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INDIAN UNREST, 1919-20

BY
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THE PUNJAB DISTURBANCES
AND
POLITICAL PROBLEMS

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FOREWORD.

The printing of this volume which was started early in the year has been delayed owing to a combination of adverse circumstances. For all that the writer hopes that its contents will prove of interest to those who are desirous of gaining an insight into the present unrest. It has been his aim to present an impartial and critical review of the stirring events of 1919-20. How far he has succeeded he leaves it to the reader to decide.

Another volume on the same lines, dealing with the events up to 1st August, 1921, the day fixed for the declaration of *Swaraj*, will, it is hoped, be ready for publication on or before the 15th October, 1921.

DEHRA DUN. }
25-8-21

ALFRED NUNDY.

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INDIAN UNREST, 1919-20.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL UNREST.

In the month of July 1918 the Secretary of State and the Viceroy of India, in response to the announcement made in Parliament on the 20th. August, 1917, propounded a scheme which had for its object the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions, with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. The foundation was thus laid for the displacement of autocracy by a form of government in which eventually the will of the people would be supreme. It was realised that the benevolent despotism which for over a century had characterized the relations of the ruling race with the people of India was now out of date. It had done much to promote the moral and material welfare of a country, where diversity of race and language, of religion and social customs, had for centuries past created interests which were not only divergent but hostile to each other. At all events it had secured peace within and immunity from aggression from abroad. But at the same time it had aroused longings and ambitions, hopes and aspirations, which, though they were the logical outcome of British

rule in India, had excited the most lively apprehensions of the rulers.

A policy which deliberately imparted western education and encouraged familiarity with European culture and methods of government cannot escape the responsibility for bringing into existence a politically-minded class which came honestly to entertain the opinion that the salvation of the country depended upon and demanded the association of the people in the administration of its affairs.

The absence of sympathy with and the inadequate response given to this laudable and patriotic requisition produced considerable irritation amongst those who have been termed the 'intelligentsia' of India, whilst economic causes, combined with certain methods of government, the natural concomitants of autocracy, provoked general discontent. It was, therefore, but natural that the force of example and the training that was being imparted should lead to an expression being given to these feelings by means of an organised agitation, which, in spite of official frowns, continued to grow in volume and in force. The odium which for some decades was attached to this agitation has been removed by the gracious words of the King-Emperor's Proclamation which represents it as having 'pursued its course along constitutional lines, with sincerity and courage. It has survived the discredit which at times and in places men sought to cast upon it by acts of violence committed under the name of patriotism.' And be it said to the credit of the English

nation that from the time of the Queen's Proclamation down to Lord Morley's Reforms a series of steps were taken by the British Parliament which were calculated to undermine the despotic nature of the rule that was imposed on India. The era of benevolent despotism may now be said to have disappeared.

It was partly in response to this agitation and partly in appreciation of the ungrudging and unstinted loyalty of all classes and communities in India during the progress of the European War that the authors of the Reforms Scheme outlined a new departure in the method on which the government was being administered, under the conviction that: 'the existence of national feeling or the love and pride in a national culture need not conflict with, and may indeed strengthen, the sense of membership in a wider commonwealth, and in proportion as self-government develops patriotism in India we may hope to see the growth of a conscious feeling of organic unity with the Empire as a whole.' Whilst on the one hand an additional stimulus was given to the people in the discharge of the new obligation placed upon them by the recognition of India's position in the Empire, on the other hand the English nation gave practical evidence of this change of status by admitting it to the War Cabinet and by allowing it to be represented by its own delegates at the Peace Conference. At the earliest possible opportunity the pledge was redeemed to deal with India's constitutional advance and with its relations with other parts of the

British Empire. It was equally gratifying to find that recent events had accentuated the conviction that economic factors entered largely into the political situation in India, demanding an immediate development of its industrial resources, the necessity for which was all the more urgent to prevent the country becoming after the war the dumping ground for the manufactures of foreign nations. A gradual effect is being given by the Government of India to the proposals of the Industrial Commission, whose recommendations furnish ample material for an appreciable advance being made in this direction. The Viceroy in a recent speech at Nagpur outlined a scheme of industrial development which promises a hopeful outlook.

As for the larger employment of Indians in high administrative and judicial positions, a fair start has been made by the appointment of Lord Sinha as Governor of Behar, of Messrs Sharma and Sapru as members of the Executive Council of the Viceroy, and of Sir Shadi Lal as Chief Justice of the Punjab High Court. It would be ungracious then to deny the existence of an honest desire to ameliorate the condition of the people by removing causes which had contributed to produce political and economic discontent. Under these conditions it was reasonable to hope that the destructive criticism of the past would be replaced by a general co-operation in the constructive problem how to promote the moral and material welfare of the country and

in utilising to the utmost the privileges that were being conferred under the scheme of constitutional reform.

These anticipations and hopes now appear to have been entirely delusive. It would be idle to disguise the fact that at the present moment the political atmosphere is surcharged with forces, which unless checked will exercise a most deleterious influence on the future of India. There is more widespread unrest in the land now than at any other period of British rule in India. The relations between the Government and the people are more strained than they were ever before, as is evidenced by a striking absence of moderation of thought and expression in certain quarters, going to the length of repudiating allegiance to British rule. Unfortunately there has been a combination of unforeseen and untoward circumstances which has exercised a considerable influence in unsettling and inflaming the popular mind, and has led to an agitation of an intensive nature.

The future historian of India, taking an unprejudiced view of the occurrences in the Punjab, in the spring of 1919, may be depended upon to pronounce an impartial verdict as to the merits of a question in respect to which there is at present a sharp difference of opinion, but any way he is bound to record that certain disclosures were made, in course of the enquiry of the Hunter Committee, which aroused the indignation of the civilized world and the bitter resentment of the people of India.

who were immediately concerned. The demand for adequate reparation was insistent, and there was a decided expression of indignation at the tone of the Parliamentary debates and at the action taken by the British Government as betraying a cynical disregard of Indian opinion and as affording no guarantee against the recurrence of a similar evil.

There can be no question as to the depth and sincerity of the disappointment and irritation aroused amongst the educated Moslems by the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire and the loss of control by the Sultan over the holy places of Islam. But in common fairness, credit should be given to the English Government for its efforts, in deference to the wishes of its Mahomedan subjects, to obtain a mitigation of the rigour of the penalty which would otherwise have been exacted from Turkey. The resentment towards England and towards the Government in India seems, therefore, to be somewhat misplaced, and there can be no possible justification for the language that has been employed and for the threats that have been formulated by certain Moslem leaders to make their continued allegiance to British rule contingent on circumstances. At the same time it would be unfair to identify the bulk of the Mahomedans with these views, for an appreciable number have entered a protest against a propaganda which is considered to be unsound and is calculated to bring sorrow and misery into happy Mahomedan families. If a good many

have fallen victims to this unreasoning and unscrupulous agitation, the responsibility rests on some of their leaders, whom the Hon. Mr. Fazlul Haqq, presiding at the Bengal Mahomedan Conference, held at Dacca, a few months ago, denounced as 'notoriously irresponsible agitators of questionable antecedents, the sincerity of whose motives we have every reason to question.'

India is a land wherein the people have a weakness for hero worship, of which Mr. Gandhi has taken full advantage on the strength of his antecedents and his high character. During the short period of his political activity he has, without intending it, but as the result of the impracticable nature of the curious doctrine of Satyagraha, of which non-co-operation is a subsequent offshoot, done much to unsettle the popular mind, and by an appeal to moral and spiritual forces, the nature of which is beyond the grasp of the ordinary intellect, he is engaged in preaching a gospel fraught with mischievous tendencies. It is bound in the long run to lead to violence and to a resort to unconstitutional methods of agitation, for which his deluded victims will have to suffer, while he himself will be perfectly safe by dissociating himself from their acts. Though violence in any form is anathema to him it is to be feared that the murder of the Deputy Commissioner of Kheri may not be an isolated instance of the consequences arising from perverse methods of agitation, while the various forms of intimidation that are being resorted to are inflicting incalculable injury to inoffensive persons who are being

gratuitously victimised.

In a progressive country just awakening to political consciousness and eager to adopt democratic institutions that are foreign to its soil, a certain amount of unrest is inseparable during the stage of its gradual development to full maturity as a self-governing unit. Evidence of this is forthcoming from various directions, but the striking feature about it is that the present situation differs materially from that of any period since the inception of political agitation, a little more than three decades ago. Up till recently the causes, political and economic, which provoked discontent, were limited in number and there was a complete unanimity in respect to them. The reiteration of certain stereotyped resolutions of the annual sessions of the National Congress affords ample testimony to this fact. There was besides a solidarity, above petty considerations of class and creed, which characterized the political reformers of old and made up for the comparative paucity of their number, for the Moslems found it was to their advantage for the time being to abstain from political agitation. Certain well-known remedies were strenuously and persistently formulated, which, it was believed, would mitigate or remove the grievances and disabilities of all classes and communities, whose interests were held to be identical. Even if it be granted that the intelligentsia had, as insisted upon by the authorities, arbitrarily assumed the rôle of accredited representatives of the ignorant masses, at all events

they had justified the position they had taken up by giving practical evidence of a genuine interest in the concerns of those who from force of circumstances were inarticulate. The primary education of the masses was placed in the foremost position in the scheme of political development propounded by the educated classes. And it is now officially admitted that they have done much by their speeches and in the press to spread the idea of a united and self respecting India amongst thousands who had no such conception in their minds, and that it is due to them that the topic of constitutional reform in India cannot be dismissed summarily with the remark that those who demand it form but a fraction of the population.

The optimism of the Government, consequent on the alleviative measures that have been introduced or have been promised, has received a rude shock in that greater unrest and turmoil now prevail over the land. Each day we notice a new development in the demands that are being made, and in the manner in which it is sought to enforce them. There is political unrest due to the alleged unsatisfactory and disappointing nature of the constitutional reforms. These have now been set in motion, but there were indications in the beginning of the year 1920 of an organized attempt to make them inoperative by a scientifically devised agitation on more forcible lines for the attainment of complete responsible Government, it being one of the postulates of the Nationalists that India is fit for this at the present moment. Later on, under the inspiration

and guidance of Mr. Gandhi, the conception of non-co-operation, for certain specific reasons to be dealt with further on, assumed the form with which the country is convulsed at the present moment.

There is the unrest due to economic causes, high prices and low wages and the stagnant condition of the industries, which force the bulk of the population to resort to agriculture as the only mode of obtaining a sustenance, and that of a precarious nature. The numerous strikes that follow in quick succession bear testimony to the fact that classes that were heretofore apathetic have formed a new conception of their rights and privileges. There is communal unrest, arising from a distrust which raises the apprehension that a particular community enjoying special advantages or being more self-assertive may acquire a dominant influence in the councils of the Empire to the detriment of less favoured communities. The anti-Brahman agitation was but the pioneer of similar movements at the instance of minor communities which are asserting themselves so as not to lag behind in the race for political advancement and power. Even the Indian Christians, who have so far been dumb, became so vociferous in the assertion of their rights and created such confusion at the All-India Christian Conference in Calcutta, held during last Christmas week, that the President before putting a resolution to the vote adjourned the session till next day. There is unrest due to party feeling, being the necessary consequence of the politically-minded being split up into two main

sections, each one of which entertains the genuine conviction that the political salvation of the country has been committed by Providence into its hands. And if the Extremists have succeeded in eclipsing the Moderates it is partly due to the fact that they have reduced misrepresentation and vituperation of their rivals to a fine art. But even amongst themselves the advanced party do not constitute a happy family; they are split up into several sections each with its own shibboleth. The Extremist of yesterday is frowned upon as the Moderate of to-day, and he who plumed himself on being an uncompromising advocate of Home Rule finds himself now an object of distrust. As to those who refuse to subscribe to the advanced propaganda they are stigmatized as renegades in the ranks of India's patriots. The cleavage between the Extremists and the Moderates is widening slowly but surely. There is the unrest due to the newly-born spirit of nationalism, which, at least in the internal affairs of the country, repudiates any foreign control, and desires the immediate application of the principle of self-determination. As to the capacity of the people to utilize it to good purpose it is a detail left to the experimental stage, and those expressing any doubts in respect to it are branded as having sold themselves to Government. The world is passing through a critical period, and India's unrest is a part of the world's efforts for freedom.

As the year advanced fresh causes of unrest made their appearance. By a long and varied experience

the people have learnt the lesson that it frequently happens that when a Commission is appointed with reference to a matter in which Englishmen and Indians are jointly interested, it is the people of our unfortunate country who come out second best. The remedy is found to be worse than the disease. The Esher Committee at the very start was prejudiced by the appointment on it of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, whose achievements in the Punjab were fresh in the minds of the people. But the astounding recommendations made by it, by which the Indian Army was to be relegated to the position of an appanage to the British Army and was to be controlled from England, struck consternation in the hearts of those who were rejoicing that India was about to enter into a new era wherein it would be gradually released from the leading strings of a foreign nation. The Extremists were delighted in as much as evidence was afforded of their dictum that it is hopeless to expect justice or generosity at the hands of the English rulers and that India's political salvation lies in its separation from England.

Much could not be expected from the Lovett Committee, which was to deal with the reorganisation of the Medical Services in India, for its constitution was shrouded in mystery, and not a single Indian had a seat on it; but the opportunity was availed of to demonstrate before an unbelieving world the omniscience and indispensability of the Indian Civil Service by the fact that the President and one of the members were taken from that illustrious body of men. As the

Committee was born in darkness, it worked in the dark, for the outside world had no knowledge whether the members were regaling themselves with chops and potatoes and small beer or were really employing their time in the investigation of the question for which they were brought into existence. The charge is laid that things were made more pleasant for the European at the expense of the Indians, and thus the existing bitterness is more accentuated, especially as in every department of the Imperial Service accretions were made to the pay and allowances of the European members, whereas those in the subordinate services, who were mostly Indians, were either ignored or were dealt with in a niggardly manner. To the treatment accorded to Indians in East Africa and Uganda credit must also be given for further inflaming the minds of the educated classes, who are ever ready to resent the display of racial feeling.

So great is the irritation and resentment excited by this racial feeling that it is now being exhibited by way of retaliation by a large number of exuberant Indian politicians who are ready to stake their happiness on the off chance of obtaining complete release from foreign domination. To start with their number was limited, but under the influence of the non-co-operation propaganda it has largely increased, yet on the whole the bluster and tall talk which is usually indulged in by them has made no appreciable impression on the general public, which, without any sacrifice of patriotic feeling, entertains the view that for the present the

guiding hand of England is necessary to shape the destiny of India. It would, however, be idle to disguise the fact that constant inroads are being made on the existing relations between England and India, and for this it cannot be said the perverse attitude of a section of Nationalists is entirely responsible. In "Political Problems" I have devoted an entire chapter to the discussion of the racial question, and I need not again go over the same ground. I would, however, emphasize the fact that if England loses India it will not be due to the lack of efficiency in administering its affairs nor to its unwillingness to let the people of the country have a share in the Government or in holding responsible positions, but mainly to the unsympathetic nature of its rule, which has failed to touch the imagination of the people or to fulfil their expectations in emergencies such as the Punjab affair, which as we shall see has much to do with the existing unrest.

The relations between the rulers and the ruled in India are at present artificial and wholly and solely of a business nature. It is no doubt true that the English are naturally of a reserved nature and that on the part of the people there are drawbacks which discourage a closer contact, but more than this is responsible for the spirit of aloofness which characterizes the dealings of British officials with the people. It is racial pride and the consciousness that they are at present rulers over the land, which constitute a gulf separating the two classes. The Secretary of State and the Viceroy tried in the Reforms Report to

minimise this failing by dilating on the reasons which precluded the cultivation of social intercourse, but the evil goes beyond that. They however nearly hit the mark when they said : ' If there are Indians who really desire to see India leave the Empire, to get rid of English officers and English commerce, we believe that among their springs of action will be found the bitterness of feeling that has been nurtured out of some manifestation that the Englishman does not think the Indian an equal.' They deprecated the blunder of discourtesy on the part of English men and women, but the ink was hardly dry when a sample was afforded in the Punjab of such bitter race hatred that the effects of it will not be easily erased from the minds of the people. It is accountable for the existing feeling of irritation and hostility towards the Government and the irreconcilable attitude that is being maintained in spite of the amends that have been made. In respect to the Jallianwala incident the belief is common to all classes and communities that hundreds of defenceless persons, most of whom it is admitted were innocent of any knowledge of wrong-doing, were wantonly murdered in cold blood, and that to the wounded, over a thousand in number, no relief was afforded. The indignation that was aroused might have been passed over, as certain English journals, keenly sensitive of the national reputation for humanity, have described as a madman the author of this achievement, and even the British Cabinet has condemned him for offending every canon of civilised Government. But the irritation was

accentuated by a belief that this and numerous other incidents connected with the Punjab disturbances were prompted by a desire to humiliate the people as members of a subject and inferior race. Hence the callous and cynical disregard of their feelings. The antipathy and hostility to the English that this gave rise to has been so pronounced that it has induced the the Hindus to make common cause with the Moslems in a purely religious matter with which they had no concern. The men killed at Jallianwala are looked upon as martyrs, and the dust of the garden soaked with human gore has been sold in the bazaars of distant cities as a sacred and precious relic. The amends made by the British Cabinet have been rejected as inadequate, and the unrest has grown by leaps and bounds. The Special Congress and the Khilafat Conference, held in Calcutta in September 1920, contributed their share towards it. Agitators were no doubt active, but they would have been powerless if at the bottom there had not been a fruitful soil to work upon. It would be folly, indeed a crime, to disguise the seriousness of the present situation, and the more we make light of it the more remote will be the prospect of a renewal of the old feeling of mutual confidence.

But at the same time there are hopeful signs of a better understanding in the future. The concessions made by the Government to the spirit of nationality will in time bear fruit. The removal of the colour bar, as indicated by the appointments of Lord Sinha as Governor of Behar and of Sir Shaqi Lal as Chief Justice

of the High Court of the Punjab, is gratifying to the self-esteem of the people, and is taken as affording evidence of a genuine desire to respect their susceptibilities. There is a growing number of Englishmen serving under Indians who have attained to high positions, and no friction has been noticed. I found in Delhi, Englishmen and Indians of the same department sharing houses, a thing which was not heard of ten years ago. The British nation has now seen that the Indians are not quite inarticulate in the expression of their wrongs and are far from being impotent in devising means to redress them. And the new order of things that was ushered in at the beginning of this year will make it exceedingly difficult for the Government to initiate and carry out measures which will constitute an encroachment on our rights or be detrimental to the welfare of the country, for any attempt of this nature is sure to raise such a storm of indignation and resentment that it will make the most daring to pause. I verily believe we have gone through the worst of our troubles. What was easily done in 1919-20, it will be foolhardy to attempt to do in 1921. The consequences of the Punjab performances have been so serious that we need fear no repetition of them.

If the emoluments of English officials have been raised it is not an unmixed evil, for the higher the wages the better the men will we be able to get. And India needs such men. I am not prepared to admit that we can at the present moment dispense with English help in the various departments of the administration. The recommendations

of the Esher Committee are hanging fire, and the opinion in England is as hostile to them as it is here. A radical change in the proposals is inevitable, for now there will be the members of the Council of State and of the Legislative Assembly to reckon with, apart from Indian public opinion. Since the above lines were written, in a debate, initiated by Sir Sivaswamy Aiyar in the Legislative Assembly, Sir Godfrey Fell, on behalf of Government, stated that: 'There was no intention on the part of the Esher Committee or the Government of India to allow interference in Army affairs by the War office. The Government was fully alive to the paramount necessity of retaining all manner of control on the Indian military policy.' The grievance relating to East Africa is not easy of rectification, because the Government of India has no direct control over it, but it is gratifying to notice that the Viceroy in a recent despatch powerfully vindicated the Indian claims in distant parts of the British Empire. A direct result of the Lovett Committee proposals is that the Medical Associations of Lucknow and Allahabad have resolved to boycott the I.M.S. officers in private practice. And if Indians with high qualifications are found exhibiting proper ideas of self-respect they are bound to make their way, for it appears the racial barrier is already breaking down. I know of a medical practitioner of Calcutta who at the time of the war received a temporary Commission in the I.M.S. He has not yet been demobilised, though very anxious for it, so highly are his services valued. As he is an expert in surgical

operations he is often in requisition from various cantonments, and high medical officers readily act as his assistants. In Calcutta, Indian medical men who have established a reputation are freely employed in midwifery cases even where English women of good social position are concerned. The business relations there between Indians and Englishmen are fairly cordial, and there is a gradually increasing fraternisation amongst them. It is needless to enlarge further on this topic. On the whole we have no reason to despair of a better understanding in the future. All this however will be of no avail if on our part we maintain an irreconcilable and distrustful attitude. This is a theme to which the Nationalist leaders might give a passing thought if they have a moment to spare from their arduous labours in connection with non-co-operation. To fix a time limit for the separation of India from England is an idle dream, even if it were in the interests of the country, which it is not. Why not then cultivate a better understanding, which will in the long run be more profitable to us? By doing this the effect of the various causes of irritation will be minimised, if not altogether removed, and we shall be better prepared for the task we have set before us, which is the attainment of *Swaraj* or Home Rule at as early a date as possible. The portents seem favourable unless we deliberately blight our prospects by an undue haste or by resorting to means that are indefensible.

The visit to India at this juncture of the Duke of Connaught is most opportune, for he brings with him

to us a message of 'warm sympathy and firm good will of the people of Great Britain,' and affirms 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 Service 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.' The attempt to boycott our distinguished visitor happily failed in Madras and in Calcutta, in Delhi and in Bombay, and indeed in other parts of India, for surely sanity and decency have not entirely departed from its shores. Those who are indulging in such inanities are the worst enemies of this country, and all right-minded persons deplore the fact that a similar boycott was proposed in respect to the Prince of Wales, when the announcement was made of his projected visit to India. It is a chapter in India's history which it would be well if it could be wiped out.

Simultaneously with the arrival of the Duke of Connaught came the belated announcement of the appointment of Lord Reading as Viceroy of India. The period of doubts and fears, pleadings and longings, objections and remonstrances, has at last disappeared. If neither side has secured a victory it must in all fairness be admitted that the appointment has given general satisfaction, barring the brotherhood represented by

the *Morning Post* of London and the *Independent* of Allahabad, who were usually found pulling in different directions and each administering sundry kicks to the other. Adversity does indeed bring together strange bed-fellows. We may leave them to console each other. In Lord Reading we have a combination of qualities rarely to be found in one individual. A judicial mind may naturally be expected in one who holds the high position of Lord Chief Justice of England, but he has established a brilliant reputation in other paths of life wherein he has proved himself in two continents to be a statesman endowed with broad sympathies and the ability to be conciliatory and firm. His acceptance of this office at a critical period in India's history shows that he is possessed of consummate courage and praiseworthy patriotism. No less critical was the condition of England when he discharged with tact and ability his various missions to America, which gives every ground for hope that as Viceroy of India he will achieve as great success as the most distinguished of his predecessors. The *Westminster Gazette* has hazarded the remark that 'unless Lord Reading can undo the mischief at Amritsar he will fail. This is his first task in India.' There is every hope that this task will be rendered easier or perhaps superfluous by the sympathetic utterances of the Duke of Connaught, who, as we shall see, is doing his best to throw oil on troubled waters.

But if the Viceroy designate is a *persona grata*, he is a nominee of Mr. Montagu or at any rate could not

have been appointed without the latter's consent. They are besides of the same faith, which, however, in English politics does not count for much. Anyhow, there is no reason why the Secretary of State and Lord Reading should not each discharge his duties without any encroachment on the part of the other. There are, therefore, no appreciable grounds for the adoption by Anglo-Indian journals of a commiserative tone towards Lord Reading for having to be associated with such an impossible person as Mr. Montagu, who it is alleged is thoroughly disliked by all Anglo-Indians and many Indians. This is neither the time nor the occasion to form an estimate of Mr. Montagu's character or his services to India, which is a task reserved for the future historian; but if there are Indians whose disfavour he has earned it is that of certain extremists who are affronted that the Secretary of State did not hand over the administration of this country to their tender mercies and who have taken offence that he did not deal in a more drastic manner with Sir Michael O'Dwyer and the Punjab officials. But in spite of all the mud-flinging Mr. Montagu seems to be continuing the even tenor of his ways, and that he may continue to do so will be the warm wish of all those who appreciate the genuine sympathy he has evinced for the material and political advancement of India.

CHAPTER II.

TURKEY A FACTOR OF UNREST.

Events are moving fast, and what is written to-day may be out of date to-morrow. Unrest like a rolling stone seems to be gaining fresh impetus. Turkey and the Punjab between them share the distinction of being responsible for much of the present discontent, in so far that even constitutional reform is relegated to the background. The last word has been spoken in respect of the tragic occurrences in North India but the irritation that has been aroused will for a time, unless better counsels prevail, continue to rankle in the minds of the people. On the other hand, the Turkish question is an open sore at present and its potentialities for evil are very great, though unlike some causes of Indian discontent the responsibility for it cannot be foisted on to the Government. The Viceroy and the Secretary of State did all they could to present the Indian point of view, and if their success has not been more pronounced it is owing to circumstances beyond their control. Mr. Mahomed Ali, on his return from his mission to Europe, credited France and Italy with being more friendly to the Moslem cause, while England, he says, stood in the way of liberal terms being granted to Turkey, but this is an estimate of recent political events, which is not borne out by the history relating to the Peace negotiations, and he is far too prejudiced a critic to be able to give a dispassionate opinion. The Mahomedans constitute an important part of the population of

India, and anything that concerns their welfare demands the most serious consideration. Their loyalty to England has stood the most severe test, and especially during the recent war, when they unreservedly fought for the Allies against their own co-religionists. But since the declaration of the Armistice some of them have gone the length of repudiating this loyalty, and have adopted an uncompromising attitude of hostility to British rule. A searching and somewhat detailed inquiry is therefore imperative to deal with the situation that has been created. It has been said that no outsider can be a competent critic, as he cannot enter into the feelings of the Moslems. There is no doubt some truth in this proposition, but at the same time it is equally true that no person can be a fair judge in his own cause, especially in so complicated a question as the Khilafat, which involves the consideration of a variety of issues to enable a correct verdict to be arrived at. To avoid the charge being laid against me of having indulged in unfriendly or unfair criticism I have as far as possible given due weight to everything which tells in favour of the Moslem point of view, and have allowed the facts to speak for themselves. I have drawn certain conclusions after a full and frank discussion with my Moslem friends of the following salient features connected with this question. What is the exact position of Turkey in the Islamic world? Is there any inseparable connection between the Sultan and the Khilafat? What has been the nature of Turkish rule? Has Turkey been treated unjustly by the Allies? Has the Sultan any

claim temporal or spiritual on the Moslems of India? Has England broken any pledge given to the Indian Moslems? Are there any adequate grounds for the cry of Islam in danger consequent on the disruption of Turkey? Are the demands made by the Indian Moslems reasonable or practicable? What has been the net result of the agitation and how far has it affected the relations of the Moslems towards the ruling power in India? These are matters dealt with in this chapter, while for the next is reserved the consideration of the Khilafat as far as it affects Indian Moslems.

The Turks were Turanians, who about 600 years ago invaded the Moslem kingdoms and conquered them. Eventually they were converted to the Mahomedan faith. By reason of their occupation of the Holy Land, and as the result of the financial pressure brought to bear upon the last Khalifa of Egypt, the Sultan Salim became the holder of the title of Khalifa, with his seat in Constantinople, and as such his line came to be, though not till long afterwards, recognized by the Moslem nations of the world. Sultan Salim did not belong to the family or even the tribe of the Prophet of Arabia, but it was the fortunes of war which secured for him the exalted position of Defender of the Faith. There is no sanctity attached to the person of the Sultan, nor have his edicts any spiritual value. His main duty is to protect the holy cities, failing which he forfeits his title. In the next chapter the vicissitudes of the Khilafat are fully described, and we shall find it clearly demonstrated that no country and no family has any

indefeasible right to its sole enjoyment. The position then of Turkey in the Islamic world was accidental and was the result of an outrage originally committed by infidels on not only the followers of the Prophet, but on his direct descendants, who have now broken away from the Ottoman Empire and set up a Government of their own. The Moslems of India have undoubtedly an interest in the Khilafat, but have they an equal interest in Turkey?. Two years after Turkey had joined the war, Mr. Jinnah, presiding at the All-India Muslim League in Lucknow, appealed to the Government on the strength of the unquestioned loyalty of the Moslems to respect their sentiments and feelings and their religious convictions, and urged that 'the Government should have regard for their dearest and most sacred religious feeling, and under no circumstances interfere with the question of the future of the Caliphate. It should be left entirely to the Mussalmans to acknowledge and accept their own Caliph.' It is significant that no claim is advanced here that there should be no dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire.

The study of the history of Turkish rule will convince an impartial reader that it is one unmitigated record of misgovernment, bloodshed and savagery. The Ottoman Empire would long ago have been wiped out of existence, in Europe at least, but for the disagreement of the European Powers as to the division of the spoil. Founded in the 15th. century, this Empire gradually extended its sovereignty over portions of Europe, Asia and Africa. After a chequered

career of four centuries, during which there were many ups and downs, decay set in about the nineteenth century as the result of years of misgovernment and a total indifference to the moral and material prosperity of the people. Periodical massacres of Christians in Bulgaria, Macedonia and Armenia varied the monotony of misrule. 'Charged with the massacre of 800,000 Armenians and the deportation of a hundred thousand others during the late war the Turkish peace delegates retorted that three millions of Moslems had also been put to the sword. A country where such things are possible by no means enhances its right to rule over people, whether they be Moslems or Christians. 'Palestine under the Turks,' said Lord Curzon, 'had been one of the scandals of history for the last 500 years'. In the nineteenth century, by reason of the decay that had set in, various outlying provinces either broke away or were taken away—Greece, Roumania, Servia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Egypt—while large tracts of country were ceded to Russia, Greece and Montenegro. That Constantinople was not filched was entirely due to the jealousy of the European powers, who could not agree who was to take it. The Armenians,' writes Professor Vambéry in the *Historians History of the World*, 'encouraged by the success of their co-religionists, are now bent on securing the independence of their country, and while internecine quarrels in Macedonia and among the Albanians bid fair to put an end to Ottoman rule in European Turkey, the Arabs are disposed to make a

attempt to rid themselves of the obnoxious Turk. This danger looms large from all quarters, everywhere the sword of Damocles hangs over Ottoman rule.' Looking at the question from an abstract point of view, as to the nature of Turkish rule over other nationalities, the Allies can hardly be blamed for allowing these the benefit of the right of self-determination by cutting themselves adrift from a lifeless and decaying Government. Whether this right is secured by having the general control transferred to the Allies as mandatories, is a matter which largely depends on their own capacity to undertake the task of government without any foreign help, but in no way affects the question as to the continuance of the Turkish domination.

If we look at the matter from the point of view of Turkey's conduct towards England and France, she stands self-condemned. It is a historical fact that both these nations prevented on more occasions than one the disruption of the Ottoman Empire when Russia stood at the gates of Constantinople. By their efforts Turkey was brought into the comity of nations and its territorial integrity was assured. And they had otherwise done much to further its material and moral welfare, though unfortunately owing to the conflicting interests of the European powers, 'the Cabinets of Europe,' says Professor Vambéry, 'have never extended to the sorely tried people of Turkey the help demanded by the dictates of humanity. We espouse the cause of the Christians, forgetting that the Moslems have to suffer even more from the yoke

of tyranny.' Here we again find emphasized the fact that it was chronic misrule which was responsible for the misfortunes of this unfortunate country. And for the catastrophe that has now overtaken the Turks they have to thank themselves. The Allies were engaged in carrying on a defensive war against the aggression of a power seeking to dominate the world, and though Russia had joined hands with them, Mr. Lloyd George stated specifically that there was no understanding whatever to the detriment of Turkey. In fact, at the commencement of the war, the integrity of the Ottoman Empire had been guaranteed, provided the Sultan remained neutral. And yet the young Turks who were the *de facto* rulers of the country suddenly and without any provocation espoused the cause of Germany, and did incalculable harm to the Allies. They prolonged the war by two years and caused the sacrifice of millions of lives and an enormous waste of money. It is impossible therefore to resist the conclusion that apart from other considerations the justice of the demand that Turkey should pay the penalty of the vanquished cannot be questioned, which in her case mainly consists of the setting free, nationalities which were waiting for a suitable opportunity to secure their emancipation from an oppressive thralldom. The charge of unfair or unjust treatment therefore falls to the ground.

But assuming for a moment that the Allies deliberately compassed the disruption of Turkey, we

have to see how far it affects the Indian Moslems in respect to their position as members of the British commonwealth. Now, the followers of the Prophet of Arabia have in their Scriptures, which they believe are divinely inspired, minute instructions as to their duties in all spheres of civil life. There are numerous texts which enjoin implicit submission and obedience under all circumstances to the rulers of the land, without any restriction as to their religion or their race, or even to the nature of their rule. It is stated in the Hadis : ' A King is the shadow of God on the earth. Every wronged person out of his subjects seeks his protection. If he deals justly he shall be rewarded and his subjects are bound to be faithful to him. But if he is unjust he shall be answerable to God and it is incumbent on his subjects to be patient.' There is no such thing as conditional allegiance to be found in the Koran, nor is there any support to be found for investing any particular ruler, even if he be of the same race or of the same family of the Prophet, with a special temporal authority over the Moslems of the world. It is somewhat amusing to find that while the Indian Moslems are insisting that they owe both a temporal and spiritual allegiance to the Sultan of Turkey, the Grand Vizier, in the counter proposals made by him in respect to the Peace Terms that were announced by the Allies, absolutely repudiates this doctrine. In respect to Article 139 of the Memorandum presented to the Turkish delegates the reply stated that ; ' Turkey

has no right of suzerainty or jurisdiction over the Mussalmans who are subject to the sovereignty or protectorate of another state. No question of a conditional loyalty ought to arise in countries which are not in the suzerainty of the Sultan, because certain territorial settlements are made which are of a temporal nature.'

But if we go further we find an utter absence of any moral obligation arising from favours received or from a community of interests which can justify Turkey being placed on a higher pedestal than other foreign nations. The Moslems of Turkey and India have each in the past gone through various vicissitudes, but the fortunes and misfortunes of one nation have not been a matter of concern to the other. It is a fact that can not be contested that Turkey has never at any time done anything which was calculated to stir up the imagination of the people of India. In the various famines with which this country has been afflicted Christian nations came to its help, but not a pice was ever contributed by the Turks for relieving the distress of their co-religionists in India, and even an exuberant expression of sympathy was conspicuous by its absence. Nor were the Indian Moslems in any way perturbed by the misfortunes of Turkey or at the treatment accorded to the Khalifa. They entered no protest at the deposition of the Sultan Abdul Hamid nor have they inveighed against the Young Turks for reducing the present Sultan to a cipher. During the Crimean war, when Russia had serious designs on the

integrity of the Ottoman Empire, they remained passive, and evinced no gratitude to England and France for helping their co-religionists in Europe to avert the disaster. And in 1878, when the Russians were at the gates of Constantinople, the Mussalmans of India did not give any special indication that they were convulsed with grief at the calamity that was impending, or show any special gratification at the British Government sending their fleet to the Turkish waters to check the Muscovite advance.

When the Moslem delegates from India pleaded for the restoration of the *status quo ante bellum* they were by no means unreasonable in appealing to the pledge given by Mr. Lloyd George, in respect to which it is fair to both sides to say that there has been an unfortunate misunderstanding, though I am not prepared to assent to the view that the Moslem troops would have refused to fight for England quite apart from a pledge of any kind. It is a slur on their loyalty for which there are no adequate grounds. The Viceroy, in his proclamation dealing with the peace terms, entered into a long disquisition in defence of the English Government, forgetting the maxim that he who excuseth himself accuseth himself. The Prime Minister would probably have defended himself with greater adroitness and success. The interpretation put by the Viceroy on Mr. Lloyd George's pledge of January 1919 may be fairly accurate, but the Indian Moslems at the time attached another meaning to it, probably misled by an imperfect report of the Prime Minister's speech, and,

what is more, acted upon it without being corrected by any one in authority. That interpretation is now being insisted upon by the leaders of the Khilafat agitation, for it was on this understanding they say that Indian Moslems fought for the British Crown as against their own co-religionists. And then, in respect to the observance of the pledge and the claim that the terms of peace have not been influenced by religious considerations, attention is drawn to the fact that not long ago there was an outcry in England and in America urging a breach of the undertaking given in all solemnity by the British Cabinet, so far as the retention by Turkey of Constantinople was concerned. It would have succeeded but that Mr. Montagu forestalled the agitators by the formal announcement in India of the fate of the Turkish capital. And it was asked, can it be seriously contended that when the Prime Minister repeated the assurances in respect to Asia Minor and Thrace, that all he had in view was the retention by Turkey of a strip of land in front of Constantinople and that it had been settled that Smyrna and Adrianople were to be handed over to Greece? If so, the complaint as to the absence of frankness is by no means unreasonable. Then, again, as against the assertion that the Peace Conference had applied the same principle to all autocratic empires, Muslim and Christian alike, as for example Austria, it is pointed out that there is the patent fact that so far as the other belligerent nations were concerned England at any rate has gained nothing at their expense. Can the same be

said as regards Turkey? Will England derive no benefit by becoming the mandatory for Palestine and Mesopotamia? What about the Baku oilfields and the clear route to India, which it was contemplated would become an accomplished fact? Put in a few words, the Moslem leaders assert, the Allies were victorious, and as victors they are doing what has been done since the creation of the world, they are dividing the loot,

I have given here the whole of the case as advanced by the Moslems. As far as possible I have read the literature connected with this subject. but I have been struck with what has the appearance of a strange omission. As in the case of the allegation that the *shariat* has been violated, no authorities are quoted to support that view, so also as regards the statement that the Prime Minister's pledge has been violated, there seems to be a shrinking to cite the portions of his speech which lend countenance to this charge. At the last Congress held in Nagpur, Mr. Lajpat Rai enlarged vehemently on the theme that no faith can be put on British pledges and promises. He pilloried English statesmen one by one (amid cries of 'shame'), and made them out to be absolutely dishonest. He asked if a single member of the British Cabinet could be named whose words carry greater weight than that of a grocer. But this is sheer, unmitigated abuse, and not argument, for no details were given as to the dishonesty of any one of them. Mr. Lloyd George was credited with embodying in himself the chivalry, the nobility, the patriotism and the power of the British

Empire, and the speaker went on to add, 'we know how he deceived the Indian Mussalmans and how he broke his pledges.....What about the honesty of a man who says that he has kept those pledges, whereas the whole world knows that he has broken them?' After this tirade one would expect some mention would be made of the precise pledge that had been broken, but this is conspicuous by its absence. Evidently Mr. Lajpat Rai was more anxious to impress the Labour Members of Parliament that were present of his thorough command over Billingsgate than to convince them with the logic of his arguments. Dr. M.A. Ansari, as President of the All-India Muslim League, was good enough to characterise the Turkish Treaty as 'a monument of hypocrisy and the blackest breach of solemn pledges and good faith', and he charged the Prime Minister of England with treating his solemn pledges as a scrap of paper and with quoting fabricated facts and figures in his interview with the Moslem delegation, but like his Hindu associate he omitted to quote a single fact in support of his allegations.

