only

salvation of the people lies in uprooting this Government by forcible methods. I am firmly convinced with all the earnestness of my conviction that it is quite possible for us to attain the aim which we all have in view by proceeding on strictly constitutional lines.

Violence or Non-Violence ?

To illustrate my remarks as to the improbability of the people to have recourse to peaceful methods, let me just refer to some of the utterances of the Muhammadan followers of Mr. Gandhi. From what we have read in the newspapers, you will see that some of them are really fretting at the restraint imposed upon them by Mr. Gandhi as to recourse to violence. Some of them have put it forward that recourse to violence has been enjoined by their religion, and that the dictates of their religion require them not to observe this pact of non-violence any longer, but require them to resort to any means for the purpose of attaining their object. Now, again, take the utterance of Maulana Muhammad Ali made some months ago. He distinctly stated : 'I am prepared to observe non-violence so long as I am associated with Mahatma Gandhi'. Remember carefully the qualification which he puts in. Remember also the qualification which has been introduced in the formula of the pledge undertaken by many of the 'volunteers'. It says 'so long as the Congress adheres to the policy of non-violence'. All that shows that, if any moment, somebody or other sets the example of violence, or the Congress adopts the policy of violence which, in view of its recent pronouncement, is by no means an improbability, all those men will resort to methods of violence. The result of violence will be that our Muhammadan countrymen will certainly have recourse to arms and revolution. I do not know whether I am doing them an injustice in suggesting that the recollection of the days of Muhammadan ascendancy and the hope of revival of that ascendancy may not be altogether absent from their minds. Look at the way they have gloated over the treaty with the Amir as his triumph over the British Government in India. Look at the way they gloat over a corridor being opened from Turkey to India. It is not an unnatural hypothesis that many among the Muhammadans, especially among the more fanatical section of them, will be inspired by the vision of

Pan-Islamism. Just recollect the dangers of all that. It is surely our duty to warn our countrymen against the dangers of this fanaticism and to do all that lies in our powers to induce them not to follow a course which is sure to lead them to disaster and will retard our progress.

The resolution was carried.

Other Resolutions

Resolutions expressing the sense of loss to the country by the deaths of Mr. R. N. Mudholkar and Sir Rash Behari Ghose, and a resolution according most loyal welcome to the Prince were moved from the Chair and passed.

Indianisation of Commissioned Ranks

Mr. B. S. Kamat moved a resolution urging the Government to give effect immediately to the resolution of the Legislative Assembly in regard to the Indianisation of Commissioned ranks in the Indian Army by starting with the initial recruitment of Indians to 25 per cent of the annual vacancies, and such recruitment by annual increment of not less than five per cent.

Sir K. G. Gupta moved, and other speakers emphasised the fact, that they must be able to defend themselves if they wanted to attain Swaraj. Sir K. G. Gupta added if the British Government was sincere in its professions to grant Swaraj to India, it must Indianise the Army in India.

The resolution was passed.

The New Policy

In the Subjects Committee, Mrs. Annie Besant brought in a resolution favouring the repressive policy of the Government as against non-co operators, under the Criminal Amendment Act, though admitting that some Local Governments had made mistakes in the application of the Act.

The U. P., Madras, and Punjab delegates solidly opposed Mrs. Annie Besant, whereas, opinions were divided in the case of Bengal, Bombay and Poona delegates. Pandit Gokarnath Misra, Pandit Hirdyanath Kunzru, Messrs. A. P. Sen, G. A. Natesan, Sir Sivaswamy Iyer, Messrs. Prakas Nath Sapru, K. P. Kaul, and B. S. Kamat opposed Mrs. Besant,

whereas Messrs. Jamnadas, Gadgil, and Telang were among her supporters. In the end, Mrs. Bosant was defeated by 23 against 45 votes.

The resolution, as finally accepted by the Subjects Committee, ran as follows :—

1. This Federation fully realises the difficulty of the Government in dealing with the present critical situation, the inevitable dangers to the country of a campaign of civil disobedience, and the necessity for the protection of peaceful and law-abiding citizens against any interference with their liberties, and it recognises the duty of every patriotic citizen to support the Government in all measures necessary for the maintenance of peace and order. But it views with great concern the inauguration of a policy of indiscriminate arrests and extensive application of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, and is strongly of opinion that such a policy defeats its own object by alienating popular sympathy and aggravating general unrest. It also draws pointed attention to the fact that some local Governments and local authorities have acted with an excess of zeal and want of discretion in the matter of arrests and with harshness and severity in regard to sentences, of which the Federation strongly disapproves, and the Federation therefore strongly urges on the Government an immediate reconsideration of its policy in order to ease the present situation.

2. This Federation urges the Government to carry out the recommendations of the Repressive Laws Committee and to withdraw the notifications under the Criminal Law Amendment Act as early as possible, making such amendments of the ordinary law relating to intimidations as may be suitable and necessary for the effective protection of law-abiding citizens.

Guaranteed Railway Companies

Several resolutions were moved from the Chair and carried. A resolution approved of the recommendation of the Chairman and four members of the Railway Committee to entrust the undertaking of Guaranteed Railway Companies when the contracts fall into direct State Management, and trusted that Government would accept that policy.

Moplah Rebellion Condemned

Another resolution condemned the Moplah rebellion, and supported Government measures in that connection and appealed for funds for relief.

Podanur Train Tragedy

A resolution also expressed horror at the Podanur train tragedy, and trusted those responsible would be brought to book.

Other Resolutions

Resolutions expressing dissatisfaction at the inadequacy of the Viceroy's action regarding the Punjab Martial Law prisoners and for suitable punishment of the officers found guilty during the Martial Law administration, urging for the revision of the Turkish Treaty, appreciating the services at the Imperial Conference of the Rt. Hon. Sriivasa Sastri for obtaining equal status for Indians in the Empire, and welcoming the resolution of the Imperial Conference regarding the status of Indians in the Empire, and trusting the position of Indians in East Africa would be determined in accordance with the policy approved of by the Imperial Conference were also passed.

A resolution calling upon the people to remove sex disqualification for franchise as Madras and Bombay have done, and another resolution appealing to the Liberal Leagues and other allied organisations to combat Non-co-operation by systematic propaganda were also passed.

General Secretaries

Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Iyer and Mr. G. A. Natesan were elected General Secretaries of the Federation for the next year.

Next Session at Nagpur

The Federation was invited to meet next year at Nagpur.

President's Concluding Speech

The President, before dissolving the Federation, made a speech in the course of which he said :—

The Work Done

We have met here at a very critical time no doubt. The Liberal Party has been looked forward to as the one party which will give the lead to the country, so far as those who profess Liberalism are concerned. There was, therefore, a most onerous duty cast upon this Federation at this session for them to decide what shall be the lead which we should give to the nation. The amount of difference of opinion that you

might have observed both in the Subjects Committee and in the discussion here will show that it was not an easy thing for us to arrive at an agreement. It must be a matter of great satisfaction to every one interested in the progress of Liberalism that at last we have been able to put forward a resolution, by no means unimportant in character, a resolution which secured the unanimous consent of those who took part in the deliberations of this Federation.

Now it is possible for the Federation to say that it has given the lead to the country, that it has shown what methods of work it has to pursue, that it has shown what the primary duties are that devolve upon us. We have shown, in the first place, that the country has arrived at a stage of self-consciousness when it is impossible for it to be satisfied with things as they stand, that we must have provincial autonomy complete, and that so far as the Central Government is concerned, there ought to be a large measure of responsibility in it, only such subjects as are absolutely indispensable, according to the British Government and the British people for the safety of the British Empire, to be reserved. We have made that perfectly clear. We have also made it perfectly clear that these are merely steps to complete Responsible Government. We have also not minced matters when we spoke on the present situation and the policy that has been adopted with reference to the present situation. You know the resolution has evoked a large amount of discussion and, to some extent, difference of opinion. It is but natural that there should have been this difference of opinion; for, you will remember that there are a number of complicated considerations that have to be brought to bear upon the consideration of this question before one can arrive at a conclusion satisfactory to oneself much more than to others. Now the position stands thus. If it was merely the administration of the ordinary law of the land, sometimes with rigor and sometimes not with rigor, according to the exigencies of the situation, there would not have been this large amount of criticism to which the Government has been subjected, and this wave of indignation that has spread from one end of the country to the other. But the misfortune was this, that in the application of measures which Government has resolved upon to enforce, it invoked the aid, not of the ordinary law of the land,

but of certain provisions which have been reserved for extraordinary occasions—provisions which were considered to be necessary in circumstances altogether different from those that are now being dealt with. And no wonder, therefore, particularly when a Committee has sat to consider the question and has recommended the repeal of those provisions as early as possible, that the country felt indignant that such a provision as this should have been enforced at a time when they expected a policy of conciliation to be adopted in respect of them; and this indignation was in no way lessened when it was found that the actual application of the measure had in no way tended to bring about the result which was expected. In these circumstances it is that we find that for the moment perhaps an undue importance is given to this side of the question, forgetting that after all Governments justify their existence only because they are the custodians of law and order. If by one stroke you take them away, the fundamental principles on which Governments are based, even the Government that the Mahatma is proposing for us, even that Government cannot stand for one minute. In these circumstances, we must also sympathise with the Government. It may be that they have made errors, and I believe that the temper of the Government on the whole and particularly of the Government of India is such that they would not hesitate to acknowledge their error, once that error has been properly and prominently pointed out to them.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, the resolution that you have been asked to accept and that has been accepted almost unanimously, if not unanimously, lays stress upon both the aspects to which I have ventured to draw your attention. It sympathises with the difficulties of the Government, but at the same time it points out that there has been a liability to excesses, not merely a liability to excesses but there have been actually excesses with the result that the country is greatly alarmed at the policy that has been adopted; and we also ask that that policy should be reversed and that measures should be taken by all means, and the Government will have the support of every loyal and patriotic citizen who is able and far-sighted enough to see that it is not the needs of to-morrow or the day-after-to-morrow which have to be looked to, but it is the continuity of progress and the attainment of

the goal that have to be secured within as short a time as possible. I say that every body who recognises these aims would be the first to support the Government in any measure that may be taken. Only what we insist upon is this. Let it not be harsher than the needs of the situation require. Trust yourself as far as possible to the ordinary law of the land, and if you think that the ordinary law is not sufficient, there are the constituted representatives of the people, constituted by your own constitution, go to them, put the position before them, and get their consent, and then you will have a larger measure of support in the country. That is the meaning of the resolution on the present situation.

On the Brink of a Precipice

There is one other resolution which I am bound to refer to and that is the resolution which relates to Civil Disobedience. I ask every one of us calmly to consider what it is that he is being asked to do. We are, if I may be permitted to say so, on the brink of a precipice, and the brink is not less in its danger because of the seductive and attractive manner in which we are attracted to the brink. In the first place, the movement is directed by one whose character is unimpeachable, by one who will take the first place in any society so far as integrity of character, sincerity of purpose, and self-abnegation are concerned. But those are the attributes of saints. These are persons whom we can try to approximate but shall not be able to imitate. But in this hard work-a-day world there are other influences at work. There are the lower strata of society that will also have to be reckoned with. They are people who are not so free from passions and imperfections as Mahatma Gandhi is. He can only tell us what the goal is that we might attain, but he cannot take part in helping us to reach it, for a man situated as he is will always think of the perfect side of the human nature. He will forgive me, and those who sympathise with him will forgive me, when I say that he has not been able to enter so fully and so correctly into the hearts of ordinary men whom he has asked to follow him.

Attractiveness of Non-violence

By way of illustration, I would refer to two or three matters with which I shall close my remarks. One point that

Mr. Gandhi has insisted upon is this, that there ought to be no violence in bringing about the aims that he has put before the country ; and it is more or less the attractiveness of that point that has given him a number of followers. But, as a matter of fact, you will find that the recent resolutions that were adopted at Ahmedabad, the views of the Congress at Ahmedabad, and the utterances of responsible persons at Ahmedabad throw considerable doubt and cause great misgivings as to whether this assurance is to be kept up. You will find in the first place that Mr. Gandhi has stated—I use the words that are quoted in the papers—“either we step into the new year with a full belief in this programme and finish it with lightning speed or we dissolve this compact of non-violence. So, it is a fight to the finish with the Government in our own special manner.” Now, ladies and gentlemen, lightning speed is not a thing which you can expect in anything, much less when you want to change constitutions. To say that unless a thing is effected with lightning speed the pact of non-violence would be dissolved, is indeed a most dangerous statement. I would venture to appeal to every one of you whether you belong to the ranks of Liberals or to the ranks of Non-co-operators, to think as to what the policy of following violence means. If you are going to dissolve the pact of non-violence, you may take it that revolution, commotion, blood-shed and all the horrors to which the worst passions of human mind can impel one, all these horrors will be accomplished facts. And we have had recently put before us this policy in all light-heartedness. In those circumstances I would ask you to consider this question carefully.

That is not the only ground for me for saying so. Even the leaders of the movement have now begun to suspect that it is possible that a stage may be reached at which the pact of non-violence could no longer be kept up. I would ask you to consider this and the pledge that volunteers are asked to take. The pledge is as follows :—“With God as witness I solemnly declare that I wish to be a Member of the National Volunteer Corps. So long as I remain a member of the corps I shall remain non violent in word and deed and shall earnestly endeavour to be in intent, since I believe that as India is circumstanced, non-violence alone can help the Khilafat and the Punjab and result in the attainment of Swaraj” and so on.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, you will all see that it is a very carefully thought-out pledge that has been put before the country. What does it say? This obligation to keep this non-violence is only so long as the volunteer continues to be a member of the corps. It is not a pledge that he gives that he is bound to carry out whatever he may be, whatever might be his avocation and wherever he is called upon to do. The only thing he is to do is to keep up the pledge so long as he continues to be a member of the Volunteer Corps. That merely means that he will get himself trained in the Volunteer corps, acquire all the virtues which are the characteristics of the Volunteer Corps; but if it be necessary that the volunteers should take to violence all he has to do is to secede from the corps; and then he is at liberty to practice violence. I do not think that can be said to be at all a satisfactory state of affairs.

Civil Disobedience must lead to Violence

Then again, I would ask you to note that at the present moment you find the Khilafat Conference, the Muslim League and the Congress, all practically moving with the same object. They are, if I may say so, in unison with one another. Yet you find that in the Congress, the Khilafat Conference, and the Muslim League there is a large body, though for the time being it is a minority, which insists upon no condition of non-violence. That again, I say, points to a state of affairs in the near future which it is not possible for us to contemplate with equanimity. If you consider this aspect of the question, you will find that there can be but one end when civil disobedience is practised on a large scale with the people situated as they are, and I am prepared to say that for a short time—it may be for a few days—they may be able to restrain themselves and may be bound by the pledge of civil disobedience. But when they are asked to practise on a large scale for a number of days, then you will find that it is impossible that it could be practised. And what will be the result except violence on a large scale?

We also find that the masses in India are also appealed to. We are told that there are three hundred millions of Indian population who are being down-trodden. And if this three hundred million of the population take part in civil

disobedience, what shall be the condition of this country? That is a point that I am sure must appeal to every one who has not already made up his mind irrevocably as to what his course of conduct ought to be.

India's Mission

Now, ladies and gentlemen, we shall be false to ourselves if we overlook this aspect of the matter. India has a mission in the world. It is not for nothing that the Almighty in his wisdom allowed India to live while other nations unlike ourselves have perished. We have a mission to execute in the world. And that mission remains yet unfulfilled. We shall fulfil that mission only when we have risen to our proper place, when we have risen to the fullest capacity that we possess. Unless we are able to do that, this mission cannot be achieved. Now, what is that mission? It is a spiritualising mission that India has among the nations of the world, and we have to work upon the mind and character of our sister nations, not so much upon their material resources. Shall we be best enabled to carry out that mission by embarking on a course whose objective, whatever may be said by its authors, cannot but lead to violence? This is a matter that I would ask you to consider. There is another point again tending to the same conclusion which I venture to submit before you, and that is this. We shall take it that we are going to have violence. What is our objective? To obtain Swaraj, Independence. Now, you may depend upon it that it is characteristic of the Britisher that when he is pushed to the wall he will do everything in his power to achieve his purpose and no considerations of money, men, or material will stand in the way of his executing his object. The result will be, whether we will it or not, we shall have to go into war. And that, of necessity, must take time. And after that, there will be the after-effects of war. And when you get Swaraj after all this, it could not be with lightning speed; it must be after a considerable interval of time.

Constitutional Way

What is it that we suggest? We say that in the same period you will get Swaraj, but in a very different manner indeed. We insist upon provincial autonomy being given

You train yourselves and make yourselves fit for it, and depend upon it that once you have shown unmistakable fitness for a thing, it will come to you, probably shortly, but there is absolutely no doubt that you shall get it. Now, what the Liberals point out is this. We have these opportunities. Work them out. Let us not mitigate in any way our efforts for the purpose of attaining all that you think proper. Agitate, agitate only constitutionally, fearlessly, strenuously and unceasingly, and you are sure to attain what you want, but be within the limits of constitutional agitation. I submit, that of the two courses open to us, the one that I have suggested is the better one.

It is not that I wish to suggest for a moment that we are not fit for complete self-government. It is one thing to say that we are fit, but it is another thing to say that the capacity which goes to make up that fitness is being disciplined, put into working order, so that, when self government is completely gained, we shall take care that we shall not make mistakes, or at least that the number of mistakes we may make shall be as few as possible. Both on principle and policy, and in view of the past civilisation of India and what it is that she is capable of doing, we say that the policy which is put forward by the Liberals is the policy that the country would adopt. It may be that at present we have not got a large following; it is because we have not been able to make attractive promises to the people. We have not done so because of the sense of difficulty of realising those promises.

The Appeal to the Moderates

There is only one other matter that I have to refer to, and that is this. An appeal has been made to the Moderates to join the Non-co-operators. The appeal has been made to us by men for whom we have the highest regard so far as their character is concerned, and they will forgive us if we respectfully tell them that we are not prepared to listen to their appeal and join our hands with them and join their ranks. What is it that we are told? We are told: "It cannot be that everything in our programme cannot find acceptance with you. There is the Swaraj movement; there is the question of eradicating the drink evil; there is the question of untouchability; these are all matters for which

we can meet on a common platform. Why do not you join with us and try to advance these causes?"* This is a perfectly reasonable way of putting the case. But you will find that the one thing that is demanded of us when we join forces with them is that we should accept the fundamental basis of their action and the principles that guide them in their doings. And I, for one, would hesitate to accept a position which will compromise me, which will really commit me to original principles on which the non-co-operation movement is based. In these circumstances we are not in a position to comply with the request which they have made. And they can easily understand the position we are taking. We shall work for the ends we consider proper and necessary. If the ends, some of the ends, happen to be common, so much the better, because you will find here two volumes of forces working for the same ends, and their result would be better than that achieved if there be one volume of forces working. We want that the principle which we profess, the principles we act upon, must be made clear to the world; and therefore, we cannot associate ourselves with any movement which, whatever might be the professions, very sincere no doubt, of the leaders thereof, in our humble judgment is sure to end in violence and consequences most disastrous to the permanent good of the country which they and we love alike. In these circumstances, ladies and gentlemen, I believe our party has justified its existence. There has not been as much propaganda as there should have been, and I am sure that the resolution that we have adopted this time will find its echo in the hearts of every one who is in a position to advance the Liberal cause; and we shall have a larger and larger number of persons taking to the propaganda of Liberal principles so that the country will be able to know what it is that we are aiming at, and they will know that we are equally sincere like the Non-co-operators to achieve the end which we all have in view, namely, the attainment of Swaraj as quickly as possible.

They will then see that if there is any difference between the Non-co-operators and us, it is a difference in method, but a difference which is very vital indeed. I have not the slightest hesitation that if we only put forth our efforts steady-

* See page 62, the Congress appeal to Moderates and all.

ly as time goes on there will be a progressive accession to our ranks until, in the words of Mahatma Gandhi himself, truth will prevail and the country will find what it is that is best to its interests. I join with Mrs. Das in asking the question. 'Do I stand for India in her present struggle?*' A very pertinent question indeed, and it requires a very satisfactory and unmistakable answer. The Liberals are as much for India in this struggle as the Non-co-operators are, so far as their patriotic instincts go, so far as their anxiety to see that the country gets its proper place in the world is concerned. In the object we have in view we are at one with the No-co-operators, but we take leave to doubt the propriety and the methods that they have suggested, and after having deliberated the question with all the ability, with all the maturity of understanding that we are able to command, we think that the methods that have been suggested are not the correct methods, and we are as such entitled, as they are entitled, to our opinion and to act on this opinion.

* See page 45 - Mrs. C. R. Das's Message to the Congress.

All India Khilafat Conference

AHMEDABAD—26th DECEMBER 1921

The All-India Khilafat Conference was held at Ahmedabad, in the Muslim League Pandal, on the 26th December 1921. The attendance, even from circles outside the Moslem faith, was very large, and included almost all the prominent N-C O leaders. Syed Ahmed Ali Ulvi, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcomed the delegates in an urdu speech deploring the present condition of India and the tyrannies she was suffering and asked the Muhammadans whether they could rest content when the *Fatwas* of their religious Heads were being proscribed by the Government.

The Presidential Address

Hakim Ajmal Khan President of the All-India Khilafat Conference, delivered his presidential address in Urdu in which he reviewed the present political situation in the country and discussed the question of the Khilafat in the light of developments in India and the Near East. He began by saying that it was a sheer waste of time to deliver a long presidential speech and that it was futile to dwell on the different phases of the present struggle which are obvious to all. He remarked that since the last Khilafat Conference at Karachi, * great changes had taken place in the European diplomacy in the Near East, and other Islamic countries had been repeatedly defeated thus bringing us nearer to our goal. If we devoted our best energies to the work, the final achievement is not far. He pointed out that

* The famous Karachi Conference where the Brothers Ali delivered the historic speech calling upon their Moslem comrades to come out of the British Army. At the famous Karachi State Trial for sedition which followed, the Government sent six of the foremost Moslem Leaders of India, including the Alis, to goal for taking part in the Conference and for their alleged disloyalty.

Islamic federation in Central Asia, Caucasus, Egypt, Persia, Afghanistan, and, above all, the regenerated Turkey gave promise of a greater future for Islam. India on the one side and Asia Minor on the other are but two extreme links in a chain of the future Islamic federation, which are gradually but surely joining together all intermediate states in one great system. The present conditions in Europe clearly indicate the great possibility of the emancipation of Asia from the political bondage and economic slavery of the West. In India the work had already begun. He asked his compatriots deeply interested in the events taking place outside India to bear in mind these facts that the success of their efforts in the cause of the Khilafat was bound to help the awakening of India and that the regeneration of Asia was closely bound up with the Khilafat question, in as much as, it was, as a matter of fact the forerunner of a general awakening of Asia. United India could not afford to ignore the developments in the Islamic world, specially because no less than seventy millions belonging to the Islamic faith form part of the Indian nation and had a share in its destiny. Afghanistan, the neighbouring Islamic country touching on our border, was already making efforts to attain complete independence which will certainly checkmate the designs of imperialistic greed and would clear the way for other Asiatic states to rise.

Anglo-Afghan Treaty

Referring to the recent Anglo-Afghan Treaty, the President remarked that it was the first step towards a complete vindication of the natural and political honour of the Afghan. All that could possibly be said against the treaty was that it was perhaps not well-timed and that the Indian people would have approved a further postponement. But, on the whole, the treaty was an admirable and a statesman-like achievement on the part of His Majesty the Amir and his Ministers. The Afghan nation deserves to be congratulated mainly because the treaty was, if any thing, a clear guarantee of a complete independence in the near future. Along with this the decent consolidation of the Islamic states in Azerbaijan, Caucasus and Persia is as significant as the great victory of the Kemal-ist forces over the Greeks, which completely smashed the

British diplomacy in the East and induced France to conclude a separate treaty with Angora, thus undermining the alliance and at the same time giving an impetus to the efforts of those who stood for right and justice.

Near Eastern Question

He described what intense efforts were being made to dissuade France from the Franco-Turk agreement and to spoil prospects of peace, but it was not too much to hope that France would not commit such a mistake because it was well-known that she was absolutely disgusted with the cross-currents of European diplomacy and the sordid machination of Allied foreign offices in her own interests and also in the interest of peace and order, and to dissociate herself from diplomatic intrigues leading to the world's difficulties. Even the French press declared that it was not so very difficult to solve the near Eastern question if only Great Britain would care to help.

The President hoped that, after all, France would not fall a victim to the intrigues of British Imperialism. It was a pity that the British ministers were found lacking in statesmanship and political foresight and relied simply on their diplomacy which only weakened the alliance, so much so, that even Italy with hardly any sympathy for the Turks and always their enemy began to turn round and join hand with the Kemalist. It would not be long before she, too, like France, concluded a separate treaty with Angora. In spite of the British efforts to camouflage the real issue by slightly revising or amending the treaty of Sevres, Great Britain could not afford to ignore the world-wide unrest which had affected adversely the prestige of the British Empire. The world now understood the diplomatic tricks which are the stock in trade of the British imperialism. The British ministers used to assert that they were prepared to do justice to the Turks but that they could not take any action alone and were in honour bound to respect the alliance. Now that out of the 3 allied powers France had already concluded a separate peace and Italy was actively sympathising with the Turks, who was there to oppose a complete revision of the Treaty of Sevres?

Nationalist movement in India

Turning to questions arising out of the Nationalist movement in India, the President remarked that the present struggle between the bureaucracy and the people of India was a striking demonstration of brute force against moral force. The effect was very significant that was adding to the moral courage of a suffering people who were gaining in strength and vitality with every fresh exhibition of repression by the Government.

Disorders in Bombay.

Referring to the recent disorders in Bombay, the President pointed out that they were initiated mainly by a few unscrupulous and ignorant men, who were never connected with the non-co-operation movement. But the sad events of Bombay had a silver lining. It did ones heart good to see that throughout the country the spirit of non-violence, the basic of principle of the movement, had found a place in the hearts of the people, and they were found to be sufficiently trained and organised to stand any amount of repression and sufferings without giving way to violence. The true spirit had permeated the masses, and it could now be declared with great confidence that, as far as this movement was concerned the possibility of public disorder or violence hardly existed. This was the greatest guarantee of their ultimate success. Immediately after the disorders in Bombay, the bureaucracy lost its head and Lord Reading failed to grasp the situation. He took a wrong turn and precipitated further difficulties. It was an irony that the very Government who wanted to keep the Prince above politics proved to be the sole cause of placing His Royal Highness in a false and awkward position. The bureaucracy with its stage-managing wanted to utilise the Royal visit in its own way. But, in its profound wisdom, it took a false step, and to the great regret of the people of India placed the Prince in a vortex of political struggle. They tried to suppress the legitimate feelings of the people and only succeeded in intensifying the movement. Now that a full measure of repression had already been tried and prisons were full, the Viceroy came out with a concession that he was perplexed and could not understand the movement. Even now, he did not realise that the very diagnosis on which he relied was wrong and that therefore the treatment must fail.

