

Indian Opinion

No. 3—VOL. XX. FRIDAY, JANUARY 20TH, 1922.

Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper
Price 4pence

NOTES AND NEWS

WE take the following two interesting notes on the present Indian situation from the *Saturday Westminster Gazette* :—

There are two obvious comments to be made upon the boycott of the Prince of Wales at Allahabad. Its effect was given emphasis by the complete failure of attempted boycotts elsewhere and there were probably special local reasons for its success in Allahabad. Nevertheless that success was so complete as to make it a portent we cannot ignore. The authorities ascribe it to terrorism, but it is difficult to believe that fear of a minority would have kept a whole cityful of Indians away from so great a spectacle. It becomes more than ever manifest that things are very seriously wrong in India, and the Indian Government is itself clearly of that opinion, or it would not have embarked upon a policy of wholesale arrests.

These arrests may be amply justified. We have adopted a policy which is to end in the birth of a self-governing India, but in the meantime it is the clear duty of the Indian Government to govern. The non-co-operators have gone a great deal too far, and the professions of "non-violence" on the part of their Khilafat allies have been but a poor pretence. Clearly this campaign has to be put a stop to, and it may be that the Government of India has chosen the only way. Nevertheless we find it altogether regrettable that the new policy of repression should have been allowed to synchronise with the Prince's visit. The two gestures are not in harmony. Either the Prince's visit should have been abandoned or the arrests postponed in the hope that better feeling would make them unnecessary.

The *Leader* (Allahabad) writes :—Strong indignation has been caused by what may be called the Moplah train tragedy in which such a large number of Moplah prisoners died unaccountably. We hope no attempt will be made to whitewash any official or officials who may be responsible for the horrible incident.... If instead of the Moplahs a number of Europeans had lost their lives in similar circumstances, we know a tremendous howl would have been raised in the Anglo-Indian and the British Press, and the head of Lord Willington demanded on a charger. But even the condemned Moplahs are entitled to as much care of their lives as anyone else. We have read much of the mythical Black Hole of the semi-savage, non-Christian Rajuddaula more than 150 years ago, and we await to learn of the names of persons responsible for this modern Black Hole in the time of a civilized and Christian Government.

The Punjab Government, it is reported, has prohibited the performance of a play, entitled 'Lakhria Punjab,' which purports to be a dramatic presentation of the Punjab disturbances of 1919 in any public place in the Punjab under Section 3 of the Dramatic Performances Act, 1878 and has also proscribed all copies of the same play under the Press Act.

A twelve year old boy in the name of Ramkrishnasjee is reported to have been sentenced by the District

Magistrate of Benares (India) to three days imprisonment or one Rupee fine for "causing disturbance on Sadhari Road while selling Mr. Gandhi's photos."

A correspondent from Coleuso writes :—A few months ago, the Coleuso Post Office at the Railway Station was partitioned into two, the major part for the handful of Europeans and the other for Indians and Natives and a board was placed on the door to the effect. Naturally the Indians of Coleuso resented this latest innovation. When asked to be served as usual, owing to the refusal by the station officials, the Indians unanimously decided to boycott. For a number of days not an Indian entered the station. Their reasons were that they should be served, as in the past, without any distinction; that large centres have not enforced any such restriction; that there is no instance of any Europeans complaining against the misbehaviour of any Indian; that the Indians would not tolerate this degradation. Through pressure being brought upon the Railway officials an enquiry was held. The Indians put up an admirable defence for their just grievance. Among other causes, the greater revenue derived by the Government from the Indians at this centre. The official, promised to place the matter before the A. G. M. Though the Indians were served alongside the Europeans from thence, it was only to-day that the annoying board was removed. It appears, a few dissatisfied petty farmers verbally complained against serving Indians on the same counter.

We cull the following from *Young India* :—"The Secretary of the District Khilafat Committee Mirgulkhas writes to say, that Maulvi Abdul Karim Sahib who was recently convicted and is serving imprisonment in the Hyderabad jail has been deprived of the Koran. Is it because the Maulvi is comparatively unknown that the Koran has been taken away from him and not from the distinguished prisoners of Karachi? It is this kind of thoughtless and unnecessary persecution that breeds ill-will which it is difficult to check. No one minds a fair fight, but the deprivation of his religious book from a prisoner is the extreme of meanness."