A careful and impartial reading of Mr. Lloyd George's address of January 5th. 1918 cannot fail to leave the impression that he cautiously foreshadowed what was going to be the fate of Turkey. We find the Prime Minister specifically stating that 'outside Europe the same principles should be applied. While we do not challenge the maintenance of the Turkish Empire in the homelands of the Turkish race, with

its capital at Constantinople, nor the passage between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea being internationalised and neutralised, Arabia, Armenia and Mesopotamia are in our judgment, entitled to the recognition of their separate national conditions.' The only passage capable of misunderstanding or of misconstruction, and on which the Moslem case would seem to rest is: 'we are not fighting to deprive Turkey of Constantinople or of the rich and renowned lands in Asia Minor and Thrace which are predominantly Turkish in race.' But this is qualified by the pronouncement: 'The Turk will exercise temporal power in Turkish lands. Neither do we propose he should retain power over lands which are not Turkish. Why? Because that is the principle we are applying to the Christian communities of Europe. The same principles must be applied to the Turk.' In the Peace Treaty with Turkey these terms have been strictly carried out, but it is said, the bulk of the population in Thrace and in Smyrna being Moslem, the handing them over to Greece is a distinct breach of the pledge. Either the allegation is correct that subsequent to the outbreak of the war the Turkish Government carried out a systematic deportation of the non-Moslem population from these areas and the statistics of to-day cannot be relied on as a true test of the population, or the evil reputation of Turkey has made it easy to bring a false charge against it. On the other hand, it is obvious that the Moslems of India have had no opportunity for

ascertaining the real truth of the matter, and there seem to be no adequate grounds for accusing European statesmen of circulating a deliberate untruth. During ten days stay in Smyrna, so far back as 1884, I was particularly struck with the number of churches that were scattered all over the city, which showed a preponderance of the Christian population, but at the same time bore eloquent testimony to the toleration of the Turks. On the other hand, on my asking a Greek friend in Cyprus, during a stay there of three months, why there was such a dearth of handsome men and pretty women amongst his community, he said the best looking women had been annexed by the Turks. The English residents there were unanimous in their opinion that if you want to meet a Cypriot gentleman he would be found amongst the Turks. In all my wanderings I have never come across a city more beautifully situated than Constantinople, but go to the native quarter, and more filthy surroundings you will never find anywhere. The Turk is indeed an incomprehensible being.

In this connection it needs to be noted that Moslem soldiers from India had already done a good deal of fighting with the Turks before the delivery of the Prime Minister's speech, more than three years after the commencement of the war. It would be absurd to suppose they were ignorant of what would be the fate of the defeated party; so that they performed their duty with a full knowledge of the consequences accruing to the vanquished. At the

Conference of the All-India Muslim League in 1916, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Hon'ble Mr. Nabi Ullah, congratulated the delegates on the 'unswerving fidelity with which the Mussalmans had borne their part of the Imperial burden and had cheerfully gone into the fight against forces of their Caliph in defence of the cause of the Empire to which their secular destinies were linked.' There is no mention here of any bargain having been struck between the British Government and the Moslem soldiers. And Mr. Jinnah, as President of the League, emphasized this by affirming that there had been no cold calculating instinct at work and that India's loyalty had set no price on itself. But he urged the Government under no circumstances to interfere with the question of the Caliphate, and to leave it to the decision of the Mussalmans. This seems significant, for evidently Mr. Jinnah, believing the disruption of Turkey was inevitable, raised no protest against it. The Allies had freely declared their views in respect to the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire, and in his statement of 'War Aims,' President Wilson included 'the liberation of the population subject to the bloody tyranny of the Turks.' As to the Khilafat, we shall see in the next chapter that the British Government has in no way interfered with it, and if there has been any violation of the Holy Places it has been on the part of the Moslem Turks.

From what has been said above it is clear that there are very slender grounds for any actual grievance

or complaint as regards the dismemberment of Turkey. How then are we to account for the gigantic agitation which during the whole year was vigorously pursued? We shall see that other powerful motives have been at work. But I dissent from the view expressed in the official communiqué published over the signature of 'A member of the Executive Council of the Hyderabad State', which does less than justice to the propaganda when it attributes the Khilafat agitation to a 'pack of unscrupulous agitators.' Long before Messrs. Mahomed Ali, Shaukat Ali, Abul Kalam Azad and Zafar Ali Khan, came on the scene and joined forces with Mr. Gandhi, the Turkish question was a living source of irritation and discontent, for reasons to be noticed further on. Soon after the Punjab disturbances, when these Moslem leaders were still interned, and the Mahatma was absorbed in the contemplation of forces he was unable to control, I drew attention in my book entitled 'The Political Situation', to the fact that 'a potent cause of discontent was the question of the Khilafat and the fate of the holy cities, that herein was to be found the main reason why the Moslems were fraternizing with the Hindus and making common cause with them in political matters.' The agitation was by no means entirely artificial. The passing away of an ancient Empire cannot but inspire general regret, which is naturally enhanced in the case of those who are bound by the ties of a common religion. That Indian Moslems should sympathise with their co-religionists

in Turkey should by no means afford matter for surprise. When the Peace Terms were announced by the Allies, the Viceroy with the best of intentions recommended patience and resignation, but not only was the counsel resented as not being entirely disinterested, but for a variety of reasons it was rejected. The statements of the Prime Minister and Lord Curzon that the decision to leave the Turks in Constantinople was due exclusively to the desire to consider and conciliate the sentiments of Indian Moslems instead of causing them to desist from further agitation encouraged them to continue it, especially in view of the fact that the Indian delegates in England sent repeated assurances that their propaganda promised to be successful if energetically pursued.

Hope reigns eternal in the human breast, and the Indian Moslems, both Shias and Sunnis, declined to throw up the sponge, being supported in this resolve by certain other reasons. A glance at the history of England, both as regards its domestic affairs and in its connection with Ireland, affords ample evidence that it has been as the result of strenuous agitation, which was often unconstitutional and sometimes accompanied by force, that concessions have been extorted from the Government, much against its will. What is Ireland doing at present, and what an object lesson she affords to those who are smarting under a humiliating grievance, even if it be taken to be the result of an unreasoning fanaticism? And though there is some hesitation in giving public utterance to it, nevertheless

it is commonly believed that bombs and an archical outrages had much to do with bringing about the revocation of the partition of Bengal, which had been so keenly felt by the people of the dismembered province. And as it happened, by the Allies handing over the Terms of Peace to the Turkish Delegates, the incident was by no means closed. The Allies were not so completely masters of the situation that they had only to express their commands and immediate effect would be given to them. The Sultan was willing to accept the terms imposed, but of what value was the acquiescence of one who was practically a detenu in the Allied Camp? Outside Constantinople, what remained of Turkey had been seized by Kemal Pasha, who, as the head of the Nationalists, was exercising undisputed sway. It was all very well to pass a sentence of death on him *in contumaciam*, but who was going to enforce it? The Sultan's army had practically disappeared, and the little that was left of it had been disarmed, as not to be relied on. The Allies could of course have subdued the Nationalists, but after having just finished a sanguinary and disastrous war they were not prepared to start another afresh. The British taxpayer had declared in no uncertain terms that he was altogether indisposed to accept new responsibilities and additional burdens, and was demurring to the mandate accepted by England for Palestine and Mesopotamia. The Arabs, who threw off the Turkish yoke, were getting restive under the control of the Allies, and were not willing

to accept them as mandatories, under the apprehension that it would restrain their freedom of action, which was not always directed towards the maintenance of peace, order and good government. Under all these circumstances there is no reason to be surprised that Indian Mahomedans should have refused to entertain the idea that the prospect of a revision of the Peace Terms was entirely hopeless, especially in view of the fact that there were repeated adjournments of the date when the Turkish Treaty was finally to be signed, owing to the difficulty in adjusting the rival claims of Italy and Greece as to the disposal of some dismembered parts of the Ottoman Empire.

The net result, we now see, has been altogether disappointing. Mr. Mahomed Ali after a lapse of four months wired that, though the delegates strove hard to discharge the duties with which they were entrusted, no tangible result in the desired direction had been attained. The hapless people of Turkey are in a worse plight to-day than they were when the Armistice was declared. At that time Constantinople was not occupied by the Allies, but the hostile attitude of the Nationalists rendered this step inevitable. It was followed by the disarmament of the Sultan's troops, for no reliance could be placed on them, as their sympathies were with those of their brethren who were fighting for the liberty of their country. The attitude of the Allies became more stiff and uncompromising till it culminated in the ultimatum, that unless the Peace Terms were accepted

by the 27th. July, or if the Sultan was found unable to re-establish his authority in Anatolia, the Turks would be driven out bag and baggage from Europe. This was in reality a threat to Mustapha Kemal Pasha and to other Nationalist leaders to cease their activities, for of course the Sultan was helpless, divested as he was of all authority in the country of which he was the nominal ruler. The Allies lent all their resources to Greece, which accepted the mandate to disperse the Nationalists; and the inevitable came to pass, affording another illustration of the triumph of superior force. The Turkish Empire ceased to exist. An additional stimulus was thus given to the irritation and resentment of Indian Moslems towards the Allies and especially as against England, which rightly or wrongly was credited with exercising a dominant influence in the formulation of the terms of peace. For it was generally believed that British statesmen had committed a breach of faith under the pressure of the strong anti-Turkish opinion to which expression was given at the time the terms were being considered.

It is much to be feared that while the Turkish agitation in India has in the long run failed to further the interests of the Ottoman Empire it has embittered the relations between the Indian Moslems and the ruling power in India. In spite of serious provocation the attitude of the Government of India continued to be characterized with tact, forbearance and conciliation. And at the outset the English Government was equally disposed to be conciliatory. Mr. Lloyd George,

when interviewed by the Indian deputation, stated: 'The Mussulmans of India stood by the throne and the Empire. We gratefully acknowledge it. They helped us in the struggle. We willingly and gladly recognise that. We recognise they have a right to be heard in a matter which affects especially Islam. We have heard them. Not merely have we heard them, but we have very largely deferred to their wishes in the matter. The settlement was very largely affected by the opinion of India and especially the Mussalmans of India'. They had at first put forward their case in temperate language, and were carrying on their propaganda on constitutional lines. But gradually it assumed, under the garb of religious obligations to Turkey, an offensive form, to the extent of threats being used, making the allegiance to England contingent on the response given to the claims that were being advanced by them, and an agitation was promoted in India, the declared object of which was to paralyze the powers of Government, and thus to intimidate England. To give the propaganda additional force and to multiply the number of its adherents the Punjab grievances were dragged in. 'Stand and deliver, if not we shoot' was the attitude that was adopted. The desired result was not achieved, for we find the Prime Minister in one of his later pronouncements, after recounting the misdeeds of Turkey, stated with almost callous frankness that the Ottoman Empire must be dissolved. The question of the sentiments of Indian Moslems was absolutely ignored. This change of attitude was the necessary

consequence of the pro-Turkish propaganda taking an anti-British turn, by which a considerable amount of odium was incurred. And apart from this it was believed to be to a large extent artificial and engineered for political purposes. The action taken by the Nizam's Government in respect to it also lent colour to this view. The firmans published by the Hyderabad State have been stigmatized as arbitrary and have been condemned for flouting the religious sentiment of the Moslems, but they naturally led to the inference being drawn that the grievances were more sentimental than real, otherwise the chief Mahomedan State in India would hardly have suppressed the agitation in respect to them.

But what the agitation of Indian Moslems failed to achieve may, to a partial extent at least, be attained by the political complications that have recently arisen in Europe. The recall of the ex-king Constantine to Greece is a factor which is of no little significance so far as the fate of Turkey is concerned. The Turkish Nationalists have demonstrated that they were not easily to be suppressed, and the Allies may come to some arrangement favourable to Turkey with the Kemalites, which they were not prepared to enter into with an effete Sultan. Bolshevism is now the great danger of the world, and has brought about a striking change in the angle of vision of the conquerors. The fact that Armenia has turned Bolshevik ought to lead the Allies to join hands with the Young Turks to fight the common enemy,

conceding to them some portion of the forfeited prestige and power of the Ottoman Empire. A Conference on the Turkish question is now sitting in London, and it would be futile to anticipate its verdict. The Government of India at any rate has shown its sympathy for the Moslems by nominating H.H. Aga Khan and Messrs Hassan Imam and Chotani as the delegates from India to represent the views of the Mussalmans of this country. Three men more qualified for this purpose could not have been selected, and they may be relied upon to do justice to the cause of their co-religionists.



CHAPTER III.

KHILAFAT A FACTOR OF UNREST.

The Mussalmans of India have accepted Mr. Gandhi, a Hindu, as their guide, philosopher and friend. It is a curious phenomenon, but let it pass. As such he delivered in Madras, after the Peace Treaty with Turkey had been signed, an exhaustive address on the Khilafat question. The substance of it was that British statesmen had broken their pledge to the Indian Moslems, whereby the great religion of Islam had been placed in danger, and therefore it was incumbent 'on the Hindus and Mahomedans to offer a united front to the whole of the Christian powers of Europe and tell them that weak as India is India has still got the capacity of preserving her self-respect, she still knows how to die for her religion and for her self-respect. That is the Khilafat in a nutshell'. No explanation was vouchsafed indicating how the pledge had been broken or why the cry of Islam in danger should be raised. But some light was thrown on a topic, in respect to which a good deal of speculation had been rife, as to why the Hindus were taking an interest in the Khilafat, it being a purely religious matter in which the Moslems alone were concerned. Mr. Gandhi explained it as follows: 'The Mussalmans say frankly, openly and honourably to the whole world that if the British Ministers and the British nation do

'not fulfil the pledge given to them and do not wish to regard with respect the sentiments of 70 millions of the inhabitants of India, who profess the faith of Islam, it will be impossible for them to retain Islamic loyalty. It is a question then for the rest of the Indian population to consider whether they want to perform a neighbourly duty by their Mussalman countrymen, and if they do, they have received an opportunity of a lifetime, which will not occur for another hundred years, to show their good will, fellowship and friendship and to prove what they have been saying for all these long years, that the Mahomedan is the brother of the Hindu. If the Hindu regards, that before the connection with the British nation comes his natural connection with his Moslem brother, then I say to you that you cannot do otherwise than help the Mussalmans through and through.'

Mr. Gandhi has certainly a peculiar notion of neighbourly duty when he asks the Hindus to go the length of supporting the Moslems in repudiating their allegiance to England, which after all has done something to benefit India, and not the least of which has been the efforts of its agents in the past to prevent the two communities from flying at each others throats. It is a task which is being continued in the present, and it is much to be feared will occupy it for a time at least in the unknown future, in spite of the efforts of the Nationalists to cement a lasting union based on political grounds. Mr. Gandhi, when taking the Moslems under his protecting wings, had solemnly

engaged they would win their cause if they strictly followed his nostrum of non-co-operation. These in their turn had promised to support the Hindus in their fight for political freedom. At the Calcutta Special Congress there was a preponderance of opinion amongst the leaders against the adoption of the programme of non-co-operation, which was however carried by the aid of the cohort of ignorant Moslems, who had been whipped up for the purpose. Mr. Shaukat Ali assumed the position of dictator, and threatened to secede from the Congress if the resolution in respect to it was defeated. Here we have the true significance of the union between Hindus and Moslems, on the strength of which the statement has been made that 315 millions of Indians are of one mind in respect to the Khilafat. As a matter of fact it is nothing more than a temporary compact which has been arrived at between certain extremist leaders of the two communities, entirely for political purposes. The Hindus as a body have no interest in, and have exhibited no special solicitude for, the Khilafat, but some of the extremist leaders have given their support to it as a side issue merely to keep up the compact.

The statement that 70 millions of Moslems were ready to lay down their lives for the cause rests on no better foundation. As to the rank and file, it may be safely said that, apart from the knowledge that has recently been imparted in course of the agitation now in progress, their mind was a total blank in respect to any obligations on their part to the Sultan of Turkey

as Khalifa, and even the Ulemas had but a hazy notion in respect to it. On the mental capacity of those engaged in this propaganda a lurid light is thrown by one of their leaders, Mr. Fazal-ul-Haq, a member of the Bengal Council. Writing on the question of non-cooperation, he says:- 'The party to which I have the honour to belong have conceived the mad idea of boycotting the Legislative Councils, and I know it is useless to argue with them, for the wisest amongst them do not possess the brains of a barn-door-fowl.' This would be very sad if it was true, but I entertain a better opinion of the intelligence of educated Moslems. Some of the brightest intellects of India are to be found amongst them, but if they have failed to convince the world that Islam is in danger it is because of the weakness of the cause. Maulana Abdul Bari, one of the shining lights in the Moslem world, stated after the peace treaty with Turkey had been signed: 'The terms are in contravention of *Shariat*, and that they violated our most cherished sentiments is beyond doubt'. But why is it beyond doubt? Perhaps some light may be thrown on the matter by the pronouncement of Maulana Mahmud-ul-Hasan, as regards whom Mr. Shaukat Ali said his name was so familiar in India and outside the Moslem world that no introduction was necessary. Nevertheless he was introduced as 'the world famous divine and theologian and as the Sheikh-ul-Hind and the greatest authority of the Sunni sect in India'. He referred us in lofty terms to the 'colossal misfortunes that have befallen the

Muslims of the East and West, when (God forbid) ruin on the Khilafat of Islam is feared, when the soul of every Muslim shudders at the catastrophes threatening death, nay to take a deeper and clearer view of the matter, when every Asiatic, and especially every Indian, feels that his freedom of conscience and future liberty are at stake'. A reference was made to the 'explicit teaching of the Holy Koran and the lucid traditions of the Prophet', which it was said the leaders of Indian thought and opinion have adopted, but any reference to chapter and verse or substance of the text was scrupulously avoided. The contribution of Mr. Chotani, the President of the Central Khilafat Committee, was equally vague. He said:—'The expected has happened, the so called plenipotentiaries of Turkey, who are in fact a creation of the Allies, have signed the Peace Treaty, the terms of which have already been declared as unacceptable and violating the *Shariat* of Islam by the whole Muslim population of the world. The commandments of the *Shariat* are irrevocable and unaltered, and hence Muslims cannot acquiesce in any terms which are opposed to their religion and faith. So far as we know the Treaty has been signed under extreme pressure and utter helplessness, and therefor carries no weight from the point of view of the *Shariat*.' That the *Shariat* has been violated was being incessantly re-echoed, but what this *Shariat* was no Moslem leader deigned to inform the public, who would certainly have liked a little more light thrown on the subject.

That 'the whole Muslim population of the world' is agreed that the *Shariat* of Islam has been violated is a proposition to which I must demur. The *Shariat* can have no reference to the integrity of the Turkish Empire, as this came into existence five centuries after the Islamic Scriptures were promulgated. But writes Maulvi A. L. Ahmed., a Moslem dignitary, that:— 'There are prophecies in the holy Koran and Hadis regarding the Sultan of Turkey. These prophecies are now being fulfilled. Those who believe in God and in his word, in the holy Koran and Hadis, knew thoroughly well what has happened would happen. Allah will himself settle the case of the Sultan of Turkey. It is not at all necessary that we should interfere with God's work'. The reference to the *Shariat* being violated must therefore apply to the *Khilafat*. Have the millions of Shiahs any concern in this matter? They cannot have, for it is one of their cherished dogmas, for which they have suffered martyrdom, that the *Khilafat* was extinguished after the death of Ali, who was the son-in-law and fourth successor of the great Prophet. But it will be said, some of the Shiahs are just as vociferous as the Sunnis. Quite so, but they are indifferent about the *Khilafat*, and are merely concerned about the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire, for reasons to be dealt with in the next chapter. Then there is a large class of persons who approve of the views propounded by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan that 'a reference to Islamic History will clearly show that the sovereigns who adopted the title of

Khalifa were acknowledged as such only in those countries which were under their direct rule, but no one acknowledged his Khilafat or Imamat beyond his territorial jurisdiction. The Sultan is a Khalifa in no other sense than that in which the Abbasides and Omayyads were called Khalifas, and 'no Muslim looks upon the mandates of the Sultan of Turkey as obligatory as the Catholics regard those of the Pope, or they themselves consider those of the rightly guided Khalifas.' It has been said that Sir Syed Ahmed's views have but a small following, for no one speaks or writes in their support. Of course not, for in the present state of Moslem feeling his life would not be worth much if he did. The Imam of Delhi was soon brought down to his knees by the worshippers in the Jumma Masjid, and this had a striking moral effect on those inclined to hold independent opinions. And what about the distinguished Khan Bahadur who died at Delhi, and his body was refused burial in a Mahomedan cemetery by a mob of 500 men armed with lathis, till the police had to interfere, and the relations of the deceased had to plead for mercy by alleging that on his death bed he had expressed repentance in respect to his views on non-co-operation and the Khilafat? And what about the Nizam of Hyderabad? There is no reason to believe that he is not as staunch in the Islamic faith as any of the leaders of the Khilafat movement, and yet he has effectively suppressed the agitation in his State, without evoking any remonstrance from his subjects, which is curious if really

Islam is in danger and the *Shariat* has been violated. Any how, those who are vociferous are to be found in British India, and even there the individuals who cry the loudest are the political agitators of the extreme type. This may be a strange coincidence, but it has done much to discredit the propaganda for which a religious basis is claimed, and the whole matter is reduced to an absurdity when we find Mr. Gandhi and other Hindu agitators shouting that they are ready to die for their Moslem friends whose religious sentiments have been outraged. What is the exact significance of the newly-found amity between Hindu and Moslem agitators we shall see later on.

But there are Moslems to be found outside India, the Turks, the Arabs, the Egyptians and others. Some of them occupy the country where Islamic faith had its birth, and others for centuries have been in close contact with the Sultan. They would naturally be expected to feel more acutely the danger to Islam and the violation of the *Shariat* as regards the Khilafat. But they seem to view with amused wonder the excitement of the Indian Moslems over a matter which does not seem to have disturbed their equanimity. The Indian delegates in their sojourn in Europe found much to their discomfiture that they were at cross purposes not only with the Turks, for whom they said they were ready to give up their lives, but with the Moslems of other countries. The Indian Moslems, burning with righteous indignation at the conduct of the Allies, unfurled the banner of Islam and invited

every follower of the Prophet to rally round it in support of the Sultan's Khilafat. No appreciable response was received to start with in India and none whatever outside India, as is evident from a letter written by Mr. Mahomed Ali to his brother at home, detailing the views of the Islamic leaders of other countries. In Paris he met Ahmed Riza Bey, formerly President of the Turkish Senate, and while trying to inoculate him with some of his own religious fervour he writes pathetically :—'I am sorry to say it took us two solid hours to make him understand that Turkey's safety lay not merely in doing her duty by herself, but in doing her duty by Islam. Of course that is a truism in which he also believed, and yet, as the Arabs complain, Nationalism is almost everything, even with the best of Turks, and they have no definite idea of the obligations imposed on Turkey by the Khilafat and Islam.' From the Arabs of Hedjaz, who had thrown off the Turkish yoke, the Indian delegates could hardly expect, and did not receive, any sympathy for their propaganda, for about them it is said that, 'although they complained of Turkish Nationalism, they themselves are reverting to the Nationalism which turned the Khilafat into an Arab dynasty and monarchy in the days of the Omayyides.' The Emir Abdulla, brother of Emir Faisil, did not hesitate to announce that the Sultan of Turkey had forfeited the right to be Khalifa and that it was the duty of Moslems to select a suitable successor.

As to the Egyptians, they were no more amenable

to the demands of reason and religion, for it was emphasized 'they too, are inclined to imitate Europe just when Europe wants to punish them for this, the sincerest form of flattery'. At an address delivered by Mr. Mahomed Ali in Paris, the letter continues. 'the first criticism came from an Egyptian barrister, who said he could not understand what religious aspect there could be about the question, and if we had pleaded from the Nationalist point of view for Turkey or Egypt he could have understood it.' And while the Indian Moslems are crying themselves hoarse that their hearts are lacerated by the insidious attack on the Khilafat, the Grand Vizier has put on record the fact that 'the Khilafat is nothing more than the rallying point of the Mussalmans of the world from which accrue certain moral obligations as to the mention of the Khalifa's name in Friday's prayers.' The Turks do not seem to be overwhelmed by any great regard or respect for either the Khalifa or for the sacred cities of Islam. Not very long ago they put to death Sultan Abdul Hamid, and the present Sultan is but a figure-head, being dominated by the party of Young Turks, who make no pretence of any consideration for his temporal or spiritual authority, and are responsible for the calamity that has befallen their sovereign and their country. And as to their reverence for the sacred cities, a proclamation issued by the Sharif of Mecca on 27th June 1916, when the Arabs declared their independence, says that the Turkish contingent bombarded Kaaba and its

surroundings and caused considerable damage to certain sacred sites and killed a number of persons who were at prayers within the mosque. One of the shells fell about a yard and a half above the Black Stone and another 3 yards from it. The covering of the Kaaba was set in a blaze. A third shell was fired at the Makam Ibrahim in addition to the projectiles and bullets aimed at the rest of the building. Every day three or four people were killed, and at last it became difficult for the Moslems to approach the Kaaba at all. 'This will show', exclaims the Sharif, 'how they despised His house and denied it the honour given it by believers'.

During the peace negotiations, the Turkish delegates took a practical view of the situation. They directed their efforts towards the retention of territories which were calculated to fill the coffers of the state in preference to lands to which no doubt greater sanctity is attached, but which for a nominal suzerainty would tax heavily the limited resources of a dismembered Empire, even if it was possible to restore the previous relations with the Arabs. And while the Indian Moslems were resenting the fact that the Allies had become the mandatories of disrupted Turkish provinces and were insisting that the holy cities should be under the control of a powerful and independent Moslem sovereign, with ample resources to protect them, a certain section of the Turks evinced a desire that England should receive a mandate for Turkey, seemingly oblivious or indifferent as to the effect this

would have on the Sultan's Khilafat. Possibly as the result of long years of misrule the people have lost the glamour attached to the Sultan's Khilafat, while the intelligentsia, infected by the scepticism and the materialism of the West, has grown indifferent to the injunctions and observances of the Islamic faith. It may appear astounding, but there are ample grounds for the belief that the Nationalists are quite willing that the Khilafat be transferred from their Sultan to some eligible power.

It is therefore a strange phenomenon that the Moslems of India are more concerned about the fate of Turkey and of the Sultan's Khilafat than their co-religionists in other parts of the world, some of whom indeed, as victims of long years of Turkish misrule, availed themselves of the first opportunity to declare their independence, and were entirely indifferent as to the effect it would have on the Khilafat. The history of Islam had taught them that this was a dignity which in the past had been enjoyed by various dynasties, and had furnished an apt illustration of the maxim, *might is right*. It had been appropriated by the strongest, (and especially if he managed to get hold of the sacred cities Mecca and Medina, and at no time were the *de facto* holders credited with any special virtues, religious or spiritual, though they had certain duties to perform of a secular nature. The prophet Mahomed was a social and a religious reformer, and did not profess to found a ruling dynasty. He therefore left to the people the choice of a successor. His first and

second successors were Koraishis, that is, of the same tribe, but not of the same family, the third and fourth were his sons-in-law, and the fifth was an Omayyad, who made the Khilafat hereditary. It remained for about a century in this family, with the seat of Khilafat transferred to Damascus. Civil wars intervened, the Abbasides came into power, and remained Khalifas till 1269 A. D., with their seat at Bagdad. There were also Khalifas in other Moslem countries, but they recognized the authority of the Abbasides as paramount Khalifa, by reason of their being in possession of the sacred cities. After the Abbasides the central Khilafat came to an end, and the Mameluke dynasty, with their seat in Egypt, became the Khalifas, while an offshoot of the Omayyads founded a kingdom in Spain, and ruled there as Khalifas, while a third Khalifa had sprung up in Africa. From this Sir Syed Ahmed Khan drew the logical conclusion that Khilafat means only kingdom, and every Muslim ruler, if he wishes, can assume the title 'Khalifa.' The Mameluke dynasty in Egypt, which exercised sway over the Hedjaz, was wiped out by the Tartars, when a man claiming lineage with the Abbasides was installed, and it was from his family the Turkish Sultan Salim secured this office for himself, by virtue of having obtained control by conquest over the Hedjaz, after wading through a river of Muslim blood. The Sultans of Turkey being neither lineal descendants of the Prophet nor of his tribe of Koraishi, their sole title to the Khilafat rests on the fact

of their exercising sway over the Hedjaz, and for this reason for the last five centuries they have by some Moslem nations of the world been recognized as Khalifas. Take away the Hedjaz, and the Sultan will no longer be Khalifa to the outside world, in spite of the fact that he still retains the standard, the sword and the turban, which are supposed to be the relics of the prophet, but of which there is no mention in the lives of the first four Khalifas. From this point of view the Indian Moslems have a just ground of complaint that a fatal blow has been struck against the Khilafat in the person of the Sultan of Turkey. On the other hand, it is significant that their active interest in the Khilafat is of a recent date. The Moghul Emperors held the Turkish Khilafat of no account, and it was their own names that were read in the Khutba. Akbar obtained the dictum of his lawyers and divines that he was the head of the church and had the right to govern it according to his own judgment. In his new confession of faith it was declared that, 'There is no God but God, and Akbar is His Khalifa.' As a matter of fact it was England which brought the Indian Moslems into closer contact and sympathy with Turkey during the Crimean and Russo-Turkish wars. It was a political move, having for its object the winning the good will of the Moslem population by posing as the champions of the Khalifas.

But the Turks look upon this question from a practical point of view. The previous history of the Khilafat indicates that the title and prerogatives attached to it imposed certain obligations moral and

material. Up to the time that Turkey was drawn into the war her outlay in the Hedjaz, which is entirely an unproductive country, constituted a heavy charge on her revenues, consisting of a fixed salary to the Sharif, an annual subsidy to the Bedouins, and the upkeep of a civil administration and of a Turkish contingent for the protection of the pilgrims proceeding to the sacred shrines, as against the looting propensities of the Arabs. As matters stand at present, the Sultan, with a bankrupt treasury and with the fairest provinces wrested from him, will lack the requisite means to exercise any administrative or financial control over the Hedjaz, even if the Arabs had any inclination to permit him to do this. The Turkish delegates, fully realising the significance of the new situation, advanced certain proposals to the Allies that the Sultan be permitted to depute a representative to reside in each of the holy cities so as to attend the religious services and that he should enjoy the privilege of sending with an Imperial message the annual *surrak* presents for the maintenance of the mosques in Mecca and Medina, hoping by this means to secure for Turkey a nominal suzerainty over the Hedjaz. This was an original device for retaining the title and prerogative of Khalifa, but it was not the orthodox method, and there are already indications that in Arabia, Afghanistan, Hyderabad, and for aught we know in other Moslem countries, a readjustment of this title is under contemplation, causing a Khilafat leader to exclaim that 'where the carcass is, there will also be found the

vultures.'

We have seen the Emir Abdulla, the eldest son of the King of Hedjaz, suggesting that a new Khalifa should be elected. It was on the ground that at present there was no Khilafat. Turkey did not satisfy any one of the four qualifying conditions for the Khilafat—that the holder should be of the family of the Koraish, should be in possession of the holy places, should hold the Abwab-el-Haramain, that is, Damascus and the routes from Mesopotamia to the holy places, and should have adequate temporal power to maintain his position. Whether in the circumstances, Turkey remained in Constantinople was to him a matter of indifference. The Khilafat had been held by the Sultan because it had been wrested by the Turks from the descendants of the Prophet by the power of the sword, which was contrary to Moslem traditions and, in fact, ran counter to the precepts of the Prophet. The Sharif of Mecca, being a lineal descendant of the Prophet, might have advanced a claim to this position if the Hedjaz was self-supporting, but it is barren and destitute of any material resources. Without some foreign pecuniary help he cannot administer the country, and organise a force to protect the pilgrims. This is a serious disability, for the chief qualification of a Khalifa is his capacity to defend the holy cities from foreign aggression. The Nizam's Minister in his communique to the press made a barefaced bid on his behalf for the Khilafat, so far as the Moslems of India are concerned. The ruler of the

Hyderabad State was credited 'with a capacity equal in ability, wisdom and statesmanship to some of the most illustrious Caliphs of the old and by-gone repositories of Islamic civilization'. His dominions were described as vast, richly endowed by nature, with a population below normal, immune from foreign invasion and with every possibility of advancement and prosperity for Moslems. And it was alleged that 'Hyderabad has all the potentialities of a Bagdad and Cordova, and is the one place on earth where Mussalmans may hold their heads high and aspire to rise to the flood level of Islamic culture'. As to Afghanistan, to which the Moslem eyes were turned, the country was described as composed 'of barren rocks and sandy plains in which nature has always refused to produce sufficient food for even the sparse population that inhabits it and where a stable government is and always has been an uncertainty', in striking contrast to a country which in glowing terms was credited with being more favourably placed than any province in British India. And the Amir of Afghanistan will probably retort by asking how language of this sort can be used on behalf of one who is denuded of every vestige of sovereignty and is ruling over a state which is protected from foreign aggression and internal dissension by the power of his suzerain, the British Government, and why the population is below normal. There is no question that a general bid is being made for the Khilafat, illustrating the truth of Sir Syed Ahmed's observation that there is no pretence of

religion in connection, with it, for the Khalifa is neither infallible like the Pope, nor has he like him, power to grant absolution in matters spiritual or temporal. or to frame new rules in religion. He is Khalifa in so far as he can maintain order in his dominions and can protect his subjects and repel any invasion of his rights and liberties. Now the Amir of Cabul, so far as his subjects are concerned, can do that, and he may take advantage of the dismemberment of Turkey to declare himself Khalifa. The fact that the Khilafat formed the first topic of discussion at the Mussoorie Conference, the invitation to Mahajarins to settle in Afghanistan, and the issuing of a pamphlet advocating the claims of the trans-border sovereign, constituted unmistakable signs that his pretensions extended beyond his own country. So far as the Nizam is concerned, he has rubbed the Indian Moslems the wrong way, and in spite of his blandishments his firmans did not evoke much enthusiasm. Indeed it was proposed to take away from him the title of Muhi-ul-millatwad-deen. I confess I do not know what it means, nor why it was conferred, but it is an object lesson to those who love titles.

We have here an accumulation of reasons indicating, that the Khilafat has undergone various vicissitudes, that Moslems generally are indifferent as to the effect the disruption of Turkey will have upon it, that a scramble for this dignity is in progress and that there is no adequate reason for the agitation in respect of it which is being engineered chiefly by certain Hindu

and Mahomedan political enthusiasts. Under their direction the Special Congress, the Khilafat Conference and the All-India Moslem League, which met in Calcutta in the month of September, 1920, decreed that further agitation in respect to Turkey and the Khilafat be pursued vigorously, in spite of the fact that so far the propaganda had been barren of any appreciable result. This decision was much to be deplored, for the agitation had already been overdone. There were unfortunate indications that it would be run on lines that were indefensible, and that it was susceptible of being abused if it was allowed to reach the ignorant masses. And finally, there were strong grounds for entertaining the belief that it was likely to be infructuous of any satisfactory result. To start with the agitation was legitimate and praiseworthy, and as such it was entitled to a fair and impartial hearing. It was in this spirit Mr. Lloyd George received the Moslem deputation from India, and complimented the speakers on the lucidity and moderation with which they had stated their case. But before long the propaganda developed another aspect. A fictitious importance was attached to it, and a vast amount of exaggeration was indulged in with respect to it, while an animus was evinced toward England, which, considering all that had been done to help the Moslem cause by the Secretary of State, Lord Siffa and the Maharajah of Bikaner, was as unreasonable as it was ineffective for any practical purpose. The theory of a conditional loyalty was propounded, and to intimidate the Government a graduated measure of

non-co-operation was proposed, and to a partial extent put in practice.

There can be no question that this change of attitude had the effect of irritating British statesmen, and influencing the conciliatory policy that had so far been pursued, in view of the fact that events had occurred which had given pain to the Mussalmans, and in the belief that time and the hopelessness of the cause would lead them to desist from further agitation. The Government of India was silent, and it was a blunder to infer from it that it might yield to Moslem importunities, and that it only needed a resort from one extravagance to another to make this a certainty. And even if it had an inclination to yield, it was beyond its power to modify the terms that had been imposed on Turkey by the Allied powers in a body. As regards the restoration of the *status quo ante bellum*, Mr. Lloyd George drew up a scathing indictment of Turkey, in language that was characterised as offensively frank, but which left no doubts as to the finality of the verdict. He said: - 'The Turk has been living on capital which he had acquired by a long record of violent ferocity. In recent years he had dissipated that capital. The Balkan wars demonstrated that he was no longer the same formidable person. His armies melted before the Bulgarians, before Serbia, and before Greece, that had been his vassal. That has altered the situation. The great Powers had kept him together, not because of any particular confidence they had in him, but because they were afraid

of what might happen if he disappeared. The late war has completely put an end to that state of things. Turkey is broken beyond repair, and from our point of view we have no reason to regret it. She broke every promise ever made. she sold every friend, including Great Britain. We stood by her through good and evil report. British treasure, British brains, and British blood had been expended on preserving her integrity and her power, and at the most critical hour in our history she sold us to our most dangerous and bitterest enemy. Therefore, we could not trust her again. Turkey is no more, and nothing will put Turkey together again as an Empire.' After this pronouncement further agitation would have appeared futile. But it was kept up by reason of a curious development of political feeling in India, which made a Hindu the leader of a purely Moslem propaganda. Should any modification take place in the position of Turkey, it will not be as the result of any agitation, but owing to the political changes of Europe, which are subject to a variety of influences, especially as regards the relations of Greece to the Allies, the aggressive attitude of the Bolshevists and the resistance offered by Kemal Pasha and the Nationalist party to the terms proposed by the Allies.

The fact that Egypt has been granted a kind of independence, and that England has modified its mandatory views about Mesopotamia, which as first conceived would have reduced it to a British dependency, afford but cold comfort to the advocates of Turkey.

Against neither of these countries could charges be brought similar to those framed against Turkey. They were more sinned against than sinning. They had done nothing to offend the European nations. The ostensible object of English intervention was to introduce a stable government amongst people who were entitled to claim the benefit of the doctrine of self-determination. Whatever may have been the views of British statesmen, the English nation declared in unmistakable terms that it was not prepared to impose its own rule by force of arms and to be burdened with the expenditure entailed thereby. Both Egypt and Mesopotamia had the capacity to make themselves troublesome, and they did not hesitate to bring it in evidence. By a simple calculation of profit and loss a decision as to the policy to be pursued as regards them was arrived at. Turkey is so crippled and so hedged in by hostile forces that, though it may in time start a new life on a more sure and sound basis, it is now innocuous so far as foreign nations are concerned.

Though the Treaty of Peace was eventually signed by Turkey, a demand was made and an agitation was started by Indian Moslems for its modification. Some sort of idea was running in the minds of extremist politicians both Hindu and Mussalman that this could be achieved by coercing the British Government to eat its own words and to flout the sentiments expressed by it in respect to the self-determination of separate nationalities, which by the way have not been proved

to be either unjust or uncalled for. But even if the British Government could be coerced, is it seriously proposed that it should embark on a gigantic war with nations which have been so far its Allies? For the French have to be driven out of Syria, the Greeks out of Thrace and Asia Minor, and the Arabs, who have set up their own rule in Yemen, have to be convinced at the point of the bayonet that the doctrine of self-determination is a myth, and that it had better find refuge in the bosom of Turkey. Neither the English people nor the Indians are by any means keen to undertake fresh wars, nor is there any evidence in existence that the Moslems of India are dying to be at the throats of the Arabs for having had the temerity to declare their independence. Or is it desired that the sacred land of Jazirat-ul-Arab should be desecrated by the presence of the non-descript classes of which the Indian army is composed? It is impossible then to avoid the conclusion that, though the agitation in respect to the Khilafat had a solid basis to start with, it is more than probable that it would have died of sheer inanition, having nothing that is practical to go upon, but that it was being bolstered up by local grievances, and was being utilised by Messrs Gandhi and Shaukat Ali for political purposes.