The Govt. miserably blundered, when, instead of prosecuting and banishing individual offenders, they declared all associations unlawful. This was a challenge thrown out to all National movements and activities, and Nationalists could not afford to ignore it. They took it up and began to fill up the jails in an absolutely non-violent manner and spirit. It was futile, said the President, to repeat the decisions of what was happening. But it should be pointed out that even the religious tolerance of which the bureaucracy talked so much had exploded. After the Karachi Conference we knew what religious tolerance amounted to. It is, according to the official interpretation, subservient to the considerations of policy and administration. That was all.

The President then summed up with the remark that non-violence and the capacity for suffering were the two essentials. They were the key to success. Every Nationalist should consider it his duty to go to jail and to suffer for the sake of Right and Justice and should religiously observe the basic principle of non-violence.

The Round Table Conference.

Referring to the suggestions about the Round Table Conference and the speech recently delivered by Lord Ronaldshay, the President was disappointed to see that the bureaucratic notions about an unlimited prestige and power were still the guiding factor. He remarked that there were few men in the country indeed who could not be misled by the so-called conciliatory speeches which is full of futile threat and platitudes about law and order. We, too, wanted peace, but only by safe-guarding our citizen rights and national honour.

Referring to the Liberal Party and the Moderates, the President declared that recent political developments were making us all very uneasy and we should not forget that most of those belonging to the Liberal Party were honest Nationalists. Whatever their views, their motives should not be doubted. They had quite a long experience of the reforms. Apart from those who may have joined the Government for the sake of personal gain, most of the Moderates deserve respectful attention. He said that he had not given up all hope, and believed that sooner or later the Moderates would join hands with the Nationalists. It was not right to run down honest patriots merely on account of difference of opinion or methods.

Likewise, said the President, we should have no ill-will towards the police or the army. They too are not beyond our hope. He next appealed to all Nationalist workers to treat the policemen or soldiers with tolerance and make allowances for their weaknesses and defects.

Regarding the Moplah disorders in Malabar, the President said that he was very much grieved to see that the brave Moplahs transgressed the commandments of Islam by resorting to forcible conversion. But fortunately there were only a few who had committed such misdeeds, the majority of the brave people was goaded into armed rebellion by an extremely high-handed administration. Our sympathies should be with all sufferers, whether Moplahs or Hindus. In this connection he referred to the inhuman atrocities committed there under the Martial Law, and the railway-van tragedy. Had the Government allowed the Nationalists to enter the disturbed area, much suffering would have been prevented and he thought that peace would have been easily restored.

In the end the President appealed to the Mussalmans of India to carry on the present struggle with increasing energy and fortitude, never forgetting that they must always take their stand on the bed-rock of non-violence and love and truth.

After the Presidential Address a resolution of allegiance to the Sultan of Turkey was passed, all standing.

RESOLUTIONS

On Civil Disobedience

The All-India Khilafat Conference resumed its sitting on the same evening to pass resolutions. It was resolved to appeal to all Muslims to enroll as volunteers and civilly disobey orders prohibiting public meetings by holding such meetings, provided they were certain that there was no possibility of violence.

Before the Conference proceeded to the disobedience resolution, the mother of the Ali Brothers made a short appeal for the Angora Fund as a result of which money to the extent of several thousands was collected on the spot.

Maulvi Abdul Majid Badyun moved the resolution which declared that, in spite of all their strenuous efforts the British Government had denied justice to the Khilafat and the Punjab

wrongs and had, on the other hand, started a full-fledged repression by imprisoning the leaders and by declaring unlawful the peaceful associations of citizens in order to stifle legitimate and peaceful agitation ; the Conference, therefore, called upon all Muslims of and above the age of 18 to join the Volunteer Corps regardless of imprisonment and death.

The Conference also desired that civil disobedience, by way of holding public meetings where they were prohibited, be entered upon, provided the Provincial Congress Committee were satisfied that there was no fear of violence.

Stirring speeches were made in support of this resolution by Messrs. Syed Sulaiman Nadvi, Abdur Rahman, Madansing, Chowdhuri Rambhujdutt and Srimati Gangadevi of Farrukhabad and Srimati Jamnabai. Of these the first two speakers confessed that before the present repression was started the Non-co-operators found themselves at their wit's end to find out such an occasion and such a ground upon which civil disobedience could be started throughout the length and breadth of this country, but they were thankful to Lord Reading's administration which through its blunders had offered a splendid and much-sought-for opportunity to fight their battle to the finish with lightning speed. At the same time, the day on which the Government of India decided on declaring the volunteers' associations unlawful, they dugged the grave of their own administration.

The resolution, was passed with acclamation.

Congratulations to Kemalists

Another resolution congratulating the Kemalists on their successes was also adopted without discussion.

The Independence Resolution

Before the Conference adjourned at eleven in the night till the next day the President, Hakim Ajmal Khan, announced that the Subjects Committee of the Conference had, on the motion of Mr. Azad Sobhani, supported by Mr. Hasrat Mohani, by a majority resolved to ask all Muhammadans and other communities to endeavor to destroy British imperialism and secure complete independence.

This resolution stated that whereas through the persistent policy and attitude of the British Government it cannot be expected that British Imperialism would permit the Jazirat Ul-Arab and the Islamic world to be completely free from the

influence and control of non-Muslims, which means that the Khilafat cannot be secured to the extent that the Shariat demands its safety, therefore, in order to secure permanent safety of the Khilafat and the prosperity of India, it is necessary to endeavour to destroy British Imperialism. This Conference holds the view that the only way to make this effort is, for the Muslims, conjointly with other inhabitants of India, to make India completely free, and that this Conference is of opinion that Muslim opinion about Swaraj is the same, that is, complete independence, and it expects that other inhabitants of India would also hold the same point of view.

On the Conference resuming its sitting on the second day, December 27th 1921, a split was found to have taken place in the camp over this resolution about independence. When Mr. Hasrat Mohani was going to move his resolution declaring as their goal independence and the destruction of British Imperialism, objection was taken to its consideration by a member of the Khilafat Subjects Committee on the ground that according to their constitution no motion which contemplated a change in their creed could be taken as adopted, unless it was voted for in the Subjects Committee by a majority of two-third.

The President, Hakim Ajmal Khan, upheld this objection and ruled the independence motion out of order.

Mr. Hasrat Mohani strongly protested and pointed out that the President had disallowed a similar objection by the same member in the Subjects Committee, while he had allowed it in the open Conference. He said that the President had manœvered to rule his motion out of order in order to stand in their way of declaring from that Conference that their Swaraj meant complete independence.

The Conference then passed resolutions appealing for the Angora Fund, condemning Government atrocities in Malabar, sympathising with the Moplahs in their suffering, and congratulating them on their sacrifices in the cause of religion, and condemning those Moplahs who were responsible for forcible conversion of Hindus.

After the Conference was over Mr. Hasrat Mohani appealed to the delegates to stay and pass his resolution. About half the number of delegates remained inside the pandal, and on being asked declared that they agreed to complete independence.

ALL INDIA LADIES' CONFERENCE

AHMEDABAD—30th DECEMBER 1921

The following is a translation of the Urdu address delivered by the revered mother of Moulanas Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali as president of the All-India Ladies' Conference held in the Congress Pandal immediately after the adjournment of the Indian National Congress, and attended by 6000 ladies from all over India.

"Sisters and Daughters—In this old age I should have retired to a corner of my house and passed the remaining few days of my life in humble prayers to our Maker. But these are critical times in the history of Islam and of India when even pious recluses must come out of their solitary abodes of meditation and spend their last breath in the service of God and humanity. For, to my mind, no prayers, no meditations are so pleasing to the Almighty God as service rendered to humanity and country. My faith in Him and my love for my Country have emboldened me to accept the honour of presiding over this Conference, and I am deeply grateful to you for the honour. Dear sisters, our first and foremost duty is to be true to God and to be firm in our faiths. A person who is not loyal to God can never be loyal to any Government established by men. Then, there is the need of unity among ourselves. Experience has taught us that without such unity among the various communities inhabiting this country of ours, without hearty and believing co-operation among the Hindus, Mussulmans, Sikhs and Parsis and all the others communities, we cannot liberate our country or live peaceful and honourable lives. History bears testimony to the fact that, even in the days of the Muslim rulers, Hindus and Mussalmans lived in amity, good-will and brotherly attachment. But, since the advent of the British traders into India with their commercial enterprise they have found their success entirely on our disunion. With the advent of

foreign rule our nation is sinking fast into degeneration. We are living lives of ease and indolence, which is secured for us by the vigilant industry of others, and we have been contaminated more with the vices than with the virtues of Europe. The result is that we soon became indifferent to the laws of God and to the demands of our country. But what God Almighty does not want to perish, no amount of poisoning can kill. The day that the Government gave India the Rowlatt Act, the Punjab massacre, and the dismemberment of the Khilafat, that day was the day of the awakening and recuperation of India. India has found out that her remedy lies not with unsympathetic British Doctors but with herself; and we are now trying through our own efforts to rid ourselves from various maladies from which we are suffering.

Sisters, we must now look to the present conditions of our country and realise what efforts are being made to save her. Every country is composed of people of different religious faiths. But laws of God have equal binding force on all—men and women alike. A nation consists of men and women, and, whatever duties devolve on men, those are the duties from which women are not exempt. It has been the saddest misfortune of India that her women have taken more and more to a life of ease and comfort and aloofness from all patriotic duties. The present day reader of history grows very doubtful whether a Nur-jehan, a Chand-bibi or Rani Laxmibai of Jhansi, a Rebnissa, Ahalyabai or a Perbattee were born in India. But praise be to God that even in this generation I do find patriotic women of the courage and determination of Mrs Das, Mrs Nehru, Mrs Sarojini Naidu, Ansuyabai, Saraladevi, Begum Mahomed Ali or Begums Ansari, Khwaja Hasrat Mohani, Kitchlew and others of equal importance and reputation for marvellous sacrifice for truth and country, and I feel the satisfaction that the future historian of India will not fail to note the names of such great women as I have mentioned above, along with Mahatma Gandhi and other leaders, as the great nation-builders and liberators of India. Dear sisters, you have amongst you Sitas and Zainabis whose husbands have been either martyred or cast into the prisons. You have amongst you Fatimas and Kansakas whose dearest sons have cheerfully sacrificed themselves at the altar of Dharma and their country. They all deserve our gratitude.

Domestic Politics.

The fruits of patience are always sweet. God's promises are bound to be fulfilled. We owe some duties to God and our country. We must give up all ideas of personal ease and comfort. We must take a solemn vow that so long as our country and our religion are not freed from foreign domination, so long must we not think of dressing ourselves. We must reduce our necessities of life to barest minimum possible, so much so, that we must be able to make our ends meet with what we should be able to earn by spinning and weaving. In this way we would be able to relieve our men of the anxiety of having to provide for our expensive needs and thus to devote their fullest possible time and energy to carry on their spiritual struggle to a successful end without worries or disabilities of a domestic nature. Besides, we must work as much as our men to completely fulfil the Khilafat and Congress Programme.

Enlisting as Volunteers

Now, about enlisting yourselves as volunteers, the time has come when every man and woman who has the least faith and self-respect must consider himself as a soldier of the army of God. Everyone of us—Indians, men and women—is a volunteer, whether or not, through expediency or conviction, you may not sign the pledge. I urge you to fear none but God, but at the same time, do not let yourselves be carried away by the impulse of the moment. The situation in our country is very delicate and our duty is likewise no less delicate. Don't be afraid of prisons, but don't, at the same time, forget the responsibilities of your religious and social life. I would advise you not to provoke arrest, but pray, do not shirk it when it comes. It will come as a natural consequence of your courage and fearlessness. You must abide by the injunctions of Koran and the Shastras. Remember, that when all our men are in jail, you will have to keep flying the flag of Liberty.

Resolution.

A resolution was then passed calling upon the Women of India to enrol themselves as Volunteers in obedience to the Congress mandate. It was moved by Swami Satyadev and supported by Mrs. Shamlal Nehru, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Mrs. Gandhi.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF
The European Association

CALCUTTA, 24th JANUARY 1921

The European Association held their annual meeting in the hall of the Royal Exchange, Calcutta, on Monday 24 Jan. 1921. Mr. George Morgan, President of the Association, occupied the chair and there was a large attendance of members which included several ladies. The President in his address said :—

"Ladies and Gentlemen.—Before presenting to you the annual report and accounts for the year ending 30th September 1920, I should like to mention that your Council telegraphed a welcome to H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught on his arrival in India, and I am sure we all hope this visit of His Royal Highness will be taken by India as proof of the good-will of the British people.

"I also wish to say that your Council looks upon the choice of Lord Reading as the new Viceroy as one which should command confidence. They consider that a man of the unquestionable ability of Lord Reading should be able to put matters in India on a much more satisfactory footing. A strong and capable man is much needed in India just now.

"In presenting to you the annual report and accounts, I am glad to inform you that the membership has increased, not decreased, as, I was warned, would be the case if the subscription was raised to Rs. 10 per annum. But I regret to say the increase is not what it should be. There must be thousands of Europeans in India who ought to be members but who are not, and I ask all Europeans to join at once." *

After detailing the financial position of the Association the President continued—

"As you are all aware I had to devote most of my time at Home to the affairs of the Association and although the work was intensely interesting it could hardly be called a holiday.

* This refers to the **PAX BRITANNICA** movement in India started since the Punjab Massacre in 1919 and the famous Dyer debacle of 1920.

"Great Britain has been so distracted since the war that it is a wonder to me the British Press and Public have been able to give as much attention as they have done to Indian affairs. The ignorance and apathy displayed by the British public with regard to India is lamentable, but one must remember that India is only a part of the British Empire, and it is our duty to help the people at Home to realize the position and guide them as to what should be done."

As regards the question of arming all Europeans in India and training them into *Auxilliary Forces*, which had for some-time past been agitating the Europeans and Anglo-Indians in India, the President said :--

"This matter occupied a great deal of our attention last year, and before I went Home in February I was under the impression, after seeing a draft of the (*Auxilliary Forces*) Bill as revised, that the matter was finished, but soon after my arrival in England I received a cable to the effect that the "Compulsory" idea had been shelved and the Bill was to be brought in on a "Voluntary" basis. Mr. Montagu, who remarked that he was in favour, stated to me that the reason for cutting out the 'Compulsory' part of the Bill was that as the British Delegates at the Peace Conference had tabled a resolution against conscription, the Cabinet could not sanction the Bill being brought in except on a "Voluntary" basis. So far as I know the enrolment has not been entirely satisfactory. It has been mentioned to me that if the four years' period was done away with practically every eligible man would join the Force. At the present juncture it is perfectly certain that everyone should join. I hope Government have sufficient up-to-date guns, rifles etc. all ready, otherwise enrolment will remain unsatisfactory.

"Also there is the most important question of finance. I warn Government that if the Auxillary Force is starved in the matter of money, there will never be a satisfactory enrolment.

"In the annual report you will find reference made to the Arms Act. The matter is still engaging our attention and I shall be glad if our branches will bring to our notice any other points they may wish to raise. I take this opportunity of thanking the Sub-Committee for their excellent reports which have been sent up to the Government of India."

Next referring to the political situation in India, Mr. Morgan said :—

"All grades of Indian opinion are agreed that the tragedy of the Punjab is the main reason for their want of faith in the justice of the British at the present time.

"The whole case has been argued "*ad nauseum*" and I do not intend to go over the ground again. Europeans and Indians do not look at the matter in the same light, but I want Indians to remember that, whatever their grievance against the Government is, brutal murders were committed, and we also have a grievance in that the Government failed to protect life and property which was their first duty.

"The Majority and Minority Reports of the Hunter Commission both agreed, and it was about the only point on which they did agree, that had the 75 Military Police at the Kotwali (at Amritsar) done their duty, the situation would probably have been saved. In which the case there would have been no Jallianwallah Bagh.

"I leave the matter at that.

"The new Executive Governments and Legislative Councils have now been brought into being, and I here repeat that the Non-Official Community has accepted the position meantime and will do its utmost to give the new Constitution a fair trial. This must not be taken to mean that we consider the Reform Bill to be sound, and are prepared to quietly accept anything that may be done ; we reserve to ourselves the right to freely criticise any defects which may become apparent in the working of the Act, but will do our best to point out how these defects may be remedied.

"In this connection I wish to put our position clearly before Members. We agitated strongly for Communal Representation and we got it ; now it is up to us to use the representation given. I need not repeat here that we are all busy men and that public work is throwing an ever-increasing burden on the backs of a few members of our Community—a burden which some of us have found more we can bear. We have no leisured class who can devote their time to public work and it seems to me that the Non-official European Community will have to seriously consider whether it would

not be advisable to have a political organisation to do the work, with paid representatives on the Councils in places where business and professional men cannot find time to do public work, especially with regard to the Indian Legislative Assembly which meets at Delhi and Simla.

"As regards the idea of "Co-operation," we have decided to watch the new Councils very carefully before committing ourselves in any way, and I think this is a wise decision.

"The National Liberal Federation which is the Official Body of the Moderate Party has just held a Congress in Madras. The President, Mr. Chintamani, has defined the ideal of the Liberal Party as "complete self Government in India's internal affairs and absolute equality with the Dominions in inter-imperial and international relations." A very worthy ideal, but Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa are very different places to India and the situation is fraught with many difficulties.

Indian Civil Service.

"Mr. Montagu has adhered to the original proposal and has now published the conditions of entry for the Indian Civil Service. The percentage of Indian recruitment has been fixed at one-third rising by one and a half per cent annually for ten years up to a maximum of forty-eight per cent. We hold that Mr. Montagu fixed these percentages in the erroneous belief that a deduction of 1.5 per cent. a year from the British personnel will produce only a mathematically corresponding decline in the British character of the service. What will actually happen is that after a very few years the decline in the British element among recruits for the Indian Civil Service will be, not a steady 1.5 per cent annually, but a very much larger percentage. The result of this in ten years time can be easily imagined. The Indian Civil Service, as known to British candidates, has now been sentenced to death.

Swaraj and Non-co-operation

"The Extremist Party has boycotted the new Councils and by doing so they have proclaimed to the world that constitutional methods have no attraction for them.

"You will have read the reports of the Congress meeting held at Nagpur, and will have seen that the Congress Creed has been changed. The definite aim of the Congress now is to make the Government of this country impossible by what they call non-violent non-co-operation in order to obtain "Swaraj" in twelve months. This method they advocate, as they say they are not in a position to do it by any other means at present.

"There seems to be three separate dreams : (1) Mr. Gandhi dreams of "Peace, Perfect Peace," uncontaminated by Western Civilisation. (2) Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali dream of a very different kind of India, outside the British Empire. (3) Mr. C. R. Dass dreams of the time when all "European Robbers" will have departed and the whole Government and trade will be in Indian hands.

"Now the question for us to consider is :—What views do we hold regarding "Swaraj" ? Our view is that Indians should take the first instalment given them, work it for all they are worth, and prove to the Commission ten years hence, that they are fit to govern. Mr. Chintamani has stated this to be the policy of the "Liberal" party.

"If the Congress demands were acceded to at once, what would they suggest about the British Army ? Do they expect to see an Indian Army capable of taking upon itself in twelve months all the administration of Army Head-quarters and being able to defend the country from external enemies and maintain internal peace ? If they do, they are extraordinarily sanguine.

"What we have guaranteed to India is that we will guide them on the road to complete self-government. We must realise that, and if we cannot honestly say we are prepared to take away the British Army when the final stages of the transition have come, we may as well say so now.

"But when the final stages of the transition have come, what is then to be the position of the European community ? Having given up all actual participation of the governing of this country, are we to revert to the old trading days ? It looks as if it must be so. We will have to be merchants, trading in India under concessions from the Indian Government, and probably the European community will then be confined to the large Seaport Towns,

"We asked Government to define their policy as regards Defence before the passing of the Reform Bill.

"What has Government done? A Commission has lately been held and the Esher Report published. This would have been done "before" the passing of the Reform Bill. Indians now say they fail to see how the recommendations of the Commission fall in with the general policy of the granting of complete Self-government.

"The Esher Report states that the Indian Army is the instrument of the Government of India by whom it is paid and administered, subject to the general control of the Secretary of State for India and that just as the security of India demands the presence of these British troops, so the fresh military obligations devolving on the Empire as a result of the war, necessitate the employment overseas of a considerable number of Indian troops. Indians do not admit this.

"There is no doubt that we must prepare for the final transition and if there is to be any analogy between the Civil and Military administration, a beginning might be made by offering a few of the Indian regiments entirely with Indians and gradually extending the system, if successful, until the British Army could be completely withdrawn. The Army Head-quarters would also have to be reconstructed.

"This in my opinion would be a more suitable way of meeting the situation than by merely giving a percentage of King's commissions to Indians.

The Present Position.

"We must remember that the feeling which has arisen and growing steadily in India during the last 14 years is the outcome of our own teaching, and the intensified feeling shown during the past 3 or 4 years has been due in great part to the effects of the world-wide war. We should not resent this feeling but try to satisfy it, having due regard to our position as Trustees of the people of the whole of India.

"Whether it will be possible for India to be part of the British Empire on the same lines as the present self-governing units is a question that cannot be answered at present. It all depends on how the Indians themselves work the new Constitution and whether such a Constitution is suitable to the people of India.

"There is no use attempting to disguise the fact that the present position is full of danger. The atmosphere is charged with electricity. The agrarian disturbances at Rai Bareilly should serve as a warning and I hope our politicians, combining firmness with justice, will be able to steer the Ship of State into calm waters. At the present moment it is the general impression that everything is being allowed to drift. If India is to be saved from revolution and anarchy the Government must be maintained and must take a firm stand.

"I am certain that the Reform Scheme will not prove a solution of the difficulties, and before many years are over Indians will wish they had never heard of it.

"The European Association of India can do a great deal to help the British People to come to a right decision and I ask you to seriously consider the situation and not to brush it lightly aside. The final stages of the Transition may come very much quicker than most of you realise and it behoves us to be prepared."

The Resolution

After the election of new office-bearers and passing some formal resolution, the only important resolution on the paper was moved by Lieutenant Commander Fraser in the following terms :—This meeting unreservedly condemns the attitude of supine acquiescence with lawlessness and incipient anarchy which the Government of India has seen fit to adopt with regard to "Non-co-operation", and calls upon it to carry out the duty which alone entitles it to be called a government, and in particular, to put in force the Indian Penal Code against all persons professing and promulgating the particular form of lawlessness and anarchy called "Non-co-operation", and that a copy of this be sent to the Government of India and the Press.

Mr. Armstrong seconded the motion. There was a lively debate lasting for a considerable period after which votes were taken and it was then found that the house was equally divided. The President gave his casting vote against the motion and it was declared lost.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF
The European Association

CALCUTTA, 14TH FEBRUARY 1922

The European Association held their annual meeting this year in the hall of the Royal Exchange, Calcutta, on Tuesday 14th Feb. 1922. Mr. George Morgan, President of the Association, having previously resigned Mr. H. W. Carr occupied the chair and there was a large attendance of members which included several ladies. Mr. Carr, in reviewing the past year's political situation in his address said :—

On the Reforms.

"The year opened with the inauguration of the new Assembly and Councils under the Reform Scheme, and it is somewhat surprising to note what a large number of Europeans in this country, including some of our own members, in criticising Government have failed to recognise that the old order has passed, and this in spite of the fact that the new order is so much in being that matters vitally affecting Europeans have been under the consideration of the legislature for some months past. I refer particularly to the Amendments brought forward to the Criminal Procedure Code with a view to eliminating all racial distinctions. The manner in which it was proposed to achieve this object showed the necessity for a careful watch being kept by the Association, who while maintaining a sympathetic attitude towards the logical outcome of the Reforms, cannot fail to recognise that actions based on racial sentiments may lead legislation into channels which would deprive a section of the citizens of this country of their rights, without achieving any substantial benefit to others. The Reform Councils are still on their trial, and there are many grounds for congratulation and hopefulness, ; but we cannot be blind to other and less hopeful signs in the half-hearted determination to accept the responsibilities of Government in maintaining order. This

phase emphasises the necessity for the steady and quiet development of self-government for India, rather than the rush for Home Rule which is advocated by the more noisy section of the population whose aims, if carried into effect, would throw India into a condition of chaos in a very short time.

"The political situation has been one that has called for several representations from the Association, but we cannot claim that they have produced any very marked results. For a long time now Government in various centres has been announcing in unmistakable terms its unflinching determination to protect law-abiding citizens and to maintain law and order. The enunciation of sound principles means but little even though often repeated. It is the application of these principles to the problems of our national existence for which we have patiently and anxiously waited, and a resolution will be put to this meeting shortly on the subject. We are not unsympathetic with the difficulties facing Government and we are only too anxious to assist if they will but give us a lead.

"During the year the Home campaign for disseminating information with regard to India's position was brought to a close. The campaign had been adopted for the purpose of counteracting the Extremist propaganda which was being vigorously pushed throughout the United Kingdom, and also of awakening Great Britain to the dangers of a position which have always been apparent to us out here, but of which she is only now becoming conscious. To assist Great Britain to gain a correct conception of affairs out here seemed a legitimate activity of this Association, but the scheme has had to be closed down through lack of funds; and in view of the fact that it did not meet with the support of all our members, the scheme will not be resuscitated in future without the full consideration and consent of the branches.

"Among the many matters dealt with during the year the question of the military requirements of India, which was discussed by a Committee in June last, was by no means the least important, although an unfortunate incident * when ten-

* This refers to the slanderous statement made by Major Tyas, Sec., European Association, in his evidence before the Military Requirements Committee on the courage, efficiency and value of the Anglo-Indians and Eurasians as members of the Auxiliary Force. This, however, was subsequently repudiated by Col. Gidney, their President and the Govt. of India.

dering our oral evidence, which has been happily settled, has hidden to some extent the importance of the whole matter. The Council has been strongly opposed to any curtailment of the European Garrison in India, for the internal conditions in this country are considerably more dangerous than in the pre-war period, and although modern weapons have increased the efficiency of the Garrison, yet we consider more rather than less men are required to give protection to the community from foes without and within. We feel strongly that the Auxiliary Force is only for use in times of emergency and not on any account for the purpose of saving expenditure on forces which are required to garrison the country and keep the frontiers. The Auxiliary Force must be treated, we contend, purely as an ultimate reserve.

“An item of considerable importance to the Association has been the reconstitution of the Council which has been carried through in the past few months. The new council is to a far greater degree than formerly representative of Branches and it is also reduced to one of more workable dimensions. This should be of great assistance to the efficiency of the Association and tend to rapidity of action, for at the present time we think our Members upcountry, rather than those in town, require the help of the Association, as it is in the mofussil that the absence of order is more severely felt than in towns where forces available for meeting contingencies are located. With a well-constituted Council, however, and even should we be able to make an early considerable addition to the membership, nothing can be done without money, and when we turn to the accounts we find very disappointing results.