RESORTING TO VIOLENCE

WE gather from the Indian exchanges that a brutal assault was committed on Mr. C. F. Andrews during his recent visit to East Africa, which he undertook at the invitation of the Nairobi Indian Congress. We publish in another column a report of the unfortunate incident given by the Kamplala correspondent of the *Bombay Chronicle*, from which it would appear that the culprits in this inhuman act were a few settlers of Kenya Colony, the brothers, presumably, of those on whose behalf a deputation had, not long ago, visited South Africa for the purpose of urging upon General Smuts to assist

them and gaining the support of South Africans in their "just" cause of crushing the Indian residents in Kenya by depriving them of all the rights they are entitled to as human beings and thus themselves becoming the top dogs in that Colony. The support of the latter they succeeded in getting, the Anti-Asiatics of South Africa having joined them whole-heartedly. But from the Prime Minister they had given to them a piece of good advice that they should carry on their agitation by peaceful methods if they wished their voice to be heard, but this they have apparently failed to follow.

A sense of profound sorrow will be felt by the Indians of South Africa at the pains and insults Mr. Andrews was subjected to whilst advocating our cause, the justice of which could be seen even by a blind man with a little bit of common sense. Mr. Andrews who is an image of love, who knows not what hate is, whose heart is full with grief if he sees anyone suffering or unjustly treated, who works heart and soul to relieve such a one, that he should be treated in such a manner is the height of cruelty and inhumanity on the part of those responsible for such a deed. It is only when a nation is nearing that it forgets even religion. The Anti-Asiatics have neither in South Africa nor East Africa ever been able to put up a strong case in defence of their attitude against Indians. They bitterly failed before the Asiatic Commission. And their second great defeat was at the S. A. P. Congress recently held at Maritzburg, when not a single one of their 14 resolutions, aimed at depriving Indians of all their existing rights in this country and rendering them to a position of helots within the Empire, was passed and they were once more advised by the Prime Minister "to take a long instead of a limited local view of the Empire wide problem." Thus their weak case which they tried to prop up by any means has, after the recent incident in Kenya, completely fallen to the ground. It is only when arguments fail and still one does not wish to accept what is right one resorts to violence. Violence does not prove the strength but the weakness of one's self and one's cause. The Kenya Colonists have failed to prove their case by other means and now they seem to have decided to resort to methods of violence. The Nairobi correspondent of the *Mahratta* says: "The racial hatred is now being manifested in a different way.....To assault an Indian on a trifling thing and then to threaten to shoot him down is the new way found out by these men. Lately an Indian trader was threatened in this way. But fortunately there being many men near-by the revolver could not render the service desired by its owner.....The Indian who was thus threatened has sent a complaint to the Governor." It was hitherto believed that the life of a black man was not of any importance but now from the case of Mr. Andrews it would appear that even the white skin is of no protection to him who wishes to assist the black man in his righteous cause, even though he may be a deliverer of the message of Christ! It is indeed a gloomy outlook for the future of Indians. If the time is not yet ripe enough for the Government to take action and stop these Anti-Asiatics from going any further, we do not know when it will be and if the missionaries will not, even after this, open their eyes and instil into these men the true teachings of Christ we do not know when they will:

MR. C. F. ANDREWS IN KENYA

BRUTALLY ASSAULTED BY SETTLERS

The Kampala correspondent of the *Bombay Chronicle* after describing the reception given to Mr. Andrews on his arrival in East Africa by the different Indian Associations of Uganda goes on further to say:—

Some of the Indian passengers travelling on the same steamer as Mr. Andrews related to me a story of an assault on him at midnight in one of the stations on Uganda Railway and to get an authentic report of the same I interviewed Mr. Andrews who very kindly gave me full details about it.