Having regard to these various considerations any further agitation for the resuscitation of Turkey would have been profitless and unavailing, but by a curious combination of circumstances a favorable turn in the fortunes of Turkey seems imminent at the present

moment when the Far East Conference is sitting in London. It is more than probable that the rigour of the terms imposed on her will be relaxed, but not on account of the agitation carried on in India, though the British Government would no doubt be glad if the Indian Moslems could somehow be appeased and the prevailing unrest would disappear. As a matter of fact, Kemal Pasba has been a harder nut to crack than the Allies had anticipated. This is a fact the Indian Moslems would do well to realise, so as to shape their future line of action. Turkey is solving her own problem, and in doing this the question of the Khilafat is conspicuous by its absence. It is a matter entirely reserved for the decision of the Moslems, and the probability is that instead of this office being held by a single individual it will for the future be put in commission, each Moslem ruler, who believes himself to be independent, appropriating it for himself.

An outsider presuming to tender advice to the Moslems in a matter of religious concern runs a great risk of being misunderstood, but the very fact that this community is now falling in a line with other communities, in agitating for the joint welfare of all, affords some justification for the freedom with which I have discussed this question. So far from there being an unanimity in respect to it, I have noticed a great diversity, and it would be far from correct to suppose that there is a preponderance in the number of those whose religious susceptibilities have been aroused. These are certainly more vociferous and

assertive, whereas those who are opposed to the propaganda carried on in the name of the Khilafat are content to take up the role of silent spectators, and even as such have to suffer for the passive attitude they have adopted. There are others again who, to start with, were staunch champions of the Khilafat cause but have withdrawn from the agitation in respect to it on discovering it was being utilised for political purposes with which they have no sympathy. It is not difficult to understand why they do not denounce those who they believe are proceeding on a path that is dangerous and fraught with the most serious consequences to the Moslem community, but now and again we come across one who has the courage of his convictions. Such a one is the Hon. Mr. Fazl-ul Haq, who, in his address as President of the recent Bengal Mahomedan Conference, held at Dacca, gave expression to the following sentiments, which his fellow co-religionists would do well to lay to heart :—‘There are some who have frankly and openly confessed to me that they do not care a brass farthing for the Khilafat, but the sole object in pushing forward the programme of non-cooperation is to bring back the days of anarchist outrages, and thereby pave the way for a revolution in India. Those who are working with this criminal object in view have no stake in the country and will have nothing to lose, but we, on our part, cannot be a consenting party to this scheme of blood, rapine and plunder’.

Following on the heels of the Dacca Conference

came the All-India Shiah Conference, held in Lucknow, during Christmas week, which quietly ignored the agitation that is being carried on in respect to the rehabilitation of Turkey and the maintenance of the Khilafat in the person of the Sultan. Stress was laid on the advancement of the community by encouraging and improving the secular and technical education of the people, so that the existing institutions may be able to turn out men who would go into the world adorned with the virtues of Islamic faith and the teaching of their Holy Prophet and Imams, and who would practise what they preach, and be able to hold their own against others in intellectual and moral attainments. The Shiahs may therefore be taken to have parted company from the militant Sunnis, who are now marching under the banner of Mr. Gandhi, and are looking forward to a relief from their grievances in the emancipation of India from British rule. About the same time the Mahomedan Educational Conference met at Amraoti under the presidency of Hon., Mr. Ibrahim Haroon Jaffir, who, while deploring the fate of Turkey and the calamities of his co-religionists outside India, boldly faced the non-co-operation propoganda to which the Khilafat question has now been tacked on as a side issue. He expressed grave doubts as to whether the Moslem religion favours the association of non-Moslems in any agitation in respect to religious matters, and expressed the opinion that the Ulemas differ amongst themselves in regard to the various aspects of the question. He recommended

general meeting of influential Ulemas, free from any political or personal bias, to come to a decision in respect to it. Till this was done, he realised that 'the existing differences of opinion between the different sections of the community will continue, and the gentlemen who are deluding the people under the guise of religion will cause lasting injury to their interests'.

It is evident that thoughtful and sober-minded Moslems are getting rather sick of those who have been posing as leaders of the community, and have committed it to a policy which is calculated to lead it to complete ruin. Mr. Jinnah is a red hot Nationalist, but nevertheless is able to realise wherein lie the best interests of the country, and he therefore vehemently opposed the change of creed of the National Congress at Nagpore and of the All-India Muslim League, which emphasized the political connection between India and England. Speaking at the National Congress at Nagpore, he had occasion to allude to 'Mr.' Gandhi. He was at once called to order, and asked to address the latter as 'Mahatma'. He said he would willingly do it, but when requested to speak of 'Mr.' Mahomed Ali as 'Maulana,' he retorted (amid cries of 'shame') 'no, I will not be dictated to by you. Mr. Mahomed Ali. If you will not allow me the liberty to speak of a man in the language which I think is right you are denying me the liberty which you are asking for. I am entitled to say Mr. Mahomed Ali'. A storm is evidently brewing. It is not merely the refusal to recognise self-imposed titles or the stigmatizing the leaders as 'notoriously

irresponsible agitators of questionable antecedents', but they will find that there are other matters they will be called upon to answer which will tax all their ingenuity. Recent events have given eloquent evidence of the fact that individuals who have served the country well and faithfully and have been acclaimed as heroes one day have been unceremoniously thrown aside the next day, as is the case with Mrs. Besant Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mr. Jinnah, who were the foremost amongst the Nationalist leaders. Hooted and yelled at, the aged Englishwoman kept away from the last session of the National Congress, over which not many years before she had presided at a critical period of its history, and been worshipped as a goddess. Living or dead, she will be a striking monument of Indian ingratitude. Should the Musalmans find out they are being hoodwinked, their present leaders may not be let off so lightly.

The fact that the agitation in respect to the Khilafat has now been relegated to a secondary position affords a curious commentary as to its genuine nature to start with. On his return from England, Mr. Mahomed Ali declared that it was hopeless to expect any relief from the statesmen of Europe, or from the Government of India, or even from the Moslems outside India. He found Mr. Gandhi had started a crusade for the declaration of *swaraj*, or the independence of India, and he joined forces with him, and emphasized the fact that once India was free it would then be able to vindicate the cause of Turkey and the Khilafat.

Within the last few months the activities of the Moslems have therefore been engrossed with the non-co-operation propaganda, which is conceived to be a panacea for all the evils that the people of India are suffering from. Following on these lines, Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad, presiding at the Khilafat Conference at Nagpore, enunciated his views as follows:—'When the Khilafat agitation commenced, the cry was for saving the holy places from unholy hands, and also for maintaining the integrity of the Turkish Empire. But time had made astounding revelations, and it was now clear that the Khilafat question was intermingled with the world's fight for the liberty of all the nations. The greatest imperialist nation of the world, the British Government, which was trying to destroy the liberties of all minor nations, must be checked from its nefarious activities, and unless this was achieved no solution of the Khilafat question would satisfy the Moslem world. The first duty of Khilafat workers should therefore be to confine themselves now to win the liberty of India. The means by which this could be done was non-co-operation. This was *jehud*, which Islam has undertaken to fight a tyrant nation'. A similar view was endorsed by Dr. Ansari, the President of the All-India Muslim League. So that the future agitation in respect to the Khilafat came to be merged in the activities of the non-co-operation propaganda.

It is painful to have to write anything that is calculated to discourage the Moslem community or to damp their religious ardour, but it is a friendly act to raise a

warning voice against their treading on a path which is likely to lead to deplorable disappointment. There are some of them who are concentrating their efforts towards securing *Swaraj*, which it is believed will be the means by which relief will be afforded to Turkey and the Khilafat. This *Swaraj* is to be one in which the present rulers of India will have no part. They are considered to be antagonistic to Turkey, but why this should be is beyond comprehension. It certainly runs counter to the evidence, lasting over centuries of their uniform friendliness to the Ottoman Empire, which history tells us was saved over and over again by England from destruction. Anyhow, we will assume that such a *swaraj* is established. But are we also called upon to assume that in this *swaraj* the Moslems will be the dominant factor? If this be the idea, then the Hindu will want to know the reason why. The Hindus constitute the bulk of the Indian population, and if there is one reason which has reconciled them to British rule more than another it is the belief that they have obtained relief from Mahomedan misrule and thralldom. It cannot be affirmed that Moslem rule, replete with internal dissensions and destitute of security from foreign aggression, was better than British rule, and that therefore Hindus should not mind reverting to it. No, the *swaraj* Mr. Gandhi has in view most certainly does not imply Moslem dominance. All he has said was, and all he wants is, that Hindus and Moslems should be brothers, and live together in peace. He is a man of peace, and has

no inclination to think of any other condition. But if by chance they should fall out, then what is to happen? I do not think Mr. Gandhi is very much troubled about it, for he knows out of a total population of 315 millions only 70 millions are Moslems. But Mr. Lajpat Rai, in his Presidential address at the Special Congress in Calcutta, freely ventilated his views on this matter. 'I do not believe,' he said, 'there are any Indian Muslims who want Muslim sovereignty in India, but if there be any such we should not be afraid of them. If it came to it we know how to defend our liberties with or without British aid.' Let the fates decide, and we need not go into this question; but any how that there will be internal trouble in India is inevitable, and it is permissible to inquire, when the Moslems in India are fighting for their own existence, how they can possibly help to resuscitate another nation? But let us assume, and I must confess it is a pretty big assumption, that without the restraining hand of England, the Hindus and Moslems are living in peace, what claim has Turkey on India that its people should go and fight for a decaying Empire? That Turkey has been hacked to pieces is a deplorable calamity for it, but apart from a matter of sentiment it in no way affects the Indian Moslems, who are committing a grievous error by supposing the Hindus would make common cause with them so far as to be willing to go thousands of miles to fight for a nation with which they have no concern. It is a proposition so wild that any further discussion of it is profitless.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PAN-ISLAMIC UNREST.

We have seen that there is no justification for the assertion that the disruption of Turkey has outraged the feelings of the whole Moslem population of the world. Nor even is it correct to say that the entire body of Mussalmans of India are appreciably affected by this catastrophe. Some of these have of late been very vociferous in emphasizing the fact that, unless the predisposing causes of irritation and resentment are removed, England will have forfeited its claim to their allegiance. It is a serious situation, and needs to be treated dispassionately. Every allowance should be made for a community which exercises a considerable influence on the general welfare of India, and has up till recently been exuberant in the affirmation of its loyalty and devotion to English rule. The previous chapters have demonstrated that Turkey crumbled to pieces as the result of chronic misrule and for gratuitously taking up arms against the nations which, far from giving any provocation, had repeatedly helped her in times of dire necessity. A group of Moslem nationalities, which for centuries had been victimised, have obtained their freedom, and have now an opportunity of working out their political salvation. That the Sultan's Khilafat has in consequence been endangered is probably true, but it would appear

that the Moslems outside British India are not much concerned about it, and that there is no special reason why those in India should be reduced to a frantic condition. General statements have been made that Islam is in danger, but no scriptural authorities have been cited in support of this view, apart from some seemingly irrelevant texts. And it is an incontrovertible fact that the Allies have neither contributed to the downfall of Turkey, nor have they evinced any desire to interfere with the Khilafat, which is left for settlement to the Moslems at large. There is no community of interests between the Turkish and Indian Moslems beyond the tie of religion, and it is not intelligible why the Mussalmans of Hindustan should nurse a grievance against the Allied powers, who are meting out justice to those who fought against them. There must therefore be some special reason which has prompted or contributed to this outburst of feeling, which is largely responsible for the present Moslem unrest in India.

It is a peculiar feature of this unrest that to start with it was more or less confined to a section of the educated classes of the community. In Sind and in some parts of the North-West Frontier Province there was some excitement amongst the lower classes, but it was not spontaneous. It was due, in the one place to the hostile activity of the Pirs, and in the other to the inflammatory speeches of the Mullahs. That in other parts of India the religious fanaticism of stray individuals was aroused is evidenced by the deplorable

murder of Mr. Willoughby, Deputy Commissioner of Kheri, and by the disastrous action of some enthusiasts, who sought relief for their outraged feelings in voluntary exile. But on the whole the masses are untouched. Their faith is as simple as it is staunch. They are as strict in carrying out the observances of their religion as they are ready to resent any interference with it. Yet they have not been stirred to any appreciable extent by the misfortunes of Turkey, for in no way have their interests been affected or their religious susceptibilities been hurt. Their chief concern is to eke out a living in peace and to have complete freedom in the exercise of their spiritual duties. Peace is assured to them, and if the struggle for existence is strenuous, at any rate they know it would be futile to expect any outside help. They have a general idea that the Sultan of Roum is their Khalifa, but they have no traditions that he has ever taken any interest in, or evinced any sympathy for, the Moslems of India. Recent events have brought to them the knowledge that Turkey had ranged herself against England in the European war, and that the Sharif of Mecca had declared his independence. But they have viewed these matters with indifference, except it be those who were called upon to take a part in the great Armageddon. By practical experience they have attained the assurance that the English rulers of India never interfere with the religious dogmas or ceremonial observances of any of the communities in which the vast population of India is split up. And thus it is they found it easy

to carry out the teachings of Islam, imposing on them certain obligations of submission and obedience to their temporal rulers. They realised that, whether for weal or for woe, their fortunes were bound up with England, and so they fought for her against Turkey, as they had previously done against other Moslem nations, without doing any violence to their religious susceptibilities. But it would be idle to minimise the effect of a propaganda which is calculated to inflame the religious frenzy of the ignorant. The murderer of Mr. Willoughby admitted that it was the Khilafat speeches which led him to commit the outrage on an inoffensive man.

Why certain educated Shiah have thrown in their lot with their Sunni brethren is a fact so curious that there must be some special reason for it. As they repudiate the validity of the Sultan's Khilafat, it cannot be due to any religious considerations. The Mujtahids of Lucknow issued a manifesto giving a variety of reasons why their community should stand aloof from the present agitation. Their pronouncement was questioned by certain educated Shiah of the new school, one of whom, Mr. Riza Ali, in a letter to the Viceroy, recited the reasons why his community was equally concerned with the Sunnis in respect 'to the fate of Turkey and the holy places of Islam'. As was to be expected, no mention was made of the Khilafat. The reasons given were significant, and practically expose the Moslem case. It was said that, 'Islam will cease to be a living force if Turkey dies. The Shiah

have felt keenly the killing by England of the independence of Persia, and are determined to see that the strangulation of Persia shall not be followed by the amputation of Turkey'. This represents the Moslem case in a nutshell, and lends countenance to the view that to bolster it the Khilafat question has been dragged in. The Emir Abdulla very pertinently remarked: - 'It seems to me, as I have no doubt it will to many others, that Mr. Mahomed Ali and his colleagues cannot expect the Supreme Council to accept his view of the Khilafat until he can show, which he evidently cannot, that it is shared by his Arab co-religionists. Until the dispute is settled among Moslems first, there is no reason at all why the Indian Moslem view should be accepted rather than the Arab one. It is obvious that the Indian Moslems ought to have come to an accord on the Khilafat question with the Arabs before pressing their demands on the Allied statesmen, who were shrewd enough to localise the spot where the shoe was pinching, and to diagnose the real disease. The alternative lay between mending or ending the Ottoman Empire, and the latter course was adopted, as an easy solution of a long, vexatious and intricate problem.

It was in the year 1877, when driving from Secunderabad to Hyderabad (Deccan), I was entertained by a recitation given by Moulvi Mehdi Ali, the Nizam's Revenue Secretary, who subsequently became Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk and Secretary of the M. A. O. College at Aligarh. He was reading a speech delivered by

Midhat Pasha at the Turkish Assembly, which had been convened for the first time in Constantinople. It was a soul-inspiring speech, deploring the downfall of Turkey, and emphasizing the necessity for a thorough reform in the political, social and economic condition of the country, so as to prevent its further decay, and thus to consolidate the power of the Islamic nations in the East. At that time Sir Salar Jung had recruited a large number of educated men from Northern India to fill the higher posts in the State. They were more or less imbued with the ideas of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, and were called Naturees, the worshippers of nature, as they were credited with being free-thinkers in matters of religion. Of these men there is only one that is still in Hyderabad, my old friend and tutor, Mr. Syed Hussein Bilgrami (Nawab-Imad-ul-Mulk). It was to be expected that these foreigners should incur a certain amount of odium by reason of their heterodox views and the laxity in the observance of the Islamic ceremonial, but they made ample amends for this by the fervour displayed by them in the Pan-Islamic cause.

We do not hear much being said in these days about the Pan-Islamic peril, but for some decades it has engaged the attention of writers and politicians. A propaganda was inaugurated, the strings of which were being pulled from Turkey, which had for its object the aggrandisement of the nations professing the Islamic faith. Its emissaries were scattered far and wide, and in certain quarters a belief is entertained

that they were stirring up the Moslems of India, Egypt, Persia and Afghanistan against their rulers, or at any rate that they were producing a considerable amount of unrest. So great was the alarm produced in the minds of European statesmen that an eminent French politician, Baron d' Estournelles de Constant wrote:— 'The role of an officer who should undertake to disintegrate any forces of Islam would be the noblest and most useful that a man can employ for his country'. On the other hand, Moslem writers have called the peril a bogey which they says haunts the minds of evil-intentioned persons just at the moment when they are going to commit an unlawful act, such for example as a territorial usurpation. But at the same time they admit and defend the necessity for an understanding among the more enlightened of Mussalmans throughout the East, with a view to uphold what vestige of independence the Islamic world still possesses.

Religion is a powerful factor in uniting distinct nationalities, but says a Turkish writer:— 'Islam is more a social organism than a creed, and it inspires its adherents with the solid community of sentiment characteristic of a people with concrete national aspirations. Up till now its whole body has uniformly suffered from Western encroachments, and henceforth, moved by a common sentiment, it will seek means of self-defence'. The words were prophetic, for the seed sown in India has borne fruit, and the Moslems are to the fore in the defence of their co-religionists in foreign lands whose liberty is at stake. This was first noticed in 1911,

during the War between Turkey and Italy, when the Indian Moslems resented the neutrality of England. But it was in the Balkan war, which followed a year later, that practical effect was given to their sympathy for Turkey, by organising and despatching a medical mission for the aid of the wounded, and a section of the Pan-Islamists propounded the dogma that the first duty of Moslems is allegiance to the Khalifa. A new Association was brought into existence, called the Anjuman-i-Khuddam-i-Kaaba, whose members took an oath to sacrifice life and property in defence of the holy shrine against non-Muslim aggressors. Go where you will, the Turkish cap will be found in evidence. It is no part of the national costume of a Moslem in India, but was introduced in this country when the Pan-Islamic movement was inaugurated, and constitutes its distinguishing badge. It is the bond which unites the Shiah to the Sunni. The downfall of Turkey has inflicted a greater blow on this international emblem of Mussalman unity than on any particular dogma of Islam.

We need not go into further details as to the progress of this movement in India. In course of time, the Aligarh College was thoroughly permeated with Pan-Islamic views. Messrs Mahomed Ali, Shaukat Ali and Zafar Ali, and a host of others, who are shouting that their religious susceptibilities have been wounded, belong to this school of thought, and most of them are ex-alumni of the M.A.O. College. They realise that the downfall of Turkey has struck a fatal blow on the

Pan-Islamic movement, and as a drowning man clutches at a straw they have sounded the battle cry of Islam in danger, hoping thus to prevent the Ottoman Empire from crumbling to pieces. They are not able to controvert the views of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan that there is no religious significance attached to the Khalifat, as the history of Islam gives full details as to how, when and why the Sultans of Turkey, who are not of the same race as the Prophet of Arabia, came to be recognised as Khalifa. They have no illusions as to the sentiments of the Moslems in other parts of the world as regards this question. They have no real apprehension that the Allies intend to do violence to the religious feelings of the Moslems, or will in any way interfere with them in the choice of a Khalifa. They are aware that the cry of Islam in danger is a false alarm, but they also realise that the Pan-Islamic dream is about to be shattered, and with it goes their political importance, which secured for them preferential treatment by the Government in the matter of appointments, seats in the Council and other representative bodies, and also formed the basis of the compact of Lucknow, by which the Hindu politicians made important concessions to them. All this leads irresistibly to the conclusion that, by investing the Turkish question with a religious aspect, the politically-minded Moslems of India are trying to rally the scattered forces of Islam to unite in making a common effort to prevent if possible the disruption of the Ottoman Empire, on the preservation of which rests the future of a movement in respect

to which their enthusiasm knows no bounds. The Pan-Islamic propaganda has a large and a staunch following in India, and its success has been so striking that, whereas not long ago the educated Moslems were most effusive in the expression of their loyalty to the rulers, and refused to join other communities in the agitation for political reforms, they are now the most hostile to British rule.

Outside India the Pan-Islamic sentiment is equally pronounced, though Turkey has gone to pieces. The Arabs in the Hedjaz, in Syria and in Mesopotamia, moved by the new born spirit of nationality, were most eager to secure their independence. This they were able to achieve with the aid of the Allied Powers, but, as for centuries past they were subject to a foreign domination, they were not only ignorant of the art of government, but had no resources of their own to maintain a rule which could secure internal peace and resist foreign invasion. Hence arose the necessity for some of the Allies becoming mandatories to help in evolving a constitution for the emancipated countries, which would enable them in time to be self-governing units. But so strong was the Islamic sentiment that the Arabs felt that in securing their freedom from Turkey they had merely exchanged the devil for the deep sea, and were therefore restive under the control of the Allies. Egypt is about to secure its independence, in response to the strong feeling of nationalism, of which recent events have given evidence. If it was certain that the emancipated portions of Turkey were

fit to govern themselves, they would be equally entitled to a similar privilege being conceded to them, but if foreign money and foreign arms are requisite to prop them up, some sort of foreign control, if for no other reason, for preserving them from anarchy, is indispensable. It is here that the leaders of the Khilafat movement in India were in a quandary, for they were averse to the Arab Nationalities receiving their freedom. They would have sacrificed them to enable Turkey to remain great and powerful. That is the coping stone of Pan-Islamism. Mr. Mahomed Ali, when cornered by Mr. Lloyd George, denied the right of the Arabs to self-determination, while he pleaded vehemently in favour of Turkey, and would not agree to even an inch of the territories of the Ottoman Empire being encroached upon.

But there was yet another and equally powerful reason which contributed to the unrest of educated Moslems in India. A wave of extremism was passing over this land, and a certain section of politicians was not content with the modicum of reform about to be introduced in the administration of the country, which was condemned as 'the contemptible device of a bankrupt statesman'. They began pressing for a speedy application in India of the principle of self-determination, which would transfer to the people a substantial portion of the ruling authority. And possibly, there were some who would have been glad to be free altogether from an alien rule. It is impossible to ignore the fact that at the present moment there is a

good deal of disaffection in India, that is, if to this term be applied the meaning of absence of affection. Whatever England may have done for India, and it has no doubt done a great deal, it has failed to enlist the affections of the people, or even to strike their imagination. On the whole they are loyal to British rule, but largely from selfish reasons; for under existing circumstances they realise that a separation from England would be disastrous to India. But they chafe under this rule, and there are many whose striving and longings are directed towards ending this absolute domination at the earliest possible opportunity, so as to substitute in its place a form of government analogous to that of the self-governing Dominions. Mr. Jinnah, the President of the All-India Muslim Conference, echoed the views of a good many in his speech in Calcutta when he said:— 'We may have Indians as Lieutenant-Governors and Governors, and for the matter of that Viceroy. That is license, but that is not liberty. What we want is true political freedom of the people, and no posts and positions in Government. One thing there is which is indisputable, and that is, that this Government must go, and give place to a complete responsible Government. Meetings of the Congress and the Moslem League will not effect this. We shall have to think out some course more effective than passing resolutions of disapproval to be forwarded to the Secretary of State for India. And we shall surely find a way even as France and Italy did and the new born Egypt has. We are not going to

rest content until we have attained the fullest political freedom in our own country'. This was strong language, but he justified it by the occurrence in the Punjab of those 'celebrated crimes which neither words of men nor the tears of women can wash away. An error of judgment they call it. If that is the last word, I agree with them. An error of judgment it is, and they shall have to pay for it, if not to-day then to-morrow'.

Thus it happened that the excitement over the Turkish question became gradually more political than religious in its nature. It was a phase of the national awakening which has within recent years inspired the intelligentsia of the land. The underlying motive was discontent, and the object kept in view was to embarrass the Government as far as possible so as to make political capital out of it. In proof of this proposition the evidence is overwhelming. Some of the Moslems who were in the forefront of the Khilafat agitation belonged to a school which holds heterodox ideas, while others were lax in the performance of their Islamic duties. Their religious susceptibilities could not easily be hurt, yet they were more noisy than the really orthodox and religious members of the community. And when it is found that they belonged to the extremist party in politics, who are most hostile to British rule, it is impossible to resist a suspicion as to the sincerity of the assertion that their religious feelings had been outraged. A certain section of the 'Hindus made common cause with them, and they also held more or

less advanced ideas as to the necessity for introducing drastic changes in the administration of the country. This further emphasizes the lurking suspicion as to the political aspect of the Moslem unrest. That the Hindus should sympathise with the Mahomedans in their troubles is an important event in the history of India, indicative of the fact that some day the divergent communities may coalesce to form one united nation. But it is doubtful how far this end will be achieved by only that section amongst them making common cause which holds extreme views in politics, and in whose propaganda the avowed end is the discomfiture of Government. A union based on motives so narrow has we shall see none of the elements of permanency in it, and may one day be dissolved.

But a union between Hindus and Mahomedans on the question of the Khilafat has a special significance which ought not to be ignored. There are Mahomedans to be found who, quoting their scriptures, deprecate the co-operation of the faithful with the Mushrik, or the idolaters, that being the epithet applied to the Hindus. It is not a union between the religious heads of the two communities, but between the leaders of the extreme section of the political parties. It is an understanding based not on a community of religious interests but of political interests. The masses are being roused, and their angle of vision is being enlarged, but not to the extent of desiring to sink the differences, which usually separate the Hindu from the Mahomedan. The Bakr-Id riots in the Patna District in 1917,

and the Hardwar riot in 1919, in which the educated classes figured prominently, bear eloquent testimony to this fact. The jumbling up of the Punjab tragedy and of the Khilafat question was an astute political move. The end kept in view was, in the words of Mr. Gandhij, 'to paralyze the mightiest government', but for all that, he said he was willing to enter into a bargain with it, which was to be in the nature of a political deal. It appears Hindus and Moslems were utilising each other to gain their respective ends. The Hindus are likely to succeed, but the Moslems are as likely to go to the wall, so far at any rate, as their special grievances in respect to Turkey and the Khilafat are concerned.

For the present attitude of the Indian Moslems, the bureaucracy who govern this country, or, to be more precise, who used to govern this country, cannot disclaim all responsibility. Lord Dufferin, who for a number of years had been Ambassador in Turkey, gave the lead in making them the objects of a special favouritism, which nurtured their political importance. When some decades ago the intelligentsia embarked on a political agitation for the introduction of a reform in the administration of the country and for the amelioration of the condition of the people, the Government was so alarmed that it resorted to the use of questionable measures to counteract the evil. The most effective was the detaching the Moslems from this propaganda, which was stigmatized as disloyal and seditious. Tempting baits were offered, and eagerly

swallowed, and while the Mahomedans enjoyed the benefits which were conferred on them, they solemnly affirmed that political agitation was anathema to them. Not only was the National Congress eschewed, but even a discussion in their own Associations of the political condition of their community. Education was looked upon as a panacea for all the ills in creation, and on it was pinned their faith for political salvation. Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk repeatedly impressed on me the fact that he was not hostile to political aspirations, but that the Moslems, as then situated, could not compete on equal terms with the more educated Hindus, and that the time would come when better equipped they would be found ready to undertake their share of the public burden. He was correct; for the enlightened Moslem of to-day is the most uncompromising critic of Government. It was only the other day the Moslem League, with political aims and aspirations, came into existence, and before long it joined hands with the National Congress. But both the principals of this indefensible bargain overshoot the mark. The loyalty of the Moslems was proclaimed far and wide, in season and out of season, by the bureaucracy, under the impression that they would be content with the favours dribbled out to them, and would never advance inconvenient demands or make common cause with the Hindus. But the official dream has now received a rude awakening. The beneficiaries committed an equal blunder in imagining they were receiving preferential treatment because the Government enter-

tained a wholesome respect for them and for their capacity to make themselves disagreeable, if thwarted. Mr. Jinnah, as President of the All-India Muslim League in 1916, stated:— 'The sentiments and feelings and the religious convictions of the Mussalmans of India are not to be lightly treated. The loyalty of the Manomedans of India to the Government is no small asset'. They have been disillusioned by recent events, and have assumed an injured air, because certain demands made by them have been rejected, quite apart from the consideration how far these were reasonable or feasible of compliance. And while in impotent rage they are uttering a variety of threats, the Government is preserving a grim silence, which is ominous and pregnant with danger should the time for any action unfortunately arise.

The Moslem unrest is a fact which stares us in the face. Apart from the reasons already recited to account for this, there are others which cannot be ignored, and which, if desired to sum up in a few words, I should say resolve themselves into a loss of confidence in, and a distrust of, the English in India. Mr. Jinnah, while making a most eloquent and powerful appeal to the National Congress in Nagpur to pause before it took the final step towards advocating the separation of India from England, which was implied in the change of its creed, emphasized the fact that he entirely agreed with Lala Lajpat Rai in most part, of his indictment against the Government, and he did not think there was any difference of opinion regarding the

nature of certain acts which had made their blood boil. Dr. Ansari, as President of the All-India Moslem League, justified the Moslems joining the non-co-operation propoganda on the ground that the Government of the country was unjust and heedless of the rights and liberties of the people. This in fact is the theme of all the Moslem Nationalist leaders of to-day. And this does not apply exclusively to the Moslems, but is equally true of the Hindus. That the Hindu Nationalists should grow eloquent on this theme should excite no surprise, but the Moderates do not lag very far behind. The National Liberal Federation is the new organisation wherein they give expression to their views. At their third annual session, which was held in December in Madras, they had for their President Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, Editor of the Allahabad *Leader*, which stands in high favour with the Government for its moderate views. He is now one of the Ministers appointed by the Government of the United Provinces, and this is what he said:— It is true we decline to endorse hysterical descriptions of the British Government, we are certain that it is not beyond redemption, as the ardent missionaries of the new cult must attempt to make out in order to make converts of unthinking men and callow youths. But we are as sensible as they are of the wrongs that have been perpetrated and the grievous failure to do it justice, and I am sure I interpret your mind correctly when I say that our opposition to non-co-operation is not due to misplaced tenderness for the authors of our

wrongs. The Government cannot escape the responsibility for the present political muddle. If it had acted with wisdom and righteousness the reforms would have had a fairer reception, and England's credit in India would have stood much higher'. And he proceeded to enumerate some of the deeds of omission and commission for which he held the Government responsible.

And this furnishes an explanation why a certain section of the Hindus are making common cause with the Moslems, and why these have accepted Mr. Gandhi as their leader in fighting in respect to a matter which is purely religious in its nature. The agitation in its present form is a reflex of the Pan-Islamic movement, which has broadened its aim, and extended its sphere of operations. We have here hints of the possible combination of Eastern nations, apart from questions of religion or race, to combat the domination exercised by the West. Not much is known to the public in India about a certain incident, which in official circles came to be known as the Silk Letter Conspiracy, and which furnishes a concrete instance of the longings and the plannings that had received a direct inspiration from the Pan-Islamic dream, with which certain Moslem enthusiasts were oppressed. This conspiracy, which was hatched in India, was discovered and suppressed in 1916. It is well known that during the Great War the Germans sent a mission to Kabul to incite the Amir to join in the proposed attack on India. Certain notorious Indians, including a number of

Lahore students, whom it will serve no good purpose to name, had also found their way there. They were busy with their machinations, and had established what was called a 'Provisional Government' for India. Failing to achieve their object, the German mission left Afghanistan early in 1916, but the Indians remained, and the 'Provisional Government' proposed to form an alliance with the Turkish Government. In order to accomplish this object, letters were addressed to certain Indians, in India and elsewhere, to secure their co-operation in the discomfiture of England. These letters were neatly and clearly written on yellow silk, and were intercepted by the British Government. In them is recorded the previous arrival of the German and Turkish missions, the return of the Germans, the staying on of the Turks, but without work, the runaway students, the circulation of the 'Ghalibnama', which was a declaration of *jihād* by Ghalib Pasha, then Turkish Governor of Hedjaz, the 'Provisional Government' and the projected formation of 'an army of God'. Its headquarters were to be at Medina, and the names were given of three patrons, twelve field-mmarshals and many other high military officers. Of the Lahore students, one was to be a major-general, one a colonel, and six lieutenant-colonels. Ghalib Pasha, having become a prisoner of war, admitted signing the 'Ghalibnama', a passage from which is worth quoting:- 'The Mahomedans in Asia, Europe and Africa adorned themselves with all sorts of arms, and rushed to join the *jihād* in

the path of God. Thanks to Almighty God that the Turkish army and the Mujahedin have overcome the enemies of Islam.....Oh Moslems, therefore attack the tyrannical Christian Government under whose bondage you are. Hasten to put all your efforts, with strong resolution, to strangle the enemy to death, and show your hatred and enmity for them'.

There is no question that so far the British nation has taken advantage of the division in the ranks of the people of India, by reason of their difference in race and creed. But though the union may not be lasting there are indications that they can unite in a common cause in respect to which their feelings are roused. Mr. Spoor, who came out to India as the representative of the Labour Members of Parliament, and as such attended the Congress at Nagpore, stated in his address to the delegates that on his return to England he and his colleagues would be bound to report on 'the most amazing unity, the most extreme spirit of Nationalism we have seen manifested everywhere in India.' And though the bulk of the people are not taking any active part in the agitation which has convulsed India, at the best they are quiescent, and deem it impolitic to assert themselves at the present moment, hoping the new order of things, which has just been set in motion, will tend to mitigate the bitterness of their feelings by gradually modifying the conditions which have aroused this sentiment. Sir Valentine Chirol, who has paid India another visit, in writing to the *Times*, has made the comment

that 'the trouble in Mesopotamia and throughout the East is the loss of confidence in our honesty of purpose.No agitation can be worked save where confidence in England's word has been shaken by our own sins of omission and commission'. It is a sad commentary on British rule in India.

A similar view is expressed in a curious document entitled 'A Plea and Protest', which is signed by Lord Abingdon and several other distinguished Englishmen. The Plea is for the rectification of the terms imposed on Turkey, and the Protest is against its harsh treatment by the Allies. Both partake somewhat of the nature of special pleading, but the significance of this document lies in that it gives expression to the newly aroused distrust of England. It is stated:- 'Before the war, and right up to the Armistice, there was, in Mahomedan countries, a widespread belief in England's liberality and honesty of purpose. She was believed to be sincere in professing a desire for the liberty and progress of the Asiatic peoples, she was credited with a wish to be fair in judging between Moslems and Christians. In the course of the last two years that faith has been dissipated; in Mahomedan eyes she now stands convicted of an unscrupulous Imperialism and of having abandoned her liberal sympathies and her religious impartiality for the sake of aggrandisement. We consider this loss of trust in England's bona-fides a national calamity.' What the authors of this document have failed to recognize is, that underlying this distrust is the blow given to the Pan-Islamic sentiment, which

within recent years has permeated the Moslems both of the East and the West, and which is being shattered by the disruption of Turkey.

The strength of this sentiment is evidenced by the demands which are being put forward by the Indian delegates before the Conference of the Allies now sitting in London to settle the question how far the Treaty of Sevres is susceptible of modification. For the Turks, it being a matter of life or death to them, an allowance can be made for any extravagance they may indulge in their desire to obtain better terms. But the Indian delegates are outstripping this extravagance, and are putting forward claims, which they must know, or ought to know, are outside the range of practical politics. His Highness Aga Khan, as was to be expected from a man of his position and antecedents, exercised due restraint in the language he used in advocating the cause he was representing, but it is strange that one who had occupied the position of a High Court Judge should descend to threats which are somewhat childish, and to assertions that have no real basis in fact, oblivious of the danger that such an attitude is calculated to alienate the sympathy of even those who are disposed to be friendly to the Turks. At a dinner given by Indians to the Turkish Delegates, Mr. Hasan Imam, in welcoming them, delivered himself as follows: 'The Turkish question affected the world's peace. Papers said Thrace was not to be given to Turkey. It was no question of giving anything to Turkey, but of letting Turkey have what was

hers. If Thrace was refused to Turkey, India would either ask to get out of the British Empire, or would be another Ireland within the Empire. If the Turkish representatives accepted the denial of Thrace, India would regard them as degenerates of a race with great traditions.'

To use language of this kind to those who were honoured guests betrays the existence of some provocation, and this seems to have been afforded by the Turkish Delegates having in their Memorandum to the Allies asserted their willingness to wash their hands of the Arabs, whereas those of the Indian Moslems who are on the war path insist on some kind of autonomy being conferred on them, with the suzerainty of Turkey tacked on. Such at least was the view of the Moslem members of the Council of State and Legislative Assembly present in Delhi, expressed in a letter addressed to Sir William Vincent, the Home Member of Council. When Mr. Hasan Imam alleged, that in the event of the demands being put forward by himself and his colleagues not being acceded to, 'India would ask to get out of the British Empire', he certainly asserted what is not a fact. As has already been pointed out it is only a certain section of the Indian Moslems who are interested in Turkey and the Khilafat, and even the ardour of these has very much cooled down since the disastrous experience of the Muhajarins. As to the rest of the Indian population, it is not likely to be much disturbed by any decision that may be arrived at by the Conference. It is to be hoped some

amelioration of the Peace Terms will be granted, but if the fates ordain otherwise, the Indian Moslems will quietly submit to the decrees of Providence. As to their making 'India another Ireland within the Empire', it is a threat which does them gross injustice. The present unrest in India is due to other causes, and, as we shall see in the concluding chapter, the clouds that were gathering in the political horizon are slowly dispersing, and there is every prospect of a peaceful and happy termination to the hostile feelings, the existence of which was accentuated in 1919-20. The Pan-Islamic sentiment is bound to give way to the national awakening, which aspires to place India on the high pedestal of a self-governing country, destined in time to be no insignificant partner in the British commonwealth.



CHAPTER V.

PUNJAB A FACTOR OF UNREST.