“I may say that at present we are working under the estimates of expenditure, but in addition to the subscriptions from members we also require new members, not only for their financial support but also in order to add to the influence of this Association. In securing new members I quite realise the difficulty, for some say that the Association is doing nothing while others say in effect that it is doing too much pro-European. From what I have seen of the work of the Association I believe both are wrong. The first criticism of doing nothing is answered in the record of work shown in the Quarterly Reviews, but it seems that doing nothing in the estimation

of these critics is the only alternative to the Association being continually in the limo-light. I would suggest, however, that the role of the Association is in the main that of a guard over European rights, which does not get active until it sees those rights threatened; even then it does not move on all occasions for, provided other parties are taking the necessary actions, it only has to back them up. In this respect it owes much to the public spirited action of the Chambers of Commerce. The Chambers cannot, however, do all that is required, for they represent specific interests and it is up to this Association to look after the wide interests not represented in the Chambers. In setting out to do this we come across the others of our critics who say we are too "pro-European." They fear that to watch over European interests means we are going to struggle for privileges at the expense of our Indian co-citizens—privileges which are not in tune with the liberal thought of the world at the present day. This is not so, for this Association, while specially serving its members, has neither the intention nor the desire to secure privileges at the expenses of the community generally.

"It seems to me that this Association can unite with any Association or party of liberal thought attempting to establish the freedom and responsibility of the individual, and this unity of action is regardless of race, for I believe that in sympathetic fellowship with the responsible Indian and Anglo-Indian the best interests of this Association are bound up.

"I hope some of those now hanging back from membership with this Association will see things in the same light and will join with us in upholding the British ideal which is liable to partial eclipse in times of racial antagonism, but which it is the peculiar duty of this Association to defend."

The Telegram (Cable ?) to the Premier on Khelafat

Mr. H. B. Turle said that last week the Council of the Association sent the following telegram to the Prime Minister: "Council of European Association respectfully draws attention to fact that attitude of Mahomedans in India towards Britain is profoundly and adversely affected by conviction that Britain alone stands in way of peace with Turkey and that Britain is supporting Greece against Turkey owing to pro-

Christian influences. Council respectfully but most earnestly urges India's splendid part in war particularly in Eastern theatre demands in framing policy towards Turkey fullest possible deference be accorded Mahomedan religious sentiment which has active sympathy of leading Hindus. Council considers early affirmation that British policy now as always is unbiased by religious considerations and demonstration thereof by one unmistakable attitude to Turkey with regard to Holy Places essential to success of Empire's mission in Asia." The reason the telegram was sent was that they had recently had the opportunity in the Council of discussing the position in India with one or two leading Mahomedans, and, as they understood the situation in India, they were faced with two separate and distinct agitations. The first was the *Swaraj* and the second was the *Khilofat* agitation. With regard to *Swaraj* the Association was entirely and unanimously opposed to any form of *Swaraj* as proposed by Mr. Gandhi and the Extremist leaders in India. It was believed by the general run of Mahomedans throughout India that the only obstacle in the way of peace with Turkey was Great Britain. Whether that was correct or not there was no doubt that was the belief which was very damaging to the success of the Empire in Asia and especially in a country where a majority or a large number of the inhabitants were Mahomedans. They had therefore sent this telegram to the Prime Minister urging an affirmation that British policy was unbiased by religious sentiment. It was outside the ordinary scope of the Association but they felt that the situation was unusual and that if anything could be done to remove the root of the trouble it was within the scope of the Association just as much as it was within the scope of the Association to prevent the preaching of disloyalty in the mosques towards Great Britain.

Urging Government to Action against N-C-O.

Mr. E. Villiers moved:—"The Association notes the attitude of the Government of India towards the revolutionary movement as revealed in its communique of the 6th of February. It urges on the Government the immediate cessation of its present attitude of continued forbearance with agitators which will alienate in the future, as it has in

the past, the sympathies of those who still desire to remain loyal. The Association urges on the Government the imperative necessity of translating its words into deeds and, by definite and immediate action, of carrying out its elementary duty of maintaining Law and Order and of protecting its servants from murder and violence. The Association is strongly of opinion that, to give effect to the above, definite steps should be taken continually to display in the up country districts and in the towns such forces as the Government may have at its disposal and further that, in the case of all those condemned by the law to imprisonment for riotous and seditious acts, such imprisonment should be made effective both as to term and conditions."

In speaking on the resolution Mr. Villiers made a violent speech. He said that they had done with words. They wanted the Government to realise that they had sat quiet for some months seeing a good deal passing before them with forbearance, that, however, did not mean that they were going to sit down so see themselves trampled on "*ad nauseum*" by every self-styled apostle of peace. Secondly, the resolution urged on Government the imperative necessity of translating its word into deeds. Words had not stemmed the tide of racial hatred which was threatening the whole of the European community and in fact every loyal member of the community.

Lastly, he would add a word of warning. There might be, and there were, some amongst them who thought that owing to the latest *communique* put forward by Mr. Gandhi with regard to the suspension for the time being at all events of mass civil disobedience, that there was no reason why this resolution should now be moved. If there were any of them who thought on these lines, he told them that they were never more mistaken in their lives. This was nothing more or less than a strategic move of an amazingly clever and astute politician. Mr. Gandhi was asking for a crore of volunteers and a crore of rupees and for the time being he was pleased to stop this campaign. If there was need yesterday for this resolution to be moved there was ten thousand times more need for it to be moved that day lest the Government be lulled into a false sense of security and the tiny rimlets of blood which they had seen trickling in the land might swell into a great river of blood and overwhelm every man and woman in this country.

Mr. Langford James in supporting the resolution said that he had made a certain study of Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Gandhi was not a visionary. Mr. Gandhi was a very shrewd politician, possibly the most shrewd among those who had formed themselves into a clique against the British. In December, 1920, there was a Congress held at Nagpur. There were there from Bengal, as the representatives of Bengal, Mr. C. R. Das and various other persons all of whom were noted for their anarchical tendencies and their bitter hatred of the British and they put before the Congress a very sound policy. They said: "Let us go into the Councils and create an opposition like the opposition of the Irish members in the House of Commons." Mr. Gandhi, however, absolutely refused to have it because he foresaw that once they went into the Councils, once they recognised that they were going to have something like representative government, some sort of some government on the lines of bureaucracy or democracy, there would be an end to his plans and that was what he was not going to have at any cost. Mr. Gandhi's scheme for non-cooperation was to stand outside the Councils so that he might wreck them. Mr. Gandhi's whole object was to produce chaos and anarchy in the land so that there might be no sort of Government whatever, and then when the whole thing was in the melting pot Mr. Gandhi would have his turn. Secondly, why non-violence? Because if one was violent, even the British Government in India took hold of one and probably punished one, and therefore Mr. Gandhi thought it was such an excellent plan all the time to be an advisor of non violence. Nobody would touch him and the Government were side-tracked. To-day Mr. Gandhi stood before them as the most dishonest man in the country. Mr. Gandhi was the advisor of non-violence but was stirring up murder and arson. Mr. Gandhi would have them believe that each time it occurred the tears were running down his face, that he was fasting for a month, that the country must be purged of this dreadful blot. Who believed Mr. Gandhi? Mr. Gandhi could shed his tears after the Bombay massacres but who had stirred it up? He had no doubt that it was Mr. Gandhi himself. He believed that very possibly the future of this country was bound up in having what he would call a solid entente between the sane and sound Indians who had a stake in

the country and desired to see a stable government and the Englishmen who lived here. There was no shadow of doubt that they must have a stable government and that it was the duty of the Government of the country to govern. Government could never govern by sending down such clever *communiqués* from Delhi. Government must take action.

Mr. W. L. Carey said:—The time is one when no doubt the Government of this country and of this Province will be glad to have an expression of opinion by the European Community in support of their action taken and yet to be taken for the enforcement of law and order and the protection of life and property of loyal and law-abiding subjects and Government servants. They may also be glad to know our opinion that the time has come when they should take more definite action to this end. I support the Resolution, and also especially its demand for adequate protection in up-country places, and the showing of such force as may be necessary there to re-establish a sense of security and to overawe the spirit of lawlessness and manufactured disorder.

Mr. C. O. Remfry moved, Mr. Harry Hobbs seconded, and it was unanimously adopted:—“That this meeting endorses the representation of the Council to the Racial Distinctions Committee with regard to the proposed amendment of the Criminal Procedure Code, and while glad to support popular opinion as to equal treatment for Indians and Europeans on the basis of raising the standard of procedure in criminal trials, it emphatically and finally rejects consideration of any settlement which may take away the right of trial by mixed jury as now existing.”

It was unanimously decided by the meeting that the following telegram be at once despatched to Sir William Joynson Hicks:—“To Hicks, Commons, Westminster. General meeting European Association, only organised body unofficial Britishers in India, strongly support your motion and deprecate political manoeuvre in Indian Legislative Assembly of 13th defending Secretary of State.”

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE Bengal Chamber of Commerce

CALCUTTA, 28TH FEB. 1922

At the Annual General meeting of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce which was held on the 28th February at Calcutta Sir Robert Watson Smyth, the President, delivered the following remarkable speech. Some parts of this had, however, to be retracted by him on pressure being applied by the sober and moderate section of the Calcutta public—both European and Indian.

After reviewing the happenings of the past year Sir Robert turned to politics and said :—

“I have always felt that the business-man in Calcutta should, as far as possible, withhold himself from dabbling in politics. It has been my opinion that a business man should stick to his business and confine his political activities to questions which immediately affect or threaten commerce. Of recent years, however, the march of events has been so rapid that it has not been possible for us to stand on one side. Reforms and agitation, side by side, have affected the Government of this country to such an extent that the whole fabric not only of Government but of society also is shaken and threatened, and it therefore behoves every man to take a hand in the game so that he may be prepared to resist aggression and defend his rights. In this connection I would say once more what has often been said on occasions like this, that the old fashioned idea that some firms have of restraining their senior man from taking any part in public life must be abandoned if we are not going to run a great risk during the next few years of critical change. The business community of Calcutta are being attacked. And they will be attacked still more in the future, and it requires the very best men that they can produce to put up an adequate defence. The time when it was sufficient for one or two leading men to take all upon their shoulders has gone. The responsibilities which must be borne by the leaders of the Mercantile community are so great that it is impossible for one or two men to undertake them all, and they must be wisely spread over a larger number than has been the case hitherto. There still exists a prejudice

amongst some of the great firms against allowing their seniors to do anything but their own business, but I solemnly warn the members of this Chamber that this can not continue, and that all must take their share of their burden. It is a selfish and a wicked act for any one firm to be willing enough to take advantage of all the Chamber does for it, but unwilling to allow the attention of their senior to be distracted for a moment by any thought outside making money for the Home partners. If I had my way such a firm should be ostracised, and if they would deliberately take no share in the labours of the chambers they should have no share in the benefits which membership of the Chamber confers.

"We have now had one year's experience in the working of the new Councils under the Reform Scheme, and I am afraid that the best that can be said on the subject is that the results might have been worse. The Council of State have given us a fairly dignified lead, as might be expected from men of that standing, but their powers are small, and though the sentiments which they have expressed from time to time are moderate in view and in expression, they have not been of any great assistance towards governing India during the past year. The Legislative Assembly from which so much was expected, and by which so much must be done if the Reforms are to be anything but a farce, have been a disappointment. The bulk of their time has been taken up in discussing resolutions, many of a highly controversial and racial character, and the time and ability of the best men in the Assembly, both unofficial and official, have been utilized not in trying to solve the problems of Government but in trying to keep the Extremist within limits, and the wording of resolutions from passing the ordinary bounds of prudence. Weighty legislation, such as the Income-tax Act which would have taken the House of Commons weeks of debate, are passed with comparatively no discussion at all. Government by resolution is a hopeless task, and the length to which this has been carried during the past year makes one's heart sink at the thought of these Assemblies and Councils ever being fit to govern this country. But the Legislative Assembly seem to be extremely pleased with their efforts, for with only a few months of experience during which time their actual achievements were nil, they stoutly passed a resolution to

the effect that in their opinion they have become so efficient that their ten years of probation should be waived, and that they were now ready to proceed with the next step towards complete self-government. Can any resolution be conceived that is more futile than that? Can any better proof be shown than that the Legislative Assembly have not even begun to learn the lessons which the Government of India Act considered 10 years was necessary for them to master?

"The Bengal Legislative Council has been possibly a shade better than the Legislative Assembly. They had a severe lesson in the early part of their existence when they rejected the Police vote and found that His Excellency would not restore the grant. It was their first test for finding themselves responsible for their own actions, and they did not like it. They put the grant back on their own petition, and since then have been much more sensible with regard to votes which carry responsibilities with them. But still, for them also the charm of passing resolutions has its fascination, and this culminated in an absurdity at the last session when on one day the Legislative Council passed without difficulty a vote for extra money for the police in order to carry out the Government policy of law and order, and the next day passed a resolution condemning that policy and asking Government to abandon it. And so, gentlemen, the review of the first year's working of our now Assembly and Councils does not give scope for much gratification, but if that had been all we could have looked forward with hope that in years to come wisdom would be learnt by degrees if but slowly. But there is unfortunately something a good deal worse than the passing of foolish resolutions and the like. The Councils, and especially the Assembly, are beginning to realise their power and are beginning to look about to see how they can by legislation work off some their racial and commercial jealousies which have rankled for many years. They have raised two thorny questions: the first being racial equality and the second, what is usually known as the Ilbert Bill controversy. One can deal with the first in rather a calmer manner than with the second.

Racial Prejudice.

"This question of racial equality has been surrounded by a great deal of cant and humbug since the Reform Scheme

came into being. Is there really such a thing as racial equality and, if not, can it be produced by legislation? There must be something very strong against this doctrine of racial equality, this hypothesis that one man is as good as another, no matter what his race or his traditions may be. It is not only we Britishers resident in India that have this idea of racial inequality. I suppose it is stronger in America than anywhere else. The English settlers in Kenya colony who have never had anything to do with India but only with Indians are on the brink of mutiny on account of it. South Africa, which straightened out her war troubles in a manner that stamped after her people as being imbued with the greatest common sense and breadth of vision, will not recognise it. Australia with all its labour Governments will have none of it. The history of India for the last 200 years can hardly be quoted as a proof of any racial equality, and the Indian Army at the present day is a good instance of what I mean. The Indian Army, with its White officers is a magnificent fighting machine. But what would be the value of a Sikh or Pathan regiment officered by Bengali Babus, or a Goorkha Regiment officered by Ooryas? The man who talks about racial equality in India or anywhere else is either a humbug, or is talking with his tongue in his cheek. And yet one of the chief outcomes of the Reforms is this steady demand based on racial equality for what is called Indianizing the services. I notice that there is no great ambition to replace Europeans by Indians in the Army or Navy, but in all other services the demand is to exclude Europeans in future recruitment, and select Indians regardless of the effect in efficiency and regardless of the suitability of the candidates by race or tradition or training. This is bad enough but it is a legitimate ambition which will probably be killed by experience.

“There is, however, a darker and more dangerous side to this question. Racial equality is being made use of as a stalking horse for other things. It is being made use of as a means whereby old commercial jealousies may be satisfied, and as a means whereby privileges can be removed which will lay us open, bound and helpless, to a most vindictive form of legal attack. I mean the false charge at which the Asiatic is an acknowledged expert. Commercial jealousy is being appeased by the attempt to legislate Indians into commercial positions

for which they are not qualified, and which they would never attain by open competition. Here, of course, are many exceptions. The great commercial magnates of Bombay have fought us at our own game and in many instances beaten us and this form of legislation has no attraction for them; but in Bengal and other parts of India where the plane of Indian commercial intelligence and morality is undoubtedly lower than in Bombay, this form of legislation has great attractions, and herein lies the danger. You cannot make an honest Director or Managing Agent by legislation out of a man who, according to Western ideas, is not commercially honest. You cannot make a Public Board function properly by pitchforking on to it a lot of useless or untrustworthy members, simply because they are Indians. But that is the trend of Indian thought to-day, and that form of thought will before long find expression in attempts at legislation. This must be fought from the very beginning. The way is being paved by a sort of campaign of calumny against British methods of business, and accusations of racial prejudice are being levied against us. Thank goodness, we are all too level-headed to bother about these sort of things, but Indian merchants who stoop to this form of abuse must take warning that they cannot have it both ways. We cannot go on being friends with them if they openly and publicly abuse us. We are all willing to be commercial friends, and we are all too good business men to pay more for what we buy, or take less for what we sell in order to keep an Indian from doing business. It often happens, of course, that an European firm refuses to do business with an Indian firm, but the reason is not one of racial prejudice; it is one of commercial morality, and when an Indian firm has lost its credit, as some of them have done recently, they must expect to lose the custom of honest men as well.

The Ilbert bill controversy.

“The second danger ahead of us is the attack that is being made on our privileges and our liberties, better known as the Ilbert Bill controversy. There are possibly none of us here who remember the Ilbert Bill uproar in the early eighties, but there are some of us who came to India not long afterwards when the echoes of that trouble were still ringing in the air. That the Legislative Assembly should have roused all these old passions again within the first year of its exis-

tence, is, to say the least of it, a great error in tactics. At the back of our minds, those of us, I mean, who openly declared for the Reforms, and promised to make them as much of a success as we could, there was always an uneasy feeling that we might be prejudicing our own rights, but I do not think that any of us ever thought that the attack would come at once within the first few months of the constitution of the Reformed Assembly. It shows us that the danger is real, and it shows us that we have got to stick together, as it may be a fight for our very existence. I will not go any length into this subject as the matter is being considered by a very strong Committee. If this Committee can come to a compromise that is likely to last and which will be acceptable to us, nobody will be more pleased than I am ; but we must be prepared for the worst, although we hope for the best. There is, I feel convinced, a certain amount of bluff on the part of many Indians over this matter. It is a question of twisting the lion's tail, as has been done so often by the continental Powers, and the usual process is to go on twisting, keeping a sharp eye on the other end of the lion to see how far it is safe to go before he begins to bite. My advice to you, therefore, when the result of this Committee comes out, unless it is favourable, is to show your teeth as soon as possible. I have been asked what we can do, or what we are going to do. My answer is that we are going to do everything that lies within our power. I am not, of course, going to give our plans away prematurely, nor am I going to indulge in threats, but I can assure the Legislative Assembly that if they pursue this course they are taking on a good deal more than they probably bargain for. In addition to what we can do out here, the public at home are at last rousing themselves to some interest in India and they are beginning to see that law and order here is not as certain as it should be, and the lives and liberties of their kith and kin are not as safe as they ought to be. Now will be the time to rouse British public opinion against any attack on our legal rights, and I feel convinced that our case is good enough to raise a storm, that it will sweep any proposed legislation before it, even if the Reforms have to go too.

"But this thing I say unhesitatingly, that no matter what may happen at Delhi, the Europeans of India will not stand any encroach-

ment on the legal rights that we have found necessary in years past, and which we are convinced will be still more necessary in the future. This is not a question of reform or reaction. It is not a question of justice or injustice. It is a far greater question than that. It is a question of rights and liberty. It is a question of life and death. Let but this safeguard be taken from us, and not one of us will be safe from a charge of any foul crime up to murder with the certainty of a conviction.

"We will await the report of the Committee in the hope that they will recommend some acceptable compromise but if that hope is not realised then action must be taken at once. I shall not be here to offer you my services as a leader which I would otherwise gladly do, but I would like to make this suggestion which, if the occasion arises, your new Committee may consider for what it is worth. In my opinion, the matter should be dealt with, not by the Chamber, but by the European Association; and they should appoint a special committee to deal with this matter only, and to this special committee the Chamber should give the services to take this matter seriously.

"The activities of many classes of Indians, some acting constitutionally and many acting unconstitutionally, seem to me to be aiming at one thing, and one thing only, which is to make matters so impossible for us Britishers in India that we will get out. But let them be well assured that we will not get out. The spirit of the old merchant adventurers, the ancestors of many of us here to-day, is by no means dead. Are we going to be juggled out of our birth right by a parcel of lawyer politicians? Are we going to relinquish the heritage which our fathers won with the blood of some of the best men that ever came out of Britain? Are we going to sit quietly and submissively by to accept from any Legislative Assembly, or from any organisation of Mr. Gandhi, what is vulgarly known as the order of the boot? I think not. Or, if we do, I shall be entirely mistaken in my countrymen.

"Let us not, however, dwell too long on the dark side of things. There is, thank God, a brighter side. Indians are not all like that; indeed there is a large number, probably a large majority who have the sense to recognise that India for Indians alone is quite an impossible ideal. They are, as a rule, somewhat timid in coming forward and proclaiming

their opinion, but the spread of civil disobedience and the threatening of anarchy are driving them to take action, and new leaders who are sound men of common sense are appearing and are willing to join hands with us. One of the outcome of this is the formation of a new League, the chief purpose of which is to fight non co-operation, anarchy and revolution. We are well advanced in this scheme, and we will, for the time being, place our political opinions on one side, and work whole-heartedly together to fight this imminent danger preached by the Khilafatist and Mr. Gandhi. The work which will be mostly propoganda work will be done entirely by Indians but funds will be required, and we shall all have to subscribe freely. This is not a charity, gentlemen, it is an insurance premium. If prudent men insure their premises and their property against damage or destruction by riots and civil commotion, it is surely prudent also to pay another small premium in an endeavour to prevent such riots from breaking out. I will ask you to bear this in mind when Sir Alexander Murray and Mr. Langford James come round to ask you for your subscription to this League.

"Besides this immediate work, I look to this League to serve an even more useful purpose in the future. We have set out to work together against the disturbers of law and order, but I feel sure that when that purpose is effected, we shall find that we have got used to working together, and we shall succeed then in finding some common ground on which these racial questions can be settled.

"My last word, therefore, to you, gentlemen, is to form a solid defence. Hit back and hit back hard when attacked. Join hands with those Indians of moderate principles who are willing and wishful to work with you, and be sympathetic with their legitimate aspirations as regards the Government of their own country. If an alliance on these lines can be brought about, I feel confident that we shall then go forward side by side, the best of us Britishers and the best of Indians, working whole-heartedly for the good of this land in which we live. And when this fungus growth has been brushed away, this poisonous fungus growth, hatred, anarchy and revolution which now dims her lustre, India will shine out again in all her brightness, and prove that she ever was the fairest jewel in Britain's Imperial Crown,

The All India Trade Union Congress

JHARIA, NOVEMBER 30TH, 1921.

The All-India Trade Union Congress held its second session (1st. session, 1920, at Bombay under Lala Lajpat Rai—See A. R. 1921) at Jharia, Bengal, on the 30th November last with Mr. Joseph Baptista as the President and Mr. Ramjush Agarwala as the Chairman of the Reception Committee. There was a large attendance of the Colliery and Railway Workers, and representatives of labour from Bombay and Madras also attended.

In the course of his speech Seth T. Ramjush Agarwala, the Chairman of the Reception Committee said:—I am myself an employer of labour, but this association with colliery work for the last 22 years at Jharia furnished me ample opportunity to acquaint myself with the ugly features of the mines labor. The difference between the mine-owners' affluence and the coolies' starvation wages is monstrous. In fact, the unequal struggle for bare existence has been such an oppressive experience that I shall be false to myself if I do not redeem, at least in part, the debt I owe to ill-used labor. To-day, we are no longer leading labor, but are led by it. Labor in Europe is playing for high stakes. It wants to reconstitute society, tear up the present economic system, do away with the private ownership of land and capital and transfer all property from the individual to the community. Socialism is not new to India. To that end, therefore, the people of India must learn unity. Peasantry and artisans have again to be set on their feet. Strikes have now become a common feature of the Indian Labor movement. Last year, there were altogether 183 strikes in India, involving over three lakhs of workers. Only a small number were completely or partially successful. Strikes have their uses, but should not be entered upon lightly for minor grievances. When you have to fight with the capitalistic

Government, you must first make sure of your capacity to offer sustained, organised and peaceful resistance before deciding on strike."

The Presidential Address

In the course of his Presidential address Mr. Joseph Baptista said the cupidity of capitalists inflamed trade jealousies and was really responsible for the subjection of India. The real remedy was to put a brake on that cupidity by fixing the maximum profit of capital by domestic legislation. "Without a National Government", he continued, "we can not promote international solidarity, without political power we cannot solve economic problems. Many friends imagine they can have Swadeshi before Swaraj. This is putting the cart before the horse. We may have Swaraj without Swadeshi, but never Swadeshi without Swaraj. True Swadeshi can only be reached by tariffs, but tariffs mean fiscal freedom, which is utterly incompatible with foreign rule. Therefore, we must first seek Swaraj."

The President suggested the early establishment of a Labor Ministry, adding that the comparative indifference of the Government to Labor interests and problems was intolerable, considering that Labor constituted 90 per cent of the population and contributed 80 per cent revenue of the Government. Labor problems demanded an energetic policy and a generous budget, even if half the army had to be disbanded. It was a gigantic problem, but it was chiefly the creation of British Rule and Commerce. The unfavourable position of Labor in India was due to the want of Trade Unions to regulate the moral and material conditions of the workers. It would be the business of the Congress to suggest measures to alleviate matters.

"Our ambition" he said, "is to make the Congress the "National" organ of Labor. Our policy must be to steer clear of extreme individualism and Bolshevism and follow the golden mean of Fabian Socialism. But the Trade Union Congress cannot dispense with politics. The fact is that at the bottom there is a fear that the masses will wrench from the classes political power by combination. This fear must be greater in India where the power is in the hands of foreigners. Besides, direct action, even for political ends, had been

sanctioned by British Labor. There is, therefore, no reason for the Trade Union Congress to boycott politics. Measures for the workers' welfare should include education, sanitation, workmen's compensation, nationalisation of land, railways, coal mines, jute and tea and the exportation of foodstuffs.

Proceeding, he said: The moment of the Prince's visit is inopportune. When his coming was announced by Lord Reading, I felt he was to be the messenger of Swaraj. He may still be the harbinger of Swaraj. The fact is the workers of the world have learnt a lesson from the War that no Nation should govern another Nation without its consent. England can now keep India in subjection only by force. But it is as sure as that night follows day that if Mr. Gandhi does not win by soul force, 10,000 secret societies will spring up in India ready for brute force. The Prince has a grand opportunity of immortalising himself as the Prince of Peace by proclaiming *orbi et urbi what*. The right remedy for India is Swaraj."

The Secretary then read messages of sympathy from a number of leading Indian politicians, also from the Workers' Welfare League, London, Scottish Trade Union Congress' Glasgow, Irish Labor Party, Dublin, the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, the General Council of the British Trade Union Congress, London, the Independent Labor Party and the General Union of Textile Workers, Huddersfield. Mr. J. H. Pattinson, M. L. C., a sympathetic colliery proprietor, attended.

The Swaraj Resolution

The following resolution was adopted:

"This Congress declares that the time has now arrived for the attainment of Swarajya by the people of India."

Mr. Chamanlal who moved the resolution said that the workers were the prop of the Nation. The only obstacles to national freedom were the Indian capitalists who with foreign capitalists exploited the workers. Under Swaraj that would be stopped.