Mr. Andrews said that he joined the train at Eliudgita to go to Uganda and was alone in a first class compartment. When the train arrived at Nakuru—at about midnight—the Indian residents of the place were on the station to see him and went to the compartment of Mr. Andrews to garland him. At this time some Europeans thrust themselves into his carriage. Three of them went inside the carriage, while some were standing outside. These gentlemen had brought some English ladies with them also. After entering the carriage they all began to use violent and insulting language towards Mr. Andrews and asked what he was paid for the job. One of them, then pulled up his sleeves and pointed at the colour of his skin and shouted it was white and used language abusive. They repeated this frequently and one of them caught hold of his long flowing beard and pulled it continuously. The Europeans standing outside the compartment were all laughing and making noise. After about twenty minutes one of them in the compartment got so violent that he caught hold of Mr. Andrews and tried to pull him out of the carriage. Mr. Andrews said that this was the worst time for him and he would have been dragged to death had he not been able to catch hold of the chain of the upper berth. This was not all. They brought two or three newspapers containing the report of the speeches of Mr. Andrews and made a flare quite close to his face. All this time Mr. Andrews requested Indians outside on the station platform to keep quiet and not to make any row about it. He said in Hindustani "*Bilkul Aramse Khada Rao, Kutch Matt Karo.*" In the meanwhile Mr. Phadke and Mr. Popat Devji, manager of Messrs. Alidina Visram who were travelling by the same train and who heard the row came near the compartment of Mr. Andrews and tried their best to prevent the whites from insulting Mr. Andrews but to no avail. Before the train started, however, Mr. Phadke managed to get two whites out of the compartment, but one remained in the carriage. At the next station again the whole scene was repeated, the very same gentleman again jumping into his carriage.

The whole story is scandalous for the whites of Kenya, who by unscrupulous and violent propaganda have been trying to rouse feelings of hatred against Indians and those who uphold their cause. Mr. Andrews told me that when the brutal assault was committed he was ill in a very bad state of health. He got into the train at midnight after a long and weary motor trip and it came to him as a great shock.

The patience and courage with which Mr. Andrews bore the violent assault and insult, no doubt, inspires admiration for the spirit which can suffer in such humbleness, but the dastardly and inhuman conduct of the white men who could not tolerate the sight of a man who as a true disciple of Christ has been moving about in the country on a mission of peace and goodwill, deserves to be condemned by all sane men.

The incident is a bad sign of the dark times ahead for the Indian community in this country and the local Government must take measures to put a stop to all sorts of malicious and immoral propaganda, carried against them.

THE MOPLAH TRAIN TRAGEDY.

We learn from the Indian papers that the following press communique was issued with regard to the tragedy that occurred recently in India as a result of which 64 out of 100 Moplah prisoners had died of asphyxiation, being packed in a closed van. The communique is dated 21st November 1921:—

"The Government much regret to announce that they have received reports that out of a party of hundred convicted prisoners who were entrained at Tirur 56 were found dead of Asphyxiation at Podanur. Others received adequate medical attention immediately on arrival at Podanur. Eight have since died, and the remainder are reported to be likely to recover. The Government have instructed Mr. A. R. Knapp, special commissioner for Malabar affairs, to make immediately a full inquiry into this most deplorable occurrence, and to spare no pains fully to elucidate the circumstances which resulted in this terrible loss of life and suffering."

A correspondent of the Allahabad *Leader* gives the following description of the tragic affair, dated Coimbatore Nov. 20:—