Though the grievance connected with the Punjab has no concern with the Khilafat, the two have been running in double harness. The only points common to them are that they have both contributed to the existing unrest, and both occupy a prominent position in the non-co-operation programme, while each is bolstering up the agitation in respect to the other. But whereas the Khilafat is a matter in which a limited number of the people of India, mainly composed of a certain section of Mahomedans, had a real interest, the disclosure of frightfulness on the part of certain officials in the Punjab appealed to all classes and communities, without distinction of race and creed. In the one case, English statesmen were the victims of circumstances which were beyond their control, and nothing was further from their intention than to inflict an injury on the Moslems of India, in the other case, a few officials, civil and military, were responsible for creating a situation, the penalty of which England is paying now, and it is much to be feared will continue to pay for sometime to come. As regards the Turkish question, it was necessary to engage in a propaganda to arouse the interest and sympathy of the community at large, but in respect to the Punjab affair, the horrors connected with it needed no agitation to excite the

indignation of the people. In the one instance, public opinion outside India has found no substantial reasons to condemn the English Government, in the other the offending officials have been animadverted upon in scathing terms by English statesmen, English journals and the British people. In the one case, demands were made which were outside the range of practical politics, in the other, some reparation was justly and fairly due. This could have been granted by the Government, at any rate partially, even if it had taken the form of a few conciliatory words, honestly uttered in time, which would have soothed the ruffled feelings of the people, and knit together the bonds that unite the rulers and the ruled.

When the history of this period comes to be recorded, the writer will marvel that certain Englishmen in India so far forgot their glorious past as to countenance acts which were repugnant to the ordinary instincts of humanity, and that the Punjab Government had the fatuity to pursue subsequently a line of conduct, the result of which has been the complete estrangement of a large body of Indians from English rule, and the engendering of a resolve to free themselves of this domination at a date as early as possible. There can be no question that at the close of the year 1920, the tension of feeling was greater than it was at the beginning of the year, even though considerable indignation and irritation had then been aroused by the disclosures that had been made of acts of frightfulness on the part of certain British and Indian officials; for the hope was

entertained of the existing bitterness being removed, or at least being mitigated, by the findings of the Hunter Committee that was then sitting. But in the course of the year it became more accentuated, and the prospect grew daily more discouraging. As regards the personnel of the Committee, I wrote in 'Political Problems and Hunter Committee Disclosures' that no reflections need be made on the good faith of the members, European or Indian, but I then deplored and do still deplore the appointment of such a Committee, in view of the subject matter it had to decide. A Royal Commission was better suited for the purpose, and would have inspired greater confidence, even if it had no Indians on it, for its members would have approached the inquiry with an entirely detached mind. This could hardly be expected from some at least of the European members of the Hunter Committee, who could not help being unconsciously influenced by the fact that they were sitting in judgment on officials who were bound to them by a variety of ties, and that they were called upon to pronounce a verdict on an administration of which they were members, and in the reputation of which, as Englishmen, all of them were interested. But neither the English Cabinet, nor the British nation, and not even the people of India, had even a remote idea of the nature of the disclosures that were subsequently made by the mouths of some of the officials concerned in suppressing the disorders and in the administration of martial law. The Hunter Committee came really to be appointed under a

complete misapprehension, but in all fairness it will have to be admitted that there was no ulterior motive underlying its appointment, which was solely due to the demand made by the people of India.

One who has undertaken the task of an impartial review of the unrest connected with the year 1919-20, cannot overlook the fact that a certain amount of blame in respect to the Punjab disturbances must fairly be imputed to both sides, the people and the Government. There is no necessity to enter into the details of the deplorable incidents connected with the disorders and their suppression, for enough has been said on the subject, but a short summary is imperative to understand the present situation. I see no reason to alter my views in respect to the Rowlatt Act, to which I gave expression when the Bill was under discussion, that a fictitious importance was attached to it, and that both sides were protesting too much. There was no special necessity for enacting this measure, in face of the opposition it had aroused, and my forecast that it would remain a dead letter has been proved to be correct. On the other hand, the agitation which it gave rise to exceeded the requirements of the occasion, and was conducted in a manner calculated to precipitate the horrors which will ever be associated with the name of the Punjab. It would be idle to deny the fact that, in some instances, gross misrepresentations were indulged in, and that no serious efforts were made by the extremist leaders to correct them. I see no reason to withdraw what I wrote at the time

that 'the application of passive resistance in connection with the Rowlatt Act is both in theory and in practice as illogical as it is indefensible, and strikes at the root of those principles on which rests the whole fabric of law and order'. It has been confirmed by the unanimous verdict of the Hunter Committee, and sober-minded Indians have had no hesitation in endorsing its correctness. Nor do I see any reason to modify the assertion made by me when the martial law was in progress that, even with the scanty materials then available, a tale was being unfolded which was not calculated to reflect any credit on a Christian nation, which prides itself, and rightly, on its culture, its justice and its humanity. This was confirmed by the official evidence recorded by the Hunter Committee, which justly aroused the indignation of a large proportion of the British public outside India. The discussions in the two houses of Parliament were rightly called the Dyer Debate, wherein the extent of the General's responsibility and the punishment inflicted on him were canvassed, without any attempt to minimise or explain away the deeds of frightfulness on the part of certain officials in the Punjab, and which had been animadverted upon the British Government.

The opening of the year 1920 found the Hunter Committee still engaged in their inquiry, which unfortunately was one-sided; for the advocates of the people had withdrawn from it, for reasons that were most inadequate, and were apparently inspired by

Mr. Gandhi, who was very keen about holding an independent investigation, in conformity with his craze for refusing to accept anything from the British Government, The consequences of this step were most serious to the people of the Punjab, for there was evidence available which would have given a different complexion to some of the incidents, or would have emphasized the charge of frightfulness which had been brought against certain officials. The value to be attached to the unofficial inquiry is very problematical, for it is not an easy task for a counsel to become an independent judge in the cause in which he was an advocate for one of the parties; and the evidence that was recorded, though much of it was true, was destitute of the ordinary legal safeguards which usually contribute towards its value. The result of this inquiry has therefore been practically ignored, but even on the basis of the *ex parte* proceedings of the Hunter Committee a verdict was arrived at which was adverse to the Punjab Government and to some of the officials concerned in the suppression of the disturbances and in the administration of martial law. The Report was not unanimous, the minority members, who were Indians, taking a more serious view of the situation and of the flagrancy of the conduct of certain of the offending officials. That the European members were placed in a false position is evident from the fact that they failed to realise the gravity of some of the incidents they were obliged to comment upon. A notable instance of this was their effort to condone the explicit

of General Dyer as 'an error of judgment' and to minimise 'the effects of an action, the savagery of which has been generally condemned, in that he had left uncared for the wounded of the Jallianwalla Bagh. Even the Government of India felt called upon to express their regret that no action was taken either by the civil or the military authorities to remove the dead, or to give aid to the wounded. An impartial consideration of the Majority Report leaves the impression that, while some well-deserved strictures were made on the conduct of certain officials, an apologetic tone was adopted as regards certain others. The Government of India formed a more adequate conception of their misdeeds, and in the despatch to the Secretary of State they stated that, while inflicting on General Dyer the punishment which in their opinion he deserved, they had requested the Local Government to deal with some of the other officials according to their deserts. His Majesty's Government went a bit further, and, while animadverting in stronger terms on the conduct of the delinquents, the Secretary of State for India laid down the principles on which English officials were in the future to act under similar circumstances.

The people of India were not satisfied with either of these despatches, on the ground of the omission to inflict what they considered was an adequate punishment on the offending officials, as also because of Sir Michael O'Dwyer being eulogised for his administration of the Punjab as Lieutenant-Governor and for

the services rendered by him during the war. His is indeed a peculiar fate. On the one hand, he was acclaimed as the saviour of the Punjab, and his administration was extolled as far exceeding in merit that of the ablest and most brilliant of his predecessors. On his retirement, there was a general demand on the part of Anglo-Indians, officials and non-officials, that the highest honours should be promptly conferred on him. On the other hand, he was condemned in the most extravagant terms, and credited with being the author of the calamities with which the Punjab was inflicted; and in all honesty there was an outcry on the part of the people that he should be impeached for an accumulation of high crimes and misdemeanours.

Discarding the hysterical ebullitions on both sides, I am able to speak with a certain amount of authority, having a personal knowledge of this subject, holding as I did a semi-official position during almost the whole of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's career as Lieutenant-Governor. It was a stirring period, and it would be unfair to deny that his responsibilities were greater than fall ordinarily to the lot of the head of a provincial Government. As to his ability there can be no question, nor should credit be withheld from him for being a strong administrator. There are no reasonable grounds to question the integrity of his character and the honesty of his intentions, which formed the basis of some of the official acts for which he has been condemned. He rendered conspicuous service to the Government, of which he was a trusted agent, and he

was by no means indifferent to the welfare of the people over whom he ruled. In ordinary times he would have left the country honoured and respected as a successful Governor. But the very strength with which he was endowed proved to be his greatest weakness. Once an idea entered his head, and he considered that a certain line of conduct was necessary for the faithful discharge of his duties, or to meet an emergency, he rode his hobby to death. That he was of an impulsive nature, his best friends will not deny, for it is one of the chief characteristics of his nationality. Where he came to grief was that he never allowed an opportunity for his first impressions to be corrected by a broader outlook and by fresh facts, never mind how great was their significance. He somehow or other came to entertain a grave suspicion about the loyalty of the educated classes, and was most eager to take the whole world into his confidence that they constituted a serious menace to the State. The idea grew till it attained such extraordinary proportions that he believed, and honestly believed, in the existence of a general conspiracy to overthrow British rule in India. It was a theory that has been officially repudiated, and is signalled by the ruined career of the man who staked his past reputation upon it.

An emergency arose in various parts of India, and called into requisition the statesmanship of the rulers. In the North-Western Frontier Sir Roos Keppel and in the United Provinces Sir Harcourt Butler, though

taking every precaution to prevent an outburst of violence on the part of an unruly mob, allowed full scope for the agitation against the Rowlatt Act, and directed the police not to interfere with any public meetings or processions, with the result that there were no riots nor any outrages. Lord Ronaldshay in Calcutta, Sir George Lloyd in Bombay and Mr. Barron in Delhi, though compelled to use force to put down the excesses of unruly mobs, were able by the exercise of tact and discretion to snuff out the ebullitions of the misguided persons who tried to measure their strength with the might of the British Empire. To attain the same end in the Punjab, bombs and machine guns, martial law and deeds of frightfulness, were put into requisition. Unfortunately, this Province was the victim of a combination of adverse circumstances. The Ghadar organisation, engineered in foreign countries, had found a fruitful soil in the Punjab, where about 8000 Sikhs had returned to their homes, imbued with revolutionary ideas, and had given play to their activities in a series of political dacoities and murders. Sir Michael O' Dwyer exerted himself strenuously to eradicate this evil, and while he succeeded in the task it left his mind alert and suspicious. That the Englishmen round about him should be similarly affected was but natural. The Silk Letter Conspiracy, in which were implicated certain persons in the Punjab, besides the runaway students, had further excited the European officials. Thus it came about that when the disorders broke out in the Punjab there was a predisposition to put the

worst construction upon it. This induced a widespread belief in an organised attempt to overthrow British rule in India, a result to which an unreasoning panic and the discovery of some posters at Lahore, inciting the people to open rebellion, largely contributed. The murder of some Europeans in Amritsar and Kasur, and the brutal and savage attack on a European lady, were calculated to inflame the minds of Englishmen, so that an atmosphere was created in which a sense of proportion was entirely lost. The Punjab was believed to be in open rebellion, and the might of the Empire, reinforced with all the latest scientific improvements of warfare, was put forward to crush it. The proximity of the Punjab to the Frontier further called for a more speedy and drastic method of dealing with an evil which had simultaneously made its appearance in various parts of India. Anyhow the achievements of certain Punjab officials in connection with these disturbances are being put forward by Mr. Gandhi and his adherents as a ground for the people to throw off their allegiance to a rule which they assert can produce a Sir Michael O'Dwyer and a General Dyer. Both, it is alleged, made themselves notorious for the extraordinary conception of their duty, and a heavy penalty is being paid by the ex-Governor of the Punjab, in that, in the history of India of this period, when it comes to be written, he will find himself bracketed with the author of the massacre of Jallianwalla, to whose singular act of ferocity he in an unguarded moment gave the seal of his approval.

Greater punishment than this cannot be conceived. Fate has indeed played him a scurvy trick, for in the main he had the interests of the people of the Punjab at heart. He had stoutly vindicated their loyalty in the Legislative Council and set them up as an example to the rest of India. In doing this, he gave dire offence to the educated classes in general, and reprisals in the Council were only prevented by his tendering an apology the next day. In the twinkling of an eye this loyalty disappears, and open rebellion is found raging rampant over the Province, which had been set up as an object of admiration. An impartial writer cannot but be perplexed in trying to reconcile utterances so absolutely contradictory in their nature.

The irreconcilable attitude of the people should convince those of their error who made light of the depth of the indignation that had been aroused by the tragic occurrences in the Punjab. At one time a hope was entertained that the British Parliament would once for all set at rest the existing resentment and bitterness. But it did not. The promoters of the Turkish movement made as much capital out of this as they could, for they were shrewd enough to see that they had here a grievance which was keenly felt by all classes and communities, and that the agitation for justice to Turkey received a considerable accession of strength if to it was added the cry of justice to the Punjab. What is the redress that was asked for? A good deal of manuscript eloquence has been devoted to the subject, and the pound of flesh that was demanded consisted in

the recall of Lord Chelmsford, the impeachment of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer and the trial in the ordinary courts of certain other officers against whom there was evidence of having indulged in acts of frightfulness. Perhaps no one in India has written so largely and criticised the officers more severely than I have. I was the earliest in the field, when martial law was still in force and when Mr. Gandhi and the extremist leaders were dumb, being strangers to the province, and in the dark as to the progress of events, while the Punjabees were so cowed that they dared not even whisper a complaint. In 'Political Problems' there is a chapter entitled 'The Demand for Reparation', from which I quote as follows:—'The acts of frightfulness that have been committed should be repudiated by the English Government as foreign to the instincts of a civilised nation. Sir Michael O'Dwyer should have the severest censure passed on him for his mal-administration and for having degraded the British name and honour. India should be relieved of the presence in it of men of the type of General Dyer, Col. Frank Johnson, and Mr. Bosworth Smith, against whom a strong feeling of resentment has been aroused. As to the rest, the repudiation of their acts will constitute in itself a censure which will serve as a lesson to English officials in the future.'

This was written by me just before the publication of the Hunter Committee Report, and it was written advisedly, with a full knowledge of the evidence adduced in the inquiry, though it was one-sided, owing

to the inanity of those who were in charge of the people's case, and who let it go in default. Anyhow, on the existing material, I came to the conclusion that an ample reparation could be secured on the lines suggested by me. Since then we have had the Report of the Majority members, who were Englishmen, and of the Minority members, who were Indians, the Despatches of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, the debates in Parliament and an expression of various shades of opinion in England and in India. By stretching a little point, it might perhaps be said that the reparation outlined by me has been substantially discharged, and for a variety of reasons it would be ill-advised on our part to pursue the matter any further. By a display of charity and generosity we lose nothing and may gain something. Apart from that, it cannot be said that no amends have been made, though they may be considered to be inadequate. The reparation I had in view was of two kinds, the repudiation and condemnation of acts of frightfulness and the punishment of the offenders.

That the British Cabinet has condemned General Dyer there can be no question, for it has stigmatized his achievements in Amritsar as transgressing 'certain standards of conduct which no civilised Government can with impunity neglect and which His Majesty's Government are determined to uphold'. There is an absence of violent expletives, but would these have made the condemnation more severe? Equally strong the language used as regards certain other officials,

for it is stated that: 'the administration of martial law in the Punjab was marred by a spirit which' prompted not generally, but unfortunately not uncommonly, the enforcement of punishments and orders calculated, if not intended, to humiliate Indians as a race, to cause unwarranted inconvenience amounting on occasion to injustice and to flout the standards of propriety and humanity which the inhabitants not only in India in particular but of the civilised world in general have a right to demand of those set in authority over them'. Sir Michael O'Dwyer has been censured for giving his unqualified approval to General Dyer's action at Jallianwalla Bagh, and it has been emphasized that on certain points arising out of the enquiry His Majesty's Government do not regard his conduct as immune from criticism. The English press has in a general way supported these views, and so have the members of Parliament. Those who advocated the cause of General Dyer did so on other issues that were raised, for to the credit of the English people, be it said, that they have more or less frankly admitted that they were ashamed of the conduct of some of their agents in India, and were most eager to vindicate the national reputation for justice and humanity. Surely this goes a long way towards the repudiation and condemnation of the acts of frightfulness that have rightly afforded a matter of complaint.

But it is being said that adequate punishment has not been meted out to the offending officials. Here again I would deprecate an extravagance in the demand

that is being made in respect to this matter. General Dyer was practically dismissed; for, being refused any employment in India or out of India, he retired from the service. Sir Godfrey Fell, the Army Secretary, speaking in the Legislative Assembly on Mr. Jamna Das' Resolution on the Punjab disturbances stated: 'In my opinion to be made to leave the army in such circumstances was a disgrace, and worse than death'. Col. Frank Johnson took a similar step to avoid a like punishment. Mr. Bosworth Smith took leave preparatory to forced retirement, for his request to serve till the summer of 1921 had been refused. There were one or two other retirements, and the Home Member gave in the Legislative Council a list of the officials who have been censured. It is then not altogether correct to say that the orders of His Majesty's Government that the guilty officers should be suitably dealt with, have been entirely flouted, though it is no doubt true that the pound of flesh to which the people believed they were entitled has not been received. As for Sir Michael O'Dwyer, in spite of the eulogy of which he has been the recipient, he has not escaped without punishment. He is yet in the prime of his life, and had no doubt looked forward to further employment in the service of the Crown and to higher honours being conferred on him. It is more than doubtful if the opportunity will ever be given him of further service, or that higher honours will be bestowed on him. He left India with the plaudits of Englishmen, official and non-official, that he was the saviour of India, but even the Hunter Committee rejected his

theory of a general conspiracy to subvert British rule, as having no basis to go upon. And with his latest escapade of making statements which have had to be repudiated by the Government of India, English journals are inclined to fight shy of him. The Times, which had eulogised him in most fulsome terms on his retirement from India, has refused him the hospitality of its columns, but perhaps the unkindest cut of all was given by the non-official European community, which had acclaimed him as the saviour of the Punjab. Their representatives in the Legislative Assembly sent a wire to Lord Amthill, the president of the self-constituted Indian Emergency Committee, of which Sir Michael Dwyer was a shining light, to be good enough not to interfere in the affairs of India. If humiliation be considered a punishment, then it cannot be said he has been entirely immune from it. The innocent very often suffer, and a most striking illustration of this is to be found in the fact that Englishmen in India, in spite of the bluster of some, feel acutely the loss of character on account of the action of a few individuals amongst them; for they cannot ignore the fact that there is a fair amount of unanimity of opinion, on the part of the very people some of them had professed to look down upon, that acts of wanton frightfulness were committed which reflect no credit on a Christian and civilised nation. To a proud and sensitive people this must indeed be very galling.

But there is yet another reason why some restraint should be put on our desire for the punishment of the

offending officials, and that is the utter futility of any further agitation. The Government has said the final word, which however is looked upon as adding insult to injury. Some amends have been made, but they are rejected as being inadequate. To tamely submit to an unredressed wrong, is deemed unbecoming on the part of those who are on the high road to Home Rule. Further agitation is therefore considered imperative to extort our dues. This seems fairly logical. But we seem to forget that, if there is any thing in the law of compensation, sooner or later, we shall receive full amends, without breaking our heads for it. By utilising the opportunities that are being given to us for sharing the burden or the privilege, as we like, to take it, of the administration and the legislation of the country, we may make impossible the repetition of such misdeeds, and thus secure the amends that are being denied to us. The victory may be postponed, but it will some day be ours. Then we have also to consider whether further agitation will be effective in securing us our hearts desire, which paraphrased in plain words is revenge. We often make it synonymous with punishment. I shall leave moralists to appraise the extent of virtue to be found in it, but it is obvious that Government is not disposed to oblige the clamorous discontented with the revenge they are crying for. What they say to the people is that: 'We were piously legislating for your good, and you first started the game by indulging in disorderly behaviour. In several places we had to shoot you down to restore order.

You recognize the propriety of our action everywhere; except as regards the Punjab, where you say some of our officers indulged in a bout of frightfulness. Well, considering we ourselves were in the dark, and could take no adequate action at the time, in common decency we must now put a limit to the extent we can repudiate and punish our subordinates. But the British Government has chastised them with rods, and the British public with scorpions, and you have called us all the opprobrious names in creation. We were flattering ourselves we were different from the Huns, against whom we pointed the finger of scorn; and now that finger is being pointed at us. We have been made the laughing stock of the world. Should we get into trouble, our American brother, who is fond of moralising, will say, 'serve you right,' though Heaven only knows why he should think he is better than ourselves. Just at present we have serious embarrassments all round, so all things considered you might leave us alone now." This also is equally good logic.

But it is said there are still a number of bureaucrats who are unrepentant, and whose hands are itching to be at us again. Why need we pay any heed to them? If there is one characteristic of an Englishman that is more pronounced than another, it is that he knows which side his bread is buttered. In the new order of things, which has just been introduced, he will find out that he has two alternatives left him, either to behave decently or to seek fresh pastures. Sir Michael O'Dwyer gave publicity

to the fact that a large number of Punjab officials had decided on resigning their positions, so disgusted were they at the treatment accorded them by the British Government in connection with the Punjab disturbances. The Government of India has contradicted this statement, which on the face of it was improbable, considering Englishmen come out to India with no philanthropic motives, but for the equally legitimate object of earning a living in foreign lands, owing to the struggle for existence at home. Hitherto they came to this country to rule over this land, but now that the rule is to be divided, and there will be new masters to serve, their innate common sense will lead them to bow to the inevitable, and faithfully to discharge their duties, as regards which there can be no question that in the past they have exhibited a decided efficiency in the various departments of administration. They were in the main actuated by the disinterested desire to promote the welfare of the people. but they would have been more than human if they could have entirely subordinated their personal interests and their self-esteem in favour of those whom they had to come to look upon as a subject race. It is also equally certain we cannot dispense with them altogether, as in spite of all our tall talk and bluster, their presence is necessary for the well being of the country, till we are able to feel our way, and gradually to take up the reins of Government, so that in time we may attain to the full consummation of Home Rule while retaining our position as an integral part of the British Empire.

And, finally there is yet another reason which should lead us to put a curb on our resentment. The people have no doubt been disappointed in that the full measure of reparation to which they believed they were entitled has been refused to them, but nevertheless the moral victory is theirs. A parallel to this demand for justice is to be found in the trial of Warren Hastings, which ended in his acquittal, but the moral victory was with those who impeached him. Lord Morley appropriately points out that:—'the side that is defeated on this particular issue is often victorious on the wide and general outcome, that if Burke did not succeed in convicting the man, he overthrew the system because of the lesson his impeachment had taught with sufficiently impressive force, the great lesson, that Asiatics have rights and Europeans have obligations'. Surely under all these circumstances we can let the dead past bury its dead, especially as we were not altogether blameless. We ought to start with a clean slate, and devote our attention to the most important duties we are called upon to undertake under the Reforms Act, provided the Government of India also mends its ways, and is more sympathetic to the people by taking them into its confidence. The local officials were responsible for a vast amount of unrest, but the Government of India was no less responsible for aggravating it, and for inducing the outcry for the recall of Lord Chelmsford, as part of the reparation to which the country is entitled.

Lord Chelmsford has now left India. His adminis-

tration has been strongly animadverted upon. His critics do not find in him the ideal of what a Governor should be. They expect in him a statesman of outstanding ability, of strength of character to be able to assert himself when occasion to do so should arise, with warm sympathies for the people, ready to respond to the voice of public opinion, and one who will not be content to merge his personality in that of the other members of the Government. In all these respects it has been asserted the late Viceroy has fallen short. He was charged with apathy and incapacity in dealing with the Punjab disorders, and that he had allowed himself to be dominated by the accumulated wisdom of the members of the Executive Council, from whose leading strings he was unable to release himself, so as to take independent action when an emergency arose. To his disparagement he was compared with his predecessor, Lord Hardinge, who, it was said, gave a notable instance of what a man with a strong personality could do. He had visited Cawnpore, after the riots over a mosque, and had practically upset the orders of Sir James Meston, the Lieutenant-Governor, and thus closed an incident which might have led to serious consequences, having regard to the excitement and resentment pervading the Moslem population.

During the whole course of my writings on the Punjab disorders I have studiously avoided passing any judgment upon Lord Chelmsford, for the simple reason that, in the absence of full materials, I ran a great risk not only of doing a grave injustice by joining in the

chorus of condemnation but of putting on record reflections which may hereafter be found to be incorrect, a contingency which a writer is most anxious to avoid. It was further obvious that there could be no foundation for the charge of being unsympathetic to the people laid against one who was the joint author of the Report on the Constitutional Reforms. This could have emanated only from those who were possessed of the most unbounded sympathy for the people and for their political aspirations. He was not unminful of their interests, as is evident from his strong attitude in respect to the excise, and his imposing an export duty on cotton against the wishes of the British Cabinet. And some allowance is surely called for, in view of the exceptional conditions under which he had to carry out his onerous duties, with war, epidemic, famine and financial troubles dogging his steps. Even now the full material on which to pass an impartial verdict on Lord Chelmsford is not available, and I certainly think it would be more prudent to leave this task to the future historian, whose sources of information will be unlimited when the ban of official secrecy has been withdrawn. It is one of the misfortunes of his position that the Viceroy cannot defend himself. The valedictory articles published by Anglo-Indian journals on the departure of Lord Chelmsford attribute to him a lofty conception of his duties, but bewail a combination of adverse circumstances, which rendered it difficult for him to give full practical effect to this sense of duty. It was the irony of fate that

the only address presented to him on his retirement was that of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce. The closing words of his reply, which was his farewell to India, are significant:—'Through partnership in Government and trade, British and Indians should come closer together, and I see misunderstandings removed and unity and harmony prevail. To understand is to forgive and there can be no greater bond of unity than that which comes from the understanding which is the result of partnership in work'. With such an appeal it would be most ungenerous to engage in any personal criticism.

It would however be idle to deny that the action of the Government of India in respect to the Punjab disorders was to some extent inexplicable. It was perhaps rendered still more so by the extraordinary reticence it had chosen to adopt. This was carried to such a length that Dr. Rushbrook Williams, who is now responsible for writing the Report on the Moral and Material Progress of India, which is submitted to Parliament, admits that, 'it was a matter of profound regret'. He realises the gravity of the situation that had arisen, for he states: 'the growing demand for an enquiry into the origin and suppression of the disorders was nothing more nor less than a demand for unsparing condemnation of the measures and policy of Government.....Racial feeling grew steadily; and until the facts had been elicited by an impartial tribunal, it was hopeless to counsel moderation'. But why would it have been hopeless if the facts had been

fully and freely stated, and the faults frankly admitted? The dangers of a policy of reticence had been expounded by Lord Chelmsford only a few months before, when he stated with reference to the odium which is sometimes incurred by an official in India that, it is 'partly due to the tradition of the service, dating from days when it had no vocal criticism to meet, which imposes silence on the individual officer, while the order of things which he represents is attacked and calumniated'. And in spite of this the tradition was continued. Dr. Rushbrook Williams, to whom we owe Reports that are both luminous and interesting, realises that some explanation of this attitude is called for, and he gives it as follows:—'Most unfortunately throughout all this period, Government found itself unable to publish a full and frank account of what had happened, for the simple reason that these happenings were shortly to be made the subject of an enquiry. For from the outset Government had recognized, and the Secretary of State had announced in the House of Commons, that an enquiry must be made into the causes of the disturbances and the measures taken to suppress them. It was plainly impossible, consistently with the position of Government, to publish such a full and complete account of the Punjab disturbances as might have satisfied the rising sentiment of the nationalist party. It was impossible to correct misapprehensions, and to present the other aspect of the case'. The explanation here given is by no means convincing, especially judged in the light of subsequent

events, when disaffection towards Government began openly to be preached on the basis of its alleged shortcomings in respect to the treatment of these disorders. The Hunter Committee Enquiry resolved itself into a court of trial as regards the proceedings of individual officers, but it scrupulously recognised the fact that it was beyond its province to enter into an investigation of the action of the Government of India, which had technically brought it into existence, or even strictly speaking of the Punjab Government.

But a writer, who is dealing with the question of unrest in the years, 1919-20, cannot overlook the charge that is laid by the antagonists of Government that it was the policy that was adopted by it which accentuated this unrest. There are certain outstanding facts which demonstrate that instead of allaying the existing excitement a peculiarly tactless course of conduct was persisted in, the tendency of which was to exasperate the people. Disorders broke out in various parts of India, and except in one instance were suppressed without the aid of martial law. Why should any difference have been made in respect to the Punjab, in response to a wireless message replete with inaccuracies despatched by Sir Michael O'Dwyer to the Viceroy? As regards the allegation of open rebellion, it is now officially admitted that the alleged conspiracy to subvert British rule in India is a myth. It was further recited in this message that the Chief Justice and the General Commanding had concurred in the request for the imposition of martial law. The

latter protested emphatically that he had nothing to do with the introduction of martial law, and though the Chief Justice was sitting within a stone's throw of the hall where the Hunter Committee was holding its inquiry, he was not called to explain his share of the transaction. As a matter of fact he knew as much as the man in the moon as to what was transpiring, but it having been impressed on him that certain localities were in a state of rebellion he agreed to the suspension of the powers of the civil courts. And as to the allegations relating to bands of rebels being on the move, a glance at the evidence produced before the Hunter Committee is enough to demonstrate that only a mind overcome with panic could have entertained such an idea, and have given currency to this view. The Government of India, in their ignorance of the real facts, acquiesced in the request made by Sir Michael O'Dwyer, and played into the hands of the Punjab Government.

And here one is constrained to admit the existence of some justification of their conduct. They placed implicit confidence in one who had furnished ample reasons for confidence being placed upon him. In spite of what the late Lieutenant-Governor's detractors might say about him, it would be sheer injustice to deny that his administration of the Punjab had reached a high water-mark of efficiency, and if to this be added the fetish of crediting the man on the spot with a knowledge of what was demanded by the exigencies of the occasion we can find some extenuation of the attitude

of the Government of India. We can understand why neither the Viceroy nor any member of the Government visited the Punjab to ascertain either the cause or the progress of the so-called rebellion, and whether as a result of the onslaught with brickbats and lathis a single European was alive to tell the tale of the woes of the rulers of the Punjab, with all their bombs and machine guns. In the meantime some of the martial law administrators were indulging in a variety of antics, inventing fancy punishments, and earning for themselves a world-wide notoriety for their acts of frivolity and frightfulness. And for this the Government of India is being made responsible. It was to repudiate his share of this responsibility, for he had protested against the action of the Punjab Government, that Sir Sankaran Nair resigned his seat in the Executive Council.

It is as correct to saddle the Supreme Government with full responsibility for these excesses as it is for them to disclaim all responsibility in respect to them. If they were not aware that local officials in the Punjab were frittering away the high reputation of the English nation for justice and humanity they had to thank themselves for being content to remain in ignorance as a consequence of the press being muzzled and the news being censored. Sir William Vincent has admitted that except the crawling order other instances of misconduct were not brought to the notice of the Government of India in time. And despite the fact that the debates in Parliament have made it clear that

they kept the Secretary of State informed of all the information that was communicated to them, the imputation still remains that they displayed such a masterly inactivity in gleaning a knowledge of the progress of events that they have lent support to the impression formed by the public that they were either conniving at or trying deliberately to ignore the acts of frightfulness that were being indulged in by certain Punjab officials, and which are largely responsible for the growing disaffection. And it is further laid to their charge that when light did dawn upon them they did nothing to check the reign of terror that was rampant, or to put any restraint on the action of an irresponsible proconsul. But it should in fairness be allowed that, while to start with they had no reason to distrust the completeness of the information given to them by the Punjab Government, by the time the truth was oozing out, they had the Afghan war on their hands. The plea put forward by the provincial officials that at such a juncture their action should in no way be interfered with or hampered was one which could not be lightly ignored.

Even allowing that the Government of India was itself the victim of another combination of adverse circumstances, the last scene in this drama of tragic occurrences hardly does credit to the tact or statesmanship that was displayed by them. Most of the questions put in the Imperial Legislative Council to elicit information were either disallowed or were answered in a manner which was construed as being

intended to throw a cloak over the misdeeds of the officials. They were aware of the existence of an intense bitterness of feeling, due to disappointment at the manner in which the Punjab grievances had been discussed in the House of Commons, and especially in the House of Lords. Sir William Vincent, in the recent debate in the Legislative Assembly admitted that the Government of India entirely dissociated themselves from the attitude of certain persons, both in this country and in England, even in Parliament on this question. It is a mystery then, why such an attitude was adopted which indicated an absolute indifference to the feelings of the people.

A promise had been made to allow a debate on the Hunter Committee Report in the Legislative Council, and relying on this promise Mr. Srinivasa Sastri sent in a Resolution he had drafted. If any further discussion was deemed undesirable on public grounds, the Viceroy in his opening speech could have made a few conciliatory observations, and appealed to the members not to open the matter again. Such an appeal would most probably have received an adequate response, especially if accompanied by a statement as to what had been done to carry out the orders of the Secretary of State in respect to the punishment of the offending officials, for as a matter of fact something had been done. It was anything but wise statesmanship to lose such an occasion for reconciliation, but it was adding insult to injury to veto the Resolution without any revelation in respect to a matter in

which the people were so much exercised. It was only when it was discovered that mischief was brewing that information on this point was vouchsafed. The net result has been to further accentuate the existing irritation and bitterness, which are being utilised by unscrupulous persons to incite people to throw off their allegiance to British rule. This is now stigmatised as being bad and perverse. It is either that, or the Government, in a tactless manner, was pursuing its usual policy of secretiveness, instead of taking the people into their confidence in respect to matters the disclosure of which would have helped to ease the situation. If this is not worse than it actually is, it is in a great measure due to the statesmanship of the heads of provincial Governments, and not to the lack of mistakes on the part of the Government of India. It was fortunate for the Punjab that it had in Sir Edward Maclagan an old and trusted friend to take up the reins of Government after the departure of Sir Michael O'Dwyer. By the exercise of tact and conciliation he did much to appease the wounded feelings of the people, and the very fact that full success did not attend his efforts affords evidence of the extent of the resentment that was being harboured by them, as a result of the humiliation to which they had been subjected.

It is impossible to close this chapter without making some suggestion as to how this trouble that has arisen between the Government and the people can be adjusted. And here I would emphasize the fact that

the trouble is not between the British nation and the people of India. Col. Wedgwood is very near the mark in his statement that 'nine-tenths of the people of England are innocent of any kind of connection and countenance of the deeds of men responsible for the frightful horrors of the Punjab', and in the conversation that I had with him he vehemently condemned them as being un-English in their nature. There is a tendency these days to look to the Labour party for help in the attainment of the goal which those who are politically-minded have in view. But I have faith in the English nation as a whole, and can rely on all parties and on all classes to support us in our aims and aspirations, and to extend to us their sympathy in our legitimate grievances. To my mind the response to our complaint in respect to the excesses committed by certain officials in the Punjab has met with a substantial response in England. It is a matter of infinite regret that there are some Englishmen in India who are not disposed to look upon us and our troubles from the same standpoint, and to extend to us the same sympathy. For all that, they must now see that the Punjab incident has so lacerated the minds of the people that a fairly appreciable number of them are disposed to take up an irreconcilable attitude. Is it too much to hope that the Government setting aside the question of prestige, which in their strength they can well afford to do, will extend the olive branch to the people by making some declaration which will salve their wounded feelings? It will be a generous

act, and will at the same time furnish evidence of the exercise of wise statesmanship.

But whether or no this is done, the people in their own interests might take to heart and act upon the sage counsel given by Mr. Vijiyāraghava Chariar, the President of the last National Congress, which was held at Nagpore, that 'it is of no further use to think and to call for punishments on those who have heaped unparalleled disaster and humiliation upon us in connection with what is now historically known as the Punjab tragedy. Let us forgive all anywise concerned with it'. But I would go a step further. The President went on to add, 'but pray let us not forget the frightful business in all its horrors'. This seems to me a counsel of despair. If we are to forgive and not to forget, the cause of offence must continue to rankle in our minds, and may again break out in a hymn of hate. No I would rather the past was wiped out on both sides, and a fresh start made with the year 1921, which has ushered in a new era in the history of India, when perhaps for the first time its people will emerge before the world as a nation, and the foundation will be laid of the change of Government from autocracy to that in which the voice of the democracy will in time be supreme.

Since these lines were written an advance has been made of the kind referred to by me above. The Duke of Connaught, who represents both the King-Emperor and the people of England, stated in his speech in Madras, where he landed, that he hoped he might be of

some help 'in the healing of old sores and in the removal of bitter memories'. This was a recognition of the existence of old sores that had to be healed, and bitter memories to be removed. Surely such an appeal demanded a ready response on our part, and it is a matter of satisfaction that it was given, as is evident from the enthusiastic reception accorded to the distinguished visitor, once upon a time a citizen of India. And is there no significance in the oft-repeated statement of Lord Reading that he is coming out to India as 'a representative of justice.....which would ever remain supreme as the guiding factor in the destinies of India'? This is all India wants, and a fair chance ought to be given to the Viceroy designate to redeem his words.



CHAPTER VI.

CONDITIONAL LOYALTY.

Agitation in a recognized and approved method of attaining certain ends, and obtaining redress for specific grievances. It was imported into India by the educated classes from the West, about four decades ago. Being utilised to criticise the administrative measures of Government, it was discouraged and frowned upon by the bureaucracy, who cherished the belief that a benevolent despotism was best suited for the requirements of the country. But the spirit of liberty was abroad, and inspired political agitators to pursue their course undaunted, and to successfully steer through the three stages, which have usually to be traversed, ridicule, opposition and concession. In course of time, the sphere of their operations was enlarged, and with criticism was combined a constructive policy, which has culminated in the demand for Home Rule. English statesmen now admit the legitimacy of this agitation, though the main end in view was to bring about a radical change in the method on which the country was governed, the chief characteristic of which was that everything was done for the people and nothing by the people. But gradually and imperceptibly the feeling became pronounced that the country had outgrown

this system, and that a change was desirable in the interests of both the rulers and the ruled. Agitation moved apace, and its distinguishing features, as borne out by the National Congress speeches, were an un-deviating loyalty to British rule, a moderation in the demands that were advanced, and a resort to the use of language that was at all times temperate and dignified, and which scrupulously refrained from being offensive.

But a new development has recently come to the fore. An ultimatum was presented to the Government, by certain Moslem leaders, in the form of a threat, that if the demands made by them in connection with the Turkish question were not acceded to, a serious blow would be inflicted on their loyalty to England. It turned the tables on the rulers of India with a vengeance. To start with, these had unceremoniously, but under the force of circumstances, taken up the position of autocrats ; and the people of India, in the guise of mendicants, approached them to ask for certain favours, which were oft-times refused and sometimes granted, and that grudgingly. In the progress of time the people began to make demands instead of asking for favours, and their insistence was such that the Government professed to make concessions and promised specific boons, but at the same time made certain mental reservations, which rendered the promises nugatory. Lord Lytton drew no exaggerated picture when he wrote as Viceroy to the Secretary of State for India, in respect to the

manner in which the people of India were being bluffed:—'We all know that these claims and expectations never can or will be fulfilled. We have had to choose between prohibiting them and cheating them, and we have chosen the least straightforward course..... Since I am writing confidentially I do not hesitate to say that both the Government of England and India appear to me up to the present moment unable to answer satisfactorily the charge of having taken every means in their power of breaking to the heart the words of promise they had uttered to the ear.'