Mr. E. L. Iyer who seconded said the Madras Central Labour Board had a rule under which politics were taboo, but the experience of the past two years showed that that policy was wrong.

Mr. B. Miller in supporting said that he represented about one lakh of railway workers, European and Indian, who were all in favour of Swaraj which was the birth right of the Indian Nation.

Mr. K. Roy Choudhury, M. L. C., who also supported the resolution, but was against introducing politics in trade unions, said the workers wanted Swaraj to remove penal laws against themselves and generally to remove barbarous social conditions in the country.

Swami Vishwanand, Jharia miner's leader, who seconded, said that although the miners produced coal-wealth they saw the spectacle to day of the coal dealers living luxurious lives while the miners lived in holes and worked without adequate food and clothing. The coal-miners led wretched lives and their pitiable condition needed drastic remedy. He warned the colliery proprietors against the policy of drift which would eventually open the flood gates of Bolshevism in India.

On the second day, December 1st, 1921, a resolution recommending Indian workmen to adopt Swadeshi and encourage hand-spinning and hand-weaving, moved by Shrimati Savitri Devi, a young Gurkha lady, seconded by Doctor Murali Lal, of Cawnpore and supported by three other speakers, was unanimously adopted. Another important resolution was moved as follows :—

“The Congress deploras the miserable conditions of life-employment of coal miners of Bihar-Bengal which cry aloud for the following immediate remedial measures: Reduction of hours of work, increase in the rate of wages, education, housing, compensation for injuries, etc, and authorises the Executive Committee to confer with the colliery owners and managers to adopt effective measures.”

The resolution was moved by Swami Darshanand and seconded by Swami Vishwanand.

Mr. J. H. Pattinson, M. L. C., speaking on this resolution, said: As a representative of the employers of colliery labor, I may state definitely we are entirely in sympathy with labor. Our desire is to see labor well treated, well housed, well looked after. Further, we desire to see the standard of colliery labor raised. We are prepared to grant reasonable labor demands. On the other hand, we are justified, I think,

in asking labor to co-operate with us and give us more coal by working six days a week. Further, I propose the collieries should start schools for miners' children. Also my advice to miners is: Should any colliery proprietor not give you decent houses to live in, leave that colliery and go to a better one. The same remark applies to wages, water supply and general conditions. Another word. Do not drink too much. It will spoil your health and make you so weak that you won't be able to work at all. I don't say give up drink entirely. But drink in moderation. We are entirely in accord with the Trade Union Movement for coalfields and are prepared to afford every assistance. With such an organization in being disputes and grievances can very easily be settled and a great many cases of misunderstandings, which occurred in the past, will never again arise. Let us work together, Capital and Labor, and do not let us quarrel. I offer you the helping hand and if you accept it you will not regret it.

The Congress re-assembled on the 2nd December and the miners attended in even greater numbers. There was a great commotion over the action of the capitalist Mine-owners, specially European, who had tried to influence Government and make them declare the holding of the conference illegal. The first resolution condemned the circular containing the resolutions passed by the Indian Mining Federation and the Indian Mining Association, and uttered a warning that such an attitude, as disclosed by the resolutions, would promulgate bitterest class war between the employers and employees.

The circular in question contained two resolutions, one expressing the opinion that the holding of the Congress in the present disturbed state of labour and general political unrest throughout India was likely to lead to serious trouble and danger of breach of peace and that the holding of the proposed meeting anywhere within 200 miles of the coalfields should be prohibited. Another said if the Government would not prohibit the Congress, the joint meeting demanded a full and immediate provision for the protection of life and property of European and Indian residents and employers of labour and for the maintenance of law and order.

In the morning at the meeting of the Executive Committee a deputation of colliery proprietors who are members

of the Indian Mining Federation which had issued the circulars arrived and apologised for their action whereupon they made the following declaration.

"That in view of the scandalous resolution embodied in circular No. 32 of 24th November passed by the Indian Mining Federation without inviting any opinion of the local members, we, the undersigned colliery proprietors, in meeting assembled hereby whole-heartedly sympathise with the All-India Trade Union Congress and urge the Indian Mining Federation to withdraw the resolution or in the alternative the members should submit their resignations."

Mr. J. P. Kesoji Pitambar moved the resolution and was supported by Dr. Kananji and R. Mukhadam and others.

This created a tremendous sensation and when the Congress met the first resolution to be moved was as follows.—

"That this Congress condemns the attitude taken up by Indian Mining Association, the Indian Mining Federation, and the Chamber of Commerce and warns these bodies that this would only precipitate the bitterest of class wars between the employer and the employees."

This was moved by Seth Ramjush Agarwala and passed by a tumultuous enthusiasm.

The Secretary, Indian Mining Federation, on behalf of the colliery proprietors thereupon made amends by stating in the Congress that the Gujarati colliery owners had that day agreed to grant several concessions to the miners regarding clothing, better-housing, abolition of gorg shops, sanitation, primary education, payment of sick allowance, gratuity compensation for injury, etc. This was held as a great triumph for the Congress.

The second resolution of the day condemned the action alleged to have been taken in certain collieries in dismissing some workmen for attending the Congress.

Mr. Miller, speaking on the resolution said that the colliery proprietors who acted in that way ought to be made to apologise to the Congress. Otherwise the only course left to them will be to declare a general strike in which event he (Miller) would gladly take up the miners' leadership.

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Other Resolutions Passed.

(1) That a committee of Trade Union Congress be appointed with one official to inform the International Labour organisation how far the resolutions of the League of Nations assemblies at Genoa and Washington have been carried into effect by the Government of India.

(2) That this Congress strongly protests against the refusal to ratify the conditions of the Genoa International Labour Conference, as such attitude is calculated to prejudice prospects of Indian Seamen by antagonising European Comrades and recommends the adoption of draft conventions relating to hours of work, establish national seamen codes, unemployment insurance for seamen, abolition of Broker and Ghat Sareng system and establishing facilities for finding employment for seamen.

(3) That Indian Nautical Institutes be established in each Indian seaport.

(4) That this Congress sends its message of sympathy to the starving millions in Russia and calls upon the workers of the world to help Russia in her struggle for peace.

(5) That this Congress requests the Workers' Welfare League for India to ascertain how the state of unemployment of British workers can be speedily remedied by prompt co-operation between workers in India and those of Great Britain and Ireland.

(6) That this Congress extends its fraternal greetings to Indian workers in Fiji and other foreign parts and instructs its executive committee to discover through communication with workers in Fiji what Indian workers can do to help them in their struggle.

(7) That in case of strikes sanctioned by the Trade Union Congress or its executive the affiliated Union must contribute to maintain strikers if the strike extends over a period of more than a month, and for this purpose instructs the executive committee to start special strike insurance fund.

(8) That this Congress resolves in view of the affair of colliery proprietors that a joint committee be formed to discuss question of improvement of the present condition of labour in coalfields and the question of creating machinery for amicable settlement between proprietors and miners.

(9) This Congress instructs its Executive Committee to create under its authority powerful local executive committees at Madras, Calcutta, Jharia, Jamshedpur, other important labour centres and conduct the work of organisation or supervision and assistance of exploited workers in all important centres.

(10) That the Executive Committee should take effective measures by all means in their power to compel Indian employers to provide modern housing for the workers fit for human habitation.

(11) This Congress is of opinion that vital problems would not receive proper attention until a Ministry of labour in which labour has confidence is established devoted to the interest of labour.

(12) This Congress condemns war, as in its opinion war entails useless sacrifice on the part of the workers of the world, and calls upon the world-workers to adopt concerted action in order to prevent international warfare.

(13) That in view of the prevailing tendency of Indians to prefer hand-spun and hand-woven clothes this Congress urges upon employers not to interfere with employees' choice to wear Khadi except in cases of proscribed uniforms.

(14) That in regard to Railway workers a scale of minimum wages should be fixed, that gratuities and bonus should not be forfeited in case of declaration of strike by employees, and that conditions regarding gratuity should be altered making it a right and not a gift.

(15) Arrangements be made for the proper housing, medical treatment and education of railway-men and their children.

(16) That the contract system on railways in connection with pay of clerks etc., should be abolished and all be treated as railway servants.

(17) That differential treatment on racial lines in regard to pay etc., should be abolished forthwith.

THE ALL-INDIA Police Conference

HOWRAH, 28TH DECEMBER 1921

The All India Police Conference held its first session at Howrah on the 28th. December 1921. About six hundred delegates, mainly Indians and a sprinkling of Anglo-Indians, attended from all parts of India. Mr. C. C. Mukherji, D. S. P. was the Chairman of the Reception Committee, and Rai Saheb P. C. Biswas, D. S. P. was the President.

The Presidential Address

A halo of romance is attached to tradition of everything and it has a potential value in maintaining its *esprit de corps*. It is a matter of common knowledge that old traditions die hard and a bad reputation long survives the introduction of improvement. The traditional instances of oppression of by-gone ages have still a strong-hold on the prejudice of the people. It is indeed a misfortune to our department that although isolated cases of oppression sometimes occur, as there is black sheep in every department, our service has not gained a bit in the estimation of the public. To outsiders it is very easy to criticise, but those who are in it should realise what courage and honesty, perseverance and patience combined with risk of life are required in the faithful discharge of our duties, with un-sympathetic superiors upwards, and exacting critics backwards.

In this connection I would like to discuss the popular misconceptions regarding our service. The learned members of the Council often say that the difference in pay of members of Police services and other members of analogous services is due to the difference in academical qualifications required for admission into the respective services. We may not be so many B. A.s or M. A.s or so many technical graduates, but we are graduates in our own science, Criminology, which necessarily teaches us something of every science, technical subjects, such as Psychology, Chemistry, Survey, Photography, Toxicology, Botany, Neumasmatics, and what not. We can challenge

any other department, where such varied knowledge is required. A petty head-constable on Rs. 25 is doing the same thing in a rural part of a country which a coroner with a high salary does in Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. Besides this, are we not standing like stone-statues at our posts in the scorching sun of Rajputana and the *Loo* of the United Provinces and the Punjab when everybody else is under a fan or in the shade? Are we not patrolling at night in ceaseless down-pour of rains or in snow in hilly districts to protect the life and property of the people? Are we not shivering with Malaria in most unhealthy places and consuming a pound of quinine every month under Government orders and doing our duty without a murmur? Are we not conveying patients of infectious diseases to hospital? Are we not removing unclaimed cadavers and disposing of them for the welfare of the public?

Then, what does it matter if we can efficiently discharge these multifarious duties though with lesser educational qualifications in comparison with other departments of the Government. But alas! comrades, not a word of praise for all these unpalatable works either from the honourable members or the authorities. Oh! the irony of fate, I would appeal to my countrymen and critics to weigh all these factors into their consideration before they hasten to make any remark off-hand, and not to forget that our service is of a peculiar nature, without any parallel in other sister departments, and as such it requires special consideration.

Let us now see what is the character of our force. The character of the police is said to be the character of the nation. I do not believe it. We are depicted to be anything but scoundrels of the blackest order. We are charged with perjury, forgery, bribery and knavery. Our reports and our diaries are described as "police papers" meaning something incredible. Whilst police officers in other countries are examined in chamber and their evidence is taken as gospel truth, our evidence here is to be accepted with caution. Even the Indian Evidence Act excludes statements made before a police officer from the evidence. How we can remove this stigma is an important problem for solution. The root causes of this black stigma seem to be two; the first, Our low pay, and the second, that we identify ourselves with the interest of the prosecution. The remedy of the first rests with the Government and I shall

deal with that later on, but the second lies with us alone. We can place the whole truth and the naked truth before the Judge. What does it matter if in the five per cent of the burglary cases or twenty per cent dacoity cases which we are at best able to detect in India the culprits go off unpunished for want of sufficient evidence? The days of 'no conviction—no promotion' having long passed away, why should we simply for fear of frowns of our superiors or for better figures in the administrative reports derogate ourselves to the humiliating character the people give us. We should never forget that honesty is the best policy in life.

If our tradition and character be such as I have said just now, what are our powers and privileges? Comrades, we have unlimited powers, so to say. The First Police Act, under the British Administration, was enacted in Lord Cornwallis's time. The powers and responsibilities then laid down have been retained word per word in the current Police Act of 1861. Besides, whenever any Act or special law is passed we are vested with additional powers. I am not talking of our powers under the Criminal Procedure Code or the Police Act—we require them. But we have been given additional powers under the Salt Act, Fisheries Act, Opium Act, Excise Act, Forest Act and a number of other Acts. Additional powers mean additional responsibilities and extra labour. But does our remuneration increase with the increase of labour? I should say emphatically—No. There are separate departments for working out all the laws at a great expense on the part of the Government whose legitimate duty is to enforce them. But we are so many sugar-laden asses and we must carry any amount of load on our backs even if we are famished with hunger. If we are to do these additional duties, why should not the Government abolish those departments and utilise the savings for the betterment of our pay and prospect?

Just have a census of our multifarious duties. We are reporters of epidemics, doctors for distributing cholera pills, we are census officers, we are the suppliers of carts and ration to the Military marching out, we are the suppliers of the necessaries of touring Government officials, we are the conservancy officers to remove unclaimed dead bodies and what not? And yet, Comrades, we are the lowest paid officers of Government.

But now see how we stand with regard to our privileges. Do you know, gentlemen, what were the pay and privileges of Police Sub-Inspector in the 18th century? He was known as a Daroga or Thanadar, and his pay was Rs. 25 to Rs 30. Don't think that was a trifling amount. Rice was then sold at 8 mds. per rupee and now it is sold at Rs 8 per md. Rupees 25 of the 18th century is equivalent to Rs 800 now. At that time the pay of the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, was only Rs 200 i. e. eight times of the pay of the Sub-Inspector. Now the Commissioner of Police is getting Rs 2250 and the Sub Inspector Rs 100 on the average i. e. he gets 20 times of the Sub-Inspector's pay. The Sub-Inspectors were then gazetted officers and they could not be punished except by the Governor-General. I do not know how and when they lost this privilege and came to be at the mercy of their every-day superiors, but their initial pay remained the same throughout the 19th century and was raised from Rs 30 to Rs 50 in 1905 and to Rs 80 only in the last year.

I do not know for certain when the rank of Inspectors was created, it was probably in 1861 when the current Police Act was legislated. The 1st and 2nd grade Police officers are Gazetted Officers. Many of us were gazetted officers as 1st and 2nd grade Inspectors for a long time but one fine morning we suddenly came to know that we had been promoted to non-gazetted rank! Thus you see, gentlemen, that our powers are gradually increasing but our privileges are gradually vanishing. Why should Excise Inspectors and Sub-Dy. Collectors, whose services were analogous to those of Inspectors of Police, be gazetted while the Police Inspectors should be non-gazetted? We were elated with joy when the Government kept our department as a reserved subject. We, foresooth, thought that we would get more pay, more privileges. We have painfully realised that we are, as it were, a flock of goats to be sacrificed at the altar of State necessity. Revenue has fallen short—the subordinate Police should get less pay than others, a retrenchment is necessary to meet the deficit in the finance—it must be done from the Police Department and not from any of the transferred departments.

Let us see what other privileges we have got. We are said to belong to the civil department, but do we get advantages of the Civil Service? Our duty is entirely of military

nature ; our drill, our punishment drill, confinement to quarters, our discipline in the orderly room, our uniform and sentry duty our fall-in at bugle sound and alarm bell, our firing on mob rioters, are all of military nature and yet we are not entitled to the privileges of the military department. The civil part of our service i. e. the part relating to the prevention and detection of crime, combined with the military portion, has made our duties more onerous and responsible than the military. The military are on rare occasions in the field service but we are, as it is, always in it. But do we get anything akin to the field allowance or ration or special leave and pension like the military ? We were formerly exempted from the operations of the Arms Act but that privilege has also been withdrawn. Thus, gentlemen, we are entitled to none of the privileges of the military department although, I am afraid, as I have said, our work is of a military nature.

Let us see if we get the privileges of the civil department. You know every civil servant gets a daily allowance whenever he goes beyond 5 miles from the headquarters and gets mileage when he travels more than 20 miles. Do the Head Constables and Constables who form the integral part of our department get a single pice within the jurisdiction of their respective Thanas though they may be travelling 50 miles at a stretch. Are the Police officers entitled to all the privileges of travelling allowance when they are transferred from one station to another within the same district ? The answer is emphatically in the negative. We have read Art 999 C. S. R. under which every civil servant gets daily allowance according to the distance travelled by him when he is supplied with a conveyance or its propulsion allowance. Our Sub Inspectors are given only the conveyance allowance and not the conveyance, do not get daily allowance nor half mileage. The Railway Police (excluding the Bombay Presidency) gets only the daily allowance for absence of 8 hours, and River Police Officers travelling with passes by steamers do not get any allowance whatever except a nominal fixed travelling allowance quite contrary to the rules applicable to the other civil servants. Is there any justification for their differential treatment ? None. So in whatever direction we go in the matter of our pay and prospects, rights and privileges, we find ourselves nowhere.

Do you think, Comrades, that the authorities do not understand that with our pay and privileges we cannot maintain ourselves? Do you ever for a moment believe that the Hon'ble Members in charge of the Police Department do not know, pardon me for saying so, that many of the subordinate ranks are led to have recourse to dishonest means for their maintenance? The Hon'ble members belong to that intelligent race which is ruling half the globe and they have vast experience of Indian affairs and we cannot believe that they do not understand the situation. They do, but they will not mend matters as they do not care a fig for the welfare of so many biped animals as we are looked upon by them. We must protest, my Comrades, as vehemently as we can, against these iniquities, handicapped though we are with Police Act V of 1861. Ours is a life and death question, it is no good mincing matters, no good dying of starvation without giving vent to the true feeling.

Gentlemen, comparison is said to be a bad taste. It may be, but there are times when it becomes a necessity. We are destined to toil for 24 hours, night and day. The English Constabulary is said to have six hours day. The coolies of the mills in India have 8 hours day. All other departments of Government have 6 hours day. There are departments where day does not break at all, but our day breaks when we are enlisted and closes when we retire, and we are liable to be penalised if we try to have a moment's rest or leisure. But yet there is absolutely no special concession for leave or pension. On the contrary, we are rather worse than other civil servants. They get leave whenever they require it, but we get it by turn when the necessity is over. An officer applied for three months privilege leave in March 1901 and he got it in April 1906! *Sovan allah!* Is this justice?

If therefore, as I have said, the police service is an essential part of the body-politic, the provincial and subordinate services are its backbone because it is these services which are required to bear the main strain and burden of work. Let us imagine for a moment the position of a Sub-Inspector in an outlying Thana—vested with vast powers and responsibilities, left to work according to his own judgment and discretion on occasions of emergencies, obliged to live among the most insanitary surroundings, deprived of the means of educating his children, of requisitioning for medical

aid in cases of illness, a stranger to the local people and yet required to watch the bad characters and control the local crime. In fact, an ideal station house officer must be a person fearlessly devoted to his duties, strictly honest and at the same time discreet and loyal, popular with his superiors and subordinates and the local people, must have an immense amount of energy and initiative, courage and resourcefulness and intelligence. In remote places he is the only representative of the mighty British Raj, of all its power and glory, its reputation and prestige. I challenge any one to point out any other service in which these qualifications to such a degree are required to be displayed in the ordinary daily work of an officer.

If our difficulties are immense, the criticism of a section of the population against the Police service as a whole is indeed disheartening. I would ask these gentlemen to imagine for a moment the state into which the country would be thrown if the force was withdrawn for a day. Imagine, gentlemen, what happens if the subordinate police force ceases to exist for a single day; the high officials run to treasuries to guard them; Mr. I. B. Dutt, the promulgator of the Retrenchment Committee in Bengal, armed with a walking stick—M. I. C.'s, like Police Officers not being exempted from the operations of the Arms Act—mounts guard over the Malkhana and Kumar Shib Sekhaheswar arraigns his darwans to protect his hair-locks. The public in general have no sleep. Any number of mail robberies and house dacoities are reported; the prisoners escape from the lock up; a few phthisis patriots lying in the beach of Vizagapatam and no philanthropic men found to remove them to hospital; two victims of cholera lying in Mulchand's Dharmashala at Lahore, none to remove them, the non-co operators shout "Allha ho-Akbar", "Bande Mataram," with greater vehemence causing greater annoyance and nervousness to the authorities; the Law Courts are closed; the administrative machinery is completely upset.

Imagine again, gentlemen, what will be the effect if the subordinate police refuse to obey the command of his superior officer for dispersing or firing on a riotous mob. You may laugh at the idea, I too know that such a thing is impossible or at least undesirable. But no one knows how things change.

You must not forget that the people of the country are no longer afraid of jail, and this spirit has also been imbibed by the subordinate police. At the same time I can assert that so long as their superior officers retain a grain of influence over them, they will never go astray. We are, however, daily suffering, and what will be the consequence if such a step is taken in extreme disappointment? Where will be the prestige of Government? In remote districts, far away from the Fort or the headquarters of detachments, the subordinate police are the keepers of prestige or the Izzat of Government. The Government is also aware of this fact, but as we are, as it were, the accursed section of the humanity, there is a palpable want of effort on the part of Government to ameliorate our wretched condition.

Gentlemen, our duties to State and public are much talked of, and let us see how we stand at present regarding them. While I speak of our relation to the State I can boldly assert without fear of contradiction that it is our department that serves the best interests of the Government, and in fact we are the eyes, ears, and limbs of it. We are regarded as next to the Army, and why say next, in some cases more important than that. It is our department which alone stands by it in time of its sore trials, and is faced with all the difficulties and their consequences. This will be quite evident if we look back to the past. Whenever our Government is embarrassed, the help of our service is requisitioned. It is members of our department that fought out anarchism in the past and is combating the non-co-operation movement in the present political crisis of the country, but with what result? It is members of our department who have shed the best blood in their faithful discharge of duty. Where are Khan Bahadur Shams-ul Alam, Babu Basanta Kumar Chatterjee, Jitendra Mohan Ghosh and Madhu Sudan to-day? There are hundred other comrades of mine who have proved their unflinching loyalty to fight out anarchism even by losing their lives. Let their departed souls now see how shabbily their comrades are being treated to day, with respect to pay and prospects. Let us invoke their departed spirits and let them see how the blood that they had ungrudgingly shed for the cause of Government has benefitted the service, as a whole, and let them say what they think of their sacrifice. If they

could make audible speeches, they would perhaps have told you plainly that to die for Government to prove loyalty, will not actually bring any recompense to sufferers, nor in any way help the members of their service, and they would have told you, to do so was a mistake and foolishness. On the other hand, they would have now repented for their fearless and faithful devotion. The survivors would tell us that at the time of need you would receive any amount of patting and British diplomacy would hold out any amount of promises, never to be kept, but when the need will be over you will be treated like cats and dogs; the documents of promises being treated as "old scraps of paper". *This would make us realise the truth of the saying that no one gains anything by standing against the national aspirations of the people of the soil.*

Next, what about our relation to the public? The sufficiency of the service to a large extent depends on the closeness of touch with the people and the extent to which it can inspire public trust and confidence. For matters of detection or prevention or reporting of crime etc., we are to rely on the evidence of those acquainted with them. In a vast country like India with diverse population, with different traditions and custom, our department, in each province, can by no means sufficiently discharge its duties without the co-operation and sympathy of the people. But to our bad luck we are looked upon with awe and suspicion by the public, and our presence is shunned by them. This apathy of the public is due to many causes and I shall only deal with the underlying causes that have placed our service under such a popular ban.

We are doing our duty as faithfully and as diligently as the police of all other countries in the world are doing. The police of other countries are said to be popular and the police of England are said to be universally popular. But why are we so unpopular? The reason is not far to seek. The police are the agents who maintain the dignity of law. In those countries where laws are made by the people, the police are popular, because they maintain the dignity of the people's law. Here, in India, the laws are made by Government and the people are of opinion that the laws are made to rule them, to control their natural aspirations and not for their benefit. We maintain the dignity of these laws and enforce them. That is one reason why we are so very unpopular,

When I speak of our unpopularity, I cannot refrain from uttering, though unpleasant it may be, that our conduct rules and the attitude of our superiors rather accentuate our estrangement from the public. We cannot freely mix with them, independently invoke their hearty co-operation and sympathy for which there is the greatest need for our duties; if we do so, we are, on flimsiest pretexts, looked with suspicion by superiors, even penalised and our promotions are stopped. I ask, comrades, who are responsible for this? I can at once say, we have absolutely no fault except that we belong to this unpopular department and it is our superiors and conduct rules that widen this gulf. I need not cite instances to drive this matter home to you, as I am sure, many of you, in your official career, have experienced it, but I would like to draw your attention to a most recent Government order. When the country is passing through a great political crisis since the launching of non-co-operation movement, Government is taking all precautionary steps to combat it and recent Government circulars have authorised its servants to address in meetings to explain to the agitated mass the good results of the Reforms Scheme that are sure to come in time. But what about us? We have been strictly forbidden to join any meeting or to make any speech to achieve the same end, which our fellow-brothers in sister services allowed. This single example will be enough to prove the truth of my above statement. Then, why is this differentiation of treatment and these chains and fetters to keep us off the public? Lastly, I can assert as an axiomatic truth that so long as this undesirable relationship exists and the more it is delayed to remedy it, the more our service will suffer in efficiency. It is a matter of some consolation to us that with the inauguration of the Reforms Scheme, the people have begun to realise that it is the laws that are unpopular and not the police and that our only fault is that we are to carry out these unpopular laws. They are now blaming Government more than their dutiful servants, the Police. Thus we can fairly hope that we are not going to remain long as unpopular as we are to-day.

Appeal to Countrymen.

At the same time we should appeal to our countrymen to bear in mind that the police are the servants of the public in

the truest sense of the word. You, the public, are to pay for all other services of the Government, be it postal, telegraph or law. Your letter will not be delivered unless you pay for the postage, your message will not be sent unless you pay the usual charges, your petitions and applications in court will not be accepted and heard unless you pay the usual Court Fees. You pay all these charges ungrudgingly, but while we, the police, are ever ready to serve at your bidding, watching over your property in your slumbers, protecting your interests in all your daily transactions, but still we are treated with animosity, we are looked upon as your tormentors, we are shunned as pests. Gentlemen, it is with a deep sense of mortification I utter these words. It is a fact that the public views us with jaundiced eyes and it should be our duty to cure them of this disease. I would again appeal to my countrymen that they should think of our position very seriously and never forget that we are to serve two masters and to please both. I can tell my countrymen that our strength does not lie so much in the support of the Government as in their hearty co-operation.

Racial Equality.