Early this morning those who happened to be on the platform at Podanur railway station saw dead bodies in a covered iron waggon which arrived at the station attached to no. 77 passenger train from the direction of Calicut. These prisoners were, it is said, booked from Tirur to the Bellary Moplah camp, and were escorted by a party of armed policemen, including Sergeant Andrews. This fact was first known, when one or more of the escorting police peeped through the trap door of the wagon of the occupants and found some of them lying flat on the floor, some with their last breath and some expired. The door was opened and a still closer examination resulted in the finding of a few more of the prisoners already dead. They were then removed to the platform. The authorities concerned were apprised of the fact, but it took some time for their help to be forthcoming. It transpires that the total number of prisoners that were detailed for this camp numbered a little over 100, of whom 56 were found dead. It is said that the dead bodies of these 56 persons were sent back to Tirur. The rest of the party were brought into the Coimbatore station. The whole town of Coimbatore was filled with the news and from the very first minute people began to assemble on the platform to witness the condition of these men, but the crowd of spectators was not allowed to go on the platform. The reserve police under the command of Mr. Morrit, the inspector, a few with the necessary arms, and the local police with Mr. Manifold in plain clothes with other detectives were seen amongst the crowd busily engaged. Those who happened to go by the No. 10 Madras Mettupallyam mail, finding something sensational and unnatural, also became spectators of this fatal catastrophe. Among this batch also there were some dead, a few in a semi-conscious state, some completely unconscious and about 25 in a condition indicating some anxiety. Major Forest I. M. S., the district medical and sanitary officer, on receipt of this sad news, hurried up to the scene with all the necessary appliances and a stock of medicines and was ready by the side of the patients for service. But for this able and sympathetic officer, more would have found their way to their graves. It was till half past eight that Major Forest was busy and before he left the railway station he sent for a motor lorry from Messrs. Stanes and Co., in which they were taken to the main hospital for necessary attention. Though it happened to be a Sunday, all the staff of his institution were made available at the hospital, and for their immediate occupation the required beds were found. On the way two of the men breathed their last, while the condition of nine others is said to be highly precarious. Eight dead bodies are said to have been removed to the local central jail. At about 9 o'clock all the sur-

viving prisoners were taken charge of in the railway station by Mr. Clements, the superintendent of the central jail. Just before they were despatched, Mr. C. W. Scott Conward, the superintendent of police, made his appearance. Mr. Masilamani Goundan, the town magistrate, also arrived at the scene a little later. Mr. E. M. Gawn, I. C. S., the District Magistrate, arrived at the station to see that the prisoners had been removed.

The members of the Mahomedan community have promptly notified the public for the closure of their shops and have demanded the production of the dead bodies for necessary burial and have also requisitioned the jail authorities for information before inquest. Steps have also been taken by them to communicate with the local and Imperial Governments and to Earl Cromer, chief of his Royal Highness' staff. The total deaths are now said to be 64.

SOME EVIDENCES BEFORE THE ENQUIRY COMMITTEE

The following are some of the evidences as reported to have been given before the Enquiry Committee on the Moplah Train Tragedy:—

SENIOR MEDICAL OFFICER'S EVIDENCE

Captain P. M. Mathai, I.M.S., Senior Medical Officer, Malabar Force, Podanur, gave evidence before the Train Tragedy Enquiry Committee at Podanur, stated that he received a message from the station master that one hundred prisoners had arrived in a state of collapse, went to the railway station at once and found a dozen bodies laid on the platform, alongside the van. Some of these were dead. There were also bodies inside the van lying one over another. Witness removed some of the bodies himself and instructed his orderlies to take out others. In the case of prisoners who were in the state of collapse, he applied artificial respirations and when they came to their senses he gave them tea and coffee. Dr. O'Connor also came up and both he and witness separated the dead from the living, and sent the dead bodies to Tirur. The living men were sent in Dr. O'Connor's charge to Coimbatore. It was the opinion of the witness that the prisoners who had died in the van, had died of asphyxia, there being too many prisoners in the van both for air and for floor space. If the witness had been asked if for the journey of two hundred prisoners they could have been put in the van, before this was done, he would have strongly objected to it. Replying to a question, the witness said that even if the wire gauze in the van was removed, he would not say that the van would be fit for conveying human beings.

DISTRICT MEDICAL OFFICER

Major Forest, I.M.S., District Medical Officer, said he had received a message to be on the platform to meet the survivors of the tragedy. This was sent to Coimbatore. There were altogether 44 prisoners in the train and six of them were dead by the time the train reached Coimbatore. Of the remaining, 25 were sent to Central Jail and the rest to hospital. Of those sent to hospital, two died the same day and two were sent to jail. Four prisoners died in the hospital on the 20th and two more on the 26th. The remaining three had since been discharged from the hospital. In his opinion the prisoners, whom he had seen and who had died at Coimbatore, had died of heart failure due to carbolic acid gas poisoning. Three prisoners, on whom post mortem examination was held at Tirur, had died of asphyxia as certified by the Sub-Assistant Surgeon and witness agreed with the Sub-Assistant Surgeon's opinion. Replying to a question, witness said, speaking as civil doctor he would not recommend carrying of a hundred prisoners in a van of the kind used in the present case. If he had been consulted before the prisoners were put into the van, he thought, he would have objected.