With such an oft-repeated experience, and chafing under the irritation of what they honestly believed was a pledge broken by the Prime Minister of England, the Moslems struck out a new line, which was to issue an ultimatum in the nature of a threat embodied in the phrase conditional loyalty. This is a delicate topic, nevertheless it has to be faced. Whatever may have happened elsewhere, in India such a declaration was a novel feature of political agitation, and cut into the very foundation of British rule in this country. The situation thus created was peculiar and not free from danger. The end in view was something different from, and went beyond that originally aimed at by passive resistance, or by its later development, non-co-operation, in its earlier stage, which was quite consistent with loyalty to the present rule, and merely desired the rectification of certain specific grievances. But a prospective repudiation of loyalty implied the subversion of the existing rule and the substitution of another

in its place. The very uncertainty as to its precise meaning and object was a source of danger, for the ignorant and unsophisticated masses ran the risk of giving evidence of their adhesion to this cult by indulging in a course of conduct fraught with mischief to themselves and to others. The Government preserved a grim silence, which was ominous. Either it was frightened out of its wits, and was quaking in its shoes at the pistol held over its head, or it was biding its time, and giving its opponents a long rope, to be utilised in due course of time. A little exercise of common sense will tell us where the precise truth is to be found.

For some years past the annual meetings of the All-India Muslim League have been held at the same place as the National Congress. In December, 1919, both met at Amritsar, which had extended its invitation at the previous Congress and League sessions, some months before the deplorable events in the Punjab. It was but natural that feelings should run high in the very spot which was memorable for the achievements of General Dyer. Nevertheless, it is a curious fact that, on the whole, in spite of the ebullitions of certain individuals, there was considerable restraint exercised by the delegates assembled there, and notable amongst them by Mr. Gandhi. He had not then started on the war path, and what led him to do so we shall see further on. The fate of Turkey hung in the balance, and there can be no question that the educated classes amongst the Moslems were very much exercised and agitated in respect to it. The masses were quiescent,

for the Khilafat agitation till then had made no appreciable advance amongst them. The All-India Muslim League met on the 29th. December, and after the presidential speech, certain resolutions were put from the chair and passed unanimously. Amongst these was one which took precedence over others, and was as follows:- 'The All-India Muslim League tenders its homage to the person and Throne of His Majesty the King-Emperor, and assures him of the steadfast and continued loyalty of the Mussalman community of India'. At the adjourned meeting on the 30th, the revised draft constitution and rules of the League were considered. One of the original clauses read thus:- 'To promote among the Mussalmans of India feelings of loyalty towards the British Crown'. An amendment was proposed to delete the word 'promote', and to substitute in its place the word 'maintain'. Mr. Jinnah protested against any change in the objects of the constitution, on the ground that the constitution ought to be considered sacred. The amendment was lost. The League therefore stood committed to the actual promotion of loyalty amongst the Mussalmans.

But Mr. Jinnah was a bit previous. He had not calculated that within a couple of hours the League was to be graced by the presence of individuals, who would not only set at naught this creed, but would eventually oust him from the position of leader of the Moslem community in India. The two brothers, Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali, just released from internment, entered the Hall amid a scene of wild enthusiasm,

and were received with loud cries of 'Allah-o-Akbar'. The proceedings were suspended, and Mr. Shaikat Ali was asked to address the audience. He dwelt on the Turkish and Khilafat questions, and asked the Mahomedans to stand firm in their demands on these heads. He urged them to tell the Viceroy plainly that, if an inch of land in Jazirat-ul-Arab was taken by a non-Moslem Power the 40 crores of Mussalmans would come forward and die for their religion. (Loud cries of 'Allah-o-Akbar'). They would not give the Government any rest if the Khilafat question was not solved to their satisfaction. He asked them whether they would remain as subjects of the British Empire or as Mussalmans. (Cries of 'as Mussalmans, as Mussalmans') During the address the delegates were moved to tears. Mr Mahomed Ali was then called upon to speak, and it was reported that during the whole of his speech the audience were weeping and sobbing, while he himself was weeping while speaking. He referred to his internment, and dwelt on the religious decadence of Islam. He asked Mussalmans whether they should fear God who was their King of Kings. (Cries of 'We should fear Allah and nobody else'). Continuing, Mr. Mahomed Ali asserted, there was no Government except the Government of God. They should not serve anybody as subjects except Allah. He was ready to sacrifice everything, his old mother, his children and even his life for Allah and his religion. If his release meant anything it meant that he was reaching nearer and nearer his God and towards the

fulfilment of the dreams of his life. (Loud and prolonged cries of 'Allah-o-Akbar'). Here we have threats used by the Moslems for the first time, and the foundation laid of the new cult of conditional loyalty, which was later on to develop into an absolute repudiation of allegiance.

But in justice to the two brothers it will have to be admitted they had not propounded a new doctrine, and that their release from internment was not due to any repudiation by them of their long-standing hostility to British rule. And as to this, they had never disguised their attitude to it. In a speech, recently delivered in Madras, Mr. Mahomed Ali took the people into confidence by informing them that while still in jail at Betul he had communicated to the Viceroy his views in respect to the invasion of India by the Amir of Afghanistan. 'If', he had stated, 'the Amir of Kabul, or the Turks, or any outside power, comes to invade our country and its people, and to subjugate them, we shall not only assist but we shall consider it our duty to lead the resistance in India. We have been made slaves once, we do not want to be made slaves again. But if the Amir of Kabul does not enslave India, and does not want to subjugate the people of India, who have never done any harm and who do not mean to do the slightest harm to the people of Afghanistan or elsewhere, but if he comes to fight against those who have always had an eye on his country, who wanted to subjugate his people, who hold the Holy Places of Islam, who want to crush

Islam in their hostile grip, who want to destroy the Muslim faith, and who were bent on destroying the Khilafat, then not only shall we assist but it will be our duty and the duty of everyone who calls himself a Mussalman to gird up his loins and fight the good fight of Islam'. It is pertinent to inquire how far the Hindus relish an invasion of India 'to fight the good fight of Islam', or to what extent 240 millions of non-Moslems are prepared to merge their personality in the 70 million militant Moslems. The Silk Letter Conspiracy, to which a reference has already been made, furnishes a sample as to how practical effect was to be given to the hatred entertained by some fanatical Moslems to British rule in India. *Swaraj* is no doubt a desirable goal, but it will be a curious *Swaraj* with India at the feet of a foreign invader.

It is more than probable there was a good deal of bluff in the pronouncement made by certain Muslim leaders, whether they were self-constituted or not we need not pause here to inquire, that if the *status quo ante bellum* was not restored to Turkey by the Allied powers, England would forfeit her claim to their allegiance. At any rate, all restraints were thrown to the winds in preaching the gospel that the British nation stands convicted before the world as the enemy of Islam. The effect of this on the ignorant and unsophisticated masses it is not difficult to surmise. Turkey was broken up, and there was a scramble in respect to the Khilafat. Indian Moslems, who were responsible for

the above ultimatum, had the ties which bound them to British rule cut asunder, as ostentatiously announced by them. What did they propose to do? It was open to them to withdraw from the position they had taken up, but said Mr. Gandhi, do you suppose that Mussalmans can eat their own words, and can withdraw from the honourable position they have taken up? It is highly unconstitutional for the 70 millions of Mahomedans of India to submit to a violent wrong done to their religion.' He therefore advised them to act immediately, for 'to wait is a sin.' From a logical point of view they ought in plain and unvarnished terms to have asked the English nation to clear 'out of this country, or they should have combined to eject them forcibly. This, it was rightly pointed out by Mr. Jinnah, at the last session of the Congress at Nagpore, cannot be done without bloodshed, and to this Mr. Gandhi was honestly opposed. They were joined by certain enthusiastic Hindus, who affirmed by all that was sacred that the ties of brotherhood that had been recently forged between them and the Moslems took precedence over any claims the present rulers of the land may have to their loyalty. They hugged the Moslems to their heart, and challenged the world to part them. The controversy then should no longer have been centred on the question of mending British rule, but ending it. And it would be certainly better for this country that there should be no delay in trying issues. Either England will retain its hold on this country, or it will be superseded by a

Government of which the Gandbi-Shankat Ali fraternity will be the dictators. And why not? Why should Russia have the monopoly of the good things of this world?

But it seemed as if the Moslem leaders were disposed to eat their words, and to swerve from the honourable path that had been chalked out for them by their dictator. At the All-India Khilafat Conference, held in September 1920 in Calcutta, a number of important resolutions were passed, declaring that Islam was in danger, that the British Government and the Allies had acted cruelly and unjustly towards Turkey, and hence arose the necessity for continued agitation, that non-co-operation was a religious obligation binding on the Moslems, that the Hindu-Moslem unity was essential for their political advancement, and happily it was progressing by leaps and bounds, that grateful thanks were due to the Amir of Cabul for 'the Islamic brotherhood with which he had received and treated the Indian Muhajrins', to start with inviting them to his country, and then kicking them out after they had been starved and shot at and plundered of all they possessed; and finally sympathy was expressed for those who had performed and are willing to perform Hijrat as a religious duty and for the victims of unjust official aggression in Sind and on the North Western Frontier. But what about the murder of the Deputy Commissioner of Kheri? Oh, that was a detail not worth any notice. And there was a still more curious omission and that was the

failure to reiterate their much vaunted threat of conditional loyalty. This was conspicuous by its absence. The nearest approach to it was in these words :—'The Conference further warns the Government that this policy of theirs is adding to the popular excitement, for the consequences of which Government alone will be responsible.' It is a significant fact that the learned Maulana, who was the President elect, was absent through indisposition. His place was taken by another learned Maulana, whose energy exhausted itself in calling a Moslem who refused to seive the Khilafat a Kaffir, and in inviting all believers to follow the dictates of Islam. He scrupulously steered clear of all reference to the future relations with Government. But before the next sessions of the Conference that same evening, he also was indisposed, and a third Maulana had to fill up the gap, and it was under his presidency certain significant resolutions were passed.

Mr. Jinnah presided at the session of the All-India Muslim League in Calcutta. He is a man who has the courage of his convictions, and is never troubled with convenient indispositions. Writing a couple of years ago, and long before the non-co-operation craze had any existence, I deplored the fact that he and Mr. Mazar-ul Haq had resigned their seats in the Imperial Legislative Council on the passing of the Rowlatt Act. It is a matter of regret that both these stalwarts continue to have conscientious objections to taking their proper places in the new Legislatures. President of the All-India Muslim League at Lucknow

in 1916, Mr. Jinnah emphasized the fact that it is the clear duty of Moslems to be loyal and respectful to Government, which he said had shown a disposition to treat the existing grievances of the people in a broad spirit of understanding and sympathy. He is no dreamer, but a man of robust common sense, and it made me pause on reading the following sentence in his presidential address in Calcutta :—'One degrading measure upon another, disappointment upon disappointment, and injury upon injury, can lead a people to only one end. It led Russia to Bolshevism. It has led Ireland to Sinn Fienism. May it lead India to freedom.' Did that mean that he was desirous of breaking of India's connection with England, because of the Khilafat imbroglio? I felt reassured the next day on perusing his speech at the Special Congress, wherein Mr. Jinnah said that : 'one wrong after another had been heaped upon the people of the country. The Khilafat and the Punjab affairs were the last straw on the camel's back, and they were convinced that the only remedy, the guarantee, the only security for non-recurrence or non-repetition of these grave injustices and outrages that had been perpetrated upon them, was the obtaining of complete responsible Government.' And he followed this up by opposing Mr. Gandhi's programme of non-co-operation, which was aimed at paralyzing the Government, so as to force it to surrender unconditionally, and supported Mr. Pal's amendment, that a deputation be sent to the Prime Minister in England to lay before

him a statement of India's grievances, with a demand for immediate autonomy. It was evident Mr. Jinnah still maintained the opinion, expressed by him four years before, as to the relations that should exist between England and India. He later on parted company with Mr. Gandhi, and has withdrawn from the All-India Home Rule League, as a protest against the non-co-operation programme, which aimed at a separation from England. He evidently had no sympathy for the new cult of conditional loyalty.

Though certain extremist leaders amongst the Moslems were opposed to this doctrine of conditional loyalty it was obvious there were forces at work that would set at naught their moderate counsels. Certain resolutions were passed at the All-India Khilafat Conference, where the influence of Mr. Shaukat Ali was supreme, his brother, Mr. Mahomed Ali, being still in England, which had a sinister meaning. Mr Gandhi's programme of non-co-operation in all its details was adopted, and as there was credible evidence of the exercise of terrorism and intimidation, the mischief this was capable of producing was unlimited. The various Provincial Khilafat Committees were directed to carry out a strenuous propaganda in its support, and 'to organise volunteer corps under each and every Khilafat Committee of their respective provinces to make arrangements to maintain peace and order.' The desire no doubt was very commendable to relieve the Government from its onerous duties of keeping peace and order, but what guarantee

was there that this volunteer corps would not provoke greater disorder amongst the ignorant masses by preaching to them the mischievous propaganda of non-co-operation? And now that it is said there is complete unity between Hindus and Mahomedans, where is the necessity of having a special body of men, to keep order between them? The significance of this move is not quite clear, and evidently the idea seems to have been entertained that the Government was already so paralyzed that it would quietly permit things to be done, even though they laid the axe at the root of its existence. But full warning was given by the Viceroy that 'there is a point at which no Government could refuse to take action to protect the interests of the community at large, and when that point is reached the Government is bound to and will use all the resources at its disposal. A start was made in this direction by the Seditious Meetings Act being put in force at Delhi, Lahore and Amritsar, where public meetings were prohibited. The volunteer corps in Delhi was ordered to be disbanded.

It was also resolved at the Khilafat Conference that a deputation was to wait upon all Sajjadah Nashins and spiritual heads of shrines in order to call their attention to those religious obligations which are binding on them regarding the Khilafat. That the laity, some of whom possibly hold heterodox views, should call to order the clergy as regards their spiritual duties is a novel phenomenon. Playing with fire is not a very safe game, for the first Sajjadah Nashia who

earned notoriety was Shah Mahomed Naim Alla of Salon in connection with the Kisan riots in the Rae Bareilly District of Oude. Threats of a variety of kinds were freely used against those refusing to carry out the behests of the Khilafat leaders, and the unfortunate Sajjadah Nashins have to be pitied. At all events it was by no means certain that the discretion shown at the All-India Muslim Conference was intended to be carried out in the strenuous agitation to which the Moslems stood pledged, and for the successful working of which the sum of 30 lacs was proposed to be collected. If the allegation be correct that seventy millions of Mussalams in India are of one mind, and ready to sacrifice their lives for the Khilafat, where was the necessity for this expensive agitation, or was it really meant to be utilised for political purposes? Either alternative places the agitators in a dilemma. A discussion of the question of conditional loyalty is therefore imperative, and more especially as Mr. Shaukat Ali, who shares with his brother, Mr. Mahomed Ali, the leadership of the Khilafat movement, stated in his speech in the Special Congress that he did not owe any allegiance to the King-Emperor since the 1st. August, the day that had been fixed by Mr. Gandhi for the inauguration of the non-co-operation movement. But it is significant that the rank and file of the Khilafat Conference and the All-India Muslim League did not care to commit themselves to a similar pronouncement. Any how the seed sown in India by Pan-Islamism was bearing abundant

fruit, and its spirit was being insidiously imbibed by non-Muslims in their relations to Western nations.

The policy of a Government must be taken as a whole when pronouncing a verdict on its merits. Isolated acts indicating a dereliction of duty may be susceptible of explanation as being due to ignorance, or as the outcome of an error of judgment, or of circumstances that were beyond its control. They cannot constitute an adequate ground for its supersession. And even assuming that a Government has indulged in wrong-doing, pure and simple, in any particular instance, and has shown a total disregard of the rights of the people, or a callous indifference to their feelings, it would be going too far to assert that it has thereby forfeited the rights to the allegiance of a particular section of its subjects, if, on the whole, its rule is conducive to the general welfare of the people. Judged by this standard, it cannot be affirmed that there was any justification for the threat that was used by certain Moslem leaders in connection with the Turkish question, or for the actual repudiation by Mr. Shaukat Ali and others of their loyalty. The previous chapters have demonstrated that the British Government was by no means acting perversely or unjustly towards Turkey. It is true that European statesmen, had they so desired it, could have dealt with the Sultan more leniently, as they had previously done, which was in fact the main reason why high expectations were aroused in the mind of the Moslems of India that the disruption of the Ottoman Empire.

might be averted. But the position taken up by Mr. Lloyd George was invulnerable, that their interference could not for a moment be tolerated in international affairs with which they had no personal concern, and that they had no right to dictate how these should be settled. Taking into account all the circumstances connected with this unfortunate matter, it is much to be regretted that a section of the Moslems should have taken up an irreconcilable attitude towards the British Government, as evidenced by the threat of repudiating their loyalty if the Turkish question was not settled to their satisfaction.

But it would appear that the Moslem leaders have in their irritation resorted to a threat which is indefensible, not only from a theoretical but from a practical point of view, as being ineffective towards achieving the end they have in view. Let us see what is the exact relationship between the rulers of the land and the people. Is it a voluntary compact to the effect that the tie which binds them can be broken by the people when they consider the rule unsatisfactory by giving a notice to the rulers that they must go? In England the people can by an adverse vote in the House of Commons remove any Minister whose services they wish to dispense with. Can the people of India do this so far as their rulers are concerned? Or have they the power to enforce their notice if the occasion should arise? That also no sane person will assert is within the range of practical politics. Of course there is no restraint on the people leaving the country, and

seeking a home in foreign lands, but we have seen what has been the fate of the unfortunate Muhajrins in their self-imposed exile to Afghanistan. I hear some enthusiasts exclaim that they will make it so hot for the bureaucrats that they will surrender at discretion. But two can play the same game, and English officials are in possession, while they have both the inclination and the power to retaliate against their opponents. The Moslems, who, with the zeal of fresh converts, are now overflowing with patriotism, will no doubt have the courage of their convictions, and will not mind being made mince meat of, but the unfortunate part of it is that others will be dragged in who have done nothing to deserve the fate, and who had no desire to earn the glory of martyrs.

It was also said 'we will overwhelm the officials by sheer weight of numbers by showing a united front.' I am afraid this will not disturb the rulers in the least, for a certain fact is being taken for granted which does not exist, and that is the much vaunted Hindu and Moslem unity. I go further, and say that real unity does not exist even between different castes of the Hindus, or sects of the Mahomedans, and much less between the Hindu and the Moslem. I have not come across a single educated Hindu or Mahomedan who has been able to vouch for the stability of the so-called unity, which it is admitted has for its basis certain political reasons, and not the actual removal of the causes of mutual distrust and disagreement. As for the masses, recent events in different parts of India indicate their

readiness to fly at each other on the slightest provocation. In spite of strenuous efforts to conceal what transpired in Calcutta, it has leaked out that there were serious sectional differences in the Subjects Committee of the Special Congress, which bore eloquent testimony to the absence of unity. The non-cooperation resolution was passed, not because of a preponderance of opinion in its favour, but to impress the world with the continuance of the Hindu-Muslim unity, as Mr. Shaukat Ali had threatened he would secede with his co-religionists if there was any danger of its being vetoed. At the Central Khilafat Committee meeting, in Bombay, soon after, two of the leaders came almost to blows, and had to be separated by the other members. This kind of unity can only make the frivolous laugh and the thoughtful to weep. It was *Jai Hindu Mussalman ki* at the various Conferences in Calcutta, when an onslaught was proposed on the Government, whose misdeeds were being recourted, but the echo had hardly died when the two communities were at each others throats in Agra and other places. And it was reported in the press that the bureaucrats laughed, and asked the people to summon Gandhi and Shaukat Ali to throw oil on the troubled waters. I don't know how far the story is true, but only angels could have resisted crowing over their opponents, and the officials do not pose to be angels, or if they do, some of them have given queer illustrations of their angelic temperament, which has really a good deal to do with the present unrest.

Looked at then from a practical point of view the new departure on the part of Moslems has not only been a failure, but is attended by the most dangerous risks to the community. It cannot be questioned that the dismemberment of Turkey aroused a good deal of very natural irritation amongst at least the educated portion of the Moslems in India. They vented their spleen on the English nation, which was neither reasonable nor fair, though Mr. Mahomed Ali gives as the result of his personal experience that France and Italy were more favourably disposed towards Turkey than England. They further desired to give some evidence of their resentment, and finding a resort to force utterly futile they seem to have conceived the idea that if they cannot fight they can at least educate public opinion to rally for the cause, and to give expression to their feelings by means of certain other methods. To start with, an article of faith was propounded by Mr. Shaukat Ali for the general acceptance of all Moslems, that it would be an eternal damnation for them to obey a King or a Government which was against Islam, and in a letter addressed to the Viceroy he deplored the necessity of having to seek for fresh fields and pastures in countries where greater freedom will be found for the discharge of their religious obligations. Hijrat, therefore, became another article of faith. And in this connection Mr. Fazal-ul Haq, a Bengal leader, pertinently remarks:—'If the Maulanas are prepared to act up to their own interpretations of the Holy Koran, it is high time that they should refuse

to live under the protecting laws of a Christian King or to continue to enjoy the amenities of life conferred by a Christian Government. But none of them has so far sought salvation in Hijrat. If they are true to their own profession, they must be prepared to act up to the advice which they freely give to others, or else they must be prepared to confess that they are rank hypocrites.'

But there are one or two points in connection with the new cult that are curious. A good many of those who took a prominent part in this agitation had no religious susceptibilities that could be hurt. I have no reason to discredit what was told me the other day by a Mahomedan gentleman of the highest respectability, that he happened to visit one of the chief centres of the Khilafat movement, and was interviewed by the Secretary of the Local Committee for a donation for the Khilafat fund. He declined to give anything, as it was a notorious fact that his interviewer never went to the mosque for his prayers, was never known to say his daily *namaz* and never went to bed without having fortified himself with sundry pegs of whiskey. My friend assured me that a good deal of intimidation was being exercised by persons, who were nominally Moslems, for purely political purposes, an assurance which was hardly necessary, as it is a matter of general observation. Then again, it is significant that while those preaching Hijrat took good care not to practise it themselves, the poor and ignorant fell ready victims to this new religious obligation. Their fanaticism was

aroused, and they went through an experience of untold misery, being reduced to absolute destitution, to relieve which public subscriptions were called for. It is also peculiar that in India itself there is a Moslem State which is eager to protect and help the Mubajrins, and which as already noticed professes to possess every facility for promoting their welfare, and yet the preachers of this gospel ignore it altogether. Can it be that they apprehend that the political objects, which are mainly kept in view, are not likely to be realised there and that any hostility to the British Government would at once be suppressed by the Nizam of Hyderabad?

Then again there ought to be some adaptation of the remedy to the grievance complained of. Assuming the gravity of the grievance in the disruption of the Turkish Empire, how is the propaganda that is being carried on going to remedy it? The trial of Mr Zafar Ali, Editor of the *Zamindar*, gave us some idea of the nature of the agitation. He was charged with having, at Hazro, harangued ignorant cultivators, somewhere about 35,000 in number, to the effect that if the British Government did not do certain things in connection with the Khilafat, 'then remember your Government will perish. Remember that India is now Dar-ul-Harab. Our religious freedom has been snatched away. Baghdad was occupied, and virgin Turkish girls were outraged. In fact the atrocities committed were horrible. We value the treaty (with Turkey) as a useless scrap of paper, which will be destroyed by us.

Now the question is what should be done under the present circumstances. It is incumbent on every Muslim to perform Hijrat. Stop sending your children to Government schools. No one should enlist in the army. Zaildars and Lamberdars should resign their posts.' And the audience was made to stand, and to repeat the following words :—'Remember your Government will perish. We will not join the Army'. Moulvi Zafar Ali pleaded, that the use of these words was justified by his religious convictions, which derived an ultimate sanction from the teachings of the holy faith of Islam, but that he had exhorted the people to be loyal to the King-Emperor, and to use no violence. The prosecution evidence proved that enlistment for the army was hindered by this agitation. An immediate effect of an agitation of this kind was the murder of Mr. Willoughby, the Deputy Commissioner of Kheri. The principal accused in pleading guilty to the charge laid against him, admitted that he had been led to commit the outrage as a result of the inflammatory speeches delivered in connection with the Khilafat. It may be pertinent to inquire how the cause of Turkey was likely to be served by the murder of an Englishman or by a stoppage of enlistment in the Indian Army? Of course, if it be said that other political purposes will be served by the crusade against Englishmen and English rule, it is intelligible, but the truth of the assertion that the agitation has a purely religious basis stands exposed. It is a significant fact that Mr. Mahomed Ali, after his mission to Europe, which was a successful failure, as

was pithily put by a Moslem leader, altogether changed his angle of vision. When interviewing Mr. Lloyd George, he insisted on impressing on the Prime Minister that religious obligations took precedence over all other considerations, but now he wishes to lay a greater emphasis on Indian freedom than on the Khilafat wrong, because he says, though as a Mahomedan he would not give up his religious claims, he had come to realise that success would only be achieved in the Moslem cause when India was in Indian hands.

But the Reforms Act had put in train a process by which India would eventually get into Indian hands, though still remaining, at the desire of the people, a part of the British Commonwealth, which was the aim such Nationalists as Mrs. Besant, Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Bepin Chunder Pal had in view when the foundation was laid in 1916 of *Swaraj* or Home Rule. To this, however, Mr. Shaukat Ali had some serious objections. It was a process so dilatory that he was not likely to enjoy the benefits arising from it. And he must have a finger in the pie. It was a peaceful process and he, posing as he does to be a man of the sword, could not swallow that. He would prefer that the sword be unsheathed, and that at once, though he knows it would lead to bloodshed. He was prepared to take a sporting chance that per adventure England may lose, and then India would be free, never mind if anarchy, pure and simple, were the final outcome. The reason given by him why he did not

unsheath the sword was that he had subordinated his views to one who had told him he had no sword to unsheath, and had convinced him that there was another method by which the same end could be achieved. Now, in fairness to Mr. Gandhi, it should be admitted that he has uniformly dissuaded his adherents from a resort to violence, though Sir Valentine Chirol, writing to the *Times* about him, says, 'he deprecates *for the present* any attempt to destroy British rule by open insurgency, though he hints occasionally at what may have to be done ultimately when a *lushkar* of ten millions Hindus is ready to leap to the sword'. That contingency may arise in the remote future, but Mr. Gandhi had promised *swaraj* in a year's time, provided his programme of the exercise of 'soul-force' was faithfully followed, and that was entirely antagonistic to physical force. It must then be conceded that he was sincere when he deprecated the use of violence, and had converted Mr. Shaukat Ali so far as to lead him to accept his views.

But for all that Mr. Shaukat Ali had the best of the bargain. He converted Mr. Gandhi on another matter of more vital importance. While the Hunter Committee was recording the official statements, the Congress Sub-Committee, of which Mr. Gandhi was a member, was collecting evidence on behalf of the people. It was but natural to him to be labouring under feelings of intense indignation and resentment, and to this was added another ground of irritation, the refusal of the Hunter Committee and the Punjab

Government to temporarily release the Punjab leaders, who were then in jail, during the course of the Inquiry, which ultimately led to the fatuous step on the part of the Congress Sub-Committee to let the people's case go in default. Yet a few days later we find Mr. Gandhi at the National Congress sessions in Amritsar exercising his great influence to bear on the other leaders to induce them to pass a resolution condemning acts of violence committed in the Punjab by the infuriated mobs, and impressing on them the fact that, if no violence had been committed by the people the Rowlatt Act would have been repealed, and that it was this fear of violence that led him to suspend the Satyagraha movement. We also find him in connection with the Reforms resolution willing to join Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mr. Jinnah in moving an amendment which recognized the Reforms Act as a definite step towards responsible Government, and which called upon the people to co-operate with the authorities in making the Reforms a success. This same Mr. Gandhi is found a few months later repudiating his allegiance to British rule, and stigmatizing it as depraved, debasing and immoral, and utilising every possible means for its subversion. Something very appalling must surely have transpired to bring about this striking change. The disruption of the Ottoman Empire had no effect whatever on the Hindus, who honestly confess that they have no concern with Turkey or with the dogmas of another religion. As regards the Hunter Committee Report, and the subsequent developments, in the shape of the

Government of India and the Secretary of State's despatches and the debates in Parliament, they were no doubt disappointing and failed to do adequate justice. But were these sufficient reasons to lead to the resort of a renunciation of allegiance on the part of one who at one time was a staunch supporter of British rule, or to the use by him, credited as he is with an angelic and saintly character, of a string of expletives, ending with the phrase 'satanic'? Surely some baneful influence must have been secretly at work.

Mr. Gandhi is a man of an emotional nature, and has devoted a good part of his life in espousing the cause of those whom he thinks have been wronged. And as to this, he considers he is the best judge. Sir Valentine Chirol rightly says of him that:—'No one can suspect him of having an axe of his own to grind. He is beyond argument, because his conscience tells him he is right, and his conscience must be right'. And he has also correctly hit at the causes, which indeed are no secret, that led Mr. Gandhi to start the present campaign. It was the 'bitter resentment provoked by methods of repression which he regarded as designed to terrorize and humiliate a whole people rather than to punish the actual criminals. Just at this juncture too the fanatics of the Caliphate agitation persuaded Mr. Gandhi that the peace terms imposed upon Turkey were designed in the same spirit, not so much to punish the Turks as to humiliate the whole Islamic world, and destroy the spiritual influence of a religion professed by 60,000,000 fellow Indians'.

Mr. Gandhi met the two brothers at the Congress in Amritsar, and a glance at the journals, Indian and Anglo-Indian, during a good part of the year 1920, will show to what extent he had the benefit of the company of Mr. Shaukat Ali, his brother having left for England in February. An acute and unscrupulous mind was easily able to exercise an influence on one who is simple and gentle and easily impressionable, and so an offensive and defensive alliance was formed, each side conceding a point to the other. The Moslem deputation found they could make no headway in England, though Mr. Mahomed Ali wrote France and Italy would have been more amenable to reason but for the dominating influence of the British Cabinet. Anyhow, baffled and disappointed, they found the cause was hopeless in Europe, and so to keep up the agitation something striking must be done in India, and the only way to inflame the minds of the people and stir up strife was to allow the threat of conditional loyalty, which was utilised in Europe by Mr. Mahomed Ali, and in India by Mr. Shaukat Ali, to develop into a repudiation of allegiance to British rule. And they found a willing coadjutor in Mr. Gandhi, who entertains a deep distrust of European civilisation and European methods of government. It was in Madras, before proceeding to the Special Congress, held in Calcutta in September, that the two partners made the announcement which forms such an important feature in the non-co-operation propaganda.

CHAPTER VII.

THE REPUDIATION OF ALLEGIANCE.

We have seen in the previous chapter that a pronouncement of conditional loyalty was first advanced in connection with the Turkish question, on the discovery that the integrity of the Ottoman Empire was at stake. When Mr. Gandhi assumed the leadership of the Khilafat agitation, the Punjab grievance was tacked on to it, and an announcement was made by him that unless full satisfaction was given on both these points the Government would forfeit the allegiance of the people. Gradually the scope of the threat was extended so as to embrace the whole administration of the country. In a speech delivered by him in Madras, British rule in India was impeached in the most scathing terms, and the final plunge was taken of declaring that whereas, by reason of its general depravity, a fatal blow had been delivered to the loyalty of the people, a concentration of effort was desirable, so to paralyse this rule as to produce a deadlock. But Mr. Gandhi went on to add that:—'I tell the British people that I love them, and that I want their association, but I want that association on conditions well defined. I want my self-respect, and I want my absolute equality with them'. There was nothing novel in these propositions, for they were the precise objects in respect to which an agitation on

constitutional lines had been carried on during the last three decades, and without resort to language that was intemperate or vindictive, or to methods which were calculated to stimulate unrest and to provoke the ignorant masses to acts of violence. And sober-minded people believe that agitation on these lines has borne fruit, and that a start has at last been made towards satisfying our demands, and that the seizing hold of the opportunities to hand is the best method of further advance till we reach the destined goal of self-government.

Further developments followed in the Special Congress at Calcutta, when a resolution was moved by Mr. Gandhi that, in view of the misdeeds of Government, 'the only effectual means to vindicate national honour, and to prevent a repetition of similar wrong in future, is the establishment of *Swarajya*. This Congress is further of opinion that there is no course left open for the people of India but to approve of and adopt the policy of progressive non-violent non-cooperation until the said wrongs are righted and *Swarajya* is established'. The naked truth stands disclosed. The strenuous agitation that was carried on during the year had for its ultimate end the establishment of complete Home Rule, free of any connection with the British nation, and this it was alleged could be obtained in one year if the programme of non-cooperation was strictly carried out. Mr. Gandhi was troubled with no regrets and no apprehensions for the future, for in his estimation the British connection had

a much lower value than unity between Hindus and Mussalmans, and as compared with the honour of the Punjab. He emphasized that he was for real substantial unity between Hindus and Mussalmans and the British connection. But if he had to choose between that unity and the British connection he would have the unity and sacrifice the connection. If he had to choose between the honour of the Punjab, and therefore of India, and the British connection he would have the honour of the Punjab and all that it meant, anarchy even, without the slightest hesitation. The question of the Punjab has already been dealt with in another chapter, and enough has been said on the matter of Hindu-Mahomedan unity to demonstrate its unsubstantial character. What is pertinent here is to consider the attitude of the people to British Rule, consistently with the demands of patriotism and bearing in mind the interests of the country. The experience of mankind lends countenance to the view that any rule is better than no rule, and Russia is a living example which ought to lead Indian politicians to pause in their quest of liberty. But the Special Congress in its wisdom would seem to have entertained the opinion, as is evidenced by the support it gave to Mr. Gandhi, that there was nothing very forbidding about anarchy. We need not judge it too severely, for as stated before it was a meeting packed by Moslems, whipped up for the occasion by Mr. Shaukat Ali, and by irresponsible youths and ignorant Marwaris carried away by hero-worship.

It is now clear that the end Mr. Gandhi had in view was *Swaraj*, and he succeeded in imposing his views on the vast assembly in Calcutta. Opinions are divided as to his mentality and his qualifications as a political leader, but as he is not a man who hides his light under a bushel, it would be as well to let him speak for himself. He has an intense hatred for everything that is modern and everything that is Western. He would root out modern civilisation, for it is godless and propagates immorality. It is a monster under whose terrible weight India is groaning, and we are being ground down under its heel and not under the English heel. He would abolish schools for they are useless. Compared to it religious superstition is less harmless, though it is not an incurable disease but it should never be forgotten that the English people are at present afflicted by it. He would do away with English education for it has enslaved the nation, and in no way benefitted him or those around him. He would abolish law courts, for they have made the people unmanly, and hospitals for they are institutions for propagating sin. He would stamp out railways, for they propagate evil; they have increased the frequencies of famine, they spread bubonic plague, they accentuate the evil nature of man, as bad men fulfil their designs with greater rapidity, and it was after the advent of railways people began to believe in distinctions. He would get rid of machinery, for it represents a great sin. It is like a great snake hole which may contain one to a hundred snakes, and

he cannot recall a single good point in connection with it, though he constantly utilises the railway and the motor-car, the telegraph and the telephone. The handloom he swears by; it is everything to him, and it is his heart's desire that every man and woman should have the same regard for it. But he is equally impartial to objects animate and inanimate. The doctor, who has unhinged us, should give up prescribing useless drugs, and take to handlooms, and if perchance the patient die, the world will not come to grief, for he will have been really merciful to them. The lawyers must also become weavers, for they are lazy, have little to do, indulge in luxuries, teach immorality, foment Hindu-Mahomedan quarrels, ruin families, and make enemies of brothers. They have tightened the English grip, and in fact their profession is as degrading as prostitution. The rich man has abused the gifts entrusted to him, and must devote his money to establishing handlooms, for money renders a man helpless. All this, and a good deal more in a similar strain, is to be found in a book written by Mr. Gandhi under the title of *Indian Home Rule*. There must be some merit in it, or some virtue attached to his personality, otherwise its author would hardly be looked upon as a hero and a saint by people presumably sane, and who are ready to dance to the tune he is pleased to play, even in secular matters.

One of these tunes is about *Swaraj*, and as this has taken the fancy of the people, it will be excusable

to enter into a few details in respect to it, Mr. Bonar Law has called the National Congress 'the great National Assembly of India'. At its sessions of 1906, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, the Grand Old Man of India, as he was called, first struck the key note of *Swaraj* which re-echoed for a decade, when a further note was sounded. In September 1916, the Home Rule League was established in Madras by Mrs. Besant, to whom India owes a deep debt of gratitude, in spite of her vagaries and inconsistencies. A month later, nineteen elected members of the Indian Legislative Council submitted to the Government of India a Memorandum of proposed reforms. In December 1916, the Congress met at Lucknow, and is memorable for two notable events, the reunion of the two political parties, which had come into existence after the deplorable split at Surat a few years before, and an understanding between the Hindus and Moslems as regards joint action in the agitation for constitutional reform. The President of the Congress on this occasion, Mr. A. C. Mozumdar, stated:—'Call it Home Rule, call it *Swaraj*, call it Self-Government, it is all one and the same thing, it is representative Governmentunder the ægis of the British Crown,' and he made an eloquent demand for it, as outlined in the memorandum. Mr. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, followed on the same lines, emphasizing the loyalty of his community to England. This understanding as to the relations between India and England has been scrupulously observed by politicians of all classes. Mr. Bipin

Chandra Pal, who has made a special study of democratic institutions, in supporting the resolution for self-government, entered a solemn protest against India being left out in the reconstruction of the Empire after the war, and added:—'Thirty years ago it might have been conceivable to leave India out of the Imperial family, to keep India as a helot, a drawer of water and hewer of wood. To-day, with this new awakened national consciousness, the sensitive patriotism throbbing through the heart of the young and the old, the thing is unthinkable, unconceivable, dangerous and fatal to the permanence of the British connection with India'. There was no discordant note as to the future relations between England and India. These were to be drawn closer instead of being extinguished.

But a new sentiment seems to have been introduced by Mr. Gandhi. Mrs. Besant, the most indefatigable worker in the cause of Home Rule, has been ousted from the institutions founded by her, and Mr. Gandhi reigns as president of the All-India Home Rule League, whose designation is now altered to Swarajya Sabha, and from its amended constitution the maintenance of the British connection has been omitted. Twenty members led by Messrs Jinnah and Jumnadas Dwarka das resigned, because the new constitution deliberately omitted any reference to the British connection, and sanctioned unconstitutional and illegal activities, provided they were peaceful and effective. Thus an important plank of the Memorandum was gone. As to the other, relating to representative Government,

though no formal announcement in respect to it was made, it does not seem to find a place in Mr. Gandhi's scheme of *Swaraj*. And it cannot, having regard to the principles he has taken for his guide. He has no faith in representative institutions, for he writes: 'That which you consider to be the Mother of Parliaments is like a sterile woman and a prostitute.....The Parliament is simply a costly toy of the nation'. So the other plank of the Memorandum of the nineteen members also disappeared. But Mr. Gandhi piously lifts up his hands, and fervently prays for *Swaraj*. What then is *Swaraj* from his point of view? The reply is to be found from the following extracts from his book. *Swaraj* is Home Rule, and it is to be attained when we learn to rule ourselves, it is therefore in the palm of our hands. Real home rule is self-rule or self-control. It is to be acquired by passive resistance, which is soul force. Two things are necessary for passive resistance, chastity and poverty. Pecuniary ambition and passive resistance cannot go together. It is matchless, and an all-sided sword; it can be used anyhow, it blesses him who uses it and him against whom it is used. The keynote being passive resistance, the tune that is played is self-reunciation from a world of temptations, weaknesses and passions, and elevation from the physical to the spiritual plane. His ideal of life is to be found in that part of India where the 'cursed' modern civilisation has not reached, and which is not polluted by the railway. To attain it one must discard his wife, and live the life of a Sanyasi.