Allow me now, to pass it to another important subject. We are hearing of some time past much of the sweet phrase "Racial Equality." Let us see how far it has affected your services. The expression is very sweet and palatable, as it stands. We do not care how far the public have appreciated it nor do we care if chapter 33 of the Criminal Procedure Code, relating to the punishment of our ruling race, is abolished or modified. We are concerned with so much as it relates to the Police Department. Since the Queen's Proclamation we have been enjoying, though indifferently, racial equality, and we were being admitted into the Imperial Service without any distinction in respect of pay and privileges till the black year 1905 when for the first time racial inequality crept in our department. The rank of Deputy Superintendent was created and the Inspectors were by a stroke of pen debarred from being promoted to the rank of Assistant Superintendent, and deprived of the right and privilege they have been enjoying since 1793. This is not all. The promoted Superintendent of Police from the subordinate rank was made to accept less pay than his European colleague in the respec-

tive grade by Rs. 100. The minimum pay of a European Superintendent of Police was Rs. 700 while that of Indian Rs. 600. The formula of equality according to the rules of the Indo-English mathematics came to be x plus y equal to z , where y was only a paltry sum of Rs. 100. That was all right and things went on in the same way till 1920, when he put into our hands "Delhi-ka-laddu" the so called Reforms. In the new time scale the pay of the European cadre of the Imperial Police Service has been raised from Rs. 300—1200, to 450—1700—a 50 per cent increment throughout. I say European cadre because the Indian cadre of that service is being filled up also by Europeans of Indian domicile. We are not interested with the pay and prospect of the former class of officers; we are only interested in Indian Superintendents, who are promoted from Deputy Superintendents and Inspectors. Have they been given an increment of 50 per cent according to the principle of racial equality? Certainly not. They are, under the new Reforms, to begin with Rs. 700 only and will throughout their career draw on an average Rs. 200 less. His Excellency the Viceroy has been preaching racial equality since he set his feet on the shores of the Arabian Sea with justice as his handmaid, and all expected that this racial inequality, existing in our service, would be removed by His Excellency. But alas! gentlemen, the same disappointment comes to us, for, in the last communique enhancing the pay of the Imperial cadre which has been published in His Excellency's time only the European officers who were in service before the introduction of the time scale of pay have been favoured with the overseas allowances. But let us hope against hope and be optimistic. It might be that the communique referred to above was based on a Despatch from His Excellency's predecessor and he could not give effect to his promise without reference to the Secretary of State. Let us wait and see what His Excellency does. So far however, there is no iota of racial equality in our service. In the face of three distinct scales of pay for the same office, amongst different races in the police department, can any one assert that there is no racial inequality in this department? If any body still perversely maintain that there is no racial inequality, he must then either be an insane or an unscrupulous politician.

The Inspectors.

Next, what about the Inspectors? As I have already told you they have practically no chance of promotion to higher service. During the recent years, however, owing to war vacancies a number of Inspectors were promoted to act as Deputy Superintendents and they were made to bear all the brunt of higher responsibilities, but now that the European officers are available they are being asked to vacate their appointments and are being cast aside as worn-out shoes. Such treatment is unbecoming on the part of any Government and I dare say no European service would have tolerated it. While the Government is generous enough to safeguard the officers of the Imperial Service from the loss of any acting allowance to which they become entitled under the temporary exigencies of cadre, in the case of Inspectors of Police, these experienced officers are, after 6 or 7 years' hard trial, told to vacate their posts in favour of untrained outsiders, European and Indian. Not only so, the treatment meted out to them in the matter of their pay has aroused universal discontent and, need I say, unless the grievances are immediately removed by adequate steps, it will not be our fault if the efficiency of the police service deteriorates.

The Sub-Inspectors.

Take again the cases of Sub-Inspectors, Assistant Sub-Inspectors, Head Constables and Constables. I have mentioned in a separate place the difficulties and discomforts attending their duties. In the case of Sub-Inspectors, in most of the provinces a scale of pay has been introduced which is almost equal to the rate sanctioned for postal officials in the lower grade. In the matter of travelling allowance, while other Provinces have allowed them the scale admissible under the Civil Service Regulations and while the Bombay Government have conferred on them the privileges of second class officers irrespective of the amount of actual pay, our Bengal Government has even denied them the ordinary privileges which are enjoyed by all subordinate service officers throughout India and has classed them as third class officers. Similarly, in the case of Assistant Sub-Inspectors and Head Constables the pay and allowances granted to them are most disappoint-

ing and they have not even got a bare living wages, and I cannot but take some time to present before you how the claims of these members in the lower stratum of the service has been disregarded.

In Bengal outsider Sub-Inspectors and Assistant Sub-Inspectors are both recruited from the same class with similar educational qualification and social status, and the system is that the recruitment is to be made from the persons who are nominated for appointment as Sub-Inspectors but are not finally selected. The system is, in fact, similar to the appointment of Deputy and Sub Deputy Collectors, but while in this case the rates of initial pay of the two ranks bear the ratio of 250 to 175, in the case of Sub-Inspectors and Assistant Sub-Inspectors they are in the ratio of 80 to 25. Leaving aside the comparison with Sub-Inspectors, is Rs. 25 now-a-days a sufficient living wages for a man possessing the minimum qualification of Matriculation pass? Has such a rate been adopted for any other service with similar qualification and is it not a fact that the duties of Assistant Sub Inspectors are more arduous, hazardous and responsible than those in any other departments? I need not quote old cases but only the other day in Jessore one of the arms of an Assistant Sub-Inspector has been completely severed by a rioter with one stroke of his dao. An officer is expected to face such risks for a paltry sum of Rs. 25.

I do not quite see the utility of creating and perpetuating a direct rank of Assistant Sub-Inspectors. This is neither beneficial to the members recruited for it, nor to deserving constables possessing good educational qualification and, to speak the truth, the introduction of the non-commissioned rank has been highly prejudicial to the use of constables who are to end their official career in a state of stagnancy without any chance of promotion to the higher rank. I can from my own experience remind the authorities that once you stand in the way of promotion you remove all stimulus to good work. My suggestion is that direct recruitment of Assistant Sub-Inspectors should be stopped so long as there is a single deserving candidate in the rank of constables and similarly the direct recruitment of Sub-Inspectors should be till all suitable Assistant Sub-Inspectors are provided for. It is quite well known to authorities that there are in the ranks

numerous Assistant Sub-Inspectors quite fit for promotion and their names are sent up year after year but are sent back for want of vacancies while outsiders are enlisted to fill them.

Constables.

Lastly, take the case of constables. They are as you all know the more hardworking but the most ill-paid officers of Government. The postal peons get more pay. The coolies working in mills for 8 hours are paid double but the pay of our constables who are to be on duty for 24 hours is most disappointing. Let us compare their pay and prospects with that of London Constables. A constable of the City of London working only for 6 hours a day gets £3 6s. a week, i.e., about 13 times the pay of a constable of our force and even more than the initial pay of our Deputy Superintendents. It is no wonder, therefore, that the London Constabulary are the most popular in the world. Besides how are they housed? They are to live in barracks and no provision is made for them to live with their wives and children. Have they no affection for their wives and children? Have they no hankering for family life? Are they devoid of human sentiments. Are they supposed to be so many Sanyasis or eunachs? They are human beings after all, however poor they may be and most of them come from respectable classes of people. It is, therefore, necessary that arrangements should be immediately made by the authorities so that they can live with their family with suitable pay for their maintenance.

The Indianization of Imperial services is a subject which has been agitating the public mind ever since the establishment of British Empire in India, and the argument for and against such a measure have by this time been so thoroughly discussed that it is necessary for me to reiterate them here. I shall only touch on the few points that affect us. In the first place, as I have said before, a retrograde policy is being followed ever since the last Police Commission in the matter of promotion of departmental officers to the Imperial rank. It has now been decreed that only one-third of the total vacancies available to India, will be thrown open to departmental men and I have shown what poor chances we shall have under the arrangement to satisfy our legitimate ambitions. The outsiders who will compete for the remaining 2/3 of the appoint-

ments cannot possess any better qualification than many of those already in the service, for were not the direct recruits in the cadre of Deputy Superintendents taken from the best materials this country could produce ?

Had the Imperial Police band been open to Indians at the time they enlisted themselves, they would certainly have competed for this rank. Can there be then any justification for shutting out these officers from the appointments, now thrown open to Indians ? Have not they in addition to their academic qualifications and social status and respectability already given proof of their capacity to undertake the higher duties of the Police Service ? But the irony of the arrangement is that these officers' cases will not receive any consideration for these additional appointments. They are not afraid of any competition with outsiders and many of them and many Inspectors applied to be allowed to sit for Competitive Examination, but in Bengal this request has not been accepted on a technical objection to the effect that the Secretary of States' order preclude them from competing for these appointments. If the Secretary of States' orders are in fact so worded, it is the duty of the Government, under whom they serve to point out to him the injustice done to them ; but Government instead of doing this and looking to the interests of those who have given their best to their Service, have taken shelter under a technical objection. I consider it unbecoming of a Government to put forward such flimsy excuses instead of taking steps to remedy the evils of a system, so much prejudicial to the service. We must urge, therefore, with all the vehemence at our command that the order passed by the Bengal Govt. can not be the last word on the subject. They must be withdrawn and all the Provincial Govts should join together in sending an united protest against the unjust order of the Secretary of States', so that so long as there is a single deserving member in the service his interest may be fully safeguarded. Not only so, we must urge that full fifty per cent of the vacancies in Imperial services should be thrown open to us, because we have proved our capacity for higher duties and our employment is cheaper than the employment of officers imported from England. So far as Bengal is concerned, permit me, gentleman, to say that even 15 years ago there was no bar to the promotion of Inspectors

to the Imperial cadre, but alas! the successive stages of the Police reforms have practically closed the doors of their promotion.

I have stated above that a Retrenchment Committee has been formed in Bengal- but I regret that there is no representative in it from the Subordinate and Provincial Services.

I dare say that both, owing to their number and their familiarity with every details of work, entitled them to better treatment. This omission betrays an indifference to the interests of our services and I shall still hope that the committee will yet see its mistake and take steps to invite a member from our Association to sit with it and I can assure both Government and the non-official members that they will find our assistance valuable in correctly appreciating the position.

The All-India Police Conference resumed its sitting on Thursday the 29th Dec. 1921 when the following resolutions were passed.

Resolutions.

The first resolution regarding the change of rules of British India Police Associations' which was moved by Rana Sadh Shamsar Jung Bahadur, D. S. Police, cousin of His Highness the Maharaja of Nepal, urged that there should be uniformity of rules in all Provinces.

Rai Saheb Bhabesh Chandra Das moved a resolution according a cordial welcome to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

The third resolution referred to the unsympathetic treatment meted out to invitations to the conference extended to the Commissioners, Magistrates, Inspector-Generals, D. I. G's and members of the Imperial Police Force throughout British India.

The fourth resolution urged that the decisions arrived at the conference regarding pay and allowances of officers from D. S. P's to the rank of constables should supersede all memorials heretofore submitted and that all demands for pay be based on the scales to be drawn up by a consensus of opinion of all officers throughout British India.

The fifth resolution showed the universal wishes of all members of the Association to have officers of the Indian

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Civil Service as Inspector Generals of Police in different
Provinces.

The following resolution was then put from the chair and carried.

"That in the opinion of this conference the scales of pay of different ranks of Subordinate and Provincial Police Services should be uniform throughout British India. Any necessary emoluments that would be required owing to local conditions might be made by grant of local allowances."

Mr. Raghavendra Nath Banerjee moved the following resolution :—

"That in order to create a healthier atmosphere and remove misapprehensions in the minds of the general public regarding the police force, every endeavour should be made by its members to secure mutual confidence, co-operation and good will by cultivating the spirit of healthy comradeship in our every day dealings with the public."

The next resolution urged Government to increase the cadre of Inspectors by replacing Sub-Inspectors in charge of headquarters and important police stations of all districts and Sub-Inspectors of all Sub-Divisional Courts by Inspectors, and that Inspectors in charge of the kotwalis and big cities of India be replaced by D. S. Police, and in all big reserves D. S. P's be kept in charge.

Another resolution urged that direct recruitment of Sub-Inspectors be stopped until qualified assistant Sub-Inspectors who had been officiating for more than two years were absorbed into the ranks of Sub-Inspectors.

Mr. R. M. Ghoshal next moved a resolution urging the abolition of the system of employing pleaders as Court Inspectors and Public Prosecutors and their replacement by D. S. Police or those promoted from Court Inspectors.

The following resolution was then put from the chair and carried :—

"That in view of the heavy stress imposed on the existing members of the Police Force owing to the inadequacy of their members, the strength of the force should be adequately augmented and should bear a reasonable proportion to the police of the country."

Rana Shamsur Jung Bahadur moved the following resolution :—

“That this conference is strongly of opinion that in pursuance of the policy of associating the people of the country to a larger extent with the duties of higher administration as being one of the declared objects of the Reform Scheme, half of the total appointments of the Imperial Police cadre should be filled, as vacancies arise, partly by the promotion of D. S. P's and partly by the recruitment of outsiders (Indians) in the ratio of 75 to 25 per cent, and that for this purpose the recruitment of Europeans for the Imperial Police Service be stopped till the above 50 per cent is reached.”

The next resolution urged that the system of promotion in all grades of police force be made to suit their wishes.

Mr. H. K. Gupta, Jessore, moved a resolution referring to the indiscriminate reversion of officers officiating in the rank of D. S. P's serving in that rank for two years and urging that they should be made permanent or provided with additional appointments in the cadre and that direct appointments of D. S. P.'s be limited to 25 per cent.

The next resolution, “that in view of the system of promotion from Sub-Inspectors to Inspectors and Inspectors to D. S. P.'s being not quite satisfactory, the appointment of a Committee to give fairer scope to all deserving officials is essential and must include two non-police officers” roused discussion.

An amendment that there should be as many non-police officers as police officers was carried by an overwhelming majority.

The following resolution was unanimously carried :—

“That this conference most respectfully requests the Governor-General of India in Council to take immediate steps for the abolition of all distinctions which were originally racial and were believed to be only nominal between the members of the Indian (Imperial) Police and those of the Provincial Police in all matters concerning their status, pay, travelling and daily allowances and promotion to superior ranks in the Police department.”

The resolution regarding the fixing of the scale of pay of officers in all ranks was then put before the Conference. This

gave rise to a heated debate and the matter was referred to the Subjects Committee for decision.

Excitement in the Camp.

Some excitement was caused over the sudden departure of Rai Sahab Purna Chandra Biswas, the President, in the midst of the deliberations on the second day. It was subsequently known that the President was asked to see the Inspector-General of Police. The President, however, returned to the Pandal shortly after 6 o' clock in the evening and took leave of the delegates as he was ordered to start for his head-quarters immediately. The delegates were taken by surprise as the President did not give any reasons and naturally excitement prevailed at the pandal for some time. The Conference, however, decided to send a telegram to the Inspector General of Police to reconsider his decision. The proceedings of the Conference were suspended "*sine die*." The Subjects Committee went on with their deliberations.

The Conference subsequently thought it advisable to wait upon the Hon'ble Sir Henry Wheeler with a deputation. The deputation consisting of nine delegates of all Provinces in India accordingly waited upon the Hon'ble Member.

The President, had in the meantime left for Sealdah station where most of the delegates assembled to give him a hearty send-off. Meanwhile the deputationists arrived at the station with the news that Sir Henry Wheeler very sympathetically considered the matter and asked him to stay on. This caused great jubilation amongst all those present in the platform. Excitement was so great that the delegates got hold of nearly fifty taxis and came to the pandal with the President where hearty cheers were given for His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, Sir Henry Wheeler, the President and the deputation and the deputationists. Immediately an extraordinary meeting was held in which a resolution was passed, thanking the Hon'ble Member in charge for his action and deciding to resume the deliberations of the Conference at 2 p. m.

The Conference re-assembled at 3-30 in the afternoon with Rai Sahab P. C. Biswas, their President, in the chair,

Although there was absence of the wild excitement evinced in the earlier part of the day, there were some misgivings in the minds of most of the important delegates who appeared to be still excited over the action taken by the authorities. This matter formed the subject of deliberations in the Subjects Committee who again met, and this deferred the actual deliberations of the Conference for some time. The proceedings of the third day's Conference were continued when some more resolutions dealing with pay and allowances of police officers and constables were passed.

All India Railwaymen's Conference

BOMBAY—4TH FEBRUARY 1921

The All India Railwaymen's Conference opened on the 4th Feb. in the Empire Theatre. Delegates of work men from all over India were present, the hall being quite full. Mr. S. Titus, of the G.I.P. Railway, as Chairman of the Reception Committee, in welcoming the delegates said that in their present unorganised state, railwaymen could not achieve their goal. But the present meeting, he hoped, will truly lay the foundation of a federation which, avoiding politics, will in time bridge the gulf between capital and labour, on terms of equality and mutual self-respect. They did not mean to be undisciplined rabbles, indifferent to those in authority.

Rai Saheb Chandrika Prasad was then elected President and delivered his address. The President dwelt on the need of an All India organisation of Railwaymen and referred at great length to the disabilities of Indian railway employees. He said that the present system which had created racial distinction was wrong and it was the duty of all lovers of fairplay to combine and remove all injustices wherever found. He dwelt exhaustively with the conditions of all grades of railway service and referring to Sir Henry Freeland's remarks before the Indian Railway Conference Association in October last, that sympathetic touch between officers and men were very desirable, Mr. Chandrika Prasad remarked that this was possible only when there was justice and there existed no distrust or suspicion on the side of those in authority. The President expressed himself in favour of determining at the earliest possible date the contracts of companies entrusted with working and management of Indian State Railways. The President advised the railway employees when making representations to do so in responsible spirit and to try their best to maintain harmonious relations with officials and as far as possible to settle the disputes amicably by negotia-

tion and arbitration without resorting to direct action. He trusted that the railway authorities would also be reasonable when considering the grievances of their subordinates. In concluding he said :—Railways are yours. You have a sacred trust in your hands and you must discharge that trust in a sacred manner. The country pays for railway service and expects service to be rendered in satisfactory manner without undue burden upon the people and without your being unreasonable to those whom Providence has placed under or above you. To the higher officials I would say, be reasonable in fixing your own emoluments and privileges, show magnanimity of your heart by self-sacrifice and contentment by the glory of high office which heaven has given you. Curtail your personal wants and do justice to your subordinates.

Resolutions.

The following resolutions were passed at the All-India Railwaymen's Conference on the 5th February 1921 :—

"That the draft constitution of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation prepared by the Reception Committee of the Conference be adopted provisionally as it stands and a committee be appointed to go through it and circulate copies thereof among all different unions and associations asking them to give their opinion within three months after opinions are received. The committee will have power to accept them if advisable, that the railway administration in India and Burma be requested to encourage the formation of unions of railwaymen on their respective lines as desired in the Versailles Covenant 421 of the League of Nations and all such unions should be recognised.

"That all racial discrimination in Railway service should be entirely abolished on all State Railways worked by State or Companies and Note 2 in para 20 of Section 230 of State Railway Open Line Code (?) 7 in this connection be withdrawn.

"That in view of the Declaration of His Majesty's Government of 20th August 1917 and the Government of India Act and the Royal Proclamation of 1919 this Conference trusts that the Railway Board would publicly cancel all orders which have been issued to railway administration upon which

Mr. T. Ryan made a statement in the course of his evidence before the Royal Commission on Indian Public Services to the effect that from the military point of view and internal security of the country more reliance is placed on European officers than on Indians.

"That this Conference trusts that the Indian legislature will take early steps to provide necessary legislation fixing the liability of railway for adequate compensation for injury or loss of life in case of accidents to railway servants working on line, at station or in workshops.

"That daily rated staff be brought on to monthly system with equal privileges of that system and all railway men to work two hundred and eight hours a month except sedentary staff whose total hours of work in a month should be only 144 Gazetted holidays being reckoned as working hours during the month in which they fall.

"That the work done over and above this should be paid at one and half time between 6 and 18 hours and at double rate of pay drawn by men between sunset and sunrise and gazetted holidays.

"That considering the present cost of living and risk and responsibilities involved in railway service, this Conference is of opinion that the minimum salary of railway employees should be in provincial towns Rs. 40, in other large towns 35, and in other places 30 plus all local allowances, and minimum pay for clerks Rs. 60 per month plus local allowances."

The All-India Railway Workmen's Conference concluded on the 6th February 1921 and passed the following resolutions :—

(1) That technical schools attached to railway workshops be improved and thrown open to Indians on the same conditions as in the case of Europeans and Anglo-Indians. (2) Asking for direct representation in Legislative Councils and Legislative Assembly. (3) That railway administrations should provide better housing for workmen and better educational facilities for their children and that the Government of India should appoint a committee to enquire into the present railway labour situation and that the rules regarding payments of gratuity and Provident funds be so altered that strike may not be regarded as misconduct, and also that the Government

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and railway administrations should treat Provident fund bonus and gratuities as deferred payments and not as gifts. (4) Recreation clubs be established for Indians and Burmans on the same lines as provided for Europeans and Anglo Indians. (5) The Conference placed on record the valuable services rendered by Mr. B. G. Horniman in the cause of workmen and condemned the action of the Government of India, particularly the Government of Bombay, in deporting him without trial. Mr. D. Chamanlal speaking on the resolution said he had heard on good authority that the Governor of Bombay had made up his mind that so long as he was the Governor, Mr. Horniman would not be permitted to return. He asked the delegates if they believed Mr. Horniman had worked for their rights, they should agitate against this unjust Government order. (5) It was further resolved that the Government should amend the present law requiring probate or Letters of Administration for obtaining payment of Provident fund money over two thousand by relatives of deceased employees. (6) That a deputation of the Conference should wait on the President, Railway Board with its resolution. (7) That the maximum salary of agent or heads of department should not exceed twenty five times that of the lowest paid servant of the railway administration. (8) The Conference was of opinion that the price of food stuffs and necessaries of life having gone up considerably, all railwaymen's salaries should be increased.

ON
Gandhi & Gandhism
As Viewed By The World Abroad

Revd. Holmes' Sermon

The Reverend John Haynes Holmes, Editor. *UNITY*, Chicago, preached the following sermon on March 12, 1922, on which day the news of Mahatmaji's arrest reached America :--

Who is Gandhi ?

As I enter this morning upon the discussion of Mahatma Gandhi of India, and of the universal significance of the work which he is doing in his native country, I am irresistably reminded of the day, which was not so long ago, when I first had the pleasure of presenting this man to this Congregation, and of declaring my conviction, the same now as it was then, that Gandhi is incomparably the greatest man now living in the world. How the situation has changed in these few months! At that time Gandhi's name was practically unknown outside the borders of India. I hit upon it by the merest chance, and although I came to feel upon the instant that here was a creative spiritual genius of the first order, my information was of the meagrest description. Further, all endeavours to get additional information met with failure. To-day, however, Gandhi's name is appearing on the first pages of all the newspapers. Scores of articles have been published in the magazines and reviews of this country, England and the Continent. A great journal, the "New York World," sends its leading correspondent to India to "spy out the land," and he returns to write of Gandhi and his policy of Non-Violence and Non-Co-operation. From almost utter obscurity this man mounts in a few months to a fame which is as universal as it promises to be immortal. He holds to-day the centre of the world's attention. That position of primacy held so proudly by Woodrow Wilson in 1918 and 1919 and by Nicola Lenin in 1920 and 1921 is now occupied by a little Oriental who has never held any official position, who seeks neither glory nor power, and who languishes this day behind the bars of an English jail.

For such a change as this in the fortunes of a single man, there must be reasons. As it happens, these reasons are not far

to seek. I would name this morning four events, as indications of what has been transpiring of late in this far distant portion of the world.

In the first place, there is the amazing growth of the Nationalist party in India. A few years ago, the only persons who wanted "Swaraj" or independence were a few extremists and fanatics. The great majority of the intellectual leaders cherished no desire or expectation other than that of Home Rule, or Dominion status within the Empire. As for the masses of the common people, they were either ignorant of, or totally indifferent to, the issues involved. To-day, however, the movement for emancipation has swept like a prairie fire from one end of India to the other. It is true that the Native Princes and their retainers, many thousands of civil officials and their servants, and certain well-educated and prosperous groups in the community who naturally oppose any change in the *status quo*, are hearty supporters of the English Government in India; but these people, taken all together, would not number more than a million individuals. All the rest from the highest to the lowest, from Rabindranath Tagore on the one side to the meanest of the "untouchables" on the other, are all aflame with the desire for independence. Remember now, if you will, that the population of India is well over 300,000,000, one fifth of the population of the entire globe, and it is not difficult to understand why this Nationalist Movement is suddenly attracting so much attention. What is going on in India to-day, if only because of the stupendous numbers involved, is the central phenomenon in the world's life.

In the second place, as another reason for Gandhi's rapid rise to fame, there is the fact that he is to day definitely recognized as the leader of his people in their revolt against the English Crown. A few years ago Gandhi was a friend of England and her rule in India. More than once he had received favours and rewards at the hands of the Imperial Government. During the Great War he supported the Allied Cause, and, in so far as it was possible for a non-resistant so to do, upheld the power and authority of English arms. After the War he advocated no reform more drastic than a reasonable measure of Home Rule. It was the massacre of Amritsar, when General Dyer turned his machine guns on an innocent

crowd of Indians, killed between three and four hundred men, women and children and wounded I know not how many more, that changed the soul of Gandhi. From that time on, he became an ardent champion of Freedom. One year ago last December the All-India Congress formally endorsed his programme of Non-Violence and Non-Co-operation. This last December, less than three months ago, the Congress reaffirmed the programme by an overwhelming majority, and named Gandhi as the leader of the movement for Independence. This man holds absolutely in his hands to-day the destinies of his people. When Gandhi speaks, it is India that speaks. When Gandhi acts, it is India that acts. When Gandhi is arrested, it is India that is outraged and humiliated. More truly, I believe, than any other man who has ever lived, this great Indian is the incarnation of a people's soul.

Repression as an Advertisement.

Thirdly, as an explanation of Gandhi's fame and influence at this moment, there is the repressive policy recently adopted by the English Government. Why any government should turn to repression in a crisis like this is explicable only on the supposition that governments are utterly ignorant of history and human psychology and learn nothing from experience. For, repression has never worked. I challenge anybody to point me to a single episode in either ancient or modern history, which proves that repression has even once achieved the end to which it has been directed. This policy has certainly been no success in English hands. It failed in America in 1775; it failed in English domestic affairs in the '20s and the '40s of the last century; it failed in South Africa after the Boer War; it failed in Ireland yesterday; and it will fail in India to-morrow. If repression succeeds in anything, it is in advertising the cause of the enemy. "We are advertised by our loving friends," says Shakespeare, to which I would make the addition that we are advertised as well by our fearful enemies! Nothing that the Indians could have done of themselves would have spread such knowledge of, and own such sympathy for, their movement for Independence as the policy of the British authorities in recent months. When the Ali Brothers were arrested, for example, news of the event spread to the remotest corners of the Mohammedan world, and made every

Moslem a champion of Freedom for India. When Lajpat Rai was seized and imprisoned, thousands of Englishmen and Americans were immediately aroused, for they knew this man to be a scholar and a gentleman, and could not understand the nature of a situation which made necessary his confinement. So also, now, with Gandhi himself! Millions of people the world around know him to day, and will believe in and love him passionately to morrow, because they see a Saint doomed to martyrdom by the tyranny of Imperialism.