EXAMINATION OF SURVIVING PRISONERS AT COIMBATORE

Parakkal Ismail, one of the prisoners, was examined

by the Committee. He said he had been kept in jail at Angadipuraman and afterwards brought to Malapuraman, from there he was sent to Tirur with the other prisoners. On the march the hands of prisoners were tied with clothes. The prisoners were fed at Tirur but not very much, they were given plenty of water when it was getting to be dark. Hundreds of prisoners were put into a van which had three compartments. The van was very crowded and prisoners could not sit properly. It was the first time that the witness had travelled in a train. The doors of the van were shut and witness heard that they were also secured by wire. The first time the train stopped, the prisoners all asked for water, they called out for water but there was no answer, they were all feeling thirsty. At the next station the prisoners again called out and some outsiders told them there was no use calling out as the doors would only be opened at Podanur. The prisoners had called out to say that many were fainting and would die and it was enough if the doors were left open. Witness must have fainted soon after, for the next thing he remembered was being at Coimbatore and being attended to.

DRANK PERSPIRATION TO QUENCH THEIR THIRST

Witness also said that the prisoners were perspiring profusely in the van and they could not breathe and some of the prisoners were so thirsty that they drank perspiration by squeezing out of their clothes. There was no air coming through the gauze wire netting on the top of the van. Some of the prisoners tried to pull away the gauze netting but failed. The prisoners beat upon the door at the first station. They had all to stand in the van, after two or three stations they began to fall down and lay on the top of each other. Witness was properly looked after at Coimbatore but he was still feeling weak.

Next witness V. Mahomed Kutti, another convict, 32 years of age, deposed that there was calling out on the part of the prisoners at all the stations right up to Olavakkot. At the fourth station a voice outside said that the prisoners would get water at Ottapallam. Calling out made it more difficult for the prisoners to breathe. At one station some one said there was no use in calling out, the prisoners would get water at Podanur. The man who called out also said there was no use of the prisoners shouting, since there were no orders to open the van there, and if the prisoners persisted in shouting they would be shot. It was a "Saheb" who had called out. At this witness fainted before reaching Podanur and when he recovered it was on the platform when water was poured on his face.

Komala Yusuph, aged 24, deposed that he was conscious all the time and on reaching Podanur he was feeling very weak, both the witness and his brother were near the door. When the prisoners left Tirur most of them were starving. The van was not much crowded but there was no air to breathe. After two stations had been passed witness put his hand down and tried to get air by putting his mouth near the opening at the bottom of the door. When the train was moving he got a little air this way. His brother also did in the same way. Whenever the train stopped witness called out for water, but he was told that no water could be had. Witness called out that if no water was given the prisoners would all die, this must have been at Shoranur. The reply was that whatever might happen to the prisoners the van would be opened only at Podanur.

Prisoner Komali Ahmed, brother of the above witness, bore out his statement. He added that, at Shoranur prisoners cried out for a long time. At Podanur the surviving prisoners were well looked after, they were given tea and coffee.

"LET THE DEAD DIE"

Prisoner Shaikh Haider said that at Tirur the prisoners had enough of food and water. At Shoranur they called out for water, a head constable said

that water would be given only at Podanur. Witness recognised the head constable by his voice to be the head constable who spoke at Edakulam. Witness knew the head constable before. When there was no water forthcoming at Shoranur witness called out to the Head Constable as follows:—"Some of the prisoners are dead, head constable, please open the door. Head constable said "let the dead die we will take the rest." Later the head constable told witness "You have been in service, don't you know that we cannot open without Sergeant's orders?" Head constable also knew witness well at Shoranur. The Sergeant also called out in Tamil to the witness to keep quiet. At Olavakkot also the prisoners cried out for water. There were about thirty prisoners in his compartment, of these the witness knew only the three survivors.

Prisoner K. Kunbi Marcoyar said that he could remember all that happened up to Shoranur. At Shoranur his Kurnavan (head of family) was dying with his head on his lap and witness shouted out to open the door, "If only for some fresh air, you may tie us up, but let us have air to breathe." Answer was "We are going to tie you up, be quiet."