His property he must devote to the purchase of hand-
looms. Under the law of soul force the law of love
will regulate everything. The thief will become
repentant and take to honourable employment, the
doctor instead of mending bodies will mend souls, the
lawyers instead of weaving yarns in courts will weave
yarns at home, each provided with a hand-loom. By
the leading of an ascetic life, with no schools or colle-
ges or universities, no law courts or lawyers, no drugs
or doctors, no machinery or the hundred and one
appliances of science, Home Rule will be won, and
the political salvation of India be secured.

It is obvious that we have in Mr. Gandhi not only
a political reformer but a spiritual enthusiast, and
even as such inculcating principles the unpractical
nature of which unfits them to be adopted by the
ordinary man. To convert sinners into saints is a
very praiseworthy object, and it is not the first time
in the history of this world men have essayed this task,
but without success. Assuming it can be achieved,
how is society to be kept together while this process
is in operation? There must be a Government, with
the usual paraphernalia of police and soldiers, magis-
trates, judges and tax-gatherers. If British rule is
to be eliminated, who then is to rule over the country?
All the intelligent men will have taken to handlooms,
or have retired to distant spots, uncorrupted by modern
civilisation. The answer is obvious; there must be
self-rule or the rule of love, which otherwise inter-
preted means anarchy. Each man for himself and God for

us all. In the meantime what is to prevent another nation from capturing a country where the men had become *sanyasis*, and were practising self-control, and the women were waiting to be consoled by any substitute they could get? The wonder is that intelligent men, professors, doctors, lawyers, capitalists, all of whom Mr. Gandhi holds in supreme contempt, allow him to dictate what should be done at a critical period in the history of India, when matters far beyond the grasp of a dreamer and visionary are waiting to be adjusted. They have allowed logic and considerations of expediency to be superseded by idealism of the most unpractical kind. By far the most important question relates to our future relations with the nation now ruling over India. Has the time arrived for cutting ourselves adrift from British rule, assuming for a moment that it was a task capable of achievement, and that we had something in store to substitute in its place? Both these conditions, as we shall see, are outside the range of practical politics. The answer to this will depend on the abstract question as to the nature of British rule in India, and whether, if it be reckoned to be unsatisfactory, it is susceptible of improvement, in so far as to respond to the new-born feeling of national consciousness. Even if what it has done for this country in the past be ignored, on the ground that England has amply repaid itself, the necessity for its future existence is to be judged from the stand-point as to what it is able to do in the future,

The first charge that can be levelled against

British rule is that it is alien in its nature. Who is to be blamed for this? The English came to India as merchants, and not with an army to conquer it. Why were they allowed to get such a footing that in course of time they became the dominant power? It was the decay of the Mogul Empire, the misrule and debauchery of the Indian Princes, the internecine wars, the utter neglect of the interests of the people, and the absence of unity amongst them, that played into the hands of the East India Company, and made the merchants masters of the situation. But is the imputation correct that the present rule is altogether alien? Take for example the Government of India. Three of its members are Indians, so that the reproach is to a large extent wiped out, and in the executive of all the Local Governments the Indian element has been introduced. The Imperial and Provincial Councils have been elected by the people, and in every province Ministers have been selected from the elected members to take charge of important departments of the administration, and to shape its policy. The *personnel* of the higher services is being transformed and the Government stands committed to the recruitment of Indians on a large scale. Just a decade or two ago only a madman would have ventured to propose an Indian as a Governor of a province, or as Chief Justice of a High Court, and yet this is now an accomplished fact. But, say the extremists, we want true political freedom, and no

posts and positions under Government. Up till yesterday the complaint was that Indians were deprived of the privilege of serving their country in high administrative position, but now that a start has been made in this direction we decry it because the appointments have been made by an alien Government. We have been asking for Home Rule on the lines of the self-governing Dominions, but even with them a Governor is appointed by the Crown. Any how, are we prepared at this moment to relieve the British Government of its duties, and to take these up ourselves? I hope the day will soon come when we can lay this flattering unction to our soul, but it has not arrived yet. We have much to learn, and above all we have to be tolerant towards each other, and to sacrifice self for the public good. In spite of the much vaunted union between the Hindus and Mahomedans it has yet to stand the test of time, and the portents are not very favourable. In the interests of the people at large, in the interests of order and good government, and for our protection from foreign aggression, we cannot for the present do without an alien Government, and taking it all in all the English nation with all its faults is preferable to any other nation.

There seems a complete unanimity of opinion, amongst those politically inclined of all classes and communities, that the end we have to keep in view is Home Rule or *Swaraj*. But it is the bitter experience of mankind that the despotism of a democracy is

quite as harmful to a subject people as that of an autocratic rule. We have, therefore, to be careful that in our quest of *swaraj* we do not land ourselves in a quagmire, which will be fatal to our existence. We want *swaraj*, which is a very praise-worthy object, but we should see that it is up-to-date, that it will fit us to take a place amongst the civilised nations of the world, and to hold our own against all comers, in every sphere of life—political, industrial, economic and social. Not an emasculated and hybrid *swaraj*, reverting to Mr. Gandhi's pastoralism, bereft of all modern civilisation, and with all the elements in it tending to degenerate into anarchy. Given the end to be Home Rule, the point where a difference of opinion comes into evidence is as to the time and manner of its attainment. We need not pause here to enter into a controversy as regards the merits of the constitutional reforms that have just been introduced. But granting that they are inadequate, and do not come up to our expectations, or even to our deserts, it will at any rate have to be admitted that Government is engaged in changing its own character radically, and that, even though it be to a limited extent, we are about to make a genuine start in the onerous task of having a share in the administration of affairs. Having succeeded in getting in the thin end of the wedge, the rest remains entirely in our hands. It is not a question of ten or five years, for whenever we are ready for an advance, no Government can possibly withhold it from us, if we have shown ourselves competent to undertake fresh

responsibilities. I admit that there are rocks ahead, in that the bureaucracy may present a solid block of resistance to our advance, but as in all things mundane it is the first step that counts. That being taken, we need not despair for the future. Should we go on asserting our rights vigorously, but in a constitutional manner, victory will be ours in the long run. A gradual transfer of power is preferable, and to that the present Government stands committed, than a sudden and convulsive change, to be brought about by engendering an acute and overwhelming mass of discontent, which seems to be the object of the propaganda, which is being engineered by certain short-sighted and mischievous politicians in the name of patriotism, and under the influence of a hatred of the powers that be.

In a sense all politically-minded people are Home Rulers, but the advanced section amongst them, to whom the name of Nationalists, or Extremists, has been given, has undoubtedly a larger following than the Moderates. They have captured the Congress, and, whether it is that they possess greater powers of self-assertion, they do certainly look larger in the eyes of the world, though it does not necessarily follow that they represent the will of the nation. Their chief article of faith is hostility to constituted authority, and its supersession by another authority, wherein the people are to be supreme. Whether under existing circumstances the ignorant masses, who form the bulk of India's teeming millions, have the

capacity to entertain any views, and whether as regards those who enjoy this luxury there is any reliable method of ascertaining their opinion, are details which are usually ignored. At any rate, the educated classes, who in the main are politically-minded, claim as the only alternative to be the representatives of the people for governing the country, if British rule could in some way be eliminated. But if such a contingency were to arise, it is more than probable the intelligentsia would be wiped out of existence. At the Special Congress in Calcutta, the Marwaris were strongly in evidence, attracted thereto more to satisfy the sentiment for hero-worship, Mr. Gandhi hailing from their part of the world, than from any settled political convictions of their own. A Marwari is credited with leaving his country with a *lotah* in his hand, and some parched gram tied in a cloth, with just enough cash to take him to his destination. He starts life in a humble way, and ends by being a millionaire. It is the British bayonets which help him to hoard his wealth. Remove these, and the Marwaris and other capitalists would find that the mob, which would have no difficulty in gaining an ascendancy, would plunder all they possessed, and clear them out into the streets. The Marwaris would be wending their way homewards, with the same *lotah* in hand, and parched gram tied in their *dhoties*, in every way sadder and wiser than they were when they started to make their fortunes in distant lauds. In the recent Tea-Garden outbreak

in the Assam Valley, when several Europeans were severely assaulted, it is reported that everywhere the attention of the rioters was first directed to the Kayas, that being the local name of the Marwaris. They were assaulted, and their shops were looted. Mr. Gandhi is very prudent in asking the doctors and lawyers to give up their practice, and take to hand-loom weavers, for Home Rule which he undertakes to introduce in a year, may, in the absence of a strong controlling hand, any day degenerate into mob rule, from which short shrift is to be expected for the professional classes, who are credited by him with having grown fat at the expense of the people at large.

It is now officially recognized that the educated classes exercise considerable influence on the masses, with whom they are more in touch than the rulers of the land. And it is a fact that cannot be controverted that in their quest for power the intellegentsia have by no means been selfish, but have earnestly striven to further the interests and to promote the welfare of the people. The past history of the Congress and the trend of political agitation in general bear eloquent testimony to this fact. But with the spread of primary education amongst the masses, and as a result of the gradual extension of the franchise, their eyes are bound to be opened, and they will realise that they constitute a factor which will have to be reckoned with in the settlement of the affairs of the country. In a general way, they follow the lead of those who, by reason of their higher intelligence and a superior education, are foremost in the field of agitation. But

It is only up to a certain point, as was evidenced during the Punjab disturbances, when they got out of hand, and began playing off their own bat by indulging in excesses with which the political leaders, who had set them going, had no sympathy, active or passive. The advanced section of these are obsessed with the frantic idea that the present Government should be dislodged. The English rulers have given no indication that they are willing to retire from a field where the harvest is abundant. It is, therefore, proposed to supersede them by making impossible the task of administering the affairs of the country, a result to be obtained by putting into operation the new-fangled specific of non-co-operation. Should this succeed it would be interesting to ascertain what is to follow? We will assume that up to this point the masses have followed the lead given by the classes, but what is there to prevent them from turning on their leaders and rending them? Rai Bahadur Gopal Das stated in his evidence before the Hunter Committee that he removed his family from Amritsar to Lahore, as he had serious apprehensions that the city would be looted. A couple of days after the first outbreak, the Golden City was practically at the mercy of the mob, and the citizens had to organise a band of volunteers, who paraded the city to keep order, and to prevent it being sacked by outside ruffians. And such would have been its fate but for the knowledge these gentry had that the military were not very far off, and might arrive at any time, and make short work of their liveliness. The kisan riots in the Rae Bareilly

district, which led to some of the aggressors being shot down, have their own significance. Who is to blame, we need not enter into, as the matter is *sub judice*? Assuming that in the quest of *swaraj* the effort to paralyze constituted authority is successful, we have the choice of two alternatives. There is mob rule, which would direct its attention in the first place to capitalists, landlords, employers of labour in factory and mills, bankers, money lenders of sorts and indeed to all those credited with being men of substance. The political agitators would soon be wiped out. The other alternative would be a military regime, which would be established in various parts of the country, headed by men who knew how to wield the sword better than the pen or the tongue, and who would put the products of the universities through an experience that would make them exclaim they had jumped from the frying pan into the fire. The dream of *swaraj* would be shattered, for the military dictator would neither have the inclination nor the capacity to grasp the merits of a democratic Government, wherein the intelligentsia of the land expect to shine in all their glory.

There are two incontrovertible facts which stare us in the face. The educated classes are the product of British rule. In the good old days, which some of us are found sighing for, the politically-minded brotherhood had no existence. The Brahmans of Bengal had no community of interest with the Brahmans of Madras. The Hindu was at daggers drawn with the Moslem, and as to the depressed

classes, they were looked upon as unclean animals, and therefore entitled to no rights. English education, the infusion of western culture, and the facilities provided for travelling, made it possible for 6,000 men hailing from various parts of India, and drawn from divergent castes and communities, to meet together in Calcutta, and about 15,000 men in Nagpore, to discuss questions in which they had a common interest. Disagreements and heated debates paved the way for a breach of the peace, which was avoided merely by reason of the knowledge that the sinning individuals would have to reckon with a power, alien though it be, but which insists on a scrupulous observance of laws enacted for the good of the people.

It is obvious then that the politically-minded people owe not only their existence but their personal security to British authority. It is pertinent to inquire if this is entitled to any return. At least for selfish reasons is it not desirable to maintain this authority, and not to destroy it, as some shortsighted persons would like to do? We have also seen above that the odds are very much against the continued existence of the fraternity formed by the products of schools and colleges, should British rule be removed. They would be either at the mercy of a mob, or of a military dictator, neither of which has any need of them. The instinct of self-preservation should therefore lead them to support the maintenance of conditions which alone render their existence possible. The man who can talk glibly that he would welcome

anarchy, if some sentiment of his is not gratified, is outside the pale of sane and sober minded men. But there are individuals who are sane, and to whom the very idea of anarchy is abhorrent, but who nevertheless desire *swaraj*. It is a patriotic idea, and does credit to the head and heart of an individual. But the question is as to its nature and how to get it. Not by presenting a pistol to the head of an Englishman, for pistols there are none. And even if there were conclusions forced in this manner can have but one result. Even the wildest advocate of *swaraj* does not advocate the use of force, though fanaticism may lead individuals to go to any length, even if the issue is something which is neither more nor less than suicide. I do not take into account individuals like Mr Shaukat Ali. It has been reported that in the Subjects Committee of the Congress at Nagpore, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, speaking on Mr. Gandhi's draft resolution in respect to the change of creed, eliminating the British connection, made the remark, 'we are not prepared yet to fight to gain this end.' Mr. Shaukat Ali interrupted him with the observation, 'Yes we are. I can promise an army if you will lead.' This was an extraordinary undertaking, but on a par with another given by him, to the students of the Aligarh College, to raise a crore of rupees to found a National College. It is with such meaningless bluster political agitation was being propped up. Then there is the new specific of non-co-operation, which is defined as soul-force, minus physical violence, and which asks an

individual to cut off his nose to spite his enemy. But we shall see it is more than a doubtful remedy, and, while retarding the attainment of what is so eagerly desired, may indeed bring untold misery to the people. The only remaining alternative is to continue in the path we have been treading for four decades, and to carry on a well sustained and vigorous propaganda for the attainment of political freedom on lines similar to those enjoyed by the self-governing Dominions. In the meantime we should utilise to good purpose the opportunities that are placed at our disposal for learning the art of government, and for taking a responsible part in the administration of the affairs of the country. The repudiation of loyalty is therefore just as much open to objection on the score of ignoring the obligations arising from benefits received as it is indefensible on the ground of exposing us to risks which no practical man can safely undertake.



CHAPTER VIII.

EVOLUTION OF NON-CO-OPERATION.

From Satyagraha to Non-co-operation was an easy step. but it took just a year to traverse it. On February 28th., 1919, Mr Gandhi published a pledge, by way of protest against the Rowlatt Bill, binding him and others to refuse obedience to it if passed, and to such other laws as a committee may decide. During March, an agitation on these lines was set in motion on a large scale. The 6th. April was fixed as Satyagraha day, to be signalised by a complete *hartal*, but Delhi anticipated the date and held it on the 30th March, when disorders broke out, leading to some of the rioters being shot down. This inflamed the mind of Mr. Gandhi and he declared that it 'imposed an added responsibility upon Satyagrahis of steeling their hearts and going on with their struggle until the Rowlatt Legislation was withdrawn.' On the 7th. April, the first active step was taken towards the civil disobedience of laws. Prohibited literature was openly sold in the streets of Bombay, and prominent amongst the vendors were Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Mr. Gandhi. They courted arrest, but were severely ignored. On the morning of the 10th. April, Mr. Gandhi was arrested on his way to Delhi, and taken back to Bombay, and there an order was

served on him not to leave the Presidency. On the 10th. and subsequent days, disorders broke out in the Punjab and other parts of India, accompanied in some places by violence, incendiarism and looting of property. On the 14th. April, Mr. Gandhi spoke as follows at Ahmedabad : ' I have said times without number that Satyagraha admits of no violence, no pillage, no incendiarism ; and still in the name of Satyagraha we burnt down buildings, forcibly captured weapons, extorted money, stopped trains, cut off telegraph wires, killed innocent people, and plundered shops and private houses. If deeds such as these could save me from the prison house or the scaffold I should not like to be so saved.' He imposed on himself a penance of 72 hours fast, and on the 18th. April, he ordered a suspension of the Satyagraha movement, for he said, when he had embarked upon mass movement, he had underrated the forces of evil, and over-calculated the chances of Satyagraha being understood by the masses. We find him later on announcing that its operations would be renewed after a couple of months, as he expected during 'his period the Government to make such a disposition of troops all over the country that a breach of the public peace would then be well nigh impossible. This had to be given up, as he discovered that the ordinary mind could not grasp what civil disobedience meant, or what end it was likely to serve, while a lapse into violence seemed inseparable from it and Government was not disposed to make any preparations to meet it.

A practical mind/would have foreseen these difficulties.

The Rowlatt Bill was passed, but Mr. Gandhi did not resuscitate Satyagraha on that account. How then came non-co-operation, which is an off-shoot of Satyagraha, to be evolved? Subsequent to the tragic events in the Punjab there were three specific grievances which were exercising the minds of the people. The one most keenly felt had its origin in the disclosures of frightfulness on the part of certain officials in the Punjab, and the ferocious sentences of transportation for life and confiscation of property passed on the leaders of the people on a general charge of conspiracy to subvert British rule. They were all subsequently released, and amongst them Mr. Harkissen Lal, who just a year later was appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab one of the Ministers of the Province. No one can accuse Sir Edward Maclagan of being wanting in a sense of humour, or in a sense of justice. This one act speaks volumes in respect to the extraordinary nature of the proceedings in the time of his predecessor, and the extent to which even the judicial mind was thrown off its balance. But Mr. Gandhi was in no way perturbed with the horrors connected with the Punjab. We find him supporting the Government when the Indemnity Bill was being discussed in the Legislative Council. We find him further proposing at the Amritsar Congress, held in December, 1919, a resolution, condemning the excesses on the part

of the mcb. That no drastic action should have been taken by him in connection with the Punjab, though as a member of the Congress Sub-Committee, he had obtained first-hand knowledge of the manner in which the disorders were suppressed, and martial law was administered, is intelligible on the ground that the Hunter Committee was then sitting, and it was not desirable to anticipate their verdict. But when towards the end of March, 1920, their verdict, together with the despatches of the Government of India and the Secretary of State, was made public, this in no way moved him to launch out the thunderbolt, which he even then was forging for another purpose. On learning the result of the Amritsar Appeals in the Privy Council, he wrote in *Young India*:—' If the convictions are good, if the men convicted have been guilty of murders or incitements to murder, why should they escape punishment? If they have not committed these crimes, as we believe most at least have not, why should we escape the usual fate of all who are trying to rise a step higher? Why should we fear the sacrifice if we would rise?' He therefore deprecated any further agitation in respect to it.

Another grievance had reference to the constitutional reforms, which, at the previous Congress held in Delhi in 1918, had been declared to be disappointing and unsatisfactory.' The Nationalists were more exercised about this than about any other grievance. They, in the name of the Congress, which by this time had been captured by them, had sent a

députation to England to support their views before the Joint Parliamentary Committee, and there was a good deal of irritation and resentment pervading their minds, consequent on their failure to make any appreciable impression. But Mr Gandhi's contribution to this controversy was in the shape of an earnest protest to the resolution moved by Mr. C.R. Das at the Amritsar Congress, rejecting the Reforms as 'inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing.' He had gone so far as to send in an amendment, which recognised the Reforms Act as a 'definite step towards responsible Government,' and called on the people 'to co operate with the authorities in making the Reforms a success.' This amendment he withdrew for the sake of keeping up a 'united front.' And writing in *Young India*, he reiterated these views. So that the question of constitutional reforms did not weigh on Mr. Gandhi's mind at all. What then was it which made him launch forth the non-co-operation propaganda? It was the third grievance, the Turkish question. If soon after the Armistice the Turkish peace terms had been declared, the agitation in respect to the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire, and its offshoot the Khilafat, would have died out, but it acquired increased momentum as time went on, and it received an enormous accession of strength by Mr. Gandhi joining hands with the Moslem agitators. The interest he had in the Turkish question he gives as follows :—' If it is true, as I hold

it is true, that the Indian Mussalmans have a cause that is just, and is supported by scriptural authority, then for the Hindus not to support them to the utmost would be a cowardly breach of brotherhood, and they would forfeit all claim to consideration from their Mahomedan countrymen.' But from what has appeared in the previous pages it is obvious that the Mahomedans of India were divided amongst themselves about this question, and as to those outside India, the bulk of them were indifferent as to the fate of Turkey, while the Arabs were delighted with her discomfiture, and with their release from her oppression. The Emir Abdullah went so far as to say that the Arab world, which was the more numerous section of the Moslem community, would never consent, especially now, when it had lost its temporal power and the possession of the Holy Places and of the Abwab-el-Haramein, to recognize the Sultan, even if he remained at Constantinople, as Khalifa. And as to the Hindus, it is obvious they neither had nor have any interest in Turkey, or in the religious dogmas of another community.

But Mr. Gandhi is a law unto himself. He came across the two brothers Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali at the Amritsar Congress, and in their company threw himself heart and soul in the Moslem agitation about Turkey. We find him writing a few weeks later in *Young India*:—'The Khilafat question has now become a question of questions. I trust the Hindus will realise that it overshadows the Reforms and every thing else'. He

proposes a *hartal*, and thereafter non-co-operation, as 'the only remedy, the clearest remedy and the most effective'. He starts haranguing Mahomedan audiences, and attending Khilafat meetings. At the same time he declares that he sees nothing but hope in Mr. Montagu's brave defence of the Muslim position and Mr. Lloyd George's interpretation of his own declaration. He further emphasizes, that there should be 'no violence in thought, speech or deed, and no boycott of British goods by way of revenge or punishment, for boycott is a form of violence'. Early in February, Mr. Mahomed Ali sailed for England, as a member of the Moslem deputation, and though he was sending roseate accounts of their operations, and was very optimistic about the result, the catastrophe came on the announcement of the Turkish peace terms by the Allies. It was at this juncture, and to fight the battle on behalf of Turkey, non-co-operation was formally announced, though on a somewhat modest scale. This was at a meeting of the All-India Central Khilafat Committee at Bombay on 12th. April, 1920, when it was further resolved to send another deputation, consisting of Mr. Gandbi and Maulvi Abul Kalam Azad to 'explain the correct sentiments of Hindus and Mussalmans'. It was to bear an ultimatum to England, and 'a decisive message to the Throne.' But its onward course was nipped in the bud by the illness of the Moslem member and by the difficulty in obtaining passages and the requisite passports. The non-co-operation propaganda was however started, and worked

for all it was worth. by means of the Central Khilafat Committee, of which Mr. Gandhi was a member, and which was constituted in Allahabad. In June, this Committee sent the Viceroy an ultimatum, asking him to head the Moslem agitation, as had been done by Lord Harding at the time of the South African trouble. At the same time, Mr. Gandhi wrote a letter to Lord Chelmsford stating that:—'I should be an unworthy son of India if I did not stand by them in the hour of trial. Their cause is just. They claim that Turkey must not be punished, if their sentiments are to be respected'. Failing any action on the part of the Government, it was intimated that, in spite of the attendant risks, non-co-operation was the only alternative left for obtaining redress. This letter is significant in that though the Punjab grievance is mentioned, it is only incidentally, as aggravating the distrust of England, and relief is asked for entirely as regards Turkey. Meanwhile the Khilafat agitation was in full swing, but as there was a lack of enthusiasm in respect to it on the part of the Hindus, on account of its being run solely for the benefit of Moslems, and the Nationalist leaders were getting restive and inclined to revolt, as a sop to them the Punjab grievance was dragged in, but only as a sort of tail to the Turkish question. In July, the non-co-operation leaders made a tour of the Punjab. At Jullundur a huge gathering of 30,000 persons, mostly Mahomedans, was addressed. The first two speakers were Mr. Shaukat Ali and Dr. Kitchlu, who naturally enlarged on

the wrongs inflicted on Turkey. Mr. Gandhi came in last, and after explaining what non-co-operation meant, he added:—'As far as the Mussalmans were concerned, all my Mahomedan friends and brothers, including Ulemas, who command the respect of the whole of India, assured me that no believing Muslim could give any help to a Government, which had disregarded the religious obligations, and occupied the sacred places of Islam, in spite of their earnest protestations. The Punjab affair is common to both Hindus and Muslims, and even if there were no Khilafat question, this alone would have given sufficient grounds for withholding co-operation from Government'. We now see the Punjab grievance being brought in for the first time, but it was to help in bolstering the non-co-operation propaganda, which was being run solely for the benefit of Turkey. The deputation then go on to Lahore, where Mr. Lajpat Rai had proclaimed a boycott of the Councils, for reasons other than the Turkish question. This astute politician, no doubt, pointed out to Mr. Gandhi the danger he was running of estranging Hindu sentiment by the prominence given to the Khilafat grievance, and so Mr. Gandhi issued a manifesto from Lahore, in which we find him protesting and asserting, 'I feel equally keenly on the Punjab question as on the Khilafat', but he continues to give precedence to the latter, for he says:—'Both the Khilafat terms and the Punjab affairs show that Indian opinion counts for little in the Councils of the Empire'.

Having prepared the ground, Mr. Gandhi, in concert

with his Moslem associates, thought the time had arrived for the people to put in actual practice the various items of the non-co-operation propaganda, and he fixed the 1st. August as a propitious day for this purpose, and took the lead in doing his part of it. He on that date returned to the Viceroy the Kaiser-i-Hind medal that had been conferred on him, with a forwarding letter in which he recited the reasons which had led him to take this step. Prominence was given to the fact that the Imperial Government had acted in the Khilafat matter 'in an unscrupulous, immoral and unjust manner, and had been moving from wrong to wrong in order to defend their immorality'. And then comes a mention of the Punjab affairs, and the letter ends with the prayer that:—'I respectfully ask your Excellency to summon a conference of recognized leaders of the people, and in consultation with them to find a way that will gladden Mussalmans, and do reparation to the unhappy Punjab'. The Turkish question is still kept in the forefront, the Punjab affair creeps in as a humble second, and the grievance of the constitutional reforms is absolutely ignored. The charges against the Government are limited to two, and redress asked for in respect to only these two. We next find Mr. Gandhi, in company with Mr. Shaukat Ali and his Moslem friends, touring in the Madras Presidency. That the propaganda was not progressing satisfactorily was evident from the fact that, besides persuasion and cajolery, threats were being freely resorted to, the most telling amongst them being that

of social boycott. That Mr. Shaukat Ali should stigmatize all those who were recalcitrant or were hesitating as renegades and kaffirs there is nothing to be surprised at, but in his mild way Mr. Gandhi did his share. At Bangalore, he declared that if the people 'continue to fill Government schools with their children and continue to go to the Councils he would no longer be in a position conscientiously to accept flowers and garlands from them until the wrongs were redressed' Such a threat from a man who had come to be looked upon as a saint was no light matter. It was at this stage Lord Willingdon made the speech to which reference has been made in the previous pages, and the result of which was that Mr. Gandhi enlarged the scope of his charges against Government, and declared that it was 'immoral and unjust, debasing and untruthful.' It had committed no fresh crime to deserve this vituperation, but it was necessary to pave the way for an important declaration that was about to be made. Both Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Shaukat Ali formally announced, that by reason of the depravity of the rulers, they were absolved from their allegiance to British rule. A striking change was made as to the end non-co-operation had in view, which was no longer the mere redress of the two specific grievances, but *Swaraj*, which, as far as it was defined by them, meant an absolute separation from England.

It is pertinent here to ascertain the attitude of the political leaders of the country in respect to a propaganda which was being run so strenuously.

The Moderates had of course no sympathy with it, but since they withdrew from the Congress they were like scattered sheep without a shepherd. Veterans, like Sir Dinshaw Wacha and Sir Surendra Nath Bannerji, were discredited patriots, and were supposed to have their own axe to grind. The influence they once wielded was a thing of the past. The Moderates had no organisation, and the most they could do was to ventilate their views in the press by protesting against a propoganda, which they asserted was calculated to lead to the ruin of the country. At the same time a good many were disposed to take up the role of silent spectators, under the impression that the attitude of the Government was unsympathetic, and because they were irritated by the tactless manner with which it had dealt with, and persisted in dealing with, the Punjab affair. As regards the Turkish question, with every desire to respect Moslem sentiment, they entertained the belief that it had been brought into greater prominence than it deserved by unscrupulous agitators, who had victimised Mr. Gandhi. The Nationalist leaders, had they liked to do so, could have nipped non-co-operation in the bud, but their counsels were divided. The bulk of them approved of the principle, some did not : but there was a fair amount of unanimity of opinion that, however desirable it was considered from the point of view of annoying Government, and putting it in a tight corner, as a practical measure, it was ill-advised, ill-conceived and impracticable. The personal aspect

especially alarmed them. It was all very well to preach a crusade against Government; they were ready to join in it heart and soul, but to make the personal sacrifices that were demanded, that was a little too much. Mr. Gandhi was however inexorable. The programme, as at first mapped out by Mr. Gandhi, had four stages. The first two were the giving up of titles and honorary offices, and the refusal to serve Government in paid appointments, or to participate in any manner in the working of the existing machinery of civil and judicial administration. The patriots had made a hero of Mr. Gandhi, and he was found playing them a scurvy trick by asking them to make sacrifices. This they had never bargained for, and so the response to Mr. Gandhi's appeals was far from satisfactory, though a considerable impression was made on the people, and especially on those who had nothing to lose. These joined their leader in his protest against the hesitation of those who had something to lose, and who were asked as proof of their sincerity in support of the cause to sacrifice their titles and positions. The Nationalist leaders, some of whom had much to lose, found themselves in an awkward fix, from which they hoped to be extricated by the All-India Congress Committee giving its verdict against non-co-operation, or at any rate against its being put into immediate operation. But this august body could not make up its mind to flout Mr. Gandhi, and they sought refuge in calling for the opinion of the Provincial Congress Committees. These were composed mostly of ultra-

extremists, and they plumped in favour of non-co-operation, mainly because they found in it a fit instrument to annoy the Government, which they considered a praiseworthy object, and partly because some of them had nothing to lose, and others, if they had, they knew they would take good care not to lose it. It was not to be expected that the Indian Congress Committee would after this veto the new propaganda, and therefore as the only remaining alternative it was decided to convene a Special Congress to discuss its merits, and should it be approved, to decide which of the items it was composed of should be put into operation.

The first two stages of non-co-operation have already been noticed. The other two were kept in reserve. These were to decline to pay taxes, and the withdrawal of the police and the military from Government service. Later on the programme was amplified, and by the end of August, when Mr. Gandhi and his Moslem associates were touring in the Madras Presidency, it had developed the form in which it was presented to the Special Congress, held in Calcutta in the first week of September, except that the last item, 'boycott of foreign goods', was added in the Subjects Committee at the instance of Mr. Vijiyaiah Achariar. The Resolution passed by the Special Congress was composed of several parts. The preamble, which need not be quoted here, dilated on the perversity of Government in its failure to give redress in respect to the Khilafat, and on the official

misdeeds in the Punjab, and then it declared that the only and sole remedy available was the immediate attainment of *swaraj*, and that this could only be acquired by a progressive non-violent non-co-operation. Finally came the various items of which this was composed, which were as follows :—

- (a) Surrender of titles and honorary offices and resignation from nominated seats in local bodies.
- (b) Refusal to attend Government Levees, Durbars, and other official and semi-official functions held by Government officials or in their honour.
- (c) Gradual withdrawal of children from Schools and Colleges owned, aided or controlled by Government, and in place of such Schools and Colleges establishment of National Schools and Colleges in the various Provinces.
- (d) Gradual boycott of British courts by lawyers and litigants, and establishment of private arbitration courts by their aid for the settlement of private disputes.
- (e) Refusal on the part of the military, clerical and labouring classes to offer themselves as recruits for service in Mesopotamia.
- (f) Withdrawal by candidates of their candidature for election to the Reformed Councils and refusal on the part of the

voters to vote for any candidate who may, despite the Congress advice, offer himself for election.

(g) *Boycott of foreign goods.*

And the Resolution went on to add that :— inasmuch as non-co-operation has been conceived as a measure of discipline and self-sacrifice, without which no nation can make real progress, and inasmuch as an opportunity should be given in the very first stage of non-co-operation to every man, woman, and child, for such discipline and self-sacrifice, this Congress advises adoption of Swadeshi in piece goods on a vast scale, and inasmuch as the existing mills of India with indigenous capital and control do not manufacture sufficient yarn and sufficient cloth for the requirements of the nation, and are not likely to do so for a long time to come, this Congress advises immediate stimulation of further manufacture on a large scale by means of reviving hand-spinning in every home, and hand-weaving on the part of the millions of weavers, who have abandoned their ancient and honourable calling for want of encouragement.'

In the resolution as passed by the Special Congress, the refusal to pay taxes was not included, because to do so would have brought the people into immediate collision with the authorities and it was thought advisable for the present to avoid this. For a similar reason the fourth item, the withdrawal of the police and the military from Government service, was modified so as to take the form in which it appears in clause (e)

of the resolution as finally passed. Maulvi Zafar Ali was being prosecuted for the incitement to do this in the criminal courts of North India, and it was obvious that the Government would not permit the preaching of a doctrine which would cut into the very foundation of its rule. The various items of the resolution, as we shall see further on, were innocuous so far as the Government was concerned.

The Special Congress passed the Non-co-operation resolution on the 7th. September, but we have seen that by a fiat of Mr. Gandhi the propaganda had already been set in motion on the 1st. August, after the expiry of a month's notice to the Viceroy, asking him to make due reparation in respect to the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs. The dictator had gone to the Congress, not with the idea of obtaining the people's sanction to his adventure, and of abiding by the decision that was arrived at there, but, as stated by himself, with the full determination to continue the tenor of his ways, even if this decision should be adverse to the course adopted by him. And he was good enough to make the suggestion that the Congress resolution was only advisory, and the minority in the Congress should not secede from it if they could not accept it. As a matter of fact he considered it a mere detail, which he would much rather have dispensed with, because it gave him extra trouble to whip up his adherents for the occasion; it disclosed the nakedness of the land, for amongst the extremist leaders all but Mr. Moti Lal Nehru were opposed to the programme he had mapped out, and it

afforded an unfortunate opportunity for the display of intolerance on the part of some of his followers, and a spirit of intimidation on the part of others, for which his cause incurred needless odium. The President, without perhaps intending it, played into the hands of Mr. Gandhi. His opening speech, dealing mainly with the Punjab question, inflamed the minds of the delegates, and created an atmosphere wherein a calm and dispassionate discussion of a matter of vital importance was rendered impossible. And thus it happened, in a packed Subjects Committee, and a packed Congress, the Home Rule leaders were outvoted, in spite of their moving certain amendments which, while accepting the principles of non-co-operation, were calculated to stave off the evil day when the representatives of the people gave their sanction to its adoption.

It is more than probable if the leaders had struck out a bold line, and presented a united front, in opposing the principle of Non-co-operation, the result might have been different. It would certainly have been different in the Subjects Committee, where Mr. Gandhi's amendment, which was carried by a bare majority of 12, would have been thrown out with a substantial majority against it. But the leaders were torn with conflicting emotions. There was the resentment aroused by the action of Government in respect to the Punjab disorders, which made them reluctant to say or to do anything which might be construed as indicating a desire to ignore the past. There was the usual timidity, which unfortunately plays a considerable part in the

lives of the present day politicians, and which has rightly laid them open to the charge that they do not possess the courage of their convictions. There was the fear of incurring the odium of an assembly which they knew full well was packed, and was committed to giving an undeviating support to Mr. Gandhi and his nostrum. There was the spirit of compromise which, even at the risk of sacrificing a principle, was ready to catch at a straw to avert the impending evil, though in this case the apprehension of defeat was sufficient to account for their hesitating attitude. And so it was that Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mr. Jinnah, two of the leading personalities of the day, took shelter under the wings of Mr. B. C. Pal, who moved the amendment suggesting that the Prime Minister be asked to receive a mission, composed of representative Indians, to lay before him the state of India's grievances, coupled with a demand for immediate autonomy. Now, if there is any one feature of political agitation to which the extremist party presented an uncompromising hostility it was to what was styled an attitude of mendicancy in their relations to the ruling power, and though the President tried to gild this bitter pill, by investing this amendment with the dignity of an ultimatum, the fact remained that the Nationalist leaders were even prepared to accept this humiliating position rather than commit the country to a propaganda which they believed would be detrimental to its best interests.

History, we are told repeats itself, and the tragedy

of ingratitude and faithlessness runs its normal course. Recent events have borne eloquent testimony to the fact that a man may be a hero one day, and be rounded upon, and held up to derision the next day. Repeated allusions have been made to Mrs. Besant and her deplorable fate, which affords an object lesson to elated politicians. Surendra Nath Bannerjee spent the best part of his life in advocating the cause of India, and for long was styled in Bengal the uncrowned King of the people. He is now serving as a Minister of the Crown in Calcutta, and dare not show his face before a mixed assembly of present day patriots, for he is a member of the much-abused class of Moderates. Madan Mohan Malaviya is a familiar figure all over India. In the educational world he has made a name which future generations will venerate, and is now Vice-Chancellor of the University which owes its existence to his devoted labours. In the sphere of politics he for a time occupied the unique position of peace-maker and dictator, and to-day he stands discredited, because he has refused to subscribe to the new-fangled doctrines that are being expounded, and is stigmatized 'a political juggler'. Jinnah, once the unquestioned leader of the Moslems, and one of the pillars of Home Rule, is now rejected and abused, and his place is taken by men, who have been described by Mr. Fazlul Huq as 'notoriously irresponsible agitators of questionable antecedents'. He has created many enemies; partly owing to the lofty disdain with which he treats those whom he suspects of having taken up

politics as a profession, and partly by the cynical manner in which he disposes of arguments which he thinks emanate from beings possessing the brains of a mouse. But his worst offence has been the stand he has made against Non-co-operation, and all it implies.

Bipin Chundra Pal has by his astuteness evaded a fall. If there is one man in India who more than another hates the bureaucracy it is he. His tongue is like an edged sword when he speaks of them, and no wonder that great proconsuls had laid an embargo on his entering their province. He is the idol of those who love to see fire and fury scattered around. His stentorian voice is utilised to read out the speeches of presidents to whom nature has not been lavish in this respect. He has a wonderful knack of feeling the pulse of the audience, and, without entirely surrendering his own principles, he humours it, and if the truth be told he often throws dust in the eyes of the people he is addressing. A popular figure amongst the budding politicians, he is a living monument of the fact that the people of India have not altogether lost their sanity so far as to desire a separation from England. In the previous pages we have seen him, when swaraj first saw the light of day, dilating on the paramount necessity of securing Home Rule, and protesting against India being left out in the reconstruction of the Empire after the war, a step he rightly considered as fatal to the permanence of the British connection with India. At the Congress at Amritsar, he supported

a resolution moved by Mr. Gandhi, condemning the excesses committed by riotous mobs. At the Special Congress in Calcutta, we see him strenuously opposing the immediate introduction of Non-co-operation, which laid the axe at the root of this connection, and, while bitterly inveighing against official misdeeds, limiting his demand to complete autonomy and not to swaraj, to which Mr. Gandhi was attaching his own special meaning.