Lastly, as an indication of what has been going on in recent months, I would remind you of the visit of the Prince of Wales to India. For sheer stupidity, I know of nothing to compare with this event. We are told that this trip was planned in order to demonstrate the loyalty of the people of India to the British Crown. As a matter of fact had the Indian been loyal, there would have been no necessity for a Royal visitation. The very exigencies of the situation made inevitable just the opposite result from what was intended or desired. No sooner was the Prince's journey announced, than Gandhi organized his boycott—not because he had anything against this innocent young man, but because he saw in his coming a wonderful opportunity to demonstrate how the Indian people felt about English rule. As soon as the Prince arrived this boycott was put into effect. Everywhere he went, the natives met him with averted eyes and turned backs. Finally, at Allahabad, they refused to meet him at all. When the Prince of Wales entered this place, it was as though he were arrived at a city of the dead. Streets were deserted; doors were barred, and shutters drawn at the windows; while the people by the thousands swarmed to a rendezvous outside the town to acclaim "Swaraj" and pledge themselves to its support. The visit of the Prince of Wales, now drawing to a close, has been simply one vast demonstration of Indian unrest. More than anything else that has happened, or could have happened, it has taught the world of Gandhi and his great crusade for Liberty.

Gandhi the Political Leader or Religious Prophet

Such are some of the events which have conspired in recent months to draw the attention of mankind to India. In so far as these events have enabled men to know who

Gandhi is and what he is doing they are beneficent, for I can imagine no truer baptism of the soul than knowledge of this eastern Saint. To those who understand what it means in terms of inward purity and outward devotion, his name falls on the heart "like the gentle dew from heaven." From another and more important point of view however these events must be regarded as unfortunate, for they are tending to present Gandhi to the world simply as a leader of a Nationalistic cause. They are teaching men to classify the Indian Mahatma with such historical figures as William Tell, William Wallace, Robert Emmett Kosciusko, George Washington, Garibaldi, as the champion of the liberties of an enslaved people. This, of course, he is! Gandhi stands to day at the forefront of his nation's life, as we have seen, and in the heroic service of Freedom he beats the achievements of any of the great Nationalistic leaders of the past. But it is a deplorable mistake to look at Gandhi exclusively or even primarily from this standpoint. He is more than the leader of a movement for National Independence—his task is nobler even than that of championing the political emancipation of a great people. Dear to his heart as is the deliverance of India, immediate as is his concern with this great cause at the present moment, it must still be reckoned as a mere incident in his career, a passing episode in a life devoted to higher and further issues. If the movement for Independence had never appeared, Gandhi would still be the same transcendent figure that he is to-day; and if this movement ended to-morrow, in defeat or victory, Gandhi's real work would still be on to its appointed end. That there must be something wrong with an idea which classifies this man with Wallace, Washington and Garibaldi—all of whom were soldiers who drew blood on the field of battle—is shown conclusively by the fact that Gandhi is a non-resistant who refuses to take the sword even to fight for Liberty, but appeals to a "higher law" than that of violence, namely "strength of spirit." What we have here in the case of Gandhi, as always in the case of the non-resistant, is a religious leader, a man not of local or national, but of universal significance. It is in the realm of the spirit that Gandhi "lives and moves and has his being". That is, not primarily with Kings and premiers, but with God and the soul of man that he does business. Above and beyond the

political liberation of his own or any other people, he seeks the spiritual redemption of mankind. If we would classify him with any of the supreme figures of human history, it must be with such august religious prophets as Confucious and Laotse, Bhudda, Zoroaster and Mohammed, and most truly of all, the Nazarene ! Out of Asia, at long intervals of time, have arisen these inspired witnesses of God. One by one they have appeared to teach men by precept and example the law of life, and therewith to save the race. To-day, in this our time, there comes another of this sacred line, the Mahatma of India. In all reverence, and with due regard for historic fact, I match this man with Jesus Christ ! If the lives of these two were written side by side, as Plutarch wrote the lives of the great heroes of Greece and Rome, it would be amazing to see to what extent they are identical.

Now, it is of this universal significance of Gaudhi as a spiritual leader, that I want to speak to you this morning. I find this significance most clearly typified, at least for the beginning of our discussion, in the personal character of the man. We can best get at this aspect of the problem by asking how it is that Gaudhi has managed to acquire such a marvellous influence over the Indian people. Of the nature of this influence there can be no question ; it is one of the most extraordinary personal phenomena in the world to-day. As Gaudhi moves from place to place, multitude of men and women follow him, as similar multitudes followed Jesus in Palestine. When he appears to speak in some town or city, crowds running all the way, from twenty-five thousand to seventy-five thousand people, gather to hear his words. That he is a wonder-worker is implicitly believed by the ignorant and superstitious, and stories of his miracles are now the legend of the countryside. Everywhere he is called Mahatma, the "saint" or "blessed one," for already the people reverence him as one who is divine. To find anything to match this influence of Gaudhi over his people, we would have to return to ancient times and remote places, and even then the parallel would be incomplete. It is the testimony of a competent and unbiassed observer that Gaudhi's personal following is greater in number, and more devoted and disciplined in spirit than any man history has ever known.

If we seek for the explanation of this fact, we cannot find it, I believe, in any of the ordinary aspects of personality. It does not reside, for example, in Gandhi's physical presence, which has been described as "pitifully insignificant." Thus, he weighs less than one hundred pounds. He shows all the weakness and emaciation of one who has disciplined his body to an asceticism of an extreme type for over thirty years. On occasions he is so feeble that he is unable to stand, and has to address his audience while seated in a chair. His only impressive physical feature is his eyes, which glow with the flaming passion of a spirit which burns as though it would consume the flesh. So also I cannot find that his personal influence has its origin in any extraordinary degree of intellectuality. Gandhi does not impress me as having exceptional mental powers. Certainly he is not to be compared with such an intellectual giant as Leo Tolstoi. To me at least, it is inconceivable that the Indian could write such books as "War and Peace," "Anna Karenina," or even "My Religion." Great as he is, Gandhi does not seem to move on this plane of achievement at all. I feel the same way also about his gifts as an orator. I speak with some hesitancy here, for the standards of oratory, as of music, may be very different in the East from what they are in the West. What is genuine eloquence in India may not be recognizable as such at all in the United States. But I might as well confess that Gandhi, so far as I can judge from his printed addresses, does not impress me as an orator. I find in his utterances no such magic of words as we are familiar with in the case of men like Edmund Burk and Patrick Henry. I had difficulty, for example, in selecting a passage from Gandhi's writings which had the lift and beauty, the soaring grandeur of style, which made it appropriate for reading as scripture in this service. That Gandhi can work a spell over an audience we know from abundant testimony, but it must be for reasons quite apart from eloquence of speech.

What is it that the Indians seek when they look upon this man, and hail as Mahatma, ? Not a great physical presence, not a gigantic intellect, not an inspired orator, but a personality or character of transcendent spiritual beauty. What they see first of all is a man who has made his life to be at one with the great masses of the people. Gandhi was well born of a family with ample means, and given the best educational

advantages both in his own country and in England. When he returned to Bombay, he began his career as practitioner of the law. Then he did what so few men in any age have ever done! Instead of climbing up—up the ladder of achievement to wealth and fame and thus away from the common people, he proceeded deliberately to move down—down to the depths of human misery and woe, down to where men toiled desperately and died miserably, down to the dark places of sweat and tears and blood. From the beginning he was resolved that there should be no suffering among men which he did not endure, no outrage which he did not feel, no Cross which he did not carry. Even the “untouchables” should not be beneath his comradeship, to them he would descend, and with them share the bitterness of the world’s contempt! The experience of men, in other words, down to its remotest horror, he made his own; and always, in his long struggles for reform, met first himself the hazards to which he invited others. How beautiful, for example, is the story of his leading the Hindu “coolies” in South Africa out on to the land, in revolt against the inequities of Government? Here Gandhi was the first to sleep on the bare ground beneath the stars, the first to practise the vow of poverty which he enjoins upon his followers, and the first to cultivate the land for sustenance!

The Symbol of the Loin-cloth.

How impressive also the most recent and much more famous story of the loin-cloth? Talk with any enemy of Gandhi, and almost at once he will mention the loin-cloth episode, and offer it as proof of the Mahatma’s insane fanaticism. What is this episode? Some months ago, in the prosecution of his Non-co-operation campaign against the Government, Gandhi ordered his followers to boycott all cotton goods imported from England, to destroy whatever foreign cloth or clothing they had on hand, and spin what they needed on their own domestic spindles. It soon developed that obedience to this command would cause great inconvenience and even suffering, especially among the poor by stopping them, practically naked, of the little that they had. At once Gandhi appeared in public, on the country highways and even in the cities, clad in nothing but a loin-cloth that no man in all the land should be embarrassed by a poverty greater than his own. Such deeds are common-place in Gandhi’s life.

His whole career reveals passion for community of experience with mankind. When his people look upon him, therefore, they see not a leader merely but a comrade and a brother, one who is in all things like unto themselves; and of course they reverence him as one who is divine.

This deliberate kinship with the masses of his fellow-countrymen leads us to another quality which is fundamental in any estimate of Gandhi's personality. I refer to his self-abnegation, his sacrifice, his capacity for suffering. Very early in his career Gandhi discovered what he called "the law of conscious suffering"—the truth that *the mastery of the world wits upon the man who is willing not to make others suffer, but to suffer himself*; and his whole life has been a discipline to its attainment. At the outset he sacrificed his property, his social standing, his profession, everything that could separate him from entire devotion to his fellow-men. In his personal habits he began and still continues to practice all asceticism that might well be the envy of a mediæval monk. In his work as a reformer he has evaded no penalty, but has accepted gladly the punishments imposed upon him as only so many weapons to his hand. He has faced an assassin without flinching. Four times, in South Africa and in India, he has been imprisoned. Thrice he has been beaten by mobs, and once left prone in the gutter as one dead. His body bears the stripes of the whips with which he has been lashed, his wrists and ankles the marks of the chains with which he has been bound for hours together to the iron bars of his cell. Read Paul's catalogue of sufferings, and you find it a less terrible array than Gandhi's! "I have gone through the most fiery ordeals that have fallen to the lot of man" is his testimony. And all because sacrifice has been deliberately chosen as the law of his life and the sword of his fray! It is this which the Indians see when they look upon the scarred and wasted frame of their leader. It is which they remember when they think of him in some far distant part of the country-side. Imagine the stupidity of a Government which hopes to break such a man, or sever him from the worship of his followers by fresh arrest and imprisonment!

The Law of Conscious Suffering. ~

Greater than all that we have yet mentioned in the character of Gandhi is the love with which his entire being is saturated.

No man of our time, few men of any time, have risen to such heights of tenderness and compassion for mankind as this Mahatma of India. Anger, malice, resentment, hatred, have altogether disappeared from his heart, and nothing is now left but the pure essence of love for his fellowmen. And his fellowmen include all men who lived upon the Earth! Like God himself, Gandhi is "no respecter of persons." He holds White men and Black men side by side within the embrace of his affection. He ends the long feud between Moslem and Hindu and makes them brethren, one of another. While recognising certain social utilities of the caste system, he wipes out the barriers of separation in his personal relations, and seats Brahmins and "Untouchables" at a common board and leads them in breaking bread together. Even the English are not excluded from his goodwill, for, "love your enemies" is as stern a command for Gandhi as for Jesus. "Tell the British people that I love them, and want their association" is the word that he has spoken a thousand times. Think of his conduct at the time of the attempt upon his life in South Africa! Asked in the hospital, where he was hovering on the verge of death, to take action against his assassin, he refused. "Why should I seek to injure or punish him," he said. "The man did what he thought was right, risked his life for what he thought was right! I believe in that man, I shall love him, and win him to myself." And he did! In a few months the assassin was conquered by the might of Gandhi's forgiveness and became straight away one of his most ardent followers. Equally beautiful is Gandhi's attitude towards General Dyer, the officer responsible for the massacre at Amritsar. "I cannot co-operate with him," says Gandhi; "I can not recognize his authority or obey his orders. But if he fell sick of a fever I would hasten to his bedside and nurse him back to health." There is no bitterness in this man, no least flickering spark of hatred or revenge. He is Love Incarnate. In every act and even gesture of these last years, when patient suffering has purified his soul, he has been a perpetual witness to the truth of his own great words: "Anger will serve no purpose. We must meet ungodliness by godliness. We must meet untruth by truth. We must meet cunning and craft by openness and simplicity. We must meet terrorism and frightfulness by bravery."

It is qualities such as those, which have become familiar to all Indians, that give Gandhi such a hold upon the imagination and devotion of his people. It is these same qualities also that give to him and his work a universal significance. Gandhi is a man who has mastered the secrets of spiritual living. His soul has been lifted, by virtue of incomparable discipline, to the measure of the stature of those realities which are of God. In humility, in sacrifice, in ardent love for men, he is one of those perfect characters which come along once in a thousand or perhaps only in two thousand years. And to-day he lies in prison. A society which cannot suffer a Jesus or a Gandhi to be at large is a society which is not fit to live, and by this token is already doomed to die.

Non-resistance on a large scale

A second evidence of Gandhi's universal significance is found in his doctrine of non-resistance which he says, "does not mean meek submission to the will of the evil-doer, but the pitting of one's whole soul against the will of the tyrant." I refer more particularly to the fact that Gandhi is the first man who has succeeded in applying the non-resistant idea on a vast scale, and in working out a technique for its successful operation in determining the great issues of social life. Gandhi, in other words, has demonstrated the feasibility of non-resistance as a method of political and economic reform, and therewith, definitely as Newton or Darwin, opened up a new era in human history.

Hitherto non-resistance has laboured under two very serious disabilities. In the first place, its practice has been limited in the past to the life of the single individual, or here and there to the experience of single and isolated groups of individuals. The great non-resistants have been Jesus, St. Francis, William Lloyd Garrison, Henry David Thoreau, Leo Tolstoi—men of transcendent personality and influence, who have exemplified nobly the possibilities of non-resistance in their own private lives, but have never attempted or been able to apply it on a universal scale to society at large. Occasionally, to be sure, there have appeared larger or smaller groups of men and women who have organised movements, and even whole communities, on non-resistant principles. Thus, there were the Christians of the

first two centuries of our era, various heretical sects of the Middle Ages, such as the Cathari, the Waldenses and the Albigenses, and such modern religious groups as the Quakers, the Mennonites and the Doukhobors of Russia and Western Canada. But these groups, like separate individuals of the Tolstoyan type, have been independent and self-contained. They have lived very largely in and for themselves, and thus are important as an example rather than as an influence. They show what non-resistance can do on a small scale, but teach nothing about its practicability as a general social principle.

The second difficulty, under which the non-resistant gospel has suffered in the past, has been its identification with a remote or other-worldly type of life. The non-resistant of the Middle Ages was the monk of the St. Francis type, who abandoned the world and went off to live alone by himself or with his group of disciples. The supreme non-resistant of modern times was Tolstoi, who characteristically cut himself off from his family, his country, his church and lived like a kind of hermit on the land; and at the end fled away, like a wounded animal in the bush, to die alone. These men were sublime in their personal lives. The non-resistant in all ages has marked the highest attainment of inward purity and outward sacrifice. But with few exceptions—Garrison, for example—they have achieved virtue at the expense of contact with the world of men. From the practical point of view the non-resistant has again and again been an ineffective man. He has solved the problems of life by running away from them. Tolstoi is one of the sublimest characters in history but he contributed nothing to the solution of those questions that vex most terribly the society of modern times.

It is these two disabilities which have left the advocate of non-resistance helpless to commend his doctrine as an adequate method for meeting the contingencies of the modern industrial struggle, for example, or of international war. Non-resistance may be all right, he has been told, as a personal idiosyncrasy or as a means of escape from social responsibility, but it has nothing to offer the man who has to meet things as they are! And now, behold comes Gandhi a new type of non-resistant—a man who leads his people in the greatest movement of revolt our age has known, and does it on the basis of a programme of "resist not evil"! It is this programme or technique of non-

resistance as a method of social change, as the plan of campaign in what is literally a war for National Independence, that constitutes Gandhi's unique and immortal contribution to experience. Beginning with the elementary precept of 'non-violence,' which pledges all Indians to abstain from use of force under all circumstances, Gandhi passes on to his second and basic principle of "non-co-operation." This is only superficially a negative principle—a refusal to co-operate in any way with the English Government, to accept favour of rewards, to use the courts, to send children to the schools, to buy English goods, to pay taxes, to recognize the laws. At bottom it is magnificently a positive assertion of Indian self-sufficiency—the definite organization of a society which is politically and economically self-sustaining and therefore independent. What Gandhi is doing is teaching his people to do their own work, to manage their own affairs, to build and maintain their own institutions—and to endure in patience, not only without hatred or desire for revenge but with actual good will towards the enemy, whatever suffering this policy may bring upon them from their alien rulers. He is organizing a vast programme of social revolt on the basis of love—love for one another expressed in terms of mutual service, and love for the enemy expressed in terms of forgiveness and compassion. He is showing that no people need be helpless in the face of physical force, or to resist force with force to their own misery and destruction. All they have to do is to act together in ignoring it—to rise above it by discipline, to conquer it by suffering. "We must meet organization by greater organising ability. We must meet discipline by greater discipline, and we must meet sacrifices by infinitely greater sacrifices."

Era of Force Comes to End

It is in this programme of non-resistance, applied on a vast scale to social issues, that I find evidence of a significance in Gandhi's work which far transcends the borders alike of country and of race. If the Mahatma succeeds in his great venture, non-resistance will be made for the first time in history a universal principle of life. The reproach that it is nothing more than an eccentric rule of individual or sectarian life, will be removed. The charge that its feasibility is limited to the single life, or the unworldly habit of experience, will be answered. If Gandhi succeeds, we shall see that non-resis-

tance is a sound method of social action, that resort to violence for any cause is no longer necessary, that for defence against aggression and in endeavours after liberty, there is "the better way" than force. If Gandhi succeeds, do I say?—Gandhi has already succeeded; he has demonstrated this truth. His arrest yesterday was the final evidence of his triumph. More terrible to England than any sword is the steadfast patience of this one little man who, in the true spirit of love, "beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things." In Gandhi, if men be wise, the era of force at last comes to its end, and the era of peace and brotherhood begins!

A charge most often brought against Gandhi by his enemies is that he is a fanatic who would destroy everything that civilization has achieved in the last three hundred years. Thus, it is said that he would close the hospitals in India, rip up the railroads, smash the printing presses and cotton factories, scrap the whole intricate mechanism of modern life, in a vain endeavour to restore at one stroke the simpler ways of an earlier and more primitive day. Now, that Gandhi is thus a mad wrecker of the machinery of society as we know it to-day, is obviously disproved by the fact that he himself makes constant use of the various devices which are the common-place of our time. Thus, when he was so desperately wounded by the assassin in South Africa, he went to a hospital and was there nursed back to health by an Englishwoman who had come to know the kind of man he was. In India he travels constantly from place to place on the railroads. The other day, when extraordinary speed was necessary, he made the journey in a high-powered automobile. His use of the printing press is constant and most effective.

There is truth, however, in the statement that Gandhi is fighting the machine of western civilisation in India, and seeking to restore the native, and therefore primitive, culture of his people. It is just this which marks, to my mind, the clarifying evidence of his genius as a spiritual leader. For Gandhi, as he looks upon his country to-day, sees it subjected to a two-fold yoke. On the one hand there is the yoke of the English Government—the bondage of an alien political system against which the Nationalist Movement is now being directed. On the other hand, there is the yoke of capitalism—that economic system which uses the vast machinery of modern

invention for the exploitation of the many to the profit of the few. To Gandhi release from this economic system of Western capitalism is as important for India as release from the political system of British Imperialism. If English Rule is overthrown only to leave behind it English railroads, English factories, English promoting companies, and so on, the Indian people will have gained only the shadow and not the substance of Independence. They will be still enslaved, and enslaved to a system which is fatal to the best interests of humanity. At the heart of this Western civilisation of ours, Gandhi believes, is death and not life. We have created a vast machine which proves to be a Frankenstein which is devouring us. This monster has bound us to the wheel of labour, deceived us with the lure of wealth, degraded us to the base uses of materialism and levelled to the ground our standards of moral and spiritual idealism. Even in a physical sense it is a failure, for in the end it brings only such calamity as the Great War. It is this system of economic ruin which Gandhi sees coming into Asia, after having conquered and ravaged our Western world. He sees it victorious in Japan, he sees it invading China, he sees it planted at the heart of India—and he declares war against it! He fights the opium trade; he battles against the liquor traffic; he substitutes the domestic spindle for the factory loom; he denounces the railroad, the automobile and the machine in general. What Gandhi is attempting to do is to save India from the blight of Western materialism by restoring her own native civilisation and culture before it is too late. He is trying to preserve his land from the curse of commercialism, the horror of machine-exploitation and production, the slavery of wage-labour, the whole black system of capitalistic life. And he would do this not for its own sake, but for the sake of India's soul. He would save the spirit of his people—their simplicity, their art, their religion, their mystic comradeship with one another and with God.

The Life of the Spirit—A Second Christ.

It is here, in this great service, that Gandhi becomes in very truth the great religious leader of whom I spoke in the beginning. It is in this work of spiritual redemption that he takes on a universal significance, for the West as well as for the East. For, in saving India, Gandhi is saving the world. In staying the ravages of capitalism in his own

land, he is starting a movement which, by process of reaction, will flow back into our world and restore to us those things of the spirit which we have lost. Our Western civilisation is in exactly the situation of Rome in the days of the Great Caesar. It has mastered the world by the power of its arms, and is exploiting its resources and peoples to its own advantage. As its outward glory increases, however, its inward disintegration proceeds. At the critical moment in Roman history there appeared Jesus and the Christians, who brought to the perishing world a new source of life which preserved its vitality for a period of two thousand years. At the critical moment in our not dissimilar age, there appears Gandhi. Does he not also bring with him a new life of the spirit, and may he not therefore be truly hailed as the savior of the world.

It is thus that I would speak of the universal significance of Mahatma Gandhi and his work in India. The parallel with Jesus constantly presents itself. The Nazarene was a divine personality; he taught the law of Love, and laid down a programme of Non-resistance for its fulfilment: he sought to establish the Kingdom of Heaven on Earth by dethroning Mammon in favour of God. So also with Gandhi! This Indian is a saint in his personal life; he teaches the law of Love, and Non-resistance as its practice; and he seeks the establishment of a new social order which shall be a Kingdom of the Spirit. If I believed in the second coming, as I do not, I should dare to assert that Gandhi was Jesus come back to Earth. But if "the second coming" has no historical validity, it has at least poetical significance; and in this sense, can we not speak of Gandhi as indeed the Christ? In a little book called "The Scourge of Christ," sent me by the author, Paul Richard, from the foot of the Himalaya mountains, where he lives. I find two remarkable sentences—

"If Christ came again would he not choose again to be a son of an enslaved people rather than a citizen of the Empire?"

"The Christ if he comes will not be of the white race as the colored people could not put their faith in him."

Is not this the prophecy of Gandhi? Does not this prove him to be the Christ of our age? To-day, as in the olden time, it is no longer a question as to whether Christ is here or not. It is a question only of who will recognise and follow him.

“Pussyfoot” Johnson on Gandhi

Mr. W. E. Johnson, “Pussyfoot” Johnson, the great American anti-drink campaigner, who toured in India last year summer, contributed the following article to the “Christian Herald” of New York in October last.

There is a man, sent of God, who is called the Mahatma Gandhi. He comes to the surface out of that great sea of human being that compose the Empire of India, one-fifth of the people in all the world. As this is written, in October, he is going about with no clothing except a home-spun cloth wound around the lower part of his body and partly covering his legs. If all the Indian people had only this much for each, there would be none left, and it would be “stealing” for him to take more than his share. He rides third-class in the railway carriage set apart for coolies and eats the food on which the meanest of human beings exist.

Much is said regarding this man to his disadvantage. His name is anathema to many wedded to the existing order of things—especially alcoholic things. Those who attack him, and there are many such, never attack his sincerity, his character or his ability. To them, he is of the devil because he attacks British rule in his country. And yet, after all has been said that can be said against him, this fact remains silhouetted against the sky—in two years, by sure personal influence, he has caused a greater diminution of the use of intoxicating liquors than has been accomplished by any other in the history of the world during his lifetime.

The excise year in all British India ends in April. The decrease in liquor revenues has become so enormous as to throw into a panic alcoholic officials who seem to think that the liquor traffic must continue so as to provide revenue for the Government, and provide facilities for the thirsty to get their supplies of intoxicants.

I have been all over India and have discussed the subject with many of the excise ministers and with scores of excise officials. They all tell the same story—the story of an aston-

ishing decrease in the consumption of drink and of the frightful inroads that this decrease is making on the excise revenues. In the district of Nellore, Madras Presidency, the excise revenues last year amounted to 168,000 rupees. This year, it is officially estimated at 228 rupees. Scarcely a district in all India fails to show a heavy decrease.

The only district that I have been able to learn of where there has been no decrease is in the Malabar district of Madras where martial law prevails and where the troublesome "non-co-operators" are not allowed. The best information that I can obtain from a multitude of official sources is that if the present conditions exist until April, the close of the excise year, fully one half of the entire liquor revenue of India will be wiped out. Hundreds of villages have gone dry, and hundreds more are practically dry, through the supreme moral influence of this half-naked man.

Scores of liquor contractors have been ruined and most of those remaining are on the brink of ruin. For these liquor shops are licensed to the highest bidder and the annual license fees for selling alone usually run from five to ten thousand dollars in American money. The liquor shopkeepers must, therefore, sell enormous quantities in order to pay for their liquors and the government exactions. And the government ruthlessly holds each of them to his bargain.

I have visited dozens of liquor shops in many parts of the country where the dealers ruefully told me that they had had only one or two customers during the day. When I asked why, they invariably replied, "Mr. Gandhi has told the people not to drink any more." At Cuttack, I visited the district jail and was surprised to find it in convenience and sanitation the equal of the best of American jails. It can accommodate 400 prisoners and was usually well up to its capacity. But the jailor told me that during the late months, the number of prisoners had been dwindling until only 138 remained. On my asking the cause, he replied: "It is because of Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operation movement."

Young Gandhi

Who is this mighty man who has wrought such things? Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was born not far from his present home, Ahmedabad, on October 2, 1869. The term

"mahatma" literally means "great soul" and nothing more. A mahatma is not a god, but an object of great reverence. He was born of wealthy, devout parents in the heart of that part of India where religious ideas are carried to the extreme, and where there is such a great horror of taking life of any sort that many people, after sundown, wear clothes over their mouths so that they will not inadvertently swallow living insects. A philosopher of that section solemnly explained to me how lofty was the spirit of a man who would lie in bed and allow the bugs full play over his body and how the very highest sacrifice known was for a man deliberately to permit a tiger to eat him alive, and thus enjoy itself. One of the high officials of Ahmedabad told me of the troubles that they had had in destroying mad dogs, as killing of one when known would cause a riot.