Prisoner Veeran Kutti said that the prisoners called out for water. They were told it could only be had at Podanur. The prisoners called out again that they were being choked, and doors should be opened, but the reply given by a policeman was that there were troops travelling in the train and they would shoot the prisoners for making noise.

Prisoner Koyakutti Tungal, aged 32, said that he had a wife and children at Pattambi. The prisoners got no reply when they shouted for water at Pattambi. Some one from the platform said that water would be given at Ottapalam, at Ottapalam all cried out for water, and also asked for the door to be opened for fresh air. There was no answer. At some station the prisoners were told that they would be shot if they made any noise. At Shoranur some people outside jeered at the prisoners saying "Have you not guns and swords, are you not Khilafat people, can you not take water by force." Witness could not say if it was the passengers or police who jeered like this.

LALA LAJPAT RAI'S MESSAGE TO HIS COUNTRYMEN

The following message was delivered by Lala Lajpat Rai prior to the meeting held at which he was arrested:—

Countrymen,—The Provincial Congress Committee meets to-day at 2 p. m., this meeting has been convened under my instructions. This meeting is in every sense a private meeting, according to law, and cannot be termed a public meeting. The object of this meeting is that the Provincial Congress Committee, after taking into consideration the present situation, might draw up its programme of work and devise means to maintain peace and order in the Province in the present crisis. The Deputy Commissioner has prohibited this meeting under the Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act, and in the meanwhile, I have received orders from Mahatma Gandhi that, as far as possible, I should save myself from arrest. The meeting is highly important. The order of the Deputy Commissioner is illegal and *ultra vires*, and it seems that the Punjab officials do not care much for law. Under these circumstances, my conscience does not allow me to stop the meeting or to allow it to be held and myself not attend it. I have, therefore, decided to attend the meeting, and get myself arrested, if the District authorities desire to take me into custody. I believe that had he been in that position, Mahatma Gandhi himself would have acted in that manner, and that had he known the later developments, he would not have advised me, as he has done. I quite realise that I might perhaps have rendered you better service by

avoiding arrest at the present stage of our national struggle; but I also believe that for me to save myself from arrest under the present circumstances would be improper. I am sure, you would not like me to act in a manner that might render my conduct liable to be misunderstood. I am not deliberately courting arrest on account of the weakness of my heart. My faith, my conscience, my desire to do my duty—all compel me to attend the meeting. If under these circumstances, I am committing a blunder, I believe that you, my countrymen, and Mahatmajee will forgive me.

We have decided, that in my absence Agha Mahomed Safdar Sahib, would act as the President of the Provincial Congress Committee. The patriotism and high intellectual attainments of Agha Mohd. Safdar are well-known to you; and I believe that under his guidance and leadership all the Congress Committees and all Congress-men in the Province would fulfill their duties loyally and bravely.

When I left the shores of America, I knew that I would not be allowed to remain outside the jail for a long time; and on my departure from there, I had told my friends that I would be satisfied if I were allowed to work amongst my people even for six months. But now through the grace of God I have been enabled to work with you for about nineteen months, and I go to jail with a glad heart, and with the firm belief that whatever we have done, we have done according to our conscience and our God. I have no misgivings or fears in my mind. I am convinced that the path we have chosen is the right path, and our success is sure. I also believe that I shall soon return amongst you and resume my work but even if that is not to be, I assure you that I shall have nothing to be sorry for when I return to my Creator. I am a weak and frail man, and do not claim to possess the splendid spirituality of Mahatma Gandhi. Sometimes I am not able to control my anger, nor can I say that I have never harboured feelings which I ought not to have entertained. But this I can truthfully assert that I have always kept the interests of my country and nation before my mind, and my actions have been directed with a sole eye to the interests of my country. I know that I have made many mistakes in the discharge of my duties, and have sometimes indulged in criticism which might have given offence to some of my countrymen. For all that I beg for forgiveness. I hope that they will forgive me especially my Moderate and Arya Samajic brothers.

The position of those of my countrymen who are Government servants is peculiar; and I quite realise their difficulties. I regret that the question of livelihood compels them to act in a manner which is repugnant even to their own feelings. I wish that no non-co-operator should regard those Government servants with contempt or disdain, nor needlessly use a harsh word against them.