Of the men of the younger generation Mr. C. R. Das has forced his way to the front by reason of his commanding intellect and his uncompromising hostility to bureaucratic rule. A tribute to his talents was paid by the Government in retaining him to lead the prosecution in the Munitions case, which has been recently started, on a fee which makes one gasp. As the leader of the Calcutta bar, he wields an enormous influence amongst the members of his profession, who furnish the brain of the extremist party. He gratuitously took up the cause of the people of the Punjab, when the Hunter Committee was holding its enquiry. He has been a strenuous opponent of the Constitutional Reforms, and successfully moved a resolution at Amritsar for their rejection as unsatisfactory. A man with a cool, clear head, he discerned the danger to which the country was exposed by the adoption of Mr. Gandhi's scheme of Non-co-operation, to the principle of which he had no objection, but desired that action in respect to it be confined to the Councils. With his large following he hoped to carry the day, but had

not counted on the Congress and the Subjects Committee being packed and indeed swamped by the ill-clad and illiterate rabble brought in by Mr. Sbaukat Ali. At the Amritsar Congress he had overshadowed Mr. Gandhi, and had carried his resolution in the teeth of the latter's opposition, but at the Special Congress could not even secure a courteous hearing, though all he asked for was that for the present Non-co-operation be kept in abeyance. As a trained logician he brought to bear a series of arguments in support of this view, and finally wound up by asserting:—'There was not a single argument advanced against my proposition of any value except one only, namely. Mr. Gandhi-Mahatma Gandhi-said this and said that. This was not an argument'. In the Subjects Committee a remark so slighting to the people's elect was allowed to pass, but in the open Congress the speaker would have been hooted out. Sir Ashutosh Chowdhry was once upon a time a prominent Congressman. He took office under the Crown as a Judge of the High Court, and retired with a title and a pension, and threw in his lot with the Nationalists. But in this packed assembly the compliment of electing him as a member of the Subjects Committee was not paid him, and he got in by being nominated to it by the President. He objected to Mr. Gandhi's programme as unpractical and infructuous, and suggested the appointment of a committee to consider the whole matter, hoping thus to stave off the evil day. It need hardly be said he received no support.

Mr. Lajpat Rai will feel aggrieved if left out in the cold, for he thrives in the lime-light. His has been a chequered career. He can claim a virtue which is often missing in great men, and that is consistency. His past was but a sample of the present, when in his public life he is displaying an utter and barefaced absence of principles. He is white to-day and will be black to-morrow. In his closing speech as President of the Special Congress in Calcutta he had severely criticised Mr. Gandhi's programme, and indicated the undesirability of some items, and the impracticability of others, but to-day he stands as the most uncompromising apostle of Non-co-operation, and has far outstripped his leader in the virulence of his onslaughts. In Calcutta he applauded the Moderates for abstaining from joining the Congress, so disgusted was he with the Extremist tactics, and now he declares every single Liberal leader has sold himself to the Government, and is guilty of high treason to the country. He then deprecated any interference with boys in schools and Colleges, but a few weeks after he encouraged the Aligarh students to boycott their College, and played the same game with the D. A. V. College students in Lahore, having taken good care that his own son should take his degree so as to qualify for his *post* graduate studies in an American College. Perhaps no one in India has wielded a greater influence on the popular mind than the gifted editor of *Amrita Bazar Patrika*. In season and out of season he has preached and prayed for Home Rule. In a most pathetic letter

written to me from his sick bed he recalls the days when we used to meet on the Congress platform, and regrets that it will not be his lot to meet his old friends again. Unable to attend the Congress, Mr. Moti Lal Ghose wrote a series of articles opposing the boycott of the Councils, and deploring the fact that a policy was being pursued which was calculated to put a set back to the work done in the past. He was visited by Mr. Gandhi, who failed to convert him to his views. And thus it was this band of devoted Nationalists found themselves baffled and defeated, and Mr. Gandhi won the day. His scheme of Non-cooperation received the sanction of the so-called representatives of the people. His opponents were playing with fire, and got burnt. If with a united voice they had opposed the principles underlying the new propaganda, the writer would have had a different tale to unfold.

When the Special Congress met in Calcutta, and passed the Non-cooperation resolution, it was generally acknowledged that only one man could have saved the situation, but he had departed a few months before from this world, which had treated him none too well. Writing a series of articles on Non-cooperation in the *Civil and Military Gazette*, I stated I was going to indent on what I had written for a book I was bringing out, and therefore the passage which follows will perhaps be familiar to some of my readers. Speaking of the late Bal Gangadhar Tilak I said:- He was by universal assent the greatest patriot India

has produced, for no one made the sacrifices, and suffered as he did, for the sake of his country. It was his misfortune to be born before his time. The Moderate of yesterday is the Extremist of to-day, but the Extremist of yesterday had to pay the penalty in full. Be it said to the credit of Tilak that he had the courage of his convictions. He never faltered or complained, and when the Government in a fit of magnanimity offered him a release on certain terms he scornfully rejected them, and served his time. It was in recognition of his dauntless spirit that Professor Max Muller sent him while in jail a whole set of his works, which helped him to write that wonderful book, 'The Vedas in the Arctic Regions'. He was an old friend and comrade, and while the great Gokhale, quoted by Viceroy and Secretaries of State, was sulking in his rooms, it was Tilak who helped me in Poona when touring on behalf of the Congress. The last time we met was at Surat, at the time of the memorable split in the Congress camp. I tried to act as a mediator but failed. Tilak was inexorable. Feelings ran high, and it was well known a scene was inevitable. Tilak came up to the platform, and handed to the President an amendment to the first resolution. What it was is immaterial: The President, Sir Rash Bibari Ghose, overruled it. Tilak stood firm. He was asked to retire. He refused to do so. How the President meant to deal with the situation it is needless to conjecture. Tilak's party believed, but I think wrongly, that force was about to be used to eject him from the platform.

Anyhow the threatened scene took place in the twinkling of an eye. His friends jumped up on the platform to protect him, and his partisans were seen coming forward with sticks in their hands. Being then editor of the 'Tribune' I was sitting at the reporters' table just under the platform. I was pushed aside and found that the constitutional party, (for there were then no moderates and extremists), had in anticipation of the *mêlée* made certain preparations on their side. Sticks were pulled out from under the table, and a free fight was started. There was a regular stampede on the platform. The President, ex-Presidents and other dignitaries raced with each other to see who could be the first to enjoy the fresh air. I was too small fry to apprehend any personal violence from either party, but it was not a pleasant thing to be jammed in a crowd of excited persons, who seemed to be determined to make themselves martyrs for the cause of the country. I looked up towards the platform, and found one solitary individual standing there smiling, monarch of all he surveyed. He beckoned to me, and I jumped up on the reporters' table, when he put forward his hand and pulled me up on the platform. I confess I also made myself scarce. Now who was this individual who seemed to be instituting a comparison as to the modes of eastern and western democracies in the task of empire-making? He was an Englishman, Dr. Rutherford, M.P., whom I had met a few days before at dinner at the house of Mr. Harkishen Lal, of Lahore. I have stated elsewhere that, if for no other reason, the

presence of the English in India will be necessary to prevent a breach of the peace, and to act as peace-maker between the divergent factions into which this country is unfortunately split up, and will for a time be split up.

Tilak's subsequent career is a matter of history. Whether in jail or out of it, he showed the same tenacity, the same courage, that was a life-long characteristic. A determined foe of the English, he fought them in India, and fought them in England. He returned to his native land defeated and disgraced, though not in the eyes of his own countrymen, broken in health and a doomed man. But his mind was clear, and his faith in India never faltered. With his dying breath he uttered the memorable words, 'we want majorities, not Mahatmas'. What a world of scorn and contempt these few words contain! To him Mahatmas were of no account. He wanted majorities, and with these majorities he felt confident India would fight the English and defeat them. He implored his countrymen to have nothing to do with Non-co-operation, which he looked upon as the creed of the coward, who avoids a fair fight, and seeks to gain his end by foul means and secret assassination. Fight the English—yes, but in the open, on their own ground, in the Councils of the Empire, where majorities have now been secured, and where he, at any rate, had no doubt the sons of India would be able to hold their own. Had he lived, this life-long and determined foe of England would have been at the present moment her best friend. Such is the irony of fate.

In the absence of Mr. Tilak, the field was clear for Mr. Gandhi, who triumphantly asserted he had the sanction of the Congress for the propaganda. I have no desire to dispute that he is a saint and a spiritually minded man, a lover of truth and a hater of violence, but the question that has to be considered is whether he is a man who should have left his proper sphere as a moralist and idealist to interfere in the affairs of the political life of India. When his admirers recover the balance of their mind they will wonder how they could have allowed themselves to be dominated by the will of a man whom Mr. Veraraghava Achariar, the President of the last Congress, accused to his face, in the Subjects Committee of the Special Congress in Calcutta, of 'trading on his past reputation'. The seriousness of the step to which the nation stood committed can by no means be exaggerated, and further on we shall see how far it is practicable, and, if strictly carried out, whither it will lead us. The preceding pages reveal the origin and gradual development of Non-co-operation. Had Mr. Gandhi set it in motion in connection with the Punjab affairs, in respect to which there was an intense irritation and resentment, or with reference to the Constitutional Reforms, which the Nationalists rejected as unsatisfactory, his action would have been not altogether unreasonable. But the one matter he at the very outset complacently dismissed with the remark that the people ought to reconcile themselves to their fate, and as to the other he very wisely advised a co-operation with the

Government. He pinned his colours to the Turkish flag, and invited all and sundry to rally round it, ignoring the fact that the cause was one in respect to which the Hindus asserted they had no concern, and the Mahomedans as a body could not make up their minds whether they had or not. The Hindus are now lamenting the fact that thoughtless and short-sighted members of their community have embarked on an agitation which is bound to lead to their committing political suicide. A certain section of the Moslems are chuckling that they at any rate are gainers by Mr. Gandhi's association with them, for the country is in a state of turmoil, and something to their benefit may perchance turn up. But another section of Mahomedans, intelligent, shrewd and patriotic, are bewailing the fate of their community, which has allowed itself to be victimised by Mr. Gandhi and the Hindus, who, they say have exploited them for their own purposes, and will eventually cast them off without ceremony. It is more than probable that in the long run the Hindus will be the gainers. The Mahomedans would do well to consider that Non co-operation was started wholly and solely for their benefit, and the end in view was the redress of their grievance. Later on the Punjab affair was dragged in, and the Government was called upon to make amends in respect to both these grievances. And finally the Khilafat and the Punjab are made to serve as motives for setting into operation this propaganda, but the end in view is *Swaraj*. This achieved, it is fondly believed that India

will be able to come to the aid of Turkey. . It may do so, provided the Moslems are the dominant power, and can force the Hindus to yield to their will. But as to that, Mr. Lajpat Rai has already sounded a warning note that, should any such contingency arise wherein the two communities come into collision with each other, the Hindus will know how to defend themselves. Mahomedans enjoyed the favour of Government for several decades, and were gradually divesting themselves of the disadvantages of a backward community. But now that there is a move to throw off their allegiance to British rule they are neither entitled to, nor will they receive, any further favours. And moreover, any attempt on the part of Government towards the exercise of any preference is sure to be resented by the Hindus who in their newly-acquired ideas of freedom, are not likely to submit tamely to any encroachment on their rights.

Mr. Gandhi deserves every credit for certain excellent characteristics. The frankness with which he admits facts which tell against himself is most refreshing. We have seen what he said and did after the disorders consequent on the agitation in connection with the Rowlatt Bill. And that the present agitation is subject to similar risks of a resort to violence on the part of ignorant mobs he also admitted in his letter to the Viceroy. Indeed the risks are greater in the present instance, as the agitation appeals to the religious fanaticism of the Mahomedans. The murder of the Deputy Commissioner of Kheri, and the various forms

of intimidation that are being resorted to for the purpose of furthering Non-co-operation, would furnish a warning to ordinary and practical men of the dangers to which the propaganda is exposed. But then Mr. Gandhi is not an ordinary man, and had he been a practical man he would have not have been the hero that he is. It is his idealism that appeals to the people. Another commendable characteristic is that, once having formed an opinion as to what is right, he possesses the courage to act upon it. Having come to the conclusion that the Turkish grievance was, as he said, the question of all questions, he has stuck to this view to the last, in spite of the risk he ran of estranging Hindu Nationalists. The position is somewhat delicate. A continuance of this course is bound to alienate the Hindus, and on the other hand if in deference to these he concentrates his efforts to secure Swaraj it is sure to lead to a defection on the part of the Moslems, for they are more than doubtful if it will help their cause, which will naturally be relegated to a secondary position. But a fatal blow to Non-co-operation, so far at any rate as the educated classes are concerned, will probably be given by a general recognition of the fact that neither Swaraj nor a redress of either of the two grievances is likely to be achieved by it.



CHAPTER IX.

ETHICS OF NON-CO-OPERATION.

We have in Non-co-operation a propaganda for whose initiation and operation Mr. Gandhi is wholly and solely responsible. Whatever credit or odium attaches to it is his and his alone. It is, therefore, necessary to obtain a correct idea of his personality and character. I absolutely disagree with his principles. I believe that he is a visionary, and that his propaganda will in the long run be injurious to the best interests of the people. I admit I entertained grave doubts at one time as to his honesty and truthfulness. But the conclusion I have now arrived at is that he is honest and truthful. An experience of the world teaches us that it is not a rare occurrence for a plausible man who is not honest to obtain a large following amongst the ignorant and superstitious, but it is not an easy task to delude the educated and the intelligent-hard-headed lawyers, strong-minded doctors, and men of acute intellects in other spheres of life, who can easily discover if they are being victimised by a man whose character is a mixture of assumed piety and fraud. And these to start with were his main adherents. And it cannot be said that his influence is due to any tendency on his part to flatter men, for we have seen what his opinion is about professional men and capitalists. He holds them up to ridicule and contempt.

And yet they are his devoted admirers, though at the Special Congress in Calcutta many of them disapproved of certain proposals of his. But they continued to respect him. Men like Jinnah, Madan Mohan Malaviya, Ashutosh Chowdhry, Bipin Chandra Pal, Kasturi Ranga Ayengar, C. R. Das and others, who are acknowledged to be Nationalist leaders, must indeed be dishonest if they kept up the pretence of respecting a man with whom they more or less parted company in Calcutta rather than agree to his propaganda. In these days when disagreement and disrespect go together it is certainly an unusual phenomenon to find that Mr. Gandhi has not forfeited their respect. It can only be because they are convinced he is honest and truthful, though mistaken and misguided on some points. It is because his personal character is above reproach that he commands universal esteem and veneration. And so it happens that his wildest inconsistencies are overlooked by the general public, in whose minds politics and religion are inextricably united.

But Mr. Gandhi may be thoroughly honest, yet his scheme may not be honest, though he may believe it is. And even if it is, it may be worked in a manner that is ethically at fault. The cult of non-co-operation has been aptly described, as a curious medley of mysticism, spiritualism, patriotism and many other 'isms'. I may add to this an unreasoning antagonism to the settled order of things, and an absurd optimism as regards the undefined *swaraj* which it is proposed to

set up. Here we have a problem that is somewhat complex, for it may be looked upon from two different stand-points, that of the rulers and of the ruled, of the English nation and of the Indian people, whose interests are not necessarily identical. Are the rulers being honestly treated, or in other words is full justice being done to them? Mr. Gandhi readily answers, that he does not concern himself with the rulers, even if seeming injustice is done to them in matters involving the welfare of the people. Mr. Spoor, in his address to the National Congress at Nagpore, indicated that he accepted this principle. He drew attention to the declaration of the Labour Party that, while hoping that the people at present in the British Empire would prefer to remain within the British Empire, the final discretion must rest with those people themselves. He continued:—'I submit that resolution is definite and comprehensive. There is no room for doubt as to the real attitude of British Labour. We want to see India really free'. As a matter of principle the position taken up by Mr. Gandhi cannot be controverted. The theory of the divine right of Kings is out of date, and the proposition receives universal assent that the rulers were created for the people, and not the people for the rulers. I propose, therefore, to apply this test and this alone in the consideration of the question whether non-co-operation is honest, that is, whether it is calculated to secure the welfare of the people, which is the other stand-point. Not merely that it is intended to do this, for a person may be a very zealous

worker in a particular cause, and yet by excess of zeal, or by utilising injurious methods, may injure the cause. Mr. Gandhi may have very good intentions, and so far the integrity of his intentions has not been questioned, but his propaganda will have to be adjudicated upon by a consideration of the natural consequences that proceed from it.

It would be as well to clear the ground by disposing of some of the charges that have been brought against Non-co-operation. Lord Chelmsford, for instance, stigmatized it as 'the most foolish of all foolish schemes', not taking into account the gravity of the situation when he made this remark. If success be reckoned as a test, it was a counsel of perfection, for it is progressed like wild fire, so far as the number of its converts was concerned. If the mental capacity of its adherents is taken into account, then the keenest intellects in India had given their adhesion to it. The belief was commonly held by some of the foremost men of all classes and communities that it was the only means towards a particular end, and that its potentialities for achieving this end were very great. Mr. Winston Churchill gave expression to this same idea when he said:—'If the Indian people ever unite against us and put us in Coventry all round, the game would be up. If they could agree to have nothing at all to do with us the whole thing would collapse'. And we know that Lord Minto lamented that the people of Eastern Bengal had well nigh made the administration of that Province impossible, by reducing

boycott to a fine art. So that the propaganda is by no means foolish if it serves the purpose for which it is brought into existence. We have, therefore, to consider whether the purpose it is supposed to serve is legitimate, and whether the propaganda is carried out in a legitimate manner.

Non-co-operation is after all a method of agitation. We have seen that Mr. Lloyd George admitted that in deference to Moslem agitation in India the Turks were allowed to retain Constantinople, so that it has its uses, though, on the whole, the Khilafat agitation, owing to the weakness of the cause, has been much of a failure. It is also significant that the agitation in respect to the acts of frightfulness connected with the Punjab disorders has not been barren of results. It has changed the angle of vision of some of the rulers. The existing bitterness and unrest are alleged to be very largely due to the attitude of certain officials in that province, who subjected the people to needless humiliation and degradation, influenced, partially at least, by the consideration that these were members of a subject race, and could therefore with impunity be flouted, and treated with utter contempt. There is now a complete disillusion in this respect. Lord Willingdon, the Governor of Madras, set the ball rolling. He stated in his farewell speech to the defunct Legislative Council of the province that:—'I fully understand the depth of feeling which has been roused among Indians over the tragic events connected with the Punjab riots. But I ask every Indian to remember

that my fellow-countrymen had every reason to feel deeply too. And I am certain if there be wrongs to be righted they can, and should, and will be righted by constitutional means'. This is certainly a very different tune to that which was sung a couple of years ago. If the people had been treated to it then, there would have been no resentment and no unrest, and the country would have been engaged in the task to which Lord Willingdon desired to draw their attention, and that is co-operation with Government in setting in motion the new order of things brought into existence by the Reforms Act. Even the Government of India, though at a somewhat late stage, made admissions that were as comprehensive as they were significant, and pleaded that to forgive and to forget the past was best calculated to serve the interests of the country.

Then again it is an undoubted fact that there has been a decided change in the attitude of Anglo-Indian journals. I have no desire to pillory any one of them, but some of them did emit a good deal of fire and fury at one time. Now, almost without exception, they are engaged in preaching the gospel of reconciliation and co-operation, while emphasizing the fact that the present propaganda is injurious to the welfare of the people. It is the extremist Indian journals, which are exhibiting an uncompromising attitude of hostility to British rule by strenuously supporting and encouraging certain objectionable features in the Non-co-operation propaganda. But in justice

to them it will have to be admitted that they have been goaded on to adopt this attitude. The acts of frightfulness in the Punjab were bad enough, but when Mr. Montagu in the House of Commons formulated certain principles on which India should be governed, if England wished to retain it, he was hooted and yelled at by a small minority of members. The House of Lords in its wisdom proceeded to white-wash a man who has been condemned by the united voice of India, and without doing him any good, for the value of their opinion is very much at a discount, they aggravated the existing resentment. Certain European and Anglo-Indian Associations tried to make a hero of General Dyer, and though they were able to put some money into his pocket it was at the cost of alienating the good will of Indians towards English rule and English people. They have sown the wind, and are reaping the whirlwind. They are now descanting on the virtue of reconciliation. Their request to certain effete and narrow-minded ex-officials, who had organised an Indian Emergency Committee, in London, not to meddle in the affairs of this country, indicates a decided change in the angle of vision. A prominent Indian politician of the Moderate party called Non-co-operation a temporary fit of insanity. If that be so, it will have to be conceded that there was considerable method about it, and that it was a very infectious malady, having regard to the increasing number of those afflicted by it.

We come now to the consideration of a series of

charges, to some of which the leaders of the propaganda not only plead guilty, but urge there is ample justification for their conduct. They are given expression to in what was really a very thoughtful and sympathetic speech delivered by Lord Willingdon, to which reference has already been made. He said: - 'Mr. Gandhi and his friends have deliberately stated that their object is to paralyze Government, and reduce it to impotence, and that being his object, I am further personally of the opinion that it is a disloyal movement, for it is inconceivable to me that any citizen of the British Empire should be a loyal citizen who wishes by his action to make ordered Government impossible in any part of the British Empire, and to produce chaos and disorder, which is inevitable through this propaganda'. When Lord Willingdon stigmatized the movement as disloyal, he forgot that it was being engineered by men who had openly declared, as Messers Gandhi and Shaukat Ali had done, that British rule being bad and unjust it had forfeited any claim it had on their allegiance, and who made no secret of the fact that for this bad rule they desired to substitute what they considered to be good rule, that is some sort of Swaraj or Home Rule, not susceptible then of a precise definition.

If, as a matter of fact, British rule is really unjust and iniquitous, as it is made out to be, then not only non-co-operation but any other measure utilised to obtain freedom from this rule is justifiable. What then is the evidence on which so grave a charge against

the English nation is brought? It is a peculiar feature of this agitation that a criticism of British rule generally, that is its advantages and its disadvantages, its merits and its defects, is avoided, but its condemnation rests on two isolated incidents, which indeed formed the basis on which the resolution relating to non-co-operation was passed by the Special Congress convened in Calcutta. It was stated in the preamble of this resolution that - 'In view of the fact that on the Khilafat question both the Indian and Imperial Government have signally failed in their duty towards the Mussalmans of India, and the Prime Minister has deliberately broken his pledged word given to them, and that it is the duty of every non-Moslem Indian in every legitimate manner to assist his Mussalman brother in his attempt to remove the religious calamity that has overtaken him : and in view of the fact that, in the matter of the events of April of 1919, both the said Governments have grossly neglected or failed to protect innocent people of the Punjab, and to punish officers guilty of unsoldierly and barbarous behaviour towards them, and have exonerated Sir Michael O'Dwyer, who proved himself directly or indirectly responsible for most of the official crimes, and callous to the sufferings of the people placed under his administration, and that the debate in the House of Commons, and specially in the House of Lords, betrayed a wofeful lack of sympathy with the people of India and showed virtual support of the systematic terrorism and frightfulness adopted in the Punjab, and that the

latest Viceregal pronouncement is proof of entire absence of repentance in the matters of the Khilafat and the Punjab: This Congress is of opinion that there can be no contentment in India without redress of the two aforementioned wrongs, and that the only effectual means to vindicate national honour, and to prevent a repetition of similar wrongs in future, is the establishment of Swaraj'.

Now as regards the Khilafat, Mr. Gandhi says: 'It is highly unconstitutional for the 70 millions of Mahomedans to submit to a violent wrong done to their religion'. In the preceding pages I have, I trust, fully demonstrated that neither the Imperial nor the Indian Government are responsible for the fate of the Ottoman Empire, that there has been some misunderstanding about the alleged pledge given by the Prime Minister, that there is amongst Moslems an utter absence of unanimity as regards this matter, and that further agitation in India is futile, for Turkey is bound to gain something by the curious development of events in Europe. As regards the Punjab grievance, Mr. Gandhi says:—'It is highly unconstitutional for the whole of India to sit still and co-operate with an unjust Government, which has trodden under its feet the honour of the Punjab'. I have admitted the responsibility of Government and its officials in respect to it, their unwillingness to realise the gravity of the wrong done, the absence of sympathy in the Parliamentary debates, and the practical denial of adequate amends. But I have also indicated that as a nation

the English have condemned the acts of frightfulness of officials, that some amends have been made, that the moral victory has been ours, and that, such being the case, we ought to let bygones be bygones, and draw a veil over the past. Under these circumstances I hold that, though the people were well within their rights to express their grave dissatisfaction with the conduct of Government, and to demand some guarantee against the repetition of official misdeeds, they had no reasonable and adequate grounds for initiating a policy of non-co-operation which was detrimental to the interests of the country. It is therefore impossible to resist the conclusion that this agitation is ethically indefensible.

Another charge brought by Lord Willingdon against non-co-operation is to the effect that it is calculated to produce chaos and disorder throughout the country. There can be no higher and more effective test than this, for if anarchy is the inevitable result of non-co-operation it stands self-condemned. Now assuming for a moment that *Swaraj*, as contemplated by Mr. Gandhi, that is, with the British connection eliminated from it, is attained, what effect will it have on the people and on the country? I have stated elsewhere that in this process the politically minded classes will be wiped out of existence, and that there will be none left to tell the tale of their glorious achievement in bringing about *Swaraj*, for whether it be the supremacy of the mob or military despotism, under both these regimes the educated classes will be

very much at a discount. But what will be the state of the country without the English to hold the balance in India? The answer is given by Sir Narayan Chandravarkar, an ex-President of the National Congress. He draws attention to the brute fact pointed out by Prof. Jadunath Sircar, in his life of Shivaji that:— 'Shivaji's heroic fight for self-government in India failed because, after he had won self-government for the Mahratha nation, by overthrowing the Mahomedan power, and after Shivaji's heroic personality had disappeared, history repeated itself in India, and destroyed self-government. The social grades which had united under Shivaji against the Mahomedan Government turned against each other. Caste which has grown in India reasserted itself with its ancient force, and as Shivaji's ideal of a Hindu Swarajya was based on orthodoxy it contained within itself the seeds of its own death, and the Mahratha power crumbled to pieces'. Here was a military dictator who had brought political salvation to his people, and yet, having regard to the divergent classes the population was composed of, the end was disastrous. From these facts Sir Narayan Chandravarkar draws the conclusion that: 'assuming that non-co-operation succeeds in bringing the British Government to its knees, and overthrowing it, there is the warning of history eloquently emphasized by Prof. Jadunath Sircar. The aftermath of the success will be that social grades as of old will turn against each other. That is the peril of the situation, which Mr. Gandhi and all the rest of us have to face

unless we are prepared to say, 'after us the deluge'.

If it be said this is mere speculation, we have a concrete instance to hand in the dacoities in the districts of south-west Punjab in 1915, to which allusion has been made in the previous pages. The fact of Turkey joining Germany in the late War had a curious development in India. A band of Moslems conceived the idea that England was so preoccupied, or had become so weakened, that, for the time being, British rule had ceased to exist in this country. The result was an epidemic of lawlessness and crime, of which the unfortunate Hindus were the victims. Bands of desperados openly attacked Hindu villages, and looted them, at the same time committing the most shocking outrages. The Punjab Hindu Sabha instituted a detailed inquiry, and submitted to Government a representation, in which are to be found the following significant sentences:—'It has been alleged that the disturbances were grain riots caused by the refusal of the Hindus to accommodate the Mahomedans in the days of famine. The Sabha respectfully begs to urge that such organised dacoities conducted in the names of the German Emperor and the Sultan of Turkey, and in utter disregard of law and order cannot be styled grain riots. The armies of dacoits that attacked villages after villages, with the beat of drum and display of banners, and pillaged and burnt houses and shops, and kidnapped and raped helpless women, were obviously acting under a strong organisation, in absolute defiance of the Government, as if the Government

had ceased to exist, or their object was manifestly something more than the mere satisfaction of a grudge against the recalcitrant Banias'. The Report published by the Punjab Hindu Sabha affords a curious commentary on the prospects of Hindu-Mahomedan unity.

For *Swaraj* to be successful, unity amongst the heterogeneous classes of which the Indian population is made up is essential. I have already stated I have grave doubts of the stability of the Hindu-Moslem unity, which has for its underlying basis a common political motive, that of antagonism to British rule. But we have also other communities to take into account. Without going into the merits of the Brahman question, there are clear indications that one of the problems to be decided in the near future will be their relations towards each other. The depressed classes are awakening from their slumber, and will press hard for a hearing. The increase of the Indian Christian population is proportionately larger than in other communities, and with the facilities at their disposal for receiving education, they will before long become a factor that will have to be reckoned with. An Indian Christian barrister joined the ranks of the non-co-operators, but when one of the great Moslem authorities, Maulana Abdul Bari, declared at a public meeting in Lucknow, at which Mr. Gandhi was present, that he could not condemn the murderer of Mr. Willoughby, as the victim being a Christian was a Kaffir, the barrister promptly shook the dust from off his feet

of the place where expression was given to such inhuman sentiments. There are the Anglo-Indians, a name now appropriated by the mixed race. So far they have deluded themselves with the belief that their interests were identical with that of the European, and that the more the 'native' was put down the more power to their own elbow. But he is gradually discovering that the European has now to fight for his own existence, and that he has no desire to be burdened with a useless encumbrance. The Anglo-Indians will no doubt readjust their position, but it is too much to expect them to welcome Mr. Gandhi's *Swaraj*. It will need more than a miracle to weld all these various classes into one way of thinking. There can be no doubt then that non-co-operation, if successful, will lead to chaos and anarchy. But in fairness to Mr. Gandhi it will have to be admitted that he is by no means daunted by the bogey of anarchy, for he said in Calcutta that:—'If I have the choice between the honour of the Punjab and therefore of India, and temporary chaos and anarchy.....I will choose with the honour of the Punjab, anarchy'. Comment on such a confession of faith is futile.

But we have to see further whether the propaganda really is unconstitutional as described by Lord Willingdon. The gravity of the charge induced the person, who was the chief accused to take up the challenge, as he was entitled to do. Mr. Gandhi in his defence, in course of a speech delivered in Madras, stated that:—'I therefore venture to suggest to my

learned countrymen that, so long as the doctrine of non-co-operation remains non-violent, so long there is nothing unconstitutional in that doctrine. I ask further is it unconstitutional for me to tell the British Government, 'I refuse to serve you'? Is it unconstitutional for our worthy chairman to return with every respect all the titles that he has ever held from the Government? Is it unconstitutional for any parent to withdraw his children from Government or aided schools? Is it unconstitutional for a lawyer to say I shall no longer support the arm of the law, so long as that arm of the law is used not to raise me, but to debase me? Is it unconstitutional for a civil servant or for a judge to say I refuse to serve a Government which does not wish to respect the wishes of the whole people? I ask, is it unconstitutional for a policeman or for a soldier to tender his resignation when he knows that he is called to serve a Government which traduced his own countrymen? Is it unconstitutional for me to go to the Kisan, (the agriculturist), and say to him, it is not wise for you to pay any taxes, if these taxes are used by the Government not to raise you but to weaken you? I should venture to submit that there is nothing unconstitutional in it'.

Mr Gandhi gives here a verdict on his own conduct, that he is doing nothing that is unconstitutional in making these various demands, and issuing these injunctions to people, so long as he advises them to remain non-violent. It appears to me that there are certain other tests which might be applied to adjudicate

on the ethical character of the propaganda. Is there any actual necessity for asking people not to do certain things which they have been in the habit of doing, and which are necessary to keep society together? Is the method constitutional which has been adopted for giving advice and guidance to the people as to their duty as citizens? If carried out, will these acts of omission or commission be conducive to the welfare of the people? What is the guarantee that the preliminary condition of non-violence will be strictly and universally observed? Enough has already been said to demonstrate that the necessity is not established for the people to carry out the novel injunctions prescribed by an ingenious mind to indicate their displeasure against Government. Bearing in mind the ordinary rules of cause and effect no adequate reason is forthcoming for them to disturb their usual course of life which had been deliberately adopted by them for promoting their political and material welfare. It is impossible to resist the conclusion that the conduct of the man cannot be defended from an ethical point of view who without sufficient reason asks others to engage in a series of acts each one of which is extraordinary, and has the potentiality of producing incalculable mischief. And similar reflections may properly be made on the details of the propaganda for which he had made himself responsible, and which needlessly excited the minds of the people, and especially those of the younger generation.

The method on which this propaganda is being

engineered is open to still more serious criticism. Mr. Gandhi's strong point is his spirituality and love of truth. It is natural then to expect him to be straight-forward and free from the devices and tricks which are resorted to by ordinary politicians. For some months past he has been preaching the doctrine of non-co-operation as the panacea for all political grievances. Assuming for a moment that it was open to no objection from an ethical or utilitarian point of view, the manner in which it was being propagated involved a flagrant breach of constitutional procedure. No exception can be taken to his desire to obtain the sanction of the National Congress for this propaganda, for thereby it would receive the official seal of the people's approval. It was essential for each delegate to sign a declaration subscribing to the Congress creed which emphasized the fact of allegiance to British rule. Messrs. Gandhi and Shaukat Ali both signed this declaration, and thus entered the Congress. But they had, previous to this, given expression to the view that England had forfeited its right to their allegiance, for reasons recited by them. The straight-forward course for them to adopt would have been to refuse to sign this declaration, or to abstain from joining the Congress. They cannot therefore be acquitted of having gained admittance to it by an act which, on the face of it, was not only unconstitutional but partook somewhat of the nature of sharp practice. As such it was therefore indefensible. And on the principle of 'in for a penny in for a pound', they utilised this opportunity

to get a resolution passed which was a direct negation of this creed, thereby placing another unconstitutional and improper act to their credit.

If we look at the procedure employed in passing the resolution relating to non-co-operation we find in it a judicious mixture of intolerance, intimidation and cajolery, practised on a packed assembly. The President himself was a victim to this new method of carrying on an agitation. He knew from the outset that the delegates would be attending the Congress with only one object in view, and that was to applaud every speaker who expressed an approval of this propaganda, and to put down those who were opposed to it. The Special Congress was convened to discuss the merits of this new method of agitation, and to give a final decision in respect to its adoption. It has been the usual practice of Presidents to give the lead in respect to the matters which were to be brought up for deliberation before the Congress, but Mr. Lajpat Rai realised that discretion was the better part of valour. He entertained a decided opinion that the scheme as drawn out by Mr. Gandhi was highly objectionable, but he was well aware of the fate in store for him if he ventured to air his views, so in a short para of a few lines he disposed of this question with the observation:—'I have my personal opinion on the question involved in the programme of non-co-operation, but during the session of the Congress I will conduct the proceedings without taking sides'. The bulk of his speech, extending to 56 of pages

printed foolscap was devoted to an exposure of what he called the Punjab atrocities, and which was merely a relish in somewhat intemperate language of what had been written by me, together with certain accretions which had been considered by me to be redundant. In the Subjects Committee he took a bolder line, which was decidedly hostile to the details of the programme as it had been planned out by Mr. Gandbi. In deference to his views the latter allowed certain slight amendments to be introduced in it, the most notable being the introduction of the word 'gradual' before the word boycott in the clause relating to the suspension of practice by lawyers. But bearing in mind Lord Morley's dictum that, 'politics is a game of compromises', he permitted himself the luxury of indulging in it to the full, by allowing Mr. Shaukat Ali, who had joined the Congress after signing the creed, which emphasized the British connection, to give expression to views which were a direct negation of this creed. And finally in his closing address the President warned the country as to the danger of resting the movement on two isolated issues, such as the Khilafat and the Punjab. He summed up his own view of the non-co operation programme clause by clause, and demonstrated its impracticability in a speech moderately phrased and judicial in its character, and more than hinted at the necessity of its revision at the approaching regular session of the Congress. He especially condemned the withdrawal of boys from schools and Colleges, and the call upon lawyers to

give up their practice.

The spirit that was abroad, in spite of Mr. Gandhi's injunctions to the contrary, was so clearly realised by the outside public that the Moderates, except a few who were extra venturesome, absented themselves from the Congress, though the President had made a special appeal to their patriotism to lend it the benefit of their past experience. But in his closing speech he admitted there was ample justification for their absence, so disgusted was he with the unruly and unscrupulous behaviour of some of the delegates. Then again, what was the treatment accorded to those who were staunch Home Rulers, and had spent years in promoting the cause they had consistently advocated? Mrs. Besant was hooted and yelled at, not for anything she had said, for she was only supporting the resolution relating to the election of the President, but because it was known that she was opposed to the non-co-operation programme. Mr. Gandhi had to come to her rescue, and by his grace and under his protection this aged lady later on lifted up her voice in warning and remonstrance against the perilous step it was under contemplation to take. Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas was absolutely refused a hearing, and some of the other leaders, though allowed to speak, had but scant courtesy meted out to them. This chapter in the history of the National Congress by no means added to the reputation it had acquired for carrying on its proceedings on constitutional lines, and with a strict observance of the ordinary rules of

decency and propriety.

Mr. Gandhi claimed that an analysis of the vote showed that the country wanted non-co-operation, and that it had given him a mandate for it. He declared that the Special Congress was a decided success, but there are others whose opinion is entitled to equal respect who stigmatized it as a brilliant farce. The Non-co-operation resolution was passed in the teeth of the opposition of the bulk of the Home Rule leaders. The voting was confined to the two amendments of Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal respectively. The substantive resolution, which would have raised the direct question of the merits of non-co-operation, was never placed before the Congress owing to there being no time left for it. And what was the composition of the Special Congress? The total number of delegates registered was 5814, yet Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, who, previous to the advent of Mr. Gandhi in the field of politics, exercised a dominating influence in the extremist party, though he has never broken away entirely from the Moderates, condemned the Special Congress for its non-representative character, and for having forfeited its claim of being National. And he had good reason for doing this. To make up for the deficiency due to the defection of the Moderates, the Congress was packed by a heterogeneous body of unknown and untried raw recruits. Some of them came by Khilafat special trains, as the faithful adherents of Mr. Shaukat Ali, ready to do and to die at his bidding. The *Bombay*

Chronicle, an out and out extremist organ, stated that some of them could barely sign their names. To swell their number came a batch of Marwaris, who backed their hero hailing from their home land, without comprehending what they were committing the country to, and with no intention of parting company with their money-bags in favour of hand-loom. And to double the highest number of delegates reached at any previous Congress a whole host of enthusiastic youths were marched in, whose chief article of faith was an uncompromising hostility to Government. That the Congress was packed was vouched for by the *Hindu* of Madras, edited by Mr. Kasturi Ranga Iyenger, one of the leaders of the extremist party. And for all that, only 1826 votes were cast in favour of the resolution. True there were only 800 odd who voted against it, but it is more than probable that the bulk of the remaining delegates absented themselves, in view of the farcical nature of the whole proceedings.