Young Gandhi was in constant rebellion against restraint, and often would eat the forbidden meat in secret, much as the American boy smokes cigarettes behind the barn. He was given permission by his mother to go to college at London on condition that he go with her to the priest and take three vows—one not to drink, one not to eat meat, and one to be chaste. And in London he lived as fast a life as possible, keeping within his vows. And he came back to India to practise law in Bombay.

An important piece of litigation sent him to South Africa, where he was refused permission to practise under his London degree because he was a "nigger." Then and there began Mr. Gandhi's long struggle for the rights of his race which has become a part of the history of South Africa, and in which Gandhi was frequently locked in jail for months at a time. But he won. And books of entrancing interest have been written to tell the story.

It was during this period of his life that he came under the influence of the Sermon on the Mount, the writings of Tolstoi, and the Bhagavat Gita, which moulded his future life and made him probably the greatest man of the age. It was the lofty ethics of the Sermon that was the dominant factor in making the man what he is. Out of this came his Satyagraha (aggressive following of truth) movement which developed into the non-co-operation project that is now the concern of the whole British Empire. And

in the quest of truth, Gandhi thinks and acts in straight lines. He follows the lead to the end.

Until two years after the Great War, Mr. Gandhi was as loyal to the British Crown as the most incorrigible of the King's English-born subjects. He served in the Boer war, was once invalided and mentioned in despatches. The outbreak of the European war found him in London. There he at once organized 250 Indian students in English universities into a volunteer corps who wanted to serve wholly without pay. He returned to India because of ill-health and recovered.

Recruiting Movement

In a critical moment, in 1918, in response to the appeal of Premier David Lloyd George for a million Indian recruits, Gandhi threw himself into the recruiting movement with such energy that the quota of recruits called for in nine months was accomplished in seven months. Then the armistice put a stop to the proceedings. During this period, Gandhi opposed Indian objections to numerous humiliating army discriminations against Indian soldiers, and succeeded in defeating a proposal in the National Indian Congress Committee to exhort a promise from Downing Street that, after the war, India should be granted Dominion Home Rule.

During the war, the Viceroy's council enacted the "Defence of India Act", modelled after the British Defence of the Realm Act, under which most of the liberties held dear by British subjects generally were suspended. This Act, ostensibly designed against the King's enemies, was used so diligently by British officials in India against various internal political movements that India became aroused against it. Even so loyal a subject as Mrs. Annie Besant was interned for three months under this Act by Madras officials who did not agree with her in internal politics which had nothing to do with the war. After the war was ended, the so called Rowlatt Act was passed, continuing the troublesome repressive act for three years, and the Viceroy tried to get the hated law continued permanently. This act set India afire, led to the "Punjab massacres," and Gandhi went out on his campaign of passive resistance.

Being a good strategist, Mr. Gandhi naturally attacked the British Indian Government in its most vulnerable spot—the liquor traffic. The British did not introduce liquor into

India. The liquor was there always in more or less special and ceremonial customs. What the British did was to organize and commercialize the drink traffic into a business for individual profit and for revenue. Under the theory of "a minimum of consumption and a maximum of revenue" the traffic was organized and grew until it reached huge proportions. For that, the British must stand convicted by friend and foe alike. Mr. Gandhi simply hung up this piece of dirty linen so that all the world could see. He placed the demand for the prohibition of the liquor as the corner-stone of his political structure, a demand which stirred the natural ambitions of the Indian people to the uttermost.

Picketing Drink Shops

The storm centre of the prohibition propaganda centered around the practice of "picketing" the drink shops by non-cooperation hosts. Companies of men would be stationed around the drink shops to plead with the people to keep out and to leave drink alone. The plan spread all over India.

It had its grotesque features, as when devout non-cooperators would fall on their knees and implore the thirsty to keep out of the drink shops. In many cases, "sweepers", "untouchables", and the lowest castes would be employed as "picketers" with curious results. The sight of an "untouchable" on his knees before a proud, high caste aristocrat, beseeching him to behave himself and leave drink alone, had about the same effect as that which would be produced by an ignorant Kentucky on his knees before a haughty Kentucky Colonel pleading with him to be decent and to leave mint julep alone. The high caste man could not kick the "untouchable" into the gutter because thereby he would contaminate himself. And so he had to stay away in order to save his "honor."

At Lucknow, a Nawab, a Moslem, had taken to drink against the precepts of his religion. So the whole menial staff of servants waited on him, bowed their heads to the floor, and notified him that they could not serve him any more unless he quit the drink, and also notified him that their castes had decided that he could have no more servants unless he cut out the booze. The horrified Nawab saw no alternative except to cook his own food and carry out his own slops. He climbed

on the water wagon. The country is well filled with stories of such absurdities, and the most absurd thing about them is that they were astonishingly effective.

On Strictly Peaceful Lines.

On the whole, the picketing has been carried on along strictly peaceful lines according to the Mahatma's wishes. But in a few cases the pickets became over enthusiastic and would drag customers away from the drink shops by force. In some places, the violators of caste rules against drink were half-slaven and some were escorted through the streets with old boots hung about their necks—the most deadly humiliation possible to imagine. This would lead to rioting, the intervention of the police and a government order to stop picketing in that locality. In some places, the local government officials and police would themselves stir up a row in order to provide an excuse to stop the picketing. This sort of thing attracts undue attention for the reason that it is the exceptional rows that are aired in the newspapers and not the usual peaceful picketing.

In the various provincial legislatures the admirers of Mr. Gandhi have struck again and again with proposed bills for local option-or for complete prohibition. In each case, such a proposal has been met with the solid opposition of the British members and the solid support of the Indian members, except in three or four cases, where the Indian member happened to be also a member of the government itself. This policy has given the Gandhi people the chance to claim that the liquor traffic is being rambled down the throats of the Indian people against their wishes. The British section reports that the Indian people really don't want prohibition and are pushing the matter in order to embarrass the British administration and raise taxes. But the Indian people who pay the taxes practically unanimously vote for prohibition just the same.

While a very small minority of British people are said to be willing to grant the prohibition demanded by the people, not a single British member of any of the legislatures has been found who would not vote for such a measure or even for local option.

Many city councils have passed resolutions appealing to the British authorities to close the drink shops in their cities but none of these have been acceded to, though in a few cases certain shops have been closed and in a few instances some of

them have been removed to positions just outside the city limits. The British officials generally have wrought against any such moves. In one case, a prohibition resolution was defeated by the British Health Officer, who declared that it was necessary for the people to drink in order to preserve their health. In many cases, where the liquor shop contractors had refused to bid and thus renew their privileges, political and other pressure has been brought upon contractors to bid and thus continue the drink traffic.

Just after my visit to Waltair (Vizagapatam), the British Deputy Commissioner sent out an astonishing letter to the President of a District Board, in which he said :—

“Owing to the non-co operation movement, it has been found very difficult to sell toddy shops. The non-co-operators have been preaching to the tree owners not to lease their trees to toddy renters. This makes the working of toddy shops more difficult. The only course to combat this movement is for Government to render all possible and legitimate help to shop-keepers by leasing all trees under government control. As the circumstances now prevailing are exceptional, I request that you will be good enough to withdraw all restrictions relating to the leasing of trees under your control as a special case and thus to ease the situation to some extent.”

Excise Liquor Question.

The “Reform Act” which was passed by the British Parliament late in 1919, transferred the excise liquor question to the Indian people subject to certain conditions which make it difficult for the Indian provincial government to fully abolish the traffic. British officialdom in India, instead of co-operating with the Indians to enable them to obtain freedom from the drink traffic, is placing all possible obstacles in the way of the anti-drink national aspirations. This policy naturally further inflames the Indian mind and adds fuel to the non-co operation movement, of which Mr. Gandhi is quite quick to take advantage.

To all save the hopeless reactionary, it is plain that, after centuries of wandering the Indian people are about to shake off the oppression of the drink traffic under the leadership of this Master mind. The power of public opinion is reaching such volume that nothing can long stand in its way.

Dr. W. Walsh on Gandhi

As an Angel of a New Annunciation

Before a large audience in Steinway Hall, London, Dr. Walter Walsh delivered the following impressive lecture which was listened to in rapt attention.

The latest utterance of Mr. G. B. Shaw assures us that prison is a failure. Now, if prison life fails to reform a criminal, how much more must it fail to subdue the spirit of disaffection in Mahatma Gandhi condemned for six years to an Indian jail? I know not what is the way of life in an Indian prison, but if we think of those 60 Moplahs suffocated in transit the other week, we shall conclude that the conditions are not those of a sanatorium. And the prisons must be crammed to stifling point, judging from the orgies of incarceration prevailing from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, the victims ranging over all ages and conditions, from veteran nationalists to high-bred ladies, youthful devotees little more than children, and the other day, to Gandhi's like-minded son. The epic of a New India is being written before our eyes.

"Wherever a man comes, there comes revolution," said Emerson in his memorable Divinity Schools Address. Let us see what kind of a man is this Gandhi, whom the British Government consigns to the same fate as its forgers, thieves, and wife beaters. I collected my information from a great many different sources—Indian and European, jumble of truths, lies and half-truths—compared and edited them for presenting you with a statement that is as nearly true as my best judgment can make it.

If we were to select three of the most illustrious names of living men, we might choose in science, Professor Bose of Calcutta; in literature, Rabindranath Tagore; and Mahatma Gandhi in the sphere of action—all three being Indians. The last named I take to be one of those creative geniuses who appear at long intervals to build up new dispensations just when the old are crumbling. The man comes, and revolution

is on his heels. Whitman agrees with Emerson—Produce great persons; the rest follows. In India the rest is following with great rapidity. To stimulate the revolution nothing was wanting but governmental repression, and this our representatives are effectively providing. It may be true that as governors they can do nothing else. The question, in that case, is whether they ought not to desist from the attempt to govern a country against its will.

The Indian Ideal Made Visible

In thrusting the high-minded reformer behind prison-bars, the Government is hoping to constrain the best spirit of the East; but while they may restrain its physical embodiment in the leader, they cannot confine the spirit itself which is embodied in an entire people. Mahatma Gandhi is popularly regarded as a divine being, which for us means that he is the Indian ideal made visible to the common man. I cannot recall any character in history who appears to have been more self-less, more modestly consecrated, or to have offered a purer sacrifice to humanity. Like all the great saints, the Mahatma is filled with a sense of his own unworthiness, and while unbarring a soul of extraordinary purity and holiness laments his own imperfections and declares that he can 'survive only through his great hope of India's redemption. His heart is in tune with the infinite, and he fears nothing that man can do him. The only thing he fears is that India, through the martyrdoms that lie before her, instead of holding fast to the ideal of sacrifice and non-violence, may accept the doctrine of the sword; in which case his life as an Indian would be finished and he would retire to the jungles of Hindustan to end his days in fasting, penance, and prayer for his own and his country's unworthiness. Against a soul like this, the Principalities, Powers and Empires of the world war in vain.

Impounding Progress Itself

Accepting this hero saint as the embodiment of the spirit of progress and reform, his imprisonment signifies the impounding of Progress and Reform themselves at the hands of British officialdom; no new thing these late years. He

declares that he is sustained by the hope of diminishing the misery of India's suffering dumb millions. Do not imagine that the reformation on foot in India is the creation of this one man. Far from it. Like a cleansing wave it has been sweeping over that vast peninsula, bringing to light new loyalties and ideals, as the movement to suppress the drink traffic, to abolish caste in its lowest form as it affects those known as "untouchables", to secure economic freedom by the spinning wheel, to heal the feud between Hindus and Muslims, and above all, as the synthesis of the whole, to accomplish this by the pure methods of non-violence. If this reformation can be carried through, its effect upon human destiny will exceed that of the German Reformation under Martin Luther, in as much as its spirit is incomparably finer, its outlook far wider and more human, and it starts from a higher state of human development. Over all the elements which might mis-shape themselves into a cauldron of furious war rises the clear figure of Mahatma Gandhi, like the angel of a new annunciation, applying to new conditions India's (and the world's) old gospel of peace and good-will; the spiritual faith that the only way to self-realisation and moral freedom for nations, as for individuals, is through non-resistance to the uttermost limit. With contemporary influence probably greater than has ever emanated from any previous reformer, he is standing against the embattled powers of empire and militarism,—not for India's rights alone, but for the rights of man; the right to freedom, self-expression, self-determination, liberty of speech and of public assembly, public trials, justice in public administration and the shaping of moral ideals. For all those lovely things, against such fearful odds, this intrepid saint advance without sword or shield, with nothing but the word of truth in his mouth, and the immense influence of a consecrated personality which St. Francis of Assisi might have envied. The situation is unparalleled not in its essential nature perhaps, but in its magnitude. The advance of David against Goliath is only a feeble parable of the situation. I see that this is the world's affair; not merely India's. It may be that the world's freedom is to be won on the plains of India, not merely its freedom from military oppressors, but—what is more important—freedom from its own evil obsessions,

Mahatmaj's Trial.

For a verbatim account of Gandhi's trial, defence and condemnation, I had to turn to a foreign paper, from which I learned that, with the utmost gentleness, the accused had acknowledged disaffection towards—that is, want of love for,—British government over India, admitting, as being himself a lawyer, that his judge could do no other than give adverse judgment. I am equally bound to say that the judge vied with the accused in respectful demeanour, and performed what he thought to be his duty in a manner which was manifestly sorrowful. One is resistlessly drawn back 2,000 years for a similar scene. Then, too, the Roman Pilate was remorseful and would willingly have washed his hands off the whole business. Both Jew and Indian were impeached for the same crime. Listen.—“Then they took Jesus and led him to Pilate. And they began to accuse him saying, we found this fellow perverting the nation and forbidding to give tribute to Cæsar. ... And they were the more fierce, saying: He stirreth up the people.” This parallel is either the justification of Gandhi or the condemnation of Jesus. I challenge the law-givers of Christendom to gainsay.

The Evangelist of a Higher Life.

As with the Nazarene again, so with the Indian, both being spiritual leaders were insensibly sucked into the malevolent atmosphere of politics; for, as I have often told you, the purer a religion is, the more destructive it ultimately is to tyrannies. Tyrants know that very well, and cannot rest till they get the religious reformer open a cross, or safe behind the bars of an iron cage. As it was to Jesus, so to Gandhi, politics is more than the mere game it seems to the professional statesman, being valued as an instrument of spiritual renovation, facilitating the removal of obstacles to moral regeneration and to the development of domestic virtues. He aims at purifying the public life of his people; and while even in his influence on political events he immeasurably outsoars and will immortally survive the politicians who are matching themselves against him, he is essentially the evangelist of a higher life. We would not dream of classing him with fighting patriots like Spartacus or Oliver Cromwell, any more than we would class General Booth with General Foch. His message is gospel, not policy. Even his method of non-co operation is advanced as a means of

self-discipline, the path of sacrifice by which Indian life is to receive its highest fulfilment. Nay, beyond that, he perceives the radiant possibility of radically improving human life, in the Mass and is the enemy of Western civilisation only so far as it seems to him injurious to the moral nature of man.

Not a Wilful Rebel.

So, then, we clear Mahatma Gandhi of the last suspicion of being a more destructive fanatic, or even a wilful rebel. Neither destruction, rebellion, nor fanaticism, possesses his clear soul. The spectacle of India's demoralisation has turned him from a friend into an implacable, even if pacific, foe of Western civilisation. Specially, he deplores the slavish descent into insincerity that never fails to be developed in a subject race by the necessity of propitiating the foreign conqueror. It is not his physical prowess that makes him formidable. That ascetic form—he weighs about a hundred pounds, the weight of a girl just entering on her teens—would seem out of place as a leader of warriors. Neither is it his intellect that makes him the revered inspirer of India's millions—I should say that the leaders of the Russian revolution excel him in pure brain-force as much as they fall beneath him in moral influence. Nor is it his oratory that inflames his followers to heroic action—for his speech is calm, temperate, reasonable, addressed to the conscience and the higher nature, appealing ever and ever for sacrifice, not for conquest; for suffering, not for victory. Truly the strangest revolutionary that ever lived! What is the secret? It is to be found in the perfect purity of his motives, the sincerity of his character, his boundless compassion, that limitless self-renunciation which is the test of Indian divinity, the love which includes all and stoops to embrace the lowest. Turning aside from the pathway of professional advancement and affluence, he went down to the very abyss of Indian misery, where sweltered the "untouchables," stripped himself of early possessions, and gave himself as a living sacrifice for humanity. These are the kind of men India makes its gods; while the West bows before the golden calf, the sceptre or the sword.

India Wants Self-determination.

Let me here present a brief summary of the grievances which have created this unique movement for redress on the

part of one-fifth of the world's population. Fundamental is the fact of Britain's conquest of India by armed force, and her continued exploitation by the same means. Foreign domination is supposed to be contrary to the modern spirit, which asserts the right of self-determination, subject only to the general will as expressed in a true League or Federation of Peoples. Further, decade after decade the conqueror continues, to promise Self-Government always however, postponing it to some future time, forgetting that no nation is good enough to govern another without its consent. More recently the continuance of the war against Turkey has created indignant resentment, still further inflamed by the terms of the Treaty of Sevres in admitted violation of pledges given by the British Prime Minister. The jealous discrimination against Indians in Kenya Colony, East Africa, has added fuel to the fire. The truth is that, throughout the West, the doctrine of White, or Anglo Saxon domination has become a kind of religion, ignoring the intellectual excellence of a people whose students can hold up their heads among the best when it comes to University Examinations. The sins of Empire are notorious, and cry to heaven for expiation, the British Empire being no expiation, though probably no greater sinner than the rest. Here is a brief cutting from Reuter which shows how Empires govern : "The air operations against the Jalalkil tribe have been most successful. Sixteen aeroplanes bombed and machine-gunned the tribe, who lost heavily in men and cattle." (The Press Agency makes no mention of women and children, though we know very well that falling bombs do not discriminate.) "The aeroplanes returned to the base practically unscathed." To this, add never-changing conditions of industrial exploitation, social discrimination, political disability, famine, frightful penury, the insolent assertiveness of many (not by any means of all) of the official classes and their women over natives more refined and cultured than themselves—and we can understand how Tagore flung back to Britain's King the title he had in an unguarded hour accepted. At the present moment, free Press, free speech, and free assembly are suppressed while the leaders are crowded into jail : a condition of things than which none could offer greater facilities for mob violence, easily suppressed by the dominant power, thus discrediting Gandbi, and giving excuse

for yet further suppression of liberty. Can this be the mean game our representatives are playing in India?

Unhappily, Indians have lost faith in British liberalism, since Lord Morley and the partition of Bengal: and because even now Liberal papers write a great deal of cant about our responsibilities for the people of India, and about taking up the white man's burden. Yes,

Take up the white man's burden,
 And if you write in verse,
 Flatter your nation's vices
 And strive to make them worse.
 Then learn that if with pious words
 You ornament each phrase,
 In a world of canting hypocrites
 This kind of business pays.

ERNEST CROSBY.

Moral Militancy VS. Military Militancy.

The demand of India has hitherto been for self-government within the Empire, but even British people are beginning to ask whether the goal of Indian freedom does not lie beyond.

Leaving that, however, I hasten to describe the means adopted by India and her leader to remove the grievances indicated. The principal means involve nothing more alarming than those adopted by Buddha, Lao-Tse, Jesus, Tolstoy, by Quakers, Dukhobors and many others, namely, passive resistance, for which another name given by Thoreau is civil disobedience. Even when shot down in hundreds, the natives are instructed to make no return in kind. Their sublime aim is to defeat tyranny by the power of love. This is not to be regarded as a state of quiescence and worm-like submission, but as a superb assertion of the human spirit against brute force. It is Gandhi's moral militancy against Empire's military militancy. The issue is not uncertain.

Non-violence represents the true spirit of the East. Clear, calm, and believing are the accents in which Gandhi exhorts his followers, not to violence, but to sacrifice. For them, he says, the Jihad, or Holy War, is immoral, but also impossible; and indeed impossible for any. He exhorts India to practise non-violence, not because she is weak, but precisely because she is

strong ; strong to endure, to suffer and to overcome. He believes in loving his enemies, in being killed without killing, in going to jail without anger, because he believes in God and His righteousness, as he puts it. Non-resistance is absolutely essential, he cries. If they resort to violence, all will be lost, because India will have lost her soul. He makes no demand for the punishment of General Dyer because of the massacre of Amritsar, or the degradations he inflicted on native populations. We must love our enemies, he cries again. When the faith and courage of some of his followers break down so that they resort to violent methods the leader blames his own unworthiness, and resorts to fasting, penance and prayer. When a follower sins, the leader fasts! Was such a thing ever seen in this world before? Is not the Kingdom of Heaven at hand? Yes, is it not even among us, in India, at least! This mode of action is greater than that adopted by the giant Tolstoy, who confined himself to mere pen-work, and by practising as an individual. But here is a non-resistance who proposes to apply his doctrine to 300 millions of people, thus creating a mighty national revolution by means of a spiritual one and establishing the most glorious political precedent in the history of peoples.

Let it be admitted that there has been some violence and there may be more. But who is responsible? Is a peace advocate to be accused of creating violence because a rowdy breaks his head. Must we not strive to right the wrongs of the world till all the wrong-doers are willing to atone? It is true that the spoilers who have secured the wealth and snatched the power of the world turn upon the outraged lowly when they cry for justice, and put them to death or clap them into prison: but are we to hold their victims responsible. And if, goaded on by misery, some of the wronged ones snatch carnal weapons to assert the claims, shall not responsibility be on the heads of those who have coveted and defrauded, who have refused to make restitution, or to surrender the spoil or to recognise the rights of those they have injured? Is wrong for ever to be permitted an unchallenged supremacy? Must no Jesus invoke Justice for the poor, lest some headstrong Peter snatch a futile sword to assert their claims? That is strange doctrine indeed, and would mean the end of all progress, nay the end of virtue itself.

For the Enfranchisement of the Soul

Especially is this doctrine of moral supineness seen to be illogical and inhuman when we have regard to the fact that usurping powers and politicians often-times deliberately provoke mob violence, in order to have excuse for further suppressions and tyrannies. We have seen the denial of Gladstonian Self-government lead to Sinn Fein in Ireland; and it would almost seem as if Sinn Feinism is being fostered in India; not by those who wish to see India free, but by those who would bind her in heavier chains.

The positive side of non-violence is Non co operation, foolishly described by ignorant journalists as a boycott, a boycott of British goods. Non-co-operation is not a policy of negation, but is a very positive assertion of nationality—of nationality so pronounced that it refuses to co-operate with a foreign invader. During the war, I was frequently asked what I would do if the Kaiser came to reside in Buckingham Palace and his ministers legislated at Westminster, and my reply was practically that which India is now giving to the British Government. Is there anything remarkable in a man refusing to co-operate with a foreign invader in the administration of country? It is no more than was asserted by the American colonists when, at the Boston tea-party, they flung British tea into Boston harbour. It seems to me most natural thing in the world; and for high-spirited people, the most proper. To decline all the usurper's titles, honours and decorations; to accept no salaried post either as clerk, policeman or soldier, as magistrate, Judge, barrister, or what you please; to develop home industries rather than depend on importations, and in the last resort to refuse to pay taxes,—all this would appear to be the plainest duty of liberty loving people. At any rate, so it seems to Gandhi and his non-co-operators. The appropriate symbol of the movement is the Charka, the Spinning-wheel, which they have blazoned on a new flag; a far more hopeful, humane and fraternal symbol than the lions, bears, eagles, ferocious beasts most other peoples have adopted as their natural emblems. So the spinning-wheel hums in a million Indian Homes. What music that would have been to the ear of John Ruskin who was always telling us we must merge our huge factory system into some form of home

industry. Non-co operation is a colossal effort to get away from, to save India from, the benumbing machinery of Western civilisation, from the hideous factory system, from a landless proletariat, from whatever is foreign to the genius of the Indian people. It is a demand to be left free to develop Indian civilisation on its own lines, on lines natural to Indian temperament and conditions; of which surely the people of the country are the best judges. They are resolved to be masters, not so much in their own house, as of their own house, as of their own souls. With Abraham Lincoln, they would repeat "This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing Government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it."

"This is not a proletarian, or an economic, or a labour movement or a movement on behalf of any class whatever. It is a movement for the enfranchisement of the soul—the soul of the individual Indian, and the soul of India as a community numbering one-fifth of the population of the globe. The imprisonment of Gandhi symbolises the imprisonment of India's soul. This is a spiritual movement rather than a political one; or it is a political movement only in the sense that reformed religious principles inevitably assert themselves over political expediencies. Spiritual issues are uppermost, which makes this an absolutely new thing in the way of revolutions. It is a great challenge of faith to the powers and principalities of the world. It seems to me no exaggeration to say that Gandhi's millionfold application of spiritual power to public affairs almost creates a new religion. An age to come may constitute a trinity of supreme names designating those who have enunciated and lived the ultimate religion; the religion of the soul, the religion of love, mercy, forgiveness and peace;—Gautama, Jesus, Gandhi.

Why not? India is one of the home-lands of ancient religion, the mother of the most beautiful of religions; and, to-day, a new epiphany of human nature is due, a new demonstration of man's possibilities and divine capacities, and this, perchance, is given us in the character and mission of Mahatma Gandhi. Time will tell. Keep an open mind. Who knows?

The Gandhi Movement

The Awakening of India

BY WILFRED WELLOCK

Few things in history are comparable to the present situation in India. An awakening is taking place in that vast Continent such as mankind witness scarce once in a thousand years. The Gandhi Movement is as much an effect as a cause of that awakening, being its symbol, and with it, the promise of a new civilisation, the emergence of a new humanity. So profound is the change in spirit and outlook that is being effected and so rapidly is the transformation taking place, that no acquaintance with India dating further back than the last half-dozen years or so, would appear to be of much use in estimating the value of the present spiritual upheaval. Without doubt India is moved to-day as she has not been moved since the decline of her ancient civilisation. But what is more significant is that the revolt is giving rise to an idealism whose purpose goes much deeper than the freeing of India from the political and economic control of Britain. That purpose being, indeed to free India, and perhaps the whole world, from the materialism which threatens East and West alike.

The Palestine Parallel

Current events in India seem irresistibly to carry the mind back to Palestine at the time of Christ. In each case we have a defenceless people struggling for freedom against a colossal Empire of matchless dimensions, naval and military power, and wealth. In each case we observe the same tendency to raise the movement for freedom from the particular to the universal, to convert the struggle of national liberation from a particular tyrant nation or Empire into a titanic conflict for world-wide freedom from the growing menace of materialism. In each case moreover, a leader comes forth who champions the cause of freedom by means of purely spiritual weapons, appeals to the conscience alone, and seeks

to create a new national or rather international consciousness. Thus, Jesus after preaching for a little while alone, called and sent out the twelve, afterwards seventy, and thereby roused the mind of the entire community to the great alarm of the authorities. The spiritual revolution which Christ effected was accomplished in three years. The Non-co-operation Movement in India is only eighteen months old, yet already the entire nation has been affected by it, not to speak of other nations in the Near and Far East, while its leader is in gaol.