The success of our movement requires that :—

(1) There should be complete unanimity between different communities and denominations. It is a sin to disturb that mutual goodwill and concord even for a religious object.

(2) There should be no violence in the country. The Government officials are provoking the people in many ways. Courage, patriotism and regard for duty all demand that we should remain non-violent even in the face of the gravest provocation. There is every danger that at the present moment violence might lead to internal dissension, which is bound to ruin us. I, therefore, with the utmost respect and sincerity of purpose, urge on my countrymen to restrain their feelings. They should not have hartals or hold meetings over the arrests, nor should they go to the courts. Every person should continue his everyday work with a calm and cool mind, should not disobey the order of the Congress, and should regard it his duty to carry out the orders of the local and provincial leaders. To maintain non-violence and to keep the movement of non-co-operation free from that taint are

essential for our success.

(3) There should be no break in the work of the Congress. The *khaddar* propaganda should be carried on with increasing vigour and the boycott of foreign cloth should be made complete. On the occasion of the forthcoming visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales there ought to be no public decorations or rejoicings, and no one should participate in the processions or other functions held in his honour. And, above all, you should act in accordance with the wishes of Mahatma Gandhi.

Youngmen of the Punjab,—I want to address a word to you. To pass a university examination is not the *summum bonum* of your life. Any man who models his course of life on a selfish basis is a made not a human being; and if in our young age we curb our nobler ambitions and finer emotions and in their place plant baser passions and a desire for luxurious living in our breasts, then also our life is worse than death. I do not wish that you should act in a state of undue excitement. But you should at least do two things: Wear *Khaddar* and boycott the visit of the Prince.

Women of the Punjab,—I know that you, too, are imbued with a spirit of patriotism and a desire to serve your country, and that you would not care if in that service you lose your liberty. Many of you are prepared to go to jail. But the Indian jails are hells upon earth; vice and corruption reigns there supreme. I, therefore, request you to give up the idea of 'courting imprisonment; and direct your energies towards the preaching of Swadeshi and yourself wearing pure Swadeshi clothes. There is one thing which you can do. You can take care of the young children who are left behind by those who go to jail in the country's cause.

My countrymen, I now bid you good-bye. I go to jail in the firm belief that the honour of my beloved country and nation is safe in your keeping. The *Bande Mataram* and the Tilak School of Politics are my two children; and those also I leave in your keeping.

Those of my brothers who are in Lahore and have not attended to-day's meeting have done so at my request, so that our work may not be interrupted.

Your well-wisher,

LAJPAT RAI.

5 a. m. Dec. 3, 1921.

LOVE NOT HATE

The following is an article by Mr. Gandhi published as a supplement to *Young India* dated December 8 :—

A telegram from Allahabad says Pandit Motilal Nehru, Pandit Jawahirlal Nehru and Mr. George Joseph, Editor of the *Independent* have been arrested. It was received at 11 o'clock last night. It positively filled me with joy. I thanked God for it.

I had not expected Panditji's arrest. In our discussions I used to tell Panditji that he would be about the last to be arrested. I marvelled at Sir Harcourt Butler's philosophic courage. Panditji has been working against tremendous odds. He has been battling against his old enemy asthma. I know that he has never worked for his rich clients nor even for the afflicted Punjab as he has slaved for pauper India. I have pleaded with him to take rest. He has refused to do so. I rejoice to think that he will now have respite from the toil that was wearing him out.

But my joy was greater for the thought, that what I had feared would not happen before the end of the year because of the sin of Bombay was now happening by reason of the innocent suffering of the greatest and the best in the land. These arrests of the totally innocent is real Swaraj. Now there is no shame in the Ali Brothers and their companions remaining in gaol. India has not been found undeserving of their immolation.

But my joy, which I hope thousands share with me,

is conditional upon perfect peace being observed whilst our leaders are one after another taken away from us. *Victory is complete if non-violence reigns supreme in spite of the arrests. Disastrous defeat is a certainty if we cannot control all the elements so as to ensure peace.* We are out to be killed without killing. We have stipulated to go to prison without feeling angry or injured. We must not quarrel with the condition of our own creating.