This seems clear from the voting in the Subjects Committee, which also was packed by those who had committed themselves to the non-co-operation propaganda, for there were numerous complaints in the press of the exclusion of those who were wavering or hostile. Even a Nationalist leader like Sir Ashutosh Chowdhry got in only on the nomination of the President. Packed as was this caucus, it was so impressed by the views of those against Mr. Gandhi's programme that his amendment to the Reception Committee's draft resolution, was accepted by a majority of only 12 votes. But

even this achievement was due to a scene whose significance cannot be minimised, Mr. Gandhi is ever preaching the doctrine of humility and unity of discipline and self-sacrifice. In Madras he advised the Mahomedans to go to the Congress on their bended knees, and plead for support as regards the matter in which they were specially interested. Mr. Shaukat Ali was wise in his generation. He went to Calcutta, sword in hand, and backed by a large following. He waited to see how the deliberations in the Subjects Committee were progressing. When he found that the non-co-operation programme was likely to be shelved, or seriously modified, he did not go down on his knees, as advised by his leader, but threw down the gauntlet: 'Either you pass it as drawn up by Mr. Gandhi, or we, the Moslems, retire'. And the Mahatma making a virtue of necessity, for the Hindu-Moslem unity was to be kept up at all costs, took up also a determined attitude, and insisted on his proposal being carried without any modification. A member objected to Mr. Gandhi's autocracy, but had to admit that Mr. Shaukat Ali was for the time being the real dictator. The so-called mandate, given by the Special Congress, is shorn of all its glory, being the offspring of a series of unconstitutional acts, each one of which set at defiance the unwritten rules and regulations which were sanctioned by long continued usage.

It is clear then that the non-co-operation resolution, for which the Special Congress in Calcutta made itself responsible, is indefensible from an ethical point

of view, in that it was passed by trampling under the feet the constitution upon which it was based. It is still more to be condemned for having committed the country to a line of action which is detrimental to its best interests, as it is calculated to lead to violence on the part of some enthusiastic but irresponsible followers, and even if it be successful will most assuredly land it in anarchy, when the hand of one man will be lifted up against another. But it would be far from correct to believe that this resolution had no significance. It was a striking evidence of the resentment which the people undoubtedly entertained for the unredressed wrongs inflicted on them, and which even the approaching introduction of constitutional reforms did not help to extinguish. So far the Government cannot divest itself of all responsibility for the resolution, and it has had therefore to reap in full measure the effects of its shortsighted policy which led, as we shall see further on, non-co-operation to run mad in the succeeding months, in the quest of a Swaraj, wherein British rule was to be entirely eliminated.



CHAPTER X.

THE RACE AFTER SWARAJ.

In a preceding chapter we left the Nationalist leaders baffled and defeated in their efforts to dissuade the Special Congress in Calcutta from giving its approval to Mr. Gandhi's scheme of non-co-operation. This was, as we have seen, adopted, and sanction was given to an agitation the immediate object of which was to secure *Swaraj*. This chapter records a further defeat of the Nationalist leaders, in respect to changing the constitution of the Congress, which, emphasized the continuance of the British connection, and stood in the way of the realisation of the Gandhi-Shaukat Ali *Swaraj*. No one could possibly object to *Swaraj*, for since 1906 this had been the goal of all those who were politically inclined, whether Moderates or Extremists. But there was then a specific meaning attached to this word; it implied Home Rule under the ægis of the British Crown. Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Shaukat Ali, before coming to the Congress, had repudiated their allegiance to British rule. The *Swaraj* they had in view connoted absolute separation from England. As a prudent tactician, Mr. Gandhi kept this in the background, apprehensive that a declaration on this point might alienate votes which were all required to support his cherished propaganda. But his colleague, Mr. Shaukat Ali, was not so reticent. He freely

ventilated his views in the Subjects Committee, as was reported by the special correspondent of the *Hindu*, an extremist organ, who wrote:— 'Certain technical objections were taken to Mr. Shaukat Ali's references in his speeches to British connection and his allegiance. The President observed they were bound to assume that those who had signed the creed had accepted British connection, whatever they might say in a moment of excitement or passion. Mr. Shaukat Ali adhered to what he had said, preferring to resign his delegation. After some heated discussion, the President ruled that they must accept the fact of his being there among them in accordance with the Congress Constitution'. Mr. Gandhi, finding his friend and associate attacked, came to his rescue in his concluding remarks. He stated that he was bound to support Mr. Shaukat Ali in every thing said by him, and he himself felt that in the circumstances in which they were placed he was unable to tender his loyalty to Government. He was prepared to seek his objects without British connection, if necessary, so long as the methods were peaceful, and the object was the good of the country. Mentally at least he owed no allegiance now to the British connection. These remarks were quietly accepted, for there was none so daring as to beard the lion in his den, or rather the lamb in its pen, for there is nothing ferocious either in Mr. Gandhi's appearance, or in his demeanour, and he is a man of peace.

That Mr. Gandhi's speech on the non-co-operation

resolution should be more emotional than argumentative was due to the nature of the subject he was dealing with. He fought shy of logic, and there it is he had the advantage over Mr. C.R. Das, who had only logic to give, whereas a certain class of persons like their feelings to be stirred. He impressed on the hearers the beauty of non-co-operation, as a measure of discipline and self-sacrifice, and tried to inoculate them with his own belief in the ancient and pacific ideals of the East. He asked them to eschew the modern and advanced ideals of the West, and recommended the adoption of his nostrum on the ground that it was a gospel based on ancient ideals. And he further emphasized the fact that if an adequate response was given to *Swaraj* it would be realised in a year's time. But it now turns out it is a gospel which lacks even the redeeming feature of originality. Though constantly inveighing against western civilisation and western education, Mr. Gandhi was nothing loth to draw the inspiration of his gospel from the West. But deceit is not in his nature, so he tenders a whole-hearted reverence to Tolstoi, who has altered the tenor of his life, and to whom he owes the whole scheme of what is usually considered an original propaganda. Mr. Edwin Bevan, writing to the *Times* says:—"Your readers may be interested to learn that the outlines of Mr. Gandhi's scheme of non-co-operation were drawn by Tolstoi in 'A Letter to a Hindu', dated December 14th, 1908. I discovered this accidentally the other day by coming upon a review of a German translation

of this latter in an old German periodical. Tolstoi regards British rule in India as a great evil, and he goes on to give his Hindu friend advice as to how the evil is to be got rid of. In a sentence translated by the German reviewer, Tolstoi says, 'do not fight against the evil, but on the other hand take no part in it. Refuse all co-operation in the Government administration, in the law courts, in the collection of taxes, and above all in the army, and no one in the world will be able to subjugate you'. That Mr. Gandhi was imbued with the ideas of Tolstoi was well known, but it will be a revelation to many that for his whole scheme he is indebted to one who is after all a product of the West, which is therefore not so barren of good things as his disciple in India would have us believe. The only point that is original about Mr. Gandhi's scheme is his insistence that his adherents should take to hand-looms, till such time at least as the political salvation of the country is realised.

Mr. Gandhi is equally insistent that his propaganda should be non-violent, but he owes his pacific ideas entirely to Tolstoi, as also his notions as to the efficacy of celibacy. The Special Congress had passed non-co-operation with a programme of seven items, but to abstain from cohabitation was not one of them. On his return to Bombay he supplied the omission, and while emphasizing the necessity of celibacy on the part of his adherents, he added it to his propaganda. It was no new inspiration that he had received, for in his book 'Home rule' it figures largely as a method

of reclaiming and spiritualising mankind, and the first edition of this book appeared about the same time as Tolstoi's letter to "A Hindu". He adroitly kept sexual abstinence in the background at the Congress, apprehending that it might unduly startle the delegates, who might wreck his whole scheme. The Viceroy has reserved for himself the privilege of issuing ordinances, which are none the less obligatory because they have not passed through the process of being deliberated upon by the Legislative Council, and why should a similar privilege be denied to Mr. Gandhi, who acts as an autocrat, while the Viceroy does not even pose to be one? So that including celibacy we have altogether eight items to be considered. Mr. Gandhi is nothing if he is not thorough. He finds that at present we are a nation of slaves, and he therefore proclaims 'it is our duty at the present moment to suspend bringing forth heirs to our slavery, and without this personal purity of life we must remain a nation of slaves'. How this is to be carried into effect is sufficiently clear by the advice he gives the various parties concerned. The mother is told: 'If the mothers of India could be inclined to believe that it is sinful to train boys and girls for a married life, half the marriages of India will automatically stop. Those already married are informed that there is not a shadow of doubt that married people if they wish well to the country and want to see India become a nation of strong and handsome, full-formed men and women they would practise self-restraint'. And to help

them to do this, a complete segregation of the sexes is advocated, the husband and wife occupying separate rooms. The ingenuity of the reformer fell short here, for he has nothing to propose to those couples, often more than one couple, who are found occupying a single hut or room, how they are to secure separate apartments. To those who are marriageable and wish to be married he finds he cannot improve on the advice given by Punch and says—"don't". And he tells them plainly, once they have taken the fatal step they are lost. No doubt Mr. Gandhi considered this a counsel of perfection, but whether this was practical or practicable was a detail he did not pause to reflect upon. Had he done this most of the items in his propaganda would not have seen the light of day, for in a greater or lesser degree the same criticism applies to them all. But they have been accepted by his devoted followers, and perhaps all the more readily by those who have no intention of acting upon them.

It would be desirable at this stage to obtain a clear and precise idea as to what the non-co-operation resolution which was passed by the Special Congress stood for. And it would also be interesting and instructive to analyse the mentality of these who were running this propaganda. We have seen above that it was started solely for the benefit of Turkey. The irritation at its downfall was genuine, though limited, and the sympathy displayed by Indian Moslems did credit to their head and heart. The Hindus fraternised with the Mahomedans in a matter in which they had

no real concern by reason of the newly formed amity which had for its basis a community of political interests. It was a patriotic move, and if kept within bounds had much to commend it. But when a Bengal leader like Mr. Fazul-ul-Haq, as president of a conference of the Mahomedans at Dacca, declared that this irritation and sympathy are being exploited by unscrupulous agitators of questionable antecedents, to create mischief, and that it is calculated to do immense harm, the future historian applying the ordinary rules of cause and effect, will not fail to come to the conclusion that there is considerable truth in the charge laid by Mr. Fazul-ul-Haq, and that the picturesque idealist, as Mr. Gandhi has been called, fell an easy victim to the wiles of designing individuals. I have been told I am not a fit person to express an opinion on the Turkish question, as I cannot realise the point of view of the Moslem community. When I find Mr. Mahomed Ali charging Mr. Jinnah, once upon a time the leader of the Mahomedans of India, that he did not understand either the Khilafat or 'the Punjab wrongs, I could not do better than plead guilty to the soft impeachment, so far as the Khilafat is concerned, for, if Mr. Jinnah cannot understand it, much less can I. But Mr. Jinnah paid Mr. Mahomed Ali off in his own coin by refusing to give him next day the title of Maulana, in spite of the insistent demand of his devoted followers. How a Maulana is manufactured is a mystery to me, but I suppose it was not a mystery to Mr. Jinnah. As regards the Punjab

question I venture to say I have an advantage over the present day agitators, who are screaming for all they are worth. What were they doing when the Punjab tragedy was being enacted? They were dumb, but from the very outset I advocated the cause of the people, and condemned the acts of frightfulness that had been committed by certain officials. I even pleaded for mercy for those persons as regards whom Mr. Gandhi expressed the view that they should stew in their own juice if they were guilty. The Punjab has expressed its gratitude to me, and from far off Bengal I found the *Modern Review*, an extremist organ, but nevertheless the premier magazine of India, stating in the course of a review of my book *Political Problems* that 'it should be read by our children and our children's children'. Well, in my opinion all things considered, not omitting those which have been dealt with in the previous pages, the time has arrived that we should forgive and forget and look to the other side of the picture, that England has done much for us and is capable of doing still more in that in course of time it will help us to attain our heart's desire—Swaraj; and may be in time to come, independence, if we are fit for it. Non-co-operation I consider has immense potentialities for causing mischief, and is calculated to lead in the long run to anarchy. And Mr. Gandhi's utterances subsequent to the Special Congress confirm this view. He no longer inveighed exclusively against the injustice done to the Moslems or on the cruelty inflicted on the people of the Punjab, but he arraigned

the administration of the Government as a whole, and called it depraved and Satanic, and on this he based his appeal for its supercession by *Swaraj*.

But towards this being achieved there were certain obstacles in the way which had to be removed, and, with characteristic energy, Mr. Gandhi took this task in hand. There was the All-India Home Rule League, founded by Mrs. Besant; and on her supercession as President, Mr. Tilak and Mr. Jinnah had replaced her by Mr. Gandhi. This League had a constitution, and one of its clauses emphasized the fact of the British connection. At a meeting of its members, held in Bombay, soon after Mr. Gandhi's return from Calcutta, its name was changed to Swarajya Sabha, and from its constitution the British connection was entirely omitted. This led Mr. Jinnah and 19 other members to resign their position as members, and to complain that the amendment was carried by adopting a procedure that was 'incorrect, arbitrary and unconstitutional'. But Mr. Gandhi, who had inaugurated a propaganda that was in certain stages at least unconstitutional, and which was passed by a resort to every device that was unconstitutional, was by no means daunted in having to continue the nature of his performances. He paraphrased constitutionalism to mean his will and pleasure, which is exemplified in a striking manner by the method in which he dealt with a much greater institution, which was nothing less than the National Congress.

Having captured the All-India Home Rule League,

Mr. Gandhi was desirous to complete his triumph by the capture of what has been known as the People's Parliament. He took advantage of the existing excitement and irritation to get the National Congress to change its constitution, which declared its object to be the 'attainment by the people of India of a system of Government similar to that enjoyed by the self-governing members of the British Empire'. This object, say the articles, 'is to be achieved by constitutional means, by bringing about a steady reform of the existing system of administration' and by promoting national unity and developing and organising the intellectual, moral, economic and industrial resources of the country.' It was part of the Congress creed that the British connection was to be maintained, and that India was to gradually acquire the status of a self-governing dominion. This ran counter to the new gospel that was being preached by Mr. Gandhi, and it was common talk at the Special Congress that he was very keen about substituting for the old creed another which would make the attainment of *Swaraj* either within or outside the British Empire the goal of the Congress. A Committee was therefore appointed of three members to draft a new constitution. These were Mr. Gandhi, who, of course, was indispensable, Mr. Patel, the General Secretary of the Congress, and Mr. Rangaswami Ayengar; and they were to report before the meeting of the next Congress in December at Nagpur. Did the Committee meet? How could it when Mr. Gandhi was busy with his peregrinations

over the country in furtherance of his propaganda? Was it necessary to meet? Hardly, when he had a cut and dried plan, and knew it would be accepted, never mind what the other members had to say. Views were exchanged in writing, and on that Mr. Gandhi drew up a report, which was sent to the other members to sign; but they refused, and wrote dissenting minutes instead. Nevertheless, when the Congress met at Nagpur, the report was presented by Mr. Gandhi, as if it emanated from the Committee, though Mr. Patel had in the press exposed the unconstitutional manner in which it was drawn up. He resigned his official position as General Secretary of the Congress, his colleague, Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra, having already severed his connection with it at the close of the Special Congress.

The report recommended that for the old creed the following should be substituted:—'the attainment of Swarajya by the people of India by legitimate and peaceful means.' Whether it was to be in connection with the British Government, or not, was purposely left in the dark, but Mr. Mahomed Ali had his own views on the matter. In the Subjects Committee at Nagpur he stated:— 'The British Empire was dead and buried beyond resurrection' and therefore he was willing to abide by Mr. Gandhi's decision that *Swaraj* was to be attained by peaceful means, though he added 'my faith said to me, unsheath the sword. I was willing to abide by my faith, but if liberty could come without it, I would take it without the sword.'

And it has already been noticed that Mr. Shaukat Ali told Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya that he would provide an army to fight the English if the Pandit were prepared to lead it.

It is obvious then that there was by no means a unanimity of opinion as to the exclusion of violence from the achievement of *Swraj*, in spite of the resolution of the Congress to the contrary. A similar change was made in the creed of the All-India Muslim League, but during its sessions at Nagpur, a little more plain speaking was indulged in, for in connection with the Non-co-operation resolution emphasis was laid on the absolute necessity of the immediate severance of all connection with the Government. As regards the words 'legitimate and peaceful' in the new creed, an amendment was moved by Mr. Hasrat Mohani to delete these words, for he said the time may come when violence would be required to fight the Government. Mr. Mahomed Ali, replying to the debate, said the wording of the creed was in conformity with the situation to-day, and if any circumstances arose later on the creed could again be changed to suit the time. Dr. Ansari, in his Presidential speech, gave the key note to the present political situation, and the demand it made on all patriotic Moslems: 'It is' he said, 'not only the question of the Khilafat or the Punjab, the repressive legislation, or the shameful treatment of Indians in different parts of the British Empire, but it is the spirit

behind these actions that has to be fought and conquered..... Non-co-operation is not only a political or a moral necessity, but to a Mussalman it is a religious obligation.' The objectionable spirit has to be conquered at all costs, never mind the process by which this was done.

The resolution in respect to the change of creed was passed by the National Congress at Nagpur. *Swaraj* was to be its aim, but that is precisely what it had been before. But that *Swaraj* had the definite meaning attached to it of responsible self-government as a part of the British Commonwealth. What is the meaning to be attached to it now? The empire-makers could not agree to this. In the Subjects Committee a good deal of light was thrown on this matter. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mr. Jinnah were for retaining its old meaning, and therefore deprecated a change of creed. Their amendment was moved, and lost. Another, moved by Mr. C. R. Das and supported by Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal, that for Swaraj be substituted 'democratic Swaraj,' was also lost by 182 votes to 43. A third, moved by Mr. Ali Khan of Nagpur, that Swaraj be replaced by 'an Indian Republic on the federal basis', suffered a similar fate. Dr. Khare proposed that after Swaraj be added the words 'as determined by the Indian people' met with no better reception. Mr. Sunder Lal would leave *Swaraj* without any definition, even if it might connote monarchy, because it would be preferable to the British Government. Mr. Mahomed

Ali was not concerned very much as to what Swaraj meant. He was taken out of bed at 4 in the morning by the English rulers, and interned for five years; he wanted to be rid of them, and would not stick at the means. He desired Colonel Wedgwood (who was present) to tell his friends in England that the late lamented British Empire in India was dead and buried. Then why all this hubbub? Lastly came Mr. Gandhi's contribution to the meaning of Swaraj. 'It was Government by the people. It may mean within or without the British Government. If the wrongs were not righted then the British connection must be destroyed. That was the reason for the change, and if they were remedied, then there was the possibility of a settlement of *Swaraj* after mutual discussion. The creed as proposed provided for both parties coming in. If that was diplomacy they were welcome to have it so.' In an interview with the Special Correspondent of the *Times of India* Mr. Gandhi further enlarged on this subject. 'My *Swaraj*,' he said, 'is Parliamentary Government of India, in the modern sense of the term, for the time being, and that Government would be secured to us either through the friendly offices of the British people or without them. Suppose we made it impossible by disassociation from them to feed their greed, they might not wish to remain in India. At that stage India will then have evolved an outstanding spiritual height, or the ability to offer violence. She will have evolved an organising ability of a high order, and will therefore

be in every way able to cope with any emergency that may arise. My experience during the last few months fills me with the hope that within the nine months that remain during the year in which I have expected *Swaraj* for India we shall redress the two wrongs and we shall see *Swaraj* established according to the wishes of the people.' 'Where will the present Government be, at the end of nine months,' asked the press representative? Mr. Gandhi with a significant smile said: 'The lion will then be with the lamb.' The net result is that should *Swaraj* be realised in a few months' time it is quite possible it may take the form of a monarchy, a republic, or a democratic rule, for all these come within its definition. But so does anarchy, as also military despotism, and it is more than probable, indeed it is certain, that it will assume one of these two forms. And as to the expectation that the lion will prey along side of the lamb, it is more than likely the lion may have his own ideas on the subject. At any rate if a change does take place it cannot be bloodless, as is anticipated by Mr. Gandhi, but like all previous revolutions will be accompanied by violence of a more or less serious nature.

Mr. Gandhi knows this, and therefore he continues to harp upon the necessity of refraining from violence. And that he is sincere there is no reason to entertain a doubt. But the militant Ali brothers have no illusions on the point, and are prepared for any contingency. It looks therefore that the *Swaraj* Mr. Gandhi wishes to bring into existence, wherein

he emphasizes there will be no necessity for lawyers, doctors, magistrates or policemen, or for education, whether it be primary or secondary, and each man and woman will find occupation in the handloom, means nothing but self-control or government over self. He has repeatedly said his movement was a religious one, and intended for self-discipline and self-purification. When the people awaken to realise whither they are drifting, they will recognize in Mr. Gandhi a religious and spiritual reformer, who is entirely out of place in the realm of politics, and hence the unpractical nature of his injunctions and his teachings. The Congress sanctioned the new creed, but having regard to its component parts, it being packed with ignorant Marwaris and illiterate Moslems, it is more than doubtful if an appreciable number of the delegates were able to grasp the potentiality for good or evil of the changes, when, being desired by Mr. Gandhi they voted for them. Mrs. Besant in sheer disgust was absent. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was indisposed, which was very convenient; for he, Mr. Jinnah and Sir A. Chowdhury were treated with such discourtesy in the Subjects Committee that Colonel Wedgwood protested against it, and treated the Congress with quite a little discourse on the desirability of allowing freedom of speech. Sir A. Chowdhury returned to Calcutta, while Mr. Jinnah alone stood his ground, in spite of the interruptions to which his short speech was subjected. As usual Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal steered his way with his usual adroitness. The two

men who were bossing the show were Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Mahomed Ali, one the man of peace, and the other ready to draw his sword at any moment. The wording of the creed was no doubt dubious, but it was well known that Mr. Gandhi's *Swaraj* meant the cutting off the British connection, and in anticipation of which he had openly stated he had thrown off his allegiance. And as to Mr. Mahomed Ali, he had told Col. Wedgwood that the British Government was dead and buried. Under these circumstances there was some natural curiosity how Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal was going to extricate himself from the difficult position in which he was placed, for, though a bitter opponent of the bureaucracy, and a great champion of democracy, he recognised the value of the British connection. A few lines from his speech are worth quoting: 'Are you for keeping yourself within the loving embrace of the Empire?' (Cries of 'No', 'No.') 'Let us not therefore, waste our breath upon this question whether we want to be inside or outside the Empire. The question has not been asked by anybody whether we will be within the Empire. When somebody asks that question it will be time to make a stipulation, but the time has come now when the world must be told once and for all that in the time to come India declines to be inside an Empire to be treated as a serf by that Empire, and this resolution makes that declaration. We do not say that we will be inside or outside the Empire. We have left that open enough to suit every opinion, to suit every conscience. The old creed does

not represent the public opinion of India at the present time, and we assembled in this Congress are bound to put on record the seal of our authority upon what is the deliberate conviction of the vast masses of our countrymen whom we represent in this hall that their conviction is that the time has come and now is when India must bid for her birthright of complete political freedom. Yes, I want independence. If it is a crime to say that I want independence I am prepared to pay the penalty of that crime.' This astute politician had to keep his eye on the future. He is not easily suppressed, and suffers from no convenient indispositions. He can now stand on any platform. If the tide is in favour of the old type of Home Rulers he can say: 'You know I did not advocate the separation from England. I left it an open question.' If he is addressing those who have adopted Mr. Gandhi's views he will safely say:—'Did I not advocate independence, yes even at the risk of having to pay a heavy penalty?' And what is there to prevent the bulk of the Congress delegates adopting a similar line? In the Subjects Committee Mr. Gandhi's resolution which left *Swaraj* undefined was carried with only 24 voting against it. Not much harm was done, for every one of these members, it is to be hoped, will say when the remaining months of probation are over, and the English are still hard and fast in this country, 'You know we all long had the maintenance of the British connection at the back of our mind.' And Mr. Gandhi may also say this, for he allows considerable license in the change

of views, unless he is driven away to the Himalayas by acts of violence committed by Mr. Mahomed Ali's disciples and followers.

A period of five months elapsed between the time non-co-operation was set in motion and the meeting of the Nagpur Congress. It would be interesting to ascertain the progress it had made during these months and how far it had succeeded in paralyzing the Government, which constituted the main object of its promoters. To commence with the supplementary item relating to celibacy, it is looked upon as a pious dogma more honoured in its breach than in its observance. for there are no indications that it has been acted upon, or that it is the intention of any misguided persons to act upon it, except may be a few who are tired of the company of their wives. As to the boycott of foreign goods, Mr. Gandhi, as stated before, was not primarily responsible for it, though now he is fairly keen about its being enforced. The facility with which he and his adherents change their views is one of the chief characteristics of this propaganda. To the encouragement of the use of *swadeshi* articles, as originally proposed by Mr. Gandhi, no possible objection could be raised, and a united effort to develop the industrial resources of the country is not only patriotic but even the Government has given evidence of a desire to co-operate with the people in this respect. It is difficult to say what progress the use of *swadeshi* articles has made, but so far as the boycott of foreign goods is concerned there is no

evidence of any concerted action in this direction. The Marwaris are the devoted admirers of Mr. Gandhi, and a good deal of the import of foreign piece goods and of some other articles is in their hands, but though they are quite willing to shout *Jai Gandhi ji ki*, when it comes to anything likely to affect their pockets, that is quite another matter. Their common sense tells them that by their relinquishing their business the cause would gain nothing, as the trade would pass into other hands. The boycott of foreign goods has been tried before this, and has failed. From an economic point of view it is indefensible, but as there is no disposition on the part of the people to act upon this item of the programme, further discussion is premature.

As to the surrender of titles some few no doubt earned a cheap notoriety by doing this, but they bear no proportion to the whole, and if Mr. Gandhi could only persuade those who are unworthy to hold titles, or have secured these by the exercise of improper methods, to give them up he would be doing a service to the country. If, as a result of this propaganda, the value of and the hankering for titles^o has been diminished the advantage of this will be gained by Government officials, who will obtain some relief from being pestered by undeserving persons who are keen to have their names appear in the honours list. This item distinctly savours of co-operation with Government, and may be dismissed as such. The same remarks apply to the holders of honorary offices and to

nominated members of local bodies. A few resigned their positions, and it would be gratifying to find that others who are unworthy do so. And if Government officials are taught to be more careful in the future as regards their nominations this movement will not be an unmixed evil. In one or two rare instances would-be patriots have refused to attend durbars and official functions, but by their doing so they have in no way shaken British rule in India. For different reasons, I entirely approve of this injunction of Mr. Gandhi's, and if any person has any regard for his dignity, his comfort or the value of time he will eschew functions where he has to rub shoulders with individuals whom he has no desire to meet, and meeting whom gives no pleasure, and whose sole delight is to bask in the sunshine of the official smile. If the Government officials could be made to swallow some of the rules and regulations by which they usually collect a miscellaneous assortment of goods, which contribute to their own disgust, they would be able to invite men from whom they could learn something of the real state of the country, and of the feelings of the people. But I doubt if such men will be inclined to go to a place where they fear they may run the risk of being patronised. The experiment is nevertheless worth trying.

As regards the boycott of the Councils, it would be idle to deny that non-co-operation scored a certain amount of success, but only in so far that it prevented a number of Home Rule leaders from seeking election,

in deference to what they consider is a Congress mandate. In all fairness, credit must not be withheld from the propaganda for expediting the progress of coming events, by sending as the representatives of the wealth and the culture of the people, a barber as in the Punjab, and a cartman, a labourer and a cobbler in Bengal, the said carter having already distinguished himself by driving his cart without a license and being fined Rs. 1 by a Magistrate. If anyone is likely to be paralyzed it will be the high caste Brahman, whomight have to rub shoulders with them. But even in this respect the Government had anticipated the non-cooperators by giving the right of representation to the aborigines and depressed classes. If untouchables are not in evidence in the present Councils, the time is not distant when they will let the world see that they have no intention to be suppressed any longer. Mr. Vijayaraghava Achariar was a strong opponent of this propaganda, but immediately after it was passed by the Special Congress he announced that in response to the demand made by it he and Mr. Madhava Rao from Madras would withdraw their candidature, and so did Messrs C. R. Das and B. C. Pal from Bengal, Mr. Patel from Bombay, Pandit Moti Lal Nehru from the U. P. and others of lesser note. No Council could be complete without these, or without Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Messrs Jinnah, Mazarul Haq and some others. The absence of such men carries with it a certain amount of moral effect. But where is the Government which pays any heed to

moral effect? It is physical force for which it has a wholesome respect, and in spite of the tall talk and bluster of Mr. Mahomed Ali and his brother the open advocacy of it was kept in check, in deference to Mr. Gandhi, who wants men to be ascetics and to retire into the jungles or to be experts in working hand-looms. How then when the psychological moment arrives they will be able to develop the strength to oppose violence with violence, as he told the *Times of India* interviewer they would do, is a puzzle? Or how they are likely under such circumstances to acquire administrative ability, so as to govern the country when Swaraj is established, is a still greater puzzle. Anyhow the absence of extremist leaders from the Councils in no way troubled the Government. In fact the officials felt relieved that they would not be harassed by men who would prove a veritable thorn in their side, and would hamper the work of legislation by their obstructive tactics. Mr. Gandhi's intention was to paralyze the Government, but instead of that the official path has been made smooth and comfortable. The Government, in spite of their protestations, have every reason to bless non-co-operation.

The boycott of courts by lawyers and litigants was another item in the propaganda. but it had the privilege of having the word 'gradual' prefixed to it in the Calcutta resolution, in deference to the strong opposition of the members of this fraternity, who resented being told that instead of spinning yarns in court they ought to spin yarns at home. Even Mr.

Gandhi had to give way to them, for they are the heart and soul and backbone of every agitation, and it is they who make the lives of British officials a misery. And so the term 'gradual' was introduced, which freely interpreted by them meant a license to do their part any time between now and doomsday. How many gave up their practice up to the time of the Special Congress in Calcutta? Only one, Pandit Moti Lal Nehru, and after the last Congress in Nagpur Mr. C. R. Das startled the world with the phenomenon that sometimes profession and practice go together. The friends of these two distinguished leaders of the bar were delighted at the opportunity given them for a little rest after their arduous labours, and that they would be able thus to recruit their health. Their juniors will bless non-co-operation for the opportunity it has given them to make a little hay while the sun shines, for darkness will overshadow them when these leaders return refreshed and more active than before to expound the law before harassed and jaded judges. A few junior lawyers have given up their work along with some persons who have resigned inferior positions. Mr. Chotani, President of the Central Khilafat Committee, addressed an open letter to the delegates of the Congress at Nagpur stating that during two months of hasty work the Khilafat office was flooded with demands for financial aid by persons who had resigned their vocations. That prominent amongst these were lawyers is obvious from the fact that in response to the appeal Seth Jamnalal

Bajaj, Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Congress, contributed one lakh of rupees to be disposed of by Mr. Gandhi in supporting the lawyers who gave up practice, desiring to serve the country, and who deserve to be supported. The bar has been considered a respectable profession, and if these lawyers prefer to live on private benefaction, their taste can hardly be admired, but of course Mr. Gandhi has said no lawyer can earn an honest living. Having been once a practising lawyer, he can speak with authority on the subject.

The Government has the will, but if it only had the power it would make a clean sweep of lawyers. The ingenuity that is devoted to this purpose is remarkable. A variety of devices have been employed to suppress them, but without success. Efforts have been made to strangle them at the time when these obnoxious individuals, with university legal distinctions thick on them, are ready to emerge into life as full blown practitioners, but they have failed. It is only the North West Frontier Government which is able to limit the number of lawyers that are permitted to practice in that province. Baffled in every way, it looks very much as if the Government finding Mr. Gandhi entertained the opinion that legal practitioners combine in their person all the wickedness in creation, is utilising him to do what they have failed to achieve. But even he is in despair at his want of success, for the lawyers are a hard nut to crack, as indeed is he, being one of the same fraternity. The

people of India have many virtues, and not the least amongst them is their love of litigation, for which they have rightly earned a world-wide notoriety. And the Government, besides the other crimes and misdemeanours it is usually charged with, should have another added to the list in that it has tried consistently and strenuously to discourage the litigious spirit amongst the people. Every facility is afforded for referring cases to arbitration, but the litigants must revel in the luxury of going through all the courts from the lowest to the highest. Justice has been made almost prohibitive by being made expensive, but it is a point of honour even with the poorest to sell their household goods to obtain a redress of their grievances, sometimes legitimate and often ill-founded. At every turn a suitor finds himself fleeced, but to gratify his love for fighting with his neighbour, and often with a near relative, he bears the impositions with patience and fortitude. The law's delays are proverbial all over the world, and India beats the other competitors in this respect, but its litigants are not daunted thereby, for they commence early, and devote a lifetime in a cause which they come to consider almost sacred. The fatuity of those is indeed remarkable who imagine that Government is likely to be paralyzed or even annoyed at any efforts made to discourage litigation, or to establish private arbitration courts. It is quite willing to extend its hearty co-operation for the furtherance of these objects. So that another plank in the

non-co-operation propaganda falls to the ground.

It will serve no good purpose to comment on the clause relating to the refusal on the part of the military, clerical and labouring classes to offer themselves as recruits for service in Mesopotamia. It was something very different from the original clause asking the police and the military to withdraw co-operation from the Government. The latest information to hand warrants the belief that the English Government has decided to retire from Mesopotamia, retaining a hold merely of Bassarah and some other strategic points, and at all events to dispense with the employment of the Indian Army there. The conditions under which this army should be utilised overseas are very contentious, and a discussion in respect to this matter is sure to lead to some important developments. It would be futile to anticipate the conclusion that is likely to be arrived at. Anyhow there is one item the less in the programme of non-co-operation that was passed by the Special Congress in Calcutta.

The only item remaining to be discussed is the gradual withdrawal of children from schools and colleges controlled by Government, and the replacement of these by others that are national. This was not one of the four stages, as they were called, with which non-co-operation was first started, but was a subsequent addition, as the original propaganda was not making much headway. Its was to contribute towards the general purpose of paralyzing the Government, it was to feed Mr. Gandhi's antipathy against

modern education, which he asserts makes slaves of mankind, it was to furnish recruits for carrying on his work, and it supplied the only field wherein any success was to be anticipated, for immature boys and girls could easily be victimised, and would keep alive the excitement that had been aroused by the propaganda. In the curious mentality of Mr. Gandhi and his adherents these reasons were more than sufficient to justify the onslaught made on the students. At the Special Congress he found a phalanx of Nationalist leaders opposed to this item of his programme on the score of its being utterly unpractical and baneful in the absence of national schools and colleges. In deference to them the word gradual was introduced in the clause relating to it, though Mr. Gandhi held it to be an unnecessary restriction. He stated :— ' I certainly decline to wait for the establishment of other schools. Necessity is the mother of invention. When there are children without schools I promise that our revered leader Pandit Malaviya will himself go from place to place and collect subscriptions for opening national schools '. But the Pandit was not disposed to do anything of the kind. He put up a brave fight at Benares when Mr. Gandhi and his lieutenants made their attack on the Hindu University, and happily succeeded in defeating the assailants. The onslaught on the Aligarh College was more successful. Mr. Mahomed Ali had access to it as one of the Trustees, and he took possession of a portion of the college building. Being reinforced by

a fairly large number of students he held his ground until ousted by the District Magistrate. All sorts of inducements were held out to the students to leave the College. Mr. Shaukat Ali promised a crore of rupees to found a National college and university. It need hardly be said as many pice have not been collected. An organised attack was made on the Lahore College which for a time had to be closed. The Khalsa College at Amritsar, under pressure brought to bear by the Sikh Community, was freed from Government control. After a time with the exception of a few secessions normal conditions were restored.

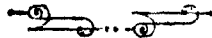
Having regard to the fight put up by the Nationalist leaders there were grounds for entertaining the hope that the verdict of the Special Congress in favour of non-co-operation would be revised at the regular session of the Congress in December. But this turned out to be more reactionary and anti-British than its predecessor. It sanctioned the change of the creed into another, which is an insidious attack on the maintenance of the British connection. It removed the restriction of the gradual operation in the clauses relating to lawyers and the students of schools and colleges under Government. The lawyers are now called upon to make greater efforts to suspend their practice, not to cease to practise, so that they are at liberty after a short respite to renew it. But the parents and guardians of children under 16 are told they must make greater efforts for the purpose of

withdrawing them from schools that are not national. Students of the age of 16 and over are enjoined to withdraw without delay, irrespective of consequences from institutions owned, aided, or in any way controlled by Government, and to devote themselves to some special service in connection with the non-co-operation movement or to continue their education in national institutions. But as few of these are in existence, and no proposal was made to increase the number, the alternative is obvious. The prospects of an easy martyrdom and patriotic service that were dangled before their eyes prompted a good many youths to swallow the gilded bait to their own detriment and the mortification of their guardians. Reference has been made above to an appeal addressed to the delegates of the Congress by Mr. Chotani, the President of the Central Khilafat Committee, in which special mention is made to the urgent demand for financial aid by students non-co-operating from colleges and schools. So these are the straits to which the students are reduced, and it is more than probable a good many are roaming about as vagabonds. Family ties have been broken, for according to Mr. Gandhi the fathers and guardians of boys over 16 have no right to control them, and even as regards those under 16 he says:— 'If there is a boy of 12 years who finds that it is against his conscience to stay in these schools, there is no power on earth that can prevent him from doing according to his conscience.'

Perhaps the most striking feature about this

Congress was the *volte face* on the part of certain Home Rule leaders who had opposed the immediate enforcement of non-co-operation. Such an action created no surprise in the minds of those who have any knowledge of Mr. Lajpat Rai's antecedents and his thinly disguised hatred to British Rule. That Mr. B. C. Pal should behave as fits a faithful Benchman of Mr. C. R. Das was to be expected, but why this distinguished lawyer should join forces with Mr. Gandhi is more than a puzzle. But what was the lead given by the President? Mr. Vijiayaraghava Achariar is a Congress veteran, and he possesses the courage to give expression to his convictions. Though in Calcutta he strenuously opposed the adoption of non-co-operation, he gave practical evidence of his loyalty to the Congress mandate by withdrawing his candidature to the Legislative Assembly. At Nagpur, in an avowedly non-co-operation Congress, he pleaded for a message to be sent to 'our Gracious Sovereign,' and he gave a precise definition of the *Swaraj* that India should demand 'a responsible Government like that of the United Kingdom and of the 'self-governing Dominions,' thus retaining the connection with England. He then outlined the method by which this was to be obtained, and in this connection he dealt with non-co-operation, for which in theory he expressed much sympathy, but translated into practice he considered 'it would rebarbarise the people of India,' and having regard to the experience of the previous five months he appealed to the Congress to say,

whether the propaganda work has not caused and aroused dismay, grief and fierce passions and animosities all round'. He deprecated the students being drawn into the vortex of politics when 'they should be left in a calm atmosphere, to pursue their studies and to maintain healthy relations with their family, which this propaganda had a tendency to undermine. The boycott of courts and the surrender of their position by legal practitioners would, he believed, lead to the increase of crime and to the gradual decay of the national instinct for freedom, while thousands of young men now receiving a special training would be stranded and turned adrift into the world. But he was unable to stem the tide. The other Nationalist leaders, being defeated in the serious conflict which was waged in respect to the change of the constitution, were too disheartened to engage in a tussle about a matter as regards which they could see Mr. Gandhi with his cohort of followers was bound to obtain an easy victory. But the mere arrogance of numbers is not a reliable measure of public confidence. It only affords evidence of the special powers of organisation possessed by the ultra-extremists who were running the Congress.



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