Whether this new Movement possesses sustaining power, motives and vision sufficient to achieve the ends desired, only time can say. What must be obvious to any dispassionate observer is, that it is the expression of something more than a passing impulse, and that, whether it succeeds or fails in its immediate object, India will never again be the submissive India of pre-war days, or the tool and victim of British financiers.

It is necessary, therefore, that we in Britain at least try to understand what is taking place in India.

Genesis of the new spirit

I have described the new Movement as an awakening. It is nothing less. The agitation out of which it has sprung has been proceeding for a considerable time. Periodic outbursts against the tyranny of British Rule there have always been, but prior to the last two decades or so, there has been little or no constructive thought or idealism behind the feeling revolt. During the last 20 years however, leaders of a quite new type have emerged, men of fine character and of considerable constructive ability. According to Gandhi, it was after the Partition of Bengal that the new spirit came to birth. To quote him.

" . . . what you call the real awakening took place after the Partition of Bengal. For this we have to be thankful to Lord Curzon. At the time of the Partition, the people of Bengal reasoned with Lord Curzon, but in the pride of power he disregarded all their prayers. He took it for granted that Indians could only prattle, that they could never take any effective steps. He used insulting language, and in the teeth of all opposition, partitioned Bengal. That day may be considered to be the day of the partition of British Empire After the Partition, people saw that petition must be backed up by force and that they must be capable of suffering. This new spirit must be con-

sidered to be the chief result of the Partition. That spirit was seen in the outspoken writings in the Press. . . . The Swadeshi Movement was inaugurated. People young and old . . . did not fear even a row, or being imprisoned . . . This is something different from mere petition."

"Lord Curzon may yet receive a statue as the founder of United India." (Bernard Houghton in "The Revolt of East")

The revolt against British Rule grew apace after the Partition of Bengal. Unity was given to that revolt some time later by the National Congress which also became the medium for focussing and developing constructive thought, ideas concerning policy and aims. Since its inception the National Congress has grown by leaps and bounds, carrying everything before it. But during the last eighteen months its growth has been phenomenal. The cause of this is Gandhi's Non-co-operation Movement which has done more to unite the various races and sects of India, as well as to give unity to the movement for political freedom, than all the various efforts of the last few years put together. Whether viewed from the standpoint of Hindu-Muslim unity, or that of heroic endeavour and readiness to suffer, the effects of Gandhi's agitation and the movement for liberation from the domination of British Rule and of Western civilisation have been as startling in their magnitude as they have been wonderful.

Gandhi is the author of the Indian Non-co-operation Movement. Nevertheless, policies have been advocated during the past 15 or 20 years by some of the foremost thinkers in India which would ultimately, or so it seems to me, have led to the same result. As early as 1903, Tagore had advocated a line of action which, had it succeeded, would have had the effect of starving out the British. His idea was for young Indians to concentrate on the villages and, by organising them on a co-operative basis, to reconstruct the social and economic life of the country. The political situation would then have been in their hands. Also by so doing, he hoped that India would prove her worth and thereby secure the co-operation of the best elements in the British nation. But considering recent history, in Europe as well as in India, would she not rather have won the enmity of the worst elements? A regenerated India, on the lines suggested by Tagore, would have implied a regenerated world; and to prevent the dawn of such a world nearly all the organised

political and financial forces in the earth are to-day conspiring. It is more than likely, therefore, that had Tagore's idea been acted upon, it would have been sabotaged by the Government and would thus have led, sooner or later, to a policy of non-co-operation, or, lacking a Gandhi, something worse. A few excerpts from papers written by Tagore between the years 1905-1908, dealing with this policy, may not be out of place.

"It is a trivial matter in the nature of a complaint to be deploring the scarcity of water to-day. The root of it is the thing, above all things, which should cause us the deepest misgiving—the fact that our mind is no longer in our own social system, that our whole attention is directed outwards."

"I am for courteous, diplomatic relations with the Government. In courtesy there is freedom."

"We are crying ourselves hoarse because what Lord Ripon wanted to do, some other Lord took away. Shame on us for attaching such value to what others can give and others can take away. It was only our folly which led us to call such a thing by the name of Self-government."

"And yet Self-government lies at our very door, waiting for us. No one has tried, nor is it possible for anyone even if he does try, to deprive us of it. We can do everything we like for our villages—for their education, their sanitation, the improvement of their communications—if only we made up our minds to set to work, if only we can act in unison. For this work we do not need the sanction of a Government badge."

"If someone wants to go a-voyaging on a petition-paper boat in quest of the Golden Fleece, a certain class of patriots may be attracted by this fairy tale proposition, but I would not recommend anyone to risk real national capital in the venture."

"The sinking pulse of the nation has begun to throb with a new life. Now that the Nation's heart is beating, let the Nation's brains direct the work of the limbs."

"We must free our industries, control our education, strengthen our community, and be prepared to strain every nerve in this stupendous endeavour."

For good or ill Tagore's advice was not followed, at any rate, to an appreciable extent. At the same time, his demand for independent thought and action has no doubt been a powerful factor in shaping or at least preparing, the way for, a Non-co-operation Movement. A demand for independent action, coupled with a growing disbelief in the Government, gives ultimately Non co-operation.

The Indisputable Fact

But not only has radical thought tended towards a policy of Non-co-operation, the policy advocated by the Moderates has tended scarcely less in the same direction. Indeed, so

brutal and dishonest has British policy been during recent years, that there is cause for thankfulness that India possesses men capable in such critical times, of developing such a method as non-co-operation at all, and of resisting red revolution and blank despair. For, the only other alternative would appear to be descent into perdition. The indisputable fact is that there is now little hope in India that Britain will cede one jot of real power so long as Indians are prepared to acknowledge British authority. This fact is bluntly stated by Bernard Houghton, I. C. S. (Retired) in a pamphlet entitled "Reform or Revolution."

"After her loyalty in the War, the Rowlatt Act came to India as a sudden slap in the face. Its meaning is not, however, difficult to understand. The perils of the war had extorted from the bureaucracy the very guarded Declaration of August 1917. They were forced to yield this outwork to their opponents. But with the return of peace when their alarm had subsided, they hastened to set up new bulwarks against democracy. The Rowlatt Act is one such bulwark; the rules under the Reform Act are another.

Gandhi also, in his trial statement, is equally explicit :

".....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 at Jhallianwala Bag and culminating in other indescribable humiliations. I discovered, too, that the plighted word of the Prime Minister to the Mussulmans 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 warning 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 Mussulmans, that the Punjab 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."

From Fact to Theory

But these writers, like many others, do not stop here ; they go from fact to theory. For example, after giving a record of "Diarchy up-to-date", "the political persecutions, the open support of the liquor trade, the treatment of the Assam

Labourers, the Dharwar shootings, and the long long list of measures vetoed," Houghton asks: "Where is the promised era? Where the beginning of popular rule?" making this comment: "If this be the path of freedom, it leads through a strange country." He then proceeds to defend a revolutionary policy, on the lines, that is, of non-co-operation and non-violence. Let me quote him:—

"Diarchy is merely bureaucracy painted white."

"Will the officials train for Self-government? Will men whose whole training has been autocratic, whose class and race interests are bound up with ascendancy, whose traditions are all of despotic rule,—will such as these cast aside everything, training, interests and traditions, and become apostles of liberty? As well expect Lord Curzon to preach Socialism or Sir George Younger to co-operate with Pussyfoot Johnson."

"The Moderates.....represent a type of thought that is bound in all countries and in every epoch. Whenever a decisive break is to be made with the past, a bold step forward taken, and risks to be faced, there will always be men who counsel moderation.....They play for safety, for themselves, certainly for their country, as they believe. But they are always ready to occupy the ground won by the braver spirit...."

"But has a bureaucracy ever given up power willingly? Have not officials always clutched to the end at the garment of authority, nor yielded it until torn from their grasp? Such a Government may utter fair words..... but when it comes to the actual handing over of power—ah! then it will find a hundred excuses, a hundred reasons for delay. Never, except under duress, will it give up power—real power. In brief, it gives when it must; it holds when it can."

Moreover, "Reforms.....fail to bring to play any great motive force....They do not quicken; they do not inspire."

Whereas, "Revolution, in the sense defined, offers a bolder strategy. It strikes not at some outwork, but straight at the citadel of the enemy. On its flag is blazoned a great deal, something for which men will meet suffering with a smile, and look undaunted in the eyes of death. It sounds a trumpet which rouses the toiler from his toil, thrills his heart and illumines all his mind with the glory of a new-born land."

And again, "Revolution tears the souls of many from their old moorings, and sets them voyaging, each a new Columbus, in search of new worlds—India is capable of.....a Renaissance.....a re birth.....This is the crown and glory of the great peaceful revolution to which Mahatma Gandhi now leads the people of India."

The Indian Outlook.

Gandhi is no less emphatic. In an article entitled "The Death Dance," published in the last issue of "Young India" (which he edited before his arrest) he wrote:—

"It is the same thing whether it is done with the kid glove on or without it. The Councils are the kid glove. We must pay for the glove. The Reforms hang upon us like an incubus. They cover a multitude of defects including the blood-sucking salt tax....

"It would be a thousand times better for us to be ruled by a military dictator than to have the dictatorship concealed under sham Councils and Assemblies. They prolong the agony and increase the expenditure. If we are so anxious to live it would be more honourable to face the truth and submit to unabashed dictation than to pretend that we are slowly becoming free. There is no such thing as slow freedom. Freedom is like a birth. Till we are not fully free we are slaves. All birth takes place in a moment....." "The Councillors want their fates and extras, the Ministers their salaries, the lawyers their fees, the suitors their decrees, the parents such education for their boys as would give them status in the present life, the millionaires want facilities for multiplying their millions, and the rest their numanly peace. The whole revolves beautifully round the central corporation. It is a giddy dance from which no one cares to free himself, and so as the speed increases, the exhilaration is the greater"

These statements reveal the outlook which dominates the mind of India to-day. One by one the Moderates, as was the case with Gandhi himself some 18 months ago, have been compelled, in face of the facts, to join the Extremists, who are now almost solidly in favour of a policy of non-co-operation. The National Congress, in fact has identified itself with the Non-co-operation movement. Never was a country so moved or so solid for a particular end as is India to-day in its endeavour to free itself from British domination. And after the events of the last five years and the history of the last seventy, our Government expects to break down that solidarity, to pacify and subdue India, by imprisoning a few leaders. Why, as long ago as 1908, Tagore exposed the futility of such a policy—and what a marked development in Indian opinion and unity has taken place since then. Listen to his words.

"I repeat.....that there is no 'party' of extremists, with whom the Government has to deal. It is a symptom of the Nationalist movement, which can not be cured as long as the exciting causes continue to operate, and if suppressed in one form will break out in another or at most, be driven to bide its time in the innermost recesses of the nation's heart..... our rulers seem to be labouring under the idea that this plausible extremism is being concocted in some secret laboratory by a vicious gang of malcontents and that once the real leader can be hauled before a Magistrate the danger will be over."

The New York "Nation"

On Gandhi—The Saint

The "Nation" of New York writing in its issue of 22nd March 1922 on "Gandhi—the ways of Prophets and Saints," says :—

Gandhi has been arrested. The British Raj has answered the old question "What shall we do with our saints and prophets?" in the orthodox way of Governments. Such is the end of a policy which has illustrated once more the futility of a belated and hesitant liberalism in time of crisis. That policy was an inept compound of concession and repression and its guiding principle was : Divide and govern. We credit both Mr. Montagu, until recently Secretary of State for India, and Lord Reading, the Viceroy, with liberal intentions. Their delay in the arrest of Gandhi even more than their support of the Parliamentary institutions set up by the Reform Act was gall and worm-wood to the old-time bureaucracy, but it did not satisfy India. They tried to strengthen their Government by importing the Prince of Wales, but to obtain a welcome for that amiable young man it proved necessary to arrest 5,209 persons in Calcutta alone. Repression became more and more the order of the day, and legal repression, as always, has been attended by extra-legal cruelty. But in vain were Indian leaders imprisoned ; the ferment only increased. Finally, as a last desperate measure came the Indian Government's note urging the adoption of uncompromising Moslem demands for the restoration of the Turkish Empire.

The immediate effect of the publication of the note was the enforced resignation of Mr. Montagu, a political tempest in England, and the arrest of Gandhi in India as a token of the definite adoption of the policy of the iron hand. . . . The Viceroy's note, which Mr. Montagu made public, bears unanswerable testimony to the extent and power of the Nationalist movement. To disrupt it by buying off Moslem adherence to the national cause was the sole reason for the Government's unprecedented act. English opposition frustrated the payment of the bribe to the Moslems ; it did

not frustrate the arrest of the one man whose teaching has heretofore prevented violent revolt. When an alien Government arrests a national hero who, its own apologists admit, is the most saintly figure in the modern world, no further proof is required that it rests its case on naked force.

Even so, the protagonists of Imperialism, English and American, assure us that there was no other course open to the Government. However clouded England's title, she and she alone, it is asserted, protects India from external invasion and internal chaos and strife. She has brought justice and modern civilization to a country where they could not exist but for her strong arm. The argument is not convincing; it clearly overstates both the evil conditions prior to the British conquest and the blessings of British rule. It attributes material progress solely to an alien rule rather than to the general march of science which has coincided with the period of British dominance. At best the Imperialist case smacks too much of the argument of the burglar who would justify his continued occupation of another man's house by saying: "I keep order in the household and I keep other burglars out." The Indians are willing to take the risks of doing that for themselves. They believe that they can end the economic drain of an alien rule which has multiplied famines, increased illiteracy and reduced the people of a land which was once a synonym for wealth to the poorest on earth. They are weary of seeing their sons enlisted and their property taken to fight England's wars. They passionately affirm that in losing native government they have not even gained good government.

This Indian indictment with some changes lies not alone against Great Britain, but against Western civilization wherever it has been enforced on weaker peoples. Every Imperial power—and none more than our own—needs to consider its justice. One may admit a considerable service rendered by the rule of the British Raj and a real danger in its instantaneous collapse, and yet believe that it has earned the doom that lies before it. Indeed the question of the balance of good or evil in Western rule is almost academic in view of the plain fact of Eastern hatred of it. The exploited peoples of Asia and Africa are aroused; they are on the march; whether the force that challenges the West will be primarily national or racial, or a revival of Islam, the certainty of that challen-

ge is plain. As well argue with the north wind as talk to Tripolitans or Egyptians or Indians of the blessings of hospitals or railroads when they feel that their pride is outraged by the conqueror. For some time—no man knows how long—the superior material equipment of the West will assure its victory. But if the future is to be one of stark conflict we face intolerable tragedy both for the Imperial powers and those who are rising against them. At best the future of the relations between the races is dark. The great hope is in such leadership as Gandhi offered—and this the British despised.

Consider the man. In the space of a few years he has done more for his people than any government in centuries. He has been the bearer of new hope and human dignity to the untouchables ; he has been the weaver of bonds of unity between the Moslems and Hindus whom the British would keep asunder ; he has fought the liquor traffic which was debasing his people, and the infamous opium monopoly by which, for its own profit, the British Government menaces not only India but all mankind. He has given to revolution non-violent instruments which promise the release of humanity from the seeming necessity of wars for freedom. He has sincerely preached love for the enemy. Not he but Lord Reading, by his refusal to abandon repression, prevented the proposed Round Table Conference which might have furthered the peaceful settlement of grievances. Even on the vexed question of the Caliphate we believe that Gandhi's voice might have been potent in persuading his Moslem friends to grant to non-Moslem communities the justice they seek for themselves. And it is this hope which the British Government has almost shattered apparently with the consent of those British liberals who would approve the deportation or imprisonment of Gandhi while they praise his saintliness ? Yet that hope is not dead while Gandhi's spirit is powerful in India. How long his people will follow the way he pointed out, we do not know ; already there are signs of revolt. But this we know : If the Indian people, like the oppressed of other lands finally take the way of the sword, the primary blame for the tragedy that will follow must rest not on those who have preached freedom and justice or even on those who seek them by violence, but on those who have made violence the very foundation of their continuing dominion over unwilling subjects.

Gandhi—The Man & His Message

By The Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastry

The following article on "Gandhi, the man—a consideration of the man and his message apart from his political activities" was contributed by the Rt. Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastry to the "Survey Graphic" of New York, U. S. A.

Polity is not separable from life. Mr. Gandhi would not countenance the separation, for his great aim is to strip life of its sophistication and reduce it to its own nature—simple, rounded, pure. It merely happens that for the moment his activity is in the field of politics. It merely happens that for the moment he is confronting Government and daring its wrath. It merely happens that for the moment his cry of *Swaraj* for India has caught the ear of the world and the world is anxious to know what his *Swaraj* is. His real and final objective is a radical reform of human kind. His Gospel is "Back to Nature." He avows himself an implacable enemy of Western Civilization. In his mighty war against western civilization, *Swaraj* for India is but a campaign. The rules of the campaign are the rules of the mighty war; the weapons to be used in the campaign are the weapons to be used in the campaign of the mighty war; the virtues to be evoked by the campaign are the virtues which will win the mighty way in the end. The cardinal rule of both, the war and the campaign, is non-violence. Non-violence is of the heart as well as of the body. By thought, word and act you may not injure your adversary. Enemy in a personal sense is too strong a word for his dictionary. But as the adversary does not know the rule you will be subjected to great suffering and loss. Rejoice in the suffering and loss and court them; if you cannot rejoice in them, do not avoid or complain against them. Love your enemies; if you love them, pardon them and never retaliate against them. Force is wrong and must go under. The soul is invincible; learn to exercise its full power. Hold to the truth at all costs; *Satya* triumphs in the

end. Out of this cardinal rule, almost logically, proceed a number of principles which will keep us straight in the war and this campaign for *Swaraj*. Since western civilization and the existing system of British Government have to be got rid of, we must have nothing to do with either offspring of Satan; we must cut off our connection with those large and powerful institutions by which they enslave us. These are schools, courts, legislatures. Withdraw children from schools, sue not for justice in courts, and avoid the polling-booth. Machinery being another invention of Satan and mills being the main-stay of British domination in India boycott both, cease to import foreign cloth, and erect a spindle in each home. The motion of the *Charka* has mystic properties, its music chastens the soul, and its products most adorn the human form, especially the female form. These principles and courses of action have more or less permanent validity because the war against modern civilization must be expected to be of indefinite duration. It is a picked body, however—namely the members of the *Satyagrahasrama* in Ahmedabad—who are engaged in this exalted enterprise and owe life-long allegiance to those principles and courses of action. The numerous levies now fighting in India under the flag of non-co-operation are enrolled only for a single campaign and may lapse into the common grooves of life as soon as the British Government has been brought to its knees and has consented to change its basis. In the intensive operations of this campaign it may become necessary to resort to civil disobedience of selected laws and non-payment of taxes. But, wherever the severity of the measures which such action may provoke the authorities to adopt, non-co operators are precluded from the slightest infraction of the commandment as to non-violence.

To understand Mr. Gandhi's view of life, attention must be fixed on the rules he has laid down for the regulation of his Ahmedabad institution. Its name *Satyagrahasrama*, means the hermitage of the determined practice of truth or the abode of soul-force. The *Astama* is still small. It has had no real chance of proving its vitality, for ever since its establishment other things have claimed the energies of its founder. But the attainment of its objects is conditioned by the increase of its numbers and the acceptance by the community at large of those austere ideals which are at present exemplified in the

lives of a few apostles. No estimate can be formed of the prospective influence of the new gospel without an examination of its real nature.

Truth in the highest sense is possible only where the individual enjoys complete freedom. All forms of force or coercion are thus at once barred. Compulsion, authority, government—those are anathema maranatha to one who at bottom is a philosophical anarchist. In fact, he describes the essence of his doctrine sometimes as love, sometimes as truth, sometimes as non-violence (*ahimsa*); these forms are in his opinion interchangeable. No organized government, in the ideal world, is justifiable. The merit of the British Government is that it governs the list. Even a family and a school must trust entirely to the power of love and moral reasoning. Flagrant misconduct he deals with by himself, fasting for a certain number of days, the guilty party being invariably brought to a state of contrition within that period. Sometime ago he applied this remedy to end a serious strike in a mill, the employers coming to reason for fear of incurring sin. Within the last few weeks the violence practised by some persons in Bombay in the name of non-co-operation on the occasion of the Prince of Wales' visit entailed this term of self-chastisement on his part, and by all accounts it had the desired result.

Nobody is entitled to possess more than is absolutely necessary for the movement. To hold in excess of the need is to be guilty of theft. He and his wife have given away all their property—he practised law for many years with success—and now own nothing beyond the clothes they wear and a change or two and may be a bag or box to contain those. The 'Asram' in Ahmedabad contains the barest necessities.

Each person must supply his wants by his own exertion. The ideal is to grow the corn that one eats and weave the cloth that one wears. Even the brain worker is not exempt from this bodily labour. In fact, the spindle has grown to be a fetish with Mr. Gandhi. Its music has a charm for him. He prescribes it for all men and women. Boys must prefer it to books. Lawyers must cast away their brief for it. Doctors must abandon stethoscope and take to it.

So far its products have been coarse, but he asks, can a man or woman look more beautiful than in the *Khaddar* made by himself or herself? When a lady pupil of his wore the first

Sary of her own making, he pronounced her divinely attractive. Without a doubt his eyes so saw her and his mind so judged her.

Control of the senses is a requisite of the first of importance. It is very hard and can be only very slow. But it must be incessantly and ruthlessly practised. Luxuries are, of course, taboo. Even comforts must be steadily reduced. The palate is a particularly venal sense and has to be rigidly curbed. Simple hard fare is a condition of spiritual advancement. Celibacy is also enjoined on the inmates of the *Asram*. Married couples may not be admitted unless they agree to surrender their mutual and adopt that of brother and sister. If Mr Gandhi had his way he would recommend this course to mankind. The resulting extinction of the species has no terrors for him. He merely asks, why should we not all go to a better planet and live on a higher plane? The question would not appear so fantastic after all to one who believed in the re-birth of souls according to the law of Karma and remembered that no person would be a celibate except of his or her own free choice and when the sex passion had been transcended.

Machinery being one of the most inseparable adjuncts of modern civilization, must be abandoned. It is of the kingdom of Satan. Mills and factories, where the labourer is done out of his humanity, have no place in his scheme. The wealth they create, it needs no saying, is an abomination. Posts and telegraphs and railways are likewise condemned, and with them goes the printing press. He says that every time he himself uses one of these instruments of civilization he does so with a pang. It would be nearly as hard for him to carry on his work without resort to them as it would be to escape from the atmosphere of the earth, but perhaps the use of evil might be defensible in its own destruction. Rapid and easy means of communication have but multiplied crime and disease; could not man infer from the fact of God having given him legs and that he was not intended to go farther than they could carry him? What are ordinarily called the benefits of railways and similar things are in reality the opposite, being added enjoyments or means of gratifying the senses.

Medicine does not escape his judgment; he calls it black magic and actually says it is better to die than be saved

by a drug proscribed by the doctor. The fear of immorality and unhealthy modes of life has been materially weakened, if not totally removed by the hope of being saved from the evil consequences by the help of the doctor. A return to the cure of nature and her simples would redeem mankind.

These and similar doctrines, which appear harsh to the ordinary person, form the substance of Mr. Gandhi's ethics. Let it not be supposed that they are logical abstractions formulated for the purpose of a moral treatise on Sermon, and with no intended application to life. Their propounder practises them in the spirit and in the letter, and the limitations on their practice do not proceed from any tenderness for himself or his relatives. His renunciation of worldly goods has already been mentioned. He does not seek the medical man in sickness. He eats hard fare. He wears '*Khadda*' woven by his own hands and in that dress and barefooted appears before the Viceroy of India. He knows no fear and shrinks from nothing which he advises others to do. In fact his love of suffering and hardship as a means of spiritual progress is almost morbid. His compassion and tenderness are infinite like the ocean, to use an eastern similitude. The present writer stood by as he wiped the sores of a leper with the ends of his own garment. In fact, it is his complete mastery of the passions, his realization of the ideal of a '*Sanyasin*' in all the rigour of its eastern conception, which accounts for the great hold he has over the masses of India and has crowned him with the title of Mahatma or the Great Soul.

Now to a few other doctrines of a subordinate grade. Curiously enough he is a believer in the system of caste, though the pride of caste and its exclusiveness will receive no quarter from him. Apparently he is convicted of its beneficence, if maintained in its original purity, and holds it to be of the essence of Hinduism. In this belief, however, he is not likely to be followed by a great section of his countrymen, who are anxious to restore their religion to its ancient purity. But he is at one with them and in fact with the awakened conscience of India in desiring to exercise the demon of untouchability. Millions of people are held by caste Hindus to be beneath their physical touch and live in conditions which are scarcely fit for human beings. These he would uplift, asserting that Hinduism gives no kind of

justification for the abuse. But his work for the depressed classes, as they are called, would take the form which has quite recently been given to social work of that kind in the West. He would have the worker cast aside his own status and live the life of the class to be helped, do their work and earn their wages, exactly as they do. So only can real understanding and sympathy come, so only can that confidence be engendered which is essential pre-requisite of all work of amelioration.

His non-co-operationist followers seem in places to have mixed up his humanitarian work with politics and so suffered a check. In the Mahatma's eyes no political rights will be of the slightest use to a community which is the prey of great social failings and work for 'Swaraj' can never reach any success without simultaneous work for great social reforms. But violent political excitement is not a favourable condition for such activity. The indiscriminate antagonism of Government and its officials is only to be expected to the activities of hosts of young picketers, who are pledged at the same time to embarrass and even destroy the ordinary administration.

The educational ideals of the Mahatma have not yet received a clear expression. To compulsion, even of rudimentary education, he must be averse. The higher sciences and arts, the specialised forms of historical research or economic enquiry, with their glorification of machinery and wealth in its varied forms, will find no room in his simple scheme. Of the necessity of introducing one language for common use in India he has been for long a persistent advocate. He has chosen Hindi for the place of this 'lingua franca.' With characteristic earnestness he has collected funds for the purpose of spreading knowledge of this language and has sent out enthusiastic teachers to all parts of India. The non-co-operation turmoil may have for the time over-shadowed this activity. Perhaps, too, the bulk of education workers in India has not yet accepted the Mahatma's conclusions in this regard and for this reason his efforts on behalf of Hindi have not been co-ordinated with the educational work of the country generally.

The writer of these lines is not one of Mr. Gandhi's political followers or a disciple of his in religion. But he

claims to have known him for some years and to have been a sympathetic student of his teachings. He has felt near him the chastening effects of a great personality. He has derived much strength from observing the workings of an iron will. He has learned from a living example something of the nature of duty and the worship due to her. He has occasionally caught some dim perception of the great things, that lie hidden below the surface and of the struggles and tribulations which invest life with its awe and grandeur. An ancient Sanscrit verse says :—“Do not tell me of holy waters or stone images ; they may cleanse us, if they do, after a long period. A saintly man purifies us at sight.”