On the contrary our non-violence teaches us to love our enemies. By non-violent non-co-operation we seek to conquer the wrath of the English administrators and their supporters. We must love them and pray to God that they might have wisdom to see what appears to us to be their error. It must be the prayer of the strong and not of the weak. In our strength must we humble ourselves before our Maker.

In the moment of our trial and our triumph let me declare my faith. I believe in loving my enemies. I believe in non-violence as the only remedy open to the Hindus, Mussalmans, Shikhs, Parsis, Christians and Jews of India. I believe in the power of suffering to melt the stoniest heart. The brunt of the battle must fall on the first three. The last named three are afraid of the combination of the first three. We must by our conduct demonstrate to every Englishman that he is as safe in the remotest corner of India as he professes to feel behind the machine gun.

Islam, Hinduism, Shikhism, Christianity, Zoroastrianism and Judaism—in fact religion is on its trial. Either we believe in God and His righteousness or we do not. My association with the noblest of Mussalmans has taught me to see that Islam has spread not by the power of the sword but by the prayerful love of an unbroken line of its saints and fakirs. Warrant there is in Islam for drawing the sword but the conditions laid down are so strict that they are not capable of being fulfilled by everybody. Where is the unerring general to order Jihad? Where is the suffering, the love and the purification that must precede the very idea of drawing the sword? Hindus are at least as much bound by similar restrictions as the Mussalmans of India. The Shikhs have their recent proud history to warn them against the use of force. We are too imperfect, too impure and too selfish as yet to resort to an armed conflict in the cause of God as Shaikat Ali would say. Will a purified India ever need to draw the sword? And it was the definite process of purification we commenced last year at Calcutta.

What must we then do? Surely remain non-violent and yet strong enough to offer as many willing victims as the Government require for imprisonment. Our work must continue with clockwork regularity. Each province must elect its own succession of leaders. Lalaji has set a brilliant example by making all the necessary arrangements. The chairman and the secretary must be given in each province emergency powers. The executive must be the smallest possible. Every Congressman must be a volunteer.

Whilst we must not avoid arrest we must not provoke it by unnecessary offence.

We must vigorously prosecute the Swadeshi campaign till we are fully organised for the manufacture of all the hand spun *Khaddi* we require and have brought about a complete boycott of foreign cloth.

We must hold the Congress at any cost in spite of the arrest of every one of the leaders unless the Government dissolve it by force. And if we are neither cowed down nor provoked to violence but are able to continue national work, we have certainly attained Swaraj. For no power on earth can stop the onward march of peaceful, determined and godly people.

Sabarmati,

8th December 1921.

ARREST OF MR. STOKES

Mr. Gandhi writes in *Young India* under the heading "Reward of adoption":—

It is surprising that so far as I know, no wire has been received by the Bombay Press regarding Mr. Stokes arrest in Lahore. I see a paragraph in the *Tribune* referring to the event. I cannot imagine that no wire has been despatched about such a sensational arrest. My inference is, that the wires notifying the arrest have been suppressed or delayed as were the wires about the arrest of the Ali Brothers. Mr. Stokes was arrested on the 3rd instant at Lahore cantonment in connection with articles contributed by him to the *Tribune* as calculated to 'spread sedition and promote hatred between different classes of His Majesty's subjects.' The District Magistrate offered to release Mr. Stokes on bail but he refused to be so released. This is a unique move on the part of the Government. Mr. Stokes is an American who has naturalised himself as a British subject and who has made India his home in a manner in which perhaps no other American or Englishman has. He rendered eminent services during the war and is known in the highest quarters as a well-wisher of the Government. No one can suspect him of ill-will. But that he should feel with and like an Indian and share his sorrows and throw himself into the struggle has proved too much for the Government. To leave him free to criticise the Government was intolerable and so his white skin has proved no protection for him. The Government is determined to quash the movement at any cost. But it is beyond its ability to do so. Mr. Stokes' arrest perhaps demonstrates the weakness of the Government's case as not even Lalaji's does. Lalaji has no reward of war service to his credit. Lalaji is known to be 'an agitator.' He is not a white man. When therefore Mr. Stokes is put away the strongest suspicion arises in respect of the *bona fides* of the Government case even in the estimation of an outsider.